Eating waste: a critical evaluation of surplus food redistribution as solution to food waste and food insecurity

Charlotte Spring

Human Geography

School of Environment and Life Sciences

University of Salford

PhD Thesis

Supervised by: Dr Mags Adams and Dr Michael Hardman

2018

Table of Contents

List of Figures/Tables

Acknowledgements

The season is changing as I finish this thesis. Looking forward to times new, it nevertheless inspires reflection upon changes big and small that have occurred over the past four years since I first read its brief. "It takes a village to write a dissertation", writes David Giles (whose writing about food waste has inspired me throughout), and it is true; one is never the sole arbiter of one's output and I would like to thank every single person who has allowed me to volunteer in their spaces, hang out, ask questions, interview them. Many have warmly welcomed, fed and taught me, and I hope the critical voice raised in this thesis does not negate my appreciation of their work. In the spirit of the more-than-human attention my thesis aims to give, I also acknowledge the many places and things that have assembled this work, from my passport to the photocopier. Many teabags were dunked in the making of this thesis.

Before extending specific thankyous, I acknowledge the tragic losses of three very special family members and friends during since research began; Cheryl, Sandy and Mary, you were all wonderful women, fantastic mothers who showed me love and care, gifted the world with amazing children and inspired me for very different reasons. I miss you. And my love to those who've survived hard knocks, especially my grandmothers Runa and Sue, and Mervyn Lang: get well soon!

I would not have had the immense luck to spend four years studying what impassions me were it not for Mags Adams. Thank you for a research brief that truly resonated and inspired me, for allowing me to follow my own path while always being there to steer me, or reign me in where necessary. Your support and encouragement has been unwavering, even when I have been wayward. I hope we can write more together.

Thanks also to Mike Hardman, who has shared my supervision and been so generous and supportive with time, ideas, positive energy and constructive feedback. You have both been fantastic.

To my pals, for putting up with me not being as available as I'd like, and for providing meals, chats, distraction, swims, beers, massages, insights and listening ears: Becky for being by my side for our first conference presentations, Travelodge woes and many shared PhD wobbles, Ellie, Hannah, Jo, Ben, Katy, Arun, Arpitha, Julie, Benji, Alex, the Presteigne/Bristol/London girls, Gloria, Zara, Kensington/Clarendon/Oaker crew, SHE ladies, and special mention to Elisa G and Jo Banana for their extra support when I was struggling. To friendships forged over shared passions for food: Annie Levy, Gill Watson, Martin Bowman, Andy Fisher, Chris Eldridge, Melvyn Newton and more. And to my office mates for debates, biscuits and support: Judith, Donal, Ross, Andjin, Tasila, Rutase, Munir, Abdul and co. I have inevitably left people out, my apologies.

List of Abbreviations

ACCFB- Alameda County Community Food Bank

ANT- Actor-network theory

APPG- All-Party Parliamentary Group

AT- Assemblage theory/thinking

CAFB- Capitol Area Food Bank

CFM- Community Food Member [FareShare client organisation]

DCCK- DC Central Kitchen

DS- Disco Soup

EC- European Commission

EHUK- End Hunger UK

FA- Feeding America

FAO- Food and Agricultural Organisation

FFS- Fuel for School [TRJFP]

FNB- Food Not Bombs

FUSIONS- Food Use for Social Innovation by Optimising waste preventioN Strategies

GFN Global Foodbanking Network

GM- Greater Manchester

HFI- household food insecurity

IFAN- Independent Food Aid Network

NGO- Non-governmental organisation

NGO- Non-governmental organisations

PAYF- Pay-as-you-feel

PFIB- Put Food in the Budget

REFRESH- Resource Efficient Food and dRink for Entire Supply cHain

SFR- Surplus food redistribution

SNAP- Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program [US]

TEFAP- Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program [US]

TiR- This is Rubbish

TRJFP/RJFP- (The) Real Junk Food Project

TT- The Trussell Trust

UN- United Nations

WRAP- Waste and Resources Action Programme

WYTSS- West Yorkshire Trading Standards

Thesis abstract

This thesis critically explores relationships between food insecurity and food waste in the UK through the lens of surplus food redistribution (SFR). Ethnographic research compared two UK redistribution organisations' models, framings, practices and political modalities. Additionally, international comparisons involved research with SFR organisations in North America, where such practices largely denote a sophisticated and large-scale network of foodbanks and subsidiary charities that yield lessons around a key UK debates: does the expansion of charitable distribution of wasted food prevent efforts to *prevent* the inequality and poverty underlying hunger?

Chapter 4 shows how hunger and waste have become co-framed in public discourse, and how this has shaped responses, particularly how discursive alliances can either contest or favour the expansion of food aid. Chapter 5 articulates assemblage ontologies and political ecology to compare infrastructural, material and labour practices by participant organisations, arguing the important of recognising more-than-human dimensions of SFR landscapes. Chapter 6 analyses spaces of eating and encounter, drawing attention to how social difference is constructed and/or challenged by different SFR models. Chapter 7 compares UK observations with findings from North America, considering how critiques of charitable food redistribution have influenced changes in redistribution practice, such as the inclusion of foodbank users in decision making or the use of surplus food to create training and employment opportunities for excluded groups.

Research revealed how shifting SFR infrastructures affect organisations' capacity to critique and transform systemic aspects of waste and hunger. The thesis argues that SFR can boost food access and create important spaces of encounter. However, it demonstrates how organisations' articulations with corporations, state bodies and other organisations constitute affordances and constraints for SFR's radical potential, specifically their capacity to depoliticise or contest causes of food precarity and waste.

Critiquing power dynamics affecting globalising forms of SFR, the thesis articulates lessons about the political and material affordances of different redistribution models, contributing to debates around the messy realities of wasted food activism and its capacities for radical, preventative change. The thesis concludes with recommendations for practitioners and policy-makers.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introducing the 'hunger-waste paradox'

Food insecurity (increasingly referred to as 'hunger' in the UK) and food waste have long been often represented as paradoxical (Poppendieck, 1998b, Porpino, Parente, & Wansink, 2015). The 'hunger-waste paradox' posits versions of an ethical claim about the existence of poverty, or scarcity of food for some, alongside an excess of edible food wasted by others. Introducing the 'twin' problems of hunger and food waste contextualises the task of this thesis, to explore how hunger and waste are mediated by the practices of surplus food redistribution (SFR) forming the empirical, comparative basis of this research.

The thesis paints a comparative ethnographic picture of SFR organisations in the UK. Theoretically, it links global and national governance to localised everyday practices in a complex, ever-changing landscape. Geographically, it connects diverse forms of SFR in the UK to practices in North America. Using ethnographic methods, fieldwork explored two organisations in depth, and many more through visits or interviews. This approach has provided a vantage point to explore networks, relationships and patterns connecting and distinguishing forms of SFR in different places. Building on literature addressing UK SFR, it focuses on the qualities, relationships and practices of different organisations while attempting to broaden understandings of the contentious politics that interact with the mundane, everyday realities that make redistribution happen.

1.2 Personal background

Aged 19, I began to learn about the extent of edible food being thrown away by businesses. I first 'dumpster-dived' in Bristol, helping a friend load his car boot with whole chickens and loaves of bread from wheelie bins behind a supermarket. The whole, pristine cans of Coca-Cola flummoxed me most, and the thrilled fear of what felt like stealing stuck with me, alongside abiding curiosity about why such apparently perfect items had found their way there.

In 2013 I stumbled upon the overflowing wheelie bin of a rural Herefordshire service station, comprising tomatoes, organic eggs, whole chickens, beer and cookies. By some unexpected urge I found myself driving home with a carful of food of varying degrees of freshness; I left the icecreams. Once home, I photographed the haul, including packaging (Fig.1).

Internet searching 'food waste', I discovered what seemed like the only book on the subject- Tristram Stuart's *Waste: Uncovering the Global Food Scandal* (2009). Reading the book instilled a burning ambition to do something proactive about the waste I'd encountered on a tiny, yet overwhelming, scale. I cooked the produce into soup at a sustainability-themed fayre, Spring Greens. The urge to share such excess made me notice the lack of systemic means for doing so.

After considering setting up a café serving Hereford's food waste, I gave up the idea, feeling that it wouldn't catch on. Moving to Manchester, I discovered a man who'd been

Figure.1 Part-contents of rural supermarket bin, 2013. Author's own.

braver, Adam Smith, and the zeitgeist he was keying into and shaping by creating The Real Junk Food Project (TRJFP). His passion resonating with my own, I started to meet the individuals he was inspiring to set up surplus food cafés that could transform the still-good content of bins into meals for anybody who wanted them. This PhD's proposal, to explore simultaneously high levels of food waste and food poverty, addressed my long-term interests in poverty, inequality and waste economies; it was timely both personally and in light of broader contexts.

1.3 Research contribution and contexts

The thesis considers SFR practices in light of changes, especially to public welfare systems, under what might broadly be termed 'neoliberalism', exploring new forms of distribution made possible and legitimate under these conditions (Trudeau & Veronis, 2009). Focussing largely on the UK but also on the US, it probes questions about

inequality, consumption and the spatial dimensions of food justice in the city (Heynen, 2008, Dowler & Lambie-Mumford, 2014). A key question is around responsibility and power in decisions about how food is produced and distributed (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011). Whose opinions and decisions dominate the values held, individually and collectively, around the causes and solutions of social problems (Blumer, 1971)? Who frames and has the power to act around such problems (Mooney & Hunt, 2009)?

Research started with a framing of the problem(s) that hopes to solve, yet also shapes, those problems: the co-occurrence of abundance and scarcity of food in contemporary Britain (Hawkes & Webster, 2000). The thesis delineates synergies, silos and silences that operate in an understanding of the excess of food waste as morally wrong given the extent of scarcity and hunger, whose intolerable dissonance may be rectified through redistribution (Poppendieck, 1998a). Expanding logistical and institutional models of SFR bring new actors into the discursive field: charities, councils, social movements, media, MPs and, often left out of debates, volunteers and clients of surplus redistribution (Fisher, 2017). Diverse stakeholders brings contrasting beliefs, experiences, agendas and intentions to debates around issues such as legislation to incentivise food surplus donation by businesses (Anderson, 2015).

Hunger and food waste have gained prominence in mainstream media (e.g. Butler, 2014, Blythman, 2016). They have prompted research efforts (e.g. Fabian Society, 2015b), parliamentary enquiries (APPG on Hunger and Food Poverty, 2014), campaigns (Feeding Britain, 2015) and practical responses both within the UK and at supranational levels (REFRESH, 2016). Hunger can be contextualised in broader critiques of post-recession austerity and funding cuts to forms of social assistance, neighbourhood disinvestment and rising costs of amenities (e.g. Lambie-Mumford & Dowler, 2014). Food waste has largely been the preserve of environmental campaigns but has become a prominent part of Government discussions around waste and resource management, 'food security' and food supply chain efficiency (Downing, Priestley, & Carr, 2015). Both problems can be located in long histories of managing agricultural surplus, social inequality, philanthropy and modes of consumption (Poppendieck, 1998a). They can be viewed through lenses of food systems thinking that examines, for example, the cost of food in relation to models of distribution or scales of agricultural production (Patel, 2007). Critical 'food justice' or 'food sovereignty' approaches often combine systems thinking with critical theory to draw attention to the role of, for example, capitalist commodification of basic resources in understanding peoples' access to food (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015).

The PhD topic was an advertised proposal for which I applied and was interviewed, following the personal trajectory of interest described at the start. I developed aims and objectives to examine waste and hunger through their intertwining in SFR discourses (see below for objectives). I sought to understand whether redistribution practices reveal, obscure or obfuscate relationships between the two. I consider SFR's political and economic dimensions: the uneven distribution of resources and deliberation over such distribution (Midgley, 2013). I draw upon heterodox ontological approaches and literatures in order to shed light on their dynamic and relational practices and processes, including social constructionism (Poppendieck, 1995), visceral and sensory ethnography (Hayes-Conroy, 2015) and assemblage thinking (Delanda, 2016). I use these to examine political, emotional, bodily-sensory and economic dimensions of emerging SFR practices, and to contest unhelpful dichotomies of market/society, individual/society, nature/society, local/global and so on (Whatmore 2002).

This work takes place at a time when charitable food redistribution of wasted food may yet become entrenched as a "normalised part of society" (Smith, 2017, n.p.). The thesis provides insights and examples that can help stakeholders make responsible, just decisions around what such 'entrenchment' might look like, and how this may be un/desirable. Flyvbjerg adopts the Aristotelian term 'phronesis' to capture the work of social science as 'value-rationality'; a proficiency in understanding and expressing the values and power of social actors to determine future outcomes (Flyvbjerg, 2001). This work aims to identify concepts and tools to help with collective decisions about how to tackle the problems of food waste and poverty-induced hunger. It discusses our responsibility as members of society with differential powers to influence 'value-rationality'. Critically examining deep-rooted issues of inequality to act within food systems change-making takes the goal of going beyond critique towards emancipatory change (Heynen, 2006).

1.4 History: the 'hunger-waste paradox'

Surplus viewed alongside scarcity introduces a moral dissonance that has posed a political and ethical problem for much of human history. The origins of food inequities lie in the prehistoric birth of cities, with their attendant storage of surpluses and evidence of emergent social hierarchy and moral-religious codes to give alms to the less-fortunate (Stuart, 2009). Paynter (1989) suggests that much of the archaeological story of inequality involves the development of institutions for generating (and, to an extent,

redistributing) surpluses: "the state, landed wealth, the market, and legitimating orders" (p.385). Paynter also documents a "variety of ways that inequality was created and (not infrequently) destroyed" (p.372-3).

Surplus food redistribution can serve a number of political-economic functions: maintaining farm prices, the quiescence of a well-fed populace (and their military/labour potential) and the moral rectitude of the prevailing order (Poppendieck, 1998a). A problem of excess is turned back into one of scarcity: of the distribution of resources through institutional means (Abbott, 2014).

Public problematisation of waste alongside scarcity has deep historical roots and precedents. The resurgence in popularity of wartime propaganda posters castigating food waste (Figure.2) suggests a historical continuity in disdain for waste and cultural values of thriftiness at times of uncertainty under austerity and concerns for environmental sustainability (Stuart, 2009).

O'Brien's *A Crisis of Waste* (2008) places contemporary 'moral panics' over waste in a long history of human wastefulness.

Figure.2 WW1 propaganda poster, US Food Administration, ca.1918

However, the recycling of ethical notions of efficiency in food consumption resonate with contemporary concerns about obesity, nutrition and food sustainability, in which dichotomies of indulgence and restraint, virtue and vice, are frequently invoked (Blair & Sobal, 2006, Mazzolini, 2010). The moral castigation of wasting food often begins in childhood, suggested by the reprimanding aphorisms of 'empty one's plate', to 'think of starving children in Africa' (Watson & Meah, 2012). Perhaps more closely linked to parental anxieties about table manners and household economy than global justice, such vivid imaginings nevertheless touch upon deep and old sensibilities of uneven development and distribution at different levels (Wilk, 2018). Emotional responses of (colonial) guilt, anger, care and frustration are frequently evident in the narratives of those trying to express or rebalance the jarring paradox of hunger and waste, whether motivated by religious, political and/or ethical sensibilities (Poppendieck, 1998a).

Economics implies humans' attempts to manage resources at various levels of social organisation: the balancing of needs and resources in contexts of social relationships and power (Gibson-Graham, 2003). Poppendieck (1998a) documents early forms of food aid provision in the US during the Great Depression. She describes the "paradox of want amidst plenty" (p.142) of 1933, when huge surpluses of agricultural products threatened to collapse farm prices on the same day that a Senate committee heard a social worker report deaths due to insufficient food in several cities. She quotes a commentator at the time: "A breadline knee-deep in wheat is obviously the handiwork of foolish men" (Poppendieck, 1998b, p.128). The paradox, evident in public awareness of surplus alongside the visibility of scarcity, precipitated a crisis of embarrassment for such a failure of government. Poppendieck documents a twentieth century of social programmes attempting to redress the politically problematic co-existence of abundance and impoverishment: food stamps (now SNAP) and, under Reagan's cuts to social spending, foodbanking (Berg, 2017).

The institutionalisation (and internationalisation) of foodbanking as response to both food waste and hunger has been widely documented. Most of these studies refer to OECD countries including Australia (Booth & Whelan, 2014), the Netherlands (van der Horst, Pascucci, & Bol, 2014) and the UK (Ahmed et al., 2014). The USA and Canada have seen the greatest growth of SFR in the form of foodbanking, with literature to match (e.g. DeLind, 1994, Lindenbaum, 2016, Tarasuk & Eakin, 2005). Broad critical themes emerge from most of these: the 'offshoring' of welfare responsibilities from state to private and voluntary sectors (Lambie-Mumford, 2014), the logics of neoliberalism (Warshawsky, 2010) and the limited suitability of charitable redistribution as a response to poverty and hunger (Douglas et al., 2015). The following chapter explores these further, alongside political economy analyses of the co-production of excess and scarcity under capitalism.

1.5 Frame contest: hunger?

Food poverty has earned much UK media attention in recent years (Wintour, 2014, Riches, 2014). In the absence of national definitions, policies and standards of measurement, this has often been viewed through the prism of foodbank use, despite being an imperfect gauge of the problem (e.g. Loopstra & Lalor, 2017). Wells and Caraher (2014) locate a "dramatic rise" in UK-focused reporting on foodbanks in 2012. Their analysis of this coverage suggests a frame contest emerging at the end of 2013, with newspapers citing both changes in welfare provision and the proliferation of foodbanks

as the reason for the increase in foodbanks and foodbank use (Williams, 2013). This pattern echoes the changing relationships and debates around the causes of foodbank use by politicians and foodbank franchise network The Trussell Trust (TT), documented by Williams et al. (2016) and Garthwaite (2016). I detail these debates in Chapter 2.

Discourse and practice has slowly shifted towards discussions of preventative measures. These include low-cost access to food such as 'pantries' (Butler, 2017), council-charity partnerships (Shaw & Sharpe, 2016) and advocacy around 'root causes' by food aid providers, such as the End Hunger UK alliance (www.endhungeruk.org). Many advocates press for systematic measuring of food poverty as in the USA, arguing that foodbank use is an inadequate proxy for measuring the extent of hunger (Sustain et al., 2016, Taylor & Loopstra, 2016, Smith et al., 2018).

However, despite dramatic political events in the UK over the course of this research, including shaking faith in austerity policy, many anti-hunger advocates feel that the structural underpinnings of hunger: poverty and inequality, as well as continued welfare reform, remain fundamentally unchanged (CAP, 2018, Davison, 2018). Potential challenges of Brexit with attendant concern for food prices make the issue potentially more pressing (Lang, Millstone, & Marsden, 2017). The political spectre of the foodbank has certainly not disappeared: the 2017 election campaign saw the use of foodbanks by public sector workers (Tiplady, 2016) leveraged in a growing voice against austerity and increasingly apparent destitution (Fitzpatrick et al., 201 6). While the politically potent symbol of Trussell Trust food parcel distribution figures have levelled off (Smith, 2017), charitable food distribution has become a key focus for public debates about roles and responsibilities for resource distribution. The role of food providers, especially supermarkets, has been less evident, except perhaps their donation bins and food drives.

The above is an attempt to show the plurality of positions, agencies and interests at play in debates over the nature and solutions to food poverty. Its complexity and ambiguity challenge simplistic representation of causes and solutions. I will use the term 'hunger' because it encapsulates this indeterminacy. Unlike attempts to typify and measure 'food insecurity' (Poppendieck, 1995, Smith et al., 2018), it captures contentious dimensions of hunger, denoting lived experience as well as politicised efforts to specify its nature and extent (Himmelgreen & Romero-Daza, 2010). The following chapter proposes 'food precarity' as an alternative way of conceptualising hunger. Food waste has also risen in

public attention, but the context of its framing is often very different, as the following section introduces.

1.6 Food waste

Food's wastage has garnered much media attention globally in recent years, accompanying growing attention to wider social and ecological problems of food's production, distribution and consumption (Blythman, 2016). Food waste is portrayed in terms of environmental and economic threat, representing unnecessary use of land, water, oil-based pesticides and fertilisers, machinery, human labour, packaging and so on. An FAO (2013, p.6-7) report summarises environmental and economic costs:

Figure.3 Manchester-focussed food waste education poster.
Credit-Jane Bowyer

> The carbon footprint of food produced and not eaten is estimated to 3.3 Gtonnes of CO2 equivalent…the blue water footprint…is equivalent to the annual water discharge of the Volga river…the direct economic cost of food wastage of agricultural products (excluding fish and seafood)…is about USD 750 billion, equivalent to the GDP of Switzerland.

Representations of the scale of food waste to the wider public include Figure.3.

UK policy documents, such as Defra's Food 2030 strategy, place similar emphases on environmental/financial costs:

> …food wasted by households in the UK makes up 3% of total UK greenhouse gas emissions per year, and costs households an average of £480 a year. Wasting less food would mean that greenhouse gas emissions associated with food production would be reduced. Halving household food waste would be equivalent to taking 1 in 8 cars off the road (Defra, 2010, p.14).

The Conservative Government's 25-year Environment Plan mentions food waste reduction aims in relation to the Cortauld Commitment (Defra, 2018), discussed in the following chapter. National and intra-national (Defra, FAO) framings thus stress environmental alongside economic threats and suggest that 'efficiency' savings through reducing food wastage can achieve 'twin' wins of carbon/money savings. This both synergises and contrasts with claims that agricultural production must be increased to meet growing climate and population pressures (for critique, see Tomlinson, 2013).

Other representations (e.g. Fig.4) compare food waste's environmental impacts to those of countries:
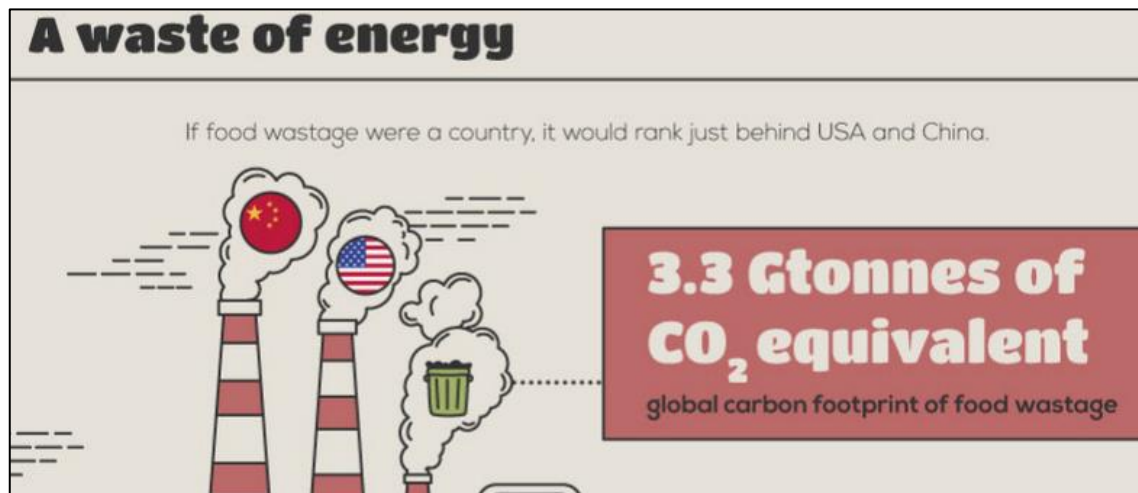
Figure.4 From infographic 'Food Wastage Around the World', https://arbtech.co.uk/food-wastage-around-the-world/

I later discuss a further framing to that of environmental/economic costs: the moral perversity argument that criticises food waste *because of* the existence of hunger. First, however, a note on defining food waste.

Defining waste/surplus

The term 'food waste' encompasses multiple meanings and thus requires some specification of the use of the term in this thesis. I borrow Alexander, Gregson, and Gille's (2013, p.473) definition of food waste as "the failure to use potentially edible items to satisfy human hunger, as well as to the inefficient use of plants' energy content and nutrients for human purposes". It foregrounds the potential edibility of food, important for the feeding practices concerning organisations in this study. Rather than denote a merely physical phenomenon, this definition makes explicit the social *and* ecological significance of the problem, results from inefficient human management of resources and links directly to the problem of feeding humans (Paulson, Gezon, & Watts, 2003). It implies not just the material stuff of waste but the act of 'wasting'- a failure to use food (Evans, 2012). It imposes some specificity on the messy issue of how to distinguish food waste from that which is composted or fed to animals. "Inefficient use" points to environmental impacts: food grown, processed, packaged, distributed, retailed and purchased only to be thrown away represents unnecessary inputs of land, water, materials and fossil fuel plus by-products including polluting emissions (FAO, 2013).

What the definition fails to do, however, is capture the systemics of the "failure" it describes. While assuming that food's purpose is to assuage 'human hunger', for example,

it makes no mention of the commodification that we will see is analysed as a vital aspect of food's overproduction and eventual wastage under capitalism (Barnard, 2016). I have also noted and adopted a terminological shift towards describing not waste but 'wasted' food. This invites questioning of intentionality and/or responsibility for food's wastage and suggests a more critical stance (Roberts, 2016). TRJFP's Adam Smith stated that

> ...for all of us it's about breaking down those stigmas about what is actually waste food and what is wasted food cos they're completely different. You know, waste food is what we see coming back off plates and scraped into our buckets, wasted food is what we all interact with (TRJFP AGM, December 2015).

The term 'food surplus' is frequently used by SFR organisations to convey excess but not the impression of inedibility conveyed by 'waste', as I show in later chapters. 'Surplus' conveys abundance; the extra margin of food produced to ensure against fluctuations in productivity. Some analysts make a clear distinction between 'waste' as the incidental arisings from food preparation or meal leftovers, and surplus due to over-ordering, or the ill fit of supply and demand. There has long been no legal definition of surplus food (WRAP, n.d.-b), although this looks set to change (Sustain, 2018). Gjerris and Gaiani (2015) summarise the complexity of extant food waste definitions in terms of supply-chain stages and causes, while Mena, Adenso-Diaz and Yurt (2011) analyse wastage at the interface between suppliers and retailers. I discuss in later chapters SFR actors' handling of language in terms of its capacity to sanitise, criticise and respect others' dignity. At the policy level, the distinction between edible surplus and food unfit for human consumption has consequences for whether/how food enters the redistribution chain, though Midgley (2013) shows how redistribution organisations take on some of this decisional and handling burden.

1.7 Growth of UK SFR

The hunger-waste paradox appears in campaign, media and academic literature alike e.g. campaigners This Is Rubbish (TiR) state the following (Stewart et al., 2013):

> Food waste contributes to poverty and hunger. In a world where 925 million people are undernourished...and 5.8 million people are living in poverty in the UK...it is vital that food waste be addressed alongside more structural causes of poverty.

Researchers exploring causes of food waste state that food wastage is a problem "firstly, because wasting food while millions of people around the world suffer from hunger raises moral questions" (Mena et al., 2011, p.648). This co-reporting of waste alongside hunger has become commonplace and arguably justified a range of waste-redistribution practices by the industry actors that TiR accuse of causing 'immoral' wastage in the first

place. TiR calls for action to prevent food waste through a moralising presentation of their perverse co-existence, rather than suggesting that waste should be used to address hunger. However, the latter idea has become commonplace. Dave Lewis, Tesco's CEO, described his intention to "redistribute [Tesco's] surplus edible food waste to people in need" as "the right thing to do" (cited by Harris, 2016). SFR is also assumed to save money for cash-strapped community organisations (Schneider, 2013). In sum, it is viewed as tackling "two problems in one fell swoop" (Lalor, 2014, p.4): providing food for those in need and diverting surplus food from landfill, thereby being perceived as meeting both social and environmental sustainability benefits. Figure.5 exemplifies campaign materials emerging at the start of the research phase from corporations like Unilever.

Perhaps less visible has been the counter-voice to ethical acceptance of the desirability of redistributing wasted food to hungry people. Consider this media commentary on Tesco's food waste audit announcement:

> Putting a gloss on your waste problem by repackaging it as a food poverty solution is a tactic increasingly deployed by our major supermarkets. Ideally, from a supermarket PR point of view, the term "food poverty" would appear in every headline that contains "supermarket food waste", for that allows our giant retailers to bask in the role of philanthropists who use their corporate might for the common good (Blythman, 2016).

This accusation of supermarkets' cynical twinning of food waste and food poverty wryly notes corporations' attempts to align with an image of charitable beneficence that Blythman acknowledges is a powerful tool of garnering public approval. The Literature Review explores critical scholarship around SFR in greater depth.

Increasingly-visible public awareness, declaration and mobilisation of action by businesses and social movements (Blumer, 1971) has been accompanied by attention in policy discourse. Hawkes and Webster (2000, p.25) note the UK Government's participation in EU-wide SFR through the Intervention Board, though it was accused of "running the scheme inadequately and with little publicity"- and the government no longer participates (Midgley, 2013). Alexander and Smaje (2008, p.1290) noted that while the 1999 Landfill Directive penalised sending food to landfill and the 'waste hierarchy' emphasised "waste minimisation and reuse" over other disposal options, the diversion of fit-for-purpose food from landfill was "downplayed in DEFRA's Waste Strategy 2007". However, SFR was highlighted as one of a range of options for food waste reduction in Defra's Food 2013 strategy in 2010 (Midgley, 2013). It has more recently

earned greater public scrutiny and cross-party attention, for example an ongoing Select Committee inquiry into food waste (House of Commons, 2017). Policy contexts are further explored in Chapter 2.

1.8 Key study organisations

The UK's SFR landscape has much diversified and different organisations operate at different scales. I first introduce the two primary organisations featured in the research.

FareShare's tagline is 'fighting hunger, tackling food waste'. Founded by homelessness charity Crisis and Sainsbury's supermarket in 1994, FareShare is a national charity coordinating a 'social franchise' network of 21 regional depots. These receive surplus food largely from supermarket distribution centres for subsequent redistribution to local charities/organisations. These 'Community Food Members' (CFMs), including pensioner lunch clubs, refugee shelters and school breakfast clubs, often use surplus food as part of wider activities. CFMs pay an annual subscription and a fee per quantity of food ordered, often cheaper than buying food from the marketplace (Alexander & Smaje, 2008). FareShare creates partnerships with major food manufacture/retail companies to acquire and redistribute food surpluses, often from major supermarket distribution centres via partnerships with logistics firms and a reliance on both corporate and regular volunteers. As such, it resembles the North American model of foodbanking (Gentilini, 2013). Research took place with just one depot, FareShare Greater Manchester, on a wholesale produce market whose location and relationship with a neighbouring composting enterprise affords it access to greater quantities of fresh produce than other FareShare branches.

TRJFP is an activist network of cafés cooking and serving meals from wasted food for pay-as-you-feel donations and has played a significant role in reconfiguring SFR debates and practice. Founded in Leeds in 2013, the project has spawned several permanent cafés and temporary ('pop-up' or weekly) food distributions around the UK and abroad. Individual project cafés develop local relationships with food donors to "intercept" surplus food. TRJFP's charitable trust in Leeds liaises with national food waste campaigns and helps to support and develop the wider network.

While varying in modes of operation, a few loose rules guide cafés wishing to use the 'Real Junk Food' brand. They should ideally use 90% 'intercepted' food. There should be no charge for food; food is distributed on a 'pay-as-you-feel' (PAYF) basis, with an implicit

understanding that no-one should be put off for lack of money, with participation via volunteering held to be commensurate with propensity to pay in cash. At times taking an accusatory stance against foodbank practices, founder Adam Smith instead encourages cafes to include 'food boutiques' to redistribute leftover stock (or that which is unsuited to cooking), also operated via PAYF. Some projects have upscaled these to 'Sharehouses', initially described as 'anti-supermarkets'. These are warehouses open to the public to access food in return for PAYF donations. Some TRJFPs also operate Fuel For School, a food waste educational programme bringing surplus food to schools. Visits and interviews around all of these activities in several TRJFP branches around the UK formed part of the research.

Other SFR organisations include Feedback Global, which campaigns on food waste and runs the Gleaning Network, who coordinate teams of volunteers to harvest rejected crops on farms and deliver this to FareShare and other SFR organisations. During the research period, organisations FoodCloud and Neighbourly expanded their role in connecting FareShare and other charities to supermarkets' surplus through online applications ('apps'). At the household level, OLIO was launched to allow people to advertise any food they have available to share with others nearby. TooGoodToGo is an app enabling people to access reduced-price restaurant leftovers at the end of service. These platforms constitute what Davies et al. (2017) characterise as "ICT-mediated urban food sharing" proliferating in many cities. These and other organisations included in the study are further detailed in Table 1 (Chapter 3).

1.9 UK SFR: introducing literature

Here I summarise key academic analyses of SFR, identifying key themes in debates around its role in addressing hunger and waste, to foreground gaps in understanding that my study addresses. The three studies mentioned here were written at different stages of a rapidly-changing history, and are explored in detail in Chapter 2.

On behalf of Sustain's Food Poverty Working Party, Hawkes and Webster's report "Too Much and Too Little" (2000, p.33) asks whether "debates about surplus food redistribution [should] be placed in a political context, or is it best to depoliticise it in order to counter the problem as speedily as possible?" This foregrounds my enquiry into the multiple forms of political work by diverse actors emerging since their review. They engage with international critiques of charitable redistribution (e.g. Riches, 1986) arguing that, despite providers' best intentions, SFR "does undermine public welfare, and

inevitably becomes a replacement" (Hawkes & Webster 2000, p.25). Importantly for my comparative approach, they note caution about international comparisons:

> The UK has a very different system of surplus food redistribution, and a different politics and culture. How these arguments can illuminate the UK situation must also be the subject of debate. At the most basic level, the North American movement can tell us that apparently harmless 'band-aids' can have outcomes in the longer-term that are difficult to predict (2000, p.35).

They conclude that expansion of SFR is "unwelcome in that it indicates that Britain has an increasing inability to provide all its citizens with adequate mechanisms, financial or social, to obtain food in culturally acceptable ways" (ibid.). This suggests a longer view of UK food poverty, developed in the literature review.

Alexander and Smaje's (2008) study of FareShare examines "how far the aims of waste minimisation and food poverty relief are achieved" (p.1290). They highlight power imbalances between donors, 'brokers' (i.e. FareShare) and clients, suggesting the latter's limited ability to control food flows. They analyse temporal, logistical and 'market-attachment' factors influencing food flows and the appropriateness of food for recipients. They provide conceptual grounding for my own analysis of techno-social assemblages mediating redistributed food.

Midgley (2013) analyses SFR in terms of market attachments, values, qualities and framing. She highlights redistribution actors' re-framings of surplus food as "resolving problems in food system functioning and the inequitable outcomes this generated" (ibid., p.1883). Redistributors "opportunistically" employ the hunger-waste paradox, framing their work as a "more socially just and ecologically sustainable response to the dual problems of food waste and food poverty" (ibid.). She introduces different kinds of valuations that organisations can draw upon in negotiating access to, and uses of, surplus food, important for my study.

These analyses provide a rich grounding for my own study, but they neglect attention to numerous aspects that animate my own work. Firstly, they neglect labour; the visceral experiences of those handling food in redistribution organisations is largely absent. Another absence is a comparative analysis of the diverse actors operating in SFR. This partly reflects diversification of the landscape since these publications. International literature provides a wider pool of insight into the respective roles of social movements, charities and government bodies redistributing surplus food (e.g. Heynen, 2006). Midgley (2013, p.1874) notes SFR's positioning as "political and community activism" in, for

example, Edwards and Mercer's (2007, 2012) studies of freeganism in Australia, but UK studies have largely focussed on formalised, centralised redistribution organisations. My study compares TRJFP and FareShare's differently-scaled operations, employing Goffman's notion of sharp and flat keying (Mooney & Hunt, 2009) to analyse their respective political posturing in relation to broader discourses of food system sustainability, food democracy and the role of corporate agribusiness and retail.

1.10 Research plan and objectives

The overall theoretical and empirical aim for the thesis is to evaluate relationships between hunger and food waste and to investigate the role of SFR in tackling them, in relation to wider problems of food system sustainability and justice. My study highlights alternative framings and practices around hunger and waste that a narrow focus on 'charity' elides. The literature review elaborates distinct framings of redistribution as charity versus protest/solidarity, and I later argue that SFR spaces, relationships and practices constitute something that is about much more than food. I consider different levels of political action to ask whether these 'other' functions may in fact be important and changing nodes of regional support networks that can be seen as 'sticking plasters' for state retrenchment or, more positively, as examples of regional self-sufficiency and deliberative governance.

Addressing this complexity is the task of my research objectives:

1. Critically evaluate organisations' discursive understandings and representations of hunger and food waste,
2. To compare and evaluate working models of SFR organisations and networks with particular attention to labour, material and spatial practices,
3. To situate findings in analysis of institutional contexts, patterns of social change and global processes mediating, and mediated by, SFR practices.
4. To add a set of recommendations for policy-makers and practitioners resulting from analysis of findings

1.11 Conclusion and thesis chapter outline

I have grounded my aim to explore relationships between food waste and hunger through a comparative ethnography of wasted food redistribution organisations in growing attention to hunger and food waste in discourse and literature.

Chapter 2 reviews literature assessing hunger and waste in order to critique the ethics and normalisation of assuming that when food waste exists alongside hunger, excess food should be used to prevent that hunger. I then consider implications of the 'hunger-waste paradox' for understandings of causation and solutions, especially surplus food redistribution. Chapter 3, the methodology chapter, outlines my theoretical framework and research methods. Chapter 4 explores how hunger and waste have been framed as prominent matters of academic and popular concern, and acted upon in divergent ways by research organisations, with specific discursive outcomes. Chapter 5a theorises materialities of redistribution work and Chapter 5b applies this thinking to sensory engagements with SFR in schools. Chapter 6 explores spaces of encounter enabled by SFR, especially in terms of specifications of who surplus food is/should be 'for'. Chapter 7 compares UK findings with data from North American SFR. Chapter 8, the discussion chapter, links findings back to literature to explore SFR through four themes: first, SFR as comprising distinct, but overlapping, discursive processes with implications for systemic critique; secondly, redistribution spaces as more-than-human assemblages that reflect and disrupt urban socio-natural metabolisms of labour and cycles of accumulation and expulsion revealing underlying dynamics of valuing food and people; thirdly as translations of policy changes enacting welfare responsibilities previously undertaken by the state in the form of unconditional cash benefits, reproducing and contesting narratives of social difference, deserve and food access ethics; and lastly as translocal assemblages enacting globalising processes while shaping them. The conclusion chapter summarises these arguments, considering implications, recommendations and limitations of the research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The previous chapter outlined key debates informing this study, and introduced relevant literature. This chapter explores these debates in more depth, contextualising studies of food wastage and hunger in broader theorisations of waste, excess, scarcity and critical development. First, I note how food has risen as an interdisciplinary research lens onto contemporary inequality and political contention.

2.1 The problem(s) of food

Food, as Levi-Strauss aptly put it, must be '*bonnes à penser*'; to be good to eat, it must be good to think [with]. Food is material, but also metaphorical and discursive (Jackson, 2010). It fuels bodies, punctuates celebrations and rituals, marks boundaries (of class, nationality, gender, species), causes and prevents disease, fills magazines and bookshelves, underwrites dedicated study courses and utterly spans disciplines (Murcott & Belasco, 2013). Geographers have long been 'following' food (Cook et al., 2006). Food studies shed light on key contemporary issues: corporate power (Freidberg, 2004), religion and disciplinary ethics (Coveney, 2006), embodied memory and the senses (Korsmeyer & Sutton, 2011) and globalisation (Bryant, Bush, & Wilk, 2013). Feminist scholarship has explored eating bodies/emotions and food as gendering artefact (e.g. Squire, 2002, Longhurst, 2005, Heyes, 2006, Guthman & DuPuis, 2006).

Food studies have proved a way to consider conflict, inequality and transgression (Goodman & Sage, 2014). Critical studies have charted changing food production and consumption at different scales and locations (e.g. Patel, 2007, Guthman, 2008, Lang, 2009). Struggles around 'food justice' (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011) and 'food sovereignty' (Holt-Giménez, 2010) in North America have connected issues of racial and class disparity, food systems history, land rights, health and food access. This all figures food as object of contention, and later in this chapter I demonstrate ways of viewing food waste, food insecurity and surplus food redistribution (SFR) in terms of such contention. I suggest their capacity to both reinforce and refract dominant ideas and practices about how food is produced, distributed and shared. I consider the current state of research into food waste and food insecurity separately, because each has generated a unique body of literature, before turning to theories of excess and scarcity. A final section compares

charitable and activist forms of SFR, concluding by identifying gaps that this research aims to address.

2.2 Theorising and conceptualising waste

The study of waste has broadened from predominantly techno-managerial approaches, reconceived as a hugely important topic for social life and critical scholarship (Gregson & Crang, 2010). I review this broader field, before focussing on the specific context of food. Reno (2015) reviews the field of 'discard studies', rooting it in the structuralist anthropology of Douglas (1966). Douglas' theorising of 'dirt' as cognitive, linguistic and symbolic 'matter out of place' serves to classify polluting/disposable bodies (whether human or not) as a category affirming the "need for meaningful order in a world without it" (Reno 2015, p.558). O'Brien echoes this fundamental precept of dirt/waste as social category: as "cognitive by-product of the will to order" (O'Brien, 2008, p.134). Thompson's 1979 *Rubbish Theory* drew on structuralist anthropology to interrogate relationships between social status, consumption and discarding in terms of value. He argued that 'durable' items increase in value, while 'transient' ones decrease (Thompson, 1979b, p.7). The third category in his tripartite model is 'rubbish' stuff, but importantly he theorised the transferability of such categorisations, where 'rubbish' to one may be 'antique' to another: he argued that studying rubbish sheds light on the process "whereby value is continually being created and destroyed" (Thompson, 1979a, p.12). Such insights inform food waste ethnographies such as Barnard's (2016) analysis of capitalist devaluation and freeganism, explored below.

Gille (2010) defines waste as any material we have failed to use, lending space to consider multiple causations and the potential for waste to metamorphose, highlighting waste's processual and material potentials as well as matter to be managed. Waste's materiality makes urgent claims on our will to action. Reno notes that beyond understanding how and why certain things are classified as disposable, scholars have recognised the "productive afterlife of waste" and its material impacts on "political disputes…forms of governance…assessments of economic and moral value [and] concerns about environmental pollution and crisis" (2015, p.558). One example is Gille's theorisation (e.g. 2010) of the materiality of different wastes and their implications for governance and risk regimes. In later sections, I consider Giles '(2016, p.85) theorisation of the production of waste as "ontologically tangled" in the material and cultural logics of

capitalist value-making. I first turn to consider the consumer/producer binary in discourses of blame and responsibility for food wastage.

A key concern in the literature, which forms a theme of the wider thesis, is that of causation and responsibility for waste (and the political ideologies surrounding discourses of these). Discard studies have problematised a consumer/producer split underlying mainstream representations of waste and waste management, including Reno's (2015, p.562) observation that despite the prevalence of 'municipal solid waste' [i.e. consumer waste] as a "synecdoche for all waste", it is dwarfed by the amount of "wastes of commercial enterprise". Gille (2010, p1050) considers the interactivity of these categories:

> The problem with splitting waste into the categories of producer waste and consumer waste is that this reinforces the false assumption that consumers in Western capitalist societies *make* garbage, when in fact neither do they make trash materially nor do they have much choice in what materials they buy and thus turn into surplus stuff...

This problematic mirrors wider debates in food geographies that have synthesised political economy studies of agro-food production and post-structural attention to cultures of consumption (Cook, 2006). This tension will re-emerge in my own use of theory considering hunger and waste as systemically co-produced alongside theories interrogating the mechanisms and materialities of 'systems' and 'structures'.

I adopt a verbal notion of waste as 'wasted' material, denoting waste as consequence of action but not necessarily a static state. The term 'food wastage' similarly captures this implication of agency. I do also refer to 'food waste' as meta-category for the multiplicities that the term and its problematisation(s) have brought to light, and which has relevance as a term of public concern, albeit one that can obscure more than it illuminates.

Geographies of waste/discard studies: from management to materiality

Gille (2010, p.1060) argues for articulations of political-economic analysis of the macro-social with focus on concrete materiality, showing that perceptions of industrial metal waste *as a resource* in Eastern-European socialist countries led to "spatialisation practice that was about storage and not disposal". In her example, this wrought disastrous consequences that fashioned "environmentalists' and capitalist-era policy makers' modern vision of modern waste management" (ibid.). Such ethnographic and historical attention shakes waste's teleological entrapment as "what is managed" within modernist,

categorical and metric-dominated frames and processes towards considering waste's "ontological politics" as socially constructed, material and affective (Gregson & Crang, 2010, p.1026-7). Therefore, in addition to Reno's point about asking how certain things become categorised as waste/disposable, we must ask (Reno, 2015, p.558-9):

> a) what specific capacities and affordances characterize waste materialities, their management and meaning; b) who manages wastes and what do they become together in specific entanglements of labor, power, and possibility; and c) how do specific wastes circulate, from whom to whom, and with what significance for specific waste regimes as well as more general global and planetary processes?

Reno thus identifies a number of themes that I attempt to address in the following chapters: waste materialities, waste work and waste affects- how waste and waste relations generate and alter socio-political processes.

 Other innovative approaches to discard studies include Rathje and Murphy's (1992) 'archaeology of garbage' which challenged modernist myths about waste and recycling through a two decade-long landfill excavation project, insisting that waste cannot be studied without encountering its visceral materiality. Hawkins' (2006, p.5) *Ethics of Waste* picks up the theme of value and discards, exploring waste ethics as linking the

> ...historical specificity of moral codes and ideals with an embodied sensibility, with repeated practices and habits that shape how our bodies feel and the forms of reasons that make these actions and affects meaningful.

She explores the wastage of different types of items and materials in light of the critique of consumerism espoused by Packard (1963) and an environmentalism that separated humans from non-humans in an ethics of "protection" rather than "interconnection" (Hawkins, 2006, p.101). I embrace her attention to discourse and embodiment in my own study, and her critical lens onto assumptions of waste morality is further explored in the below discussion of the blame game that debates causation and responsibility around food waste.

2.3 Food waste

Within broader geographies of waste sits the problem of food waste. Its problematisation nests within broader concerns around food security and sustainability (Tomlinson, 2013). Imperatives to reduce and reuse waste are embedded in early policy concerns around efficiency and value in food chains. Defra's 2006 *Food Industry Sustainability Strategy* cited an Environment Agency survey suggesting that the food and drink manufacturing sector were responsible for 7 million tonnes of waste in 1998/9 and that

"overall 'food waste' across all sectors was 2.6 million tonnes", positioned as rationale for the call to "reduce the amount of food and packaging waste that is produced each year, both by the industry itself and by consumers of their products, without compromising food safety; and to recycle or otherwise gain value from the waste that does arise" (Defra 2006, p.36-7). The recently-published Conservative 25-year *Environment Plan* proves the continuity of food waste as policy concern, citing the aim of cutting per-capita food waste by one fifth by 2025 (Defra, 2018).

Food waste is construed as problematic for various reasons: as representing nutrient loss (Spiker et al., 2017), unnecessary greenhouse gas emissions (Salemdeeb et al., 2017) and other "climate burdens" (Hic et al., 2016) and, crucially for this thesis, as morally despicable given the existence of global and localised food insecurity (Parfitt, Barthel, & Macnaughton, 2010). Nonetheless, acknowledging waste's 'ontological politics' can invite both broader and more intimate understandings of food waste. These include its corporeal dimensions worn on our waistlines (Smil, 2004, Cloke, 2013) to the "paradoxical waste" of EU subsidy-fuelled 'butter mountains' and the "systemic waste" represented by food crops fed to animals/engines or male animals killed as "superfluous biological inconvenience" to livestock production (Buller, 2015). Gjerris and Gaiani (2015, p.57) note some analysts' categorisation of animal feed as waste, whereby "not being a vegan basically means wasting food". Linking waste to obesity and meat-eating through notions of excessive or inefficient consumption (Smil, 2004) invites complex socio-ethical discussions around choice, inequity and responsibility (Garnett & Little, 2015)

Measuring food waste

Having introduced terminological issues around defining food waste in Chapter 1 (see Alexander et al., 2013, Lee & Soma, 2016, Filimonau & Gherbin, 2018), this section summarises the burgeoning field of food waste research (Reynolds & et al., 2018).

Awareness-raising of food waste was the early campaign focus of Stuart and later his organisation 'Feedback Global' (formerly 'Feeding the 5000'). Stuart's 2009 book articulated to a wide audience a growing global recognition of the extent of food waste, proposing numerous micro and macro-level solutions. It featured original research while drawing on the growing data resources of supranational institutions' estimations of food waste. Since its publication, the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) of the United

Nations (UN) reported that globally, one third of food produced for consumption is wasted annually (Gustavsson et al, 2011). Another major study upped the estimation of food loss or waste to up to 50% of that produced (IMechE, 2013).

Parfitt et al. (2010) estimated UK food and drink waste arisings to be 14 million tonnes, noting considerable gaps in international measurements. The UK government's Waste and Resources Action Programme (WRAP) has been auditing and publishing food waste statistics and causal analyses since the mid-2000s (e.g. WRAP, 2007), increasingly reported in sustainability media sources (e.g. Edie Newsroom).

Annual UK food waste is estimated at 10 million tonnes, 60% of which could be avoided (WRAP, 2017). Farm-level food waste is not included, as available estimations show a "high level of uncertainty" (p.2), though measuring this is part of EU-wide targets. Household food waste is reported to represent 70% of the post-farm gate figure, manufacturing 17%, hospitality/food service 9% and retail 2%. Retail surplus and waste was reported to be 240,000 tonnes (0.7% of sales), with 5000 of these redistributed to people (WRAP, 2017).

Fig.6 (overleaf) shows manufacturing surplus/waste at 0.9mt, reduced from 2.4mt in WRAP (2016). This reduction can largely be attributed to discounting water, soil and stones in manufacture (Parry, 2016, personal communication). Fig.6 shows 47,000t redistributed to humans and 660,000t for animal feed. Such redistribution still represents a relatively small proportion of overall wastage. Surplus "donation and salvage" are not key areas of focus for WRAP (Quested, 2017, personal communication), although it has conducted research into this area (Lorton et al., 2014).

 One result of campaign pressure and the Courtauld Commitment (Stewart et al., 2013) has been some supermarkets auditing and publishing their food wastage statistics (LCRN, n.d.). Given the costs of disposing of unsold surpluses and social/environmental pressures to act and be seen as moral agents, supermarkets are beginning to reconsider the logics of destroying unsold surplus (Harris, 2016). The linguistic distinction between 'surplus' and 'waste' and the contested values surrounding 'surplus' prove pivotal in managing that 'gap', and I explore Midgley's (2013) work on this in detail below. Chapter 4 traces shifting histories and framings of SFR in morally-inflected discourses around

Figure.5 'Facts about UK food and drink surplus and waste from manufacturing and retail' (WRAP, 2016)

qualities and affordances of wasted food in relation to austerity and problematisations of hunger.

Food wastage internationally: loss or waste?

Hunger in wealthy countries is usually discussed in very different terms and contexts than the global problem of geographically-specific chronic malnutrition (Blake, 2017). This dichotomised image of global inequality can underpin dismissals of the gravity of 'first world hunger', as Silvasti and Karjalainen (2014, p.74) note: "the hunger of Finnish

people was nullified [in public discourse] by comparing it with famines in the developing world". Midgley (2012, p.297) notes how post-war welfare, definitions of poverty and comparisons with hunger's global context were "strategically used to dismiss the experience of hunger as irrelevant in a UK setting". Representations of food waste reveal a similar discursive bifurcation between food 'loss' at farm level in the 'developing' world (e.g. Parfitt et al., 2010) and food 'waste' at the retail and consumer level in the 'developed' world. Some studies explore the links between profligate, profit-maximising retail practices in wealthy countries and such 'losses', such as Feedback Global's (2015) study of green beans in Kenya. This highlighted links between farmworker incomes and western supermarkets' rejection of crops for cosmetic or forecasting reasons, resulting in the dumping of unsaleable produce in a country lacking local markets for such export crops yet experiencing malnutrition.

Gille (2012) examines the problem of food waste in global terms, examining the power imbalances hidden in discourses that paint *food loss* as resulting from technical inefficiencies or natural hazards in the 'developing' world. This contrasts with wealthier nations, where *food waste* causation is often pushed 'strategically' to consumers e.g. misunderstanding labelling or packaging size (while the latter is caused by other supply-chain levels). Household-level food waste has been explored in 'Global South' countries including Indonesia (Soma, 2017), Hong Kong (Lou, 2017) and India (Leray, Sahakian, & Erkman, 2016 with accompanying film- Ziherl & et al., 2015). These reflect feminist, materialist and practice theory-informed attention to gender, class and domestic provisioning in relation to household food waste. Yet significant gaps remain in understanding the dynamics of global trade/retail, changing consumption patterns and causes of food wastage in different places.

Blaming consumers, blaming industry

While campaigners have drawn attention to the roles and responsibilities of government and the food industry in causing food waste (Stewart et al. 2013), much of this discourse has highlighted food wastage by households/consumers, rather than other supply-chain actors and structural factors (Evans, 2011 for critique, Hogg & et al., 2007, Quested et al., 2013b for examples). This section explores the blaming of consumers, then supermarkets.

WRAP's (2015) calculations that consumers throw away approximately half of UK food wasted has led to emphases on changing behaviour, evidenced in government-sponsored campaigns such as 'LoveFoodHateWaste', encouraging efficient use of leftovers, sponsoring recipe cards, cooking lessons and roadshows. Such emphasis has been conceptualised as part of the individualisation of responsibility under neoliberal governance (Warshawsky, 2015).

It is hard to disaggregate precise causes of a slight drop in consumer food waste since LoveFoodHateWaste began (Quested and Luzecka, 2014), but this presumably aligns with growing public discussions of food waste. Reynolds et al.'s (2018) review of international food waste-reduction efforts notes small sample sizes and overall lack of evidence demonstrating the effectiveness of information campaigns. While interventions to change portion sizes and dietary guidelines in schools were found to reduce food waste, other interventions posed to solve food waste proved inconclusive or lacking robust evidence (cooking classes, fridge cameras, food sharing apps, advertising and information campaigns). The complex and culturally-specific nature of food waste behaviours suggests limitations of quantitative research in setting standards for robustness.

Given progressive funding cuts to government programmes (Reece, 2013) and the context of busy lives that render efficient household management of food challenging and anxiety-provoking (Evans, 2014), behaviour-change measures can only ever be a part of a complex picture (Gjerris & Gaiani, 2013). Significant research efforts have nevertheless been spent on better understanding causes and solutions to consumer-level food waste. These relate 'waste behaviours' to anxiety and routine provisioning (Watson & Meah, 2012), food management skills and priority trade-offs (Aschemann-Witzel et al., 2015), refrigeration and material agency (Waitt & Phillips, 2016) and poor awareness of personal wastage and/or socio-environmental consequences (Doron, 2012). Quested et al. (2013a) reflects how the practice theory approach favoured by Evans and others has been adopted by quasi-governmental bodies like WRAP in acknowledging the complex and contextual nature of food waste behaviours and norms.

Gille (2012, p.40) critiques the individual/structure binary by highlighting the "structural contexts that make one vulnerable to hazards" in the first... place, as well as the way such blame-shifting constitutes 'blind-spots' to possible points of intervention (consumers have little control over retail practices, pricing policies and producer contracts). In a history of modern waste-making as economic growth strategy, Liboiron (2013, p.11)

notes that despite best efforts, "time and knowledge invested to avoid waste extend far beyond the everyday". Waste is not somehow 'other' to contemporary social organization: food's concrete materiality and spatio-symbolic mutability can be said to be constitutive of the social (Gille, 2010). In other words, while it can be tempting to view food and supply chains as teleologically geared towards waste, an argument for spatial mediation is key. Challenging 'waste-management' framings of waste as an "end-of-pipe…by-product of cultural and economic organization" (Evans, 2014, p.1) prompts us to look at other causal dynamics and interlinkages (Mena et al., 2011).

The UK government's approach to food waste recognises its occurrence and causation throughout the supply-chain (Downing et al., 2015). Farmers, distributors, processers, the hospitality sector and retailers are engaged in the Cortauld Commitment, the voluntary agreement to cut food waste by 20% by 2025 (WRAP, n.d.-a). However, campaign groups as well as academics have long pointed out the greater attention paid to consumer-level causes and solutions of food waste in public discourse (Evans, 2011). Campaigners (e.g. Stewart et al., 2013) argue that supermarkets' tendency to cite consumers as the major cause of food waste masks their own responsibilities not just for waste generated before and at the store level but also in their profit-driven marketing of food in ways that can lead to food waste in the home. One study suggests that large grocery retailers "have the power to affect the amounts of food waste generated on both, supply and demand, sides. This can be achieved by managing suppliers, raising customer awareness or architecting consumer choice" (Filimonau & Gherbin, 2018, p.1186).

The impact of retail can also be viewed culturally, relating to long-term shifts in food acquisition. Blythman (2016, n.p.) suggests that supermarkets transformed temporalities and geographies of shopping, where weekly repeats of online shops worsen the risk of purchasing unneeded food: "Our rubbish bins really started filling up when, instead of shopping for a little, as was needed, every day or two, we were persuaded to adopt the one-stop supermarket shopping trip". Evans' (2014) ethnography of consumer food waste cites the stresses and unpredictability of modern life, challenging behaviour-change programmes predicated on the rational shopper who plans and makes lists. He notes standardised packaging sizes, especially of bread and fresh produce, not always meeting different consumers' needs: "households encountered experience relatively little control over the quantities" of food purchased (Evans, 2014, p.34). He locates Blythman's concern over supermarkets' dominance in broader contexts of the (re)organisation of

everyday life: "patterns of housing, planning and development, labour market trends and societal divisions of labour...technological and infrastructural innovations and the temporary pulse of contemporary societies" (2014, p.34). Food becoming surplus is normalised, the fallout of "interlocking practices" of everyday life that are not necessarily directly related to wasting (p.89), nuancing the 'blame the consumer' narrative. As chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate, these patterns also affect the nature of SFR, to which I now turn.

2.4 Critical hunger/waste studies

This section explores critical ethnographies of SFR linking the generation of waste and hunger to economic inequalities under capitalism.

One link between waste and hunger explored in these studies is the dependence of price-value maintenance on limited supply, which, in the case of food's overproduction, has implications for its redistribution. As Barnard (2016) describes in his ethnography of food waste redistribution by social movement freegan.info, the generation of food waste is the necessary underside to capitalist value production, a relationship verbally revealed by freegans' speeches and spectacular displays of recovered food during public dumpster-diving tours in New York. For Barnard, Marx's distinction between use- and exchange-values explains the logic of 'ex-commodification' in capitalist societies. For Marx, use-value denotes the capacity of consumer goods to satisfy human needs, while their exchange-value is the money, or profit, that can be obtained through selling them. Marx described the change in form from commodity to money as a metamorphosis with great implications. While a food business is concerned to retain its food commodities' use-value (customers will not purchase inedible food; regulators will have their say), those commodities' exchange-value allows the company to function- to pay suppliers, wages, and shareholders. Barnard (2016) fills in gaps in Marx's analysis of production:

> ...in a capitalist system, if something lacks exchange-value, its use-value doesn't matter, at least as far as the capitalist is concerned. When a capitalist produces more than she can profitably sell, she generally doesn't give the unsold excess away for free: instead, she ex-commodifies it! (Barnard, 2016, p.15).

Ex-commodities, as Barnard terms them, must be destroyed to make space for new value-making commodities. While food's temporal propensity to rot plays a part in its frequent disposal (Evans, 2014), wastage also relates to the relative costs of producing food to selling it. This is especially so with widely available, cheap foodstuffs such as subsidised

wheat and sugar that make it more profitable to widely stock a shelf and risk disposing of unsold excess than to risk understocking (Stuart, 2009). However, the gap between ex-commodification and destruction offers the opportunity for recovery of food's use-values; its edibility and 'redistributibility' for example. Dumpster-divers do not purchase food but might still eat it. Barnard (2016, p.14) links the material stuff that freegans eat to the "economic and political processes that produce it". Chapter 3 explores political ecology as theoretical resource for understanding these material-structural interrelationships.

Contesting capitalism through redistribution

Giles' multi-sited ethnography of global movement Food Not Bombs (FNB) describes a "transnational cultural logic" of urban development: "global circuits of elite business investment, high-end consumption, and tourism" (Giles, 2013, p.13) whose value production necessarily produces prodigious waste and denies certain people access to such consumption (see also Bauman, 1998). It is surpluses of value-making discards that make possible the "shadow economy of wasted food" (2013, p.11) existing out of sight of shoppers, such as FNB. Their public feedings, especially of homeless populations, render visible the "abject symbiosis" (p.16) of growth-based urban economies and FNB's redistributive work. Activists recognise the ecological implications of profit-maximising resource metabolisms, recirculating the material detritus so central to capitalist value-creation in a range of community and non-market economies of which FNB and Freegan.info are just two that have spread globally (Edwards & Mercer, 2007). My own research draws on these close analyses of the social values and labour that is transforming wasted commodities back into food fit for distribution. The resulting practices have implications for the understanding and addressing of hunger and waste in diverse and in some ways unexpected ways. As O'Brien puts it (2008, p.4),

> The failure of the regulatory system to achieve its aim of reducing or eliminating waste represents the success of a network of institutional, political and economic structures and practices whose cumulative effect is the production and reproduction of a paradox of modern society: useful waste.

These critical studies suggest distinct but entangled registers of waste: matter out of place which constitutes the outside of political modernity and must be ordered and/or rendered productive (Gidwani & Reddy, 2011) and that which undergirds the very making of value through its exclusion (Barnard, 2016). Considering waste as central to capitalist value marks out a way to distinguish SFR organisations' perceptions of the causes and solutions to the waste they problematise.

Waste as component of global food security

Literature in the previous section demonstrates the systemic co-production of excess and scarcity, of hunger and waste, and of efforts to re-balance their mal-distribution. Others analyse problems of waste and hunger at the level of global mal-distribution of resources. Food systems researchers challenge neo-Malthusian, productivist framings of agriculture premised on the need to feed rising populations e.g. Tomlinson (2013, p.1) argues that the discursively-normative goal to 'increase production by 70-100%' was "never meant to become a normative policy goal and, if carried out, would simply exacerbate current food system problems". Such productivism ignores food waste, she argues, emphasising increased production rather than fairer food distribution (see Foresight 2011 for an example of the productivist paradigm of food system issues).

Food waste is frequently framed by critical theorists as the margin of uneaten food that could meet the vast unmet need still existing today. Later chapters explore the role of food justice/sovereignty in such debates. Holt-Giménez et al. (2012, p.595) argue that "the world produces 1.5 times enough food to feed everybody on the planet", enough for 10 billion people. The problem of hunger, they go on, is not one of scarcity but one of poverty and inequality of access to resources. Barnard (2016, p.3) notes "Americans dispose of enough calories of edible food each year to bring the diets of every undernourished person in the world up to an appropriate level." The framing here is one of Global North opulence and uncaring at the cost of depriving people in poorer nations. The spatial dimensions of unequal food access are more complex than this representation portrays. One may point to food deserts, where food retailers disinvest in 'unprofitable' communities, resulting in inadequate food access and choice within wealthy nations (though see Shannon, 2014 for critique and Rawlings, 2017 for critical examination of the concept's applicability to the UK). Food and its distribution constitute geographies of power: of the spending power and mobility of consumers and of the economic forces unleashed by the dominant logic of capitalist food distribution: one that prioritises use-value, or profitmaking, over exchange-value (Barnard 2016, p.15). The methodology chapter discusses political ecology further, arguing for its utility in understanding spatial, material and structural dimensions of food distribution and accessibility.

Summary: food waste as politically multiple

Before moving to consider discourses of food poverty/insecurity, a key argument can be summarised from the above as particularly relevant to the thesis. This is rooted in

contentious debate pertaining to causes of, and responsibility for, food waste. Divergent interests and beliefs of different actors about causes/responsibility translate into distinct approaches to framing the problems and operationalising solutions. Using Holt-Giménez & Shattuck's (2011, p.117-8) schema, these include 'corporate food regime' and 'food movement'. This locates food charities and the work of bodies like WRAP in the 'reformist' camp of the corporate regime, while movements like FNB are 'radical' or 'progressive', allied to food justice or food sovereignty movements struggling to transform capitalist systems that they argue cause hunger/waste. In a later section focussing on redistribution praxis, I consider charitable redistribution as 'containment'. Heynen (2010) defines this as managing welfare retrenchment through private charity contra the politics of survival and solidarity of FNB. Participants' analyses of food waste causation/responsibility as inevitable outcome of business practices that can be reformed, or as an inherent function of capitalist value-making, hold important implications for whether those groups conceive their roles as managerial or preventative of waste/hunger.

2.5 Hunger

Chapter 4 explores the construction of hunger in UK discourse. The Fabian Commission of Food and Poverty adopted the term 'household food insecurity', (HFI) suggesting that, in contrast to 'food poverty', it captures "wider issues of inadequate access to adequate food that go beyond the affordability of it and includes the fear of going hungry and mental stress" (Fabian Society, 2015b, p.8). The research and activism community has shifted towards definitions that depict structural dimensions of the problem, also adopting the term 'hunger' in campaign material (CAP, 2018). Given the ideological re-tooling of 'poverty' in post-2010 welfare discourse as relating to worklessness, laziness and dependency (Wiggan, 2012), it is unsurprising that some have sought to avoid 'food poverty'.

Terminological debates notwithstanding, lived realities persist. DeLind criticises Michigan anti-hunger charities for conceptualising and addressing 'hunger' separately from 'hungry people' (DeLind, 1994, p.59). Hulme and Toye (2015) advocate representations asking *why* people lack certainty or are unable to access adequate food in contingent and differentiated ways. Such questions involve asking about Sen's notion of entitlements, denoting political-economic resources and capacities possessed by individuals that determine hunger, not just lack of food availability (Sen 1981). Caraher

and Coveney (2016, p.120), however, suggest that an over-reliance on the 'rights' agenda in Sen's work "can lead to a dismissal of the structural argument". The right to food debate is explored below.

Food precarity?

The articulation of individual capacities and accessibility with the structures constraining these constitutes a key debate in literature around food/poverty. For this reason I suggest the term 'food precarity'. Ferreri, Dawson, & Vasudevan (2017, p.247) define precarity as:

> …induced insecurity…of a piece with contemporary neo-liberalism and this process…acclimatises populations to forms of hopelessness and insecurity that are hard-wired into the very texture of contemporary governmental practices from the normalisation of temporary labour regimes to the decimation of social services "in favour of entrepreneurial modalities supported by fierce ideologies of individual responsibility and the obligation to maximise one's own market value as the ultimate aim in life" (Butler, 2015, p.15).

They cite Judith Butler's sense that precarity denotes a 'structure of feeling'; hopelessness that extends beyond the individual. It thus captures the individual/phenomenological as well as a specific structural mode of governmentality, implying that 'food precarity' may well do better than other terms at capturing these multiple elements. It also links food to dominant political ideologies with a history that complicates discussions of whether food poverty should be viewed as 'chronic' or 'acute'. By seeing it as a more-than-individual problem, its diachronicity is recognised. I also acknowledge other attempts to distinguish contemporary food precarity from historical food insecurity, such as Leather's (1996) notion of 'modern malnutrition' which highlights the issue not of food shortage but types of food (and consequent nutrition) afforded to people on low incomes. Caraher (2003, p.193) describes this as 'old' vs 'new' food poverty. The growing acceptance of this notion in academic and civil society discourse is noted by Dowler & O'Connor (2012, p.45-6).

Just as "food waste is political" (Alexander et al, 2013, p.480), so is hunger and its surrounding discourse, and I use multiple terms in the thesis to reflect language used by participants and in settings being discussed. I now turn to examine party-political discourses around the nature of UK food precarity.

A brief history of UK food insecurity

Insecure access to food has been a fluctuating issue affecting both rich and poor throughout British history, though Sutton's (2016) history of food riots suggests how it is

the poor who have most suffered. Food prices, modes of production and political strife are writ into the history of colonial Britain and its relationship with Europe (Lang et al., 2017). The vagaries of nature have combined with the vicissitudes of markets and institutional arrangements in determining food access. Social researchers have long demonstrated links between low-income and hunger e.g. Leather (1996) mentions Rowntree's 1900 study of caloric intake inequalities in York and Pember-Reeves' 1913 book explaining that child mortality in Lambeth was not due to maternal ignorance but to lack of money. Over the world wars, research and social reforms introduced nutrition supports in the form of free school meals/milk and rationing that largely equalised food access. Leather (1996, p.14) argues that food insecurity as both production and distribution issue was "ended by production developments…increasing economic equality; and by benefits targeted at the nutritionally insecure". It was Thatcherite economic policy, she argues, that widened income inequality and saw the re-emergence of food poverty. Even though authors like Nelson had documented links between poor child growth and low-income in the late 1970s (cited in Leather 1996), he reported that from 1979 to 1994 the percentage of the population living in households in relative poverty had increased from 9% to 24%. Here we see a temporal parallel with US Reaganite austerity documented by Poppendieck (1998a) (explored in Chapter 4). These examples suggest both continuity and fluctuating levels of food precarity in British history, and that by the mid-1990s, poor-quality diets were "fundamentally undermining health" (Leather, 1996, p.21). Leather points out that for nutritional security policies to be put in place "there had to be official recognition of a nutritional problem" (p.26).

Parallels between the studies and moral concerns around government policy and its impact on hunger in the 1990s and recent years are striking; the problem of food precarity is not a novel problem. However, this thesis addresses growing income inequalities and rising evidence of food poverty considered to be a consequence of economic recession and Conservative Coalition welfare reforms post-2010 (Williams, 2012, Lambie-Mumford, 2013, Cooper & Dumpleton, 2013). At that time, growing evidence of food bank use was met with calls for government research into what was feared to be "the next public health emergency" (Taylor-Robinson et al., 2013, p.1).

The politics of rising food bank use

Reacting to the Conservative government's hailing of food banks as part of a 'Big Society' of voluntarism and state retrenchment (Caplan, 2016), left-leaning critics (and the

Trussell Trust) instead explained the rise of foodbanks as resulting from dwindling incomes following cuts to welfare spending under post-recession austerity. This "frame contest" emerging in late 2013 and described by Wells and Caraher (2014) reveals political bifurcations that attribute social problems to dichotomised arenas of responsibility. Conservative responses have been dominated by explanations of individual failings: poor cooking skills (Butler, 2014), financial mismanagement (Wintour, 2014) and irresponsible spending (Purdam et al., 2015). Disciplinary solutions prescribed for purported afflictions include cooking lessons and budgeting/debt advice (Fabian Society, 2015a). Individual resourcefulness and motivation to work have been mooted as the necessary requirements to escape poverty, with work the favoured solution (Wiggan, 2012, Williams, 2012).

Britain's youngest MP Mhairi Black challenged welfare-reform architect Duncan Smith's proposal to install JobCentre workers in a foodbank, arguing that he "should concentrate on trying to eradicate the need for foodbanks by changing the policies that are driving people into crisis situations including low incomes, benefit sanctions and maladministration and the raft of welfare changes and cuts introduced over the past five years" (Robertson, 2015, n.p.). These points summarise bifurcations both in rhetorical explanations for rising foodbank use and in posited solutions, and I now turn to efforts to bring evidence to this ideologically-inflected debate.

UK measurement and foodbank research

Midgley (2012) provides a useful account of shifting problematisation of hunger, food poverty and HFI in UK policy discourse, arguing that it has reflected broader governance patterns including "adherence to the neo-liberal order (guided by free markets with minimal state intervention)" (p.298) and New Labour's "rights with responsibilities" (p.300). Her work also paints a longer view of UK hunger, where notions of individual deserve and government responsibility have constantly shifted.

The validity of rising food charity as an indicator of food precarity has been much-debated. In a Defra-funded review of emergency food aid, Lambie-Mumford et al. (2014, p.66) note gaps in knowledge about the extent/causes of hunger, arguing that food aid "ultimately cannot address the underlying causes of household food insecurity". In the absence of official monitoring, however, foodbanks have provided a key site of research into the nature and extent of the problem.

Several studies have linked foodbank use to structural causes. Lord Freud's argument that growth in foodbank provision represents a 'free good' for which there is 'infinite demand' (Ellis-Petersen, 2014) was countered by Loopstra & Reeves' (2015). While recognising the imperfect measure of foodbank utilisation data such as parcel distribution, they conclude that "local authorities with greater rates of sanctions and austerity are experiencing greater rates of people seeking emergency food assistance" (p.2), addressing the "frame contest" of whether foodbanks' growth is supply or demand-driven.

A number of non-governmental organisation (NGO)/food provider-led studies interviewed foodbank clients, reporting similar findings. Perry et al. (2014) found that "immediate income crisis was linked to the operation of the benefits system" and that few people were aware of hardship payments or other forms of support available following sudden income loss. Spencer et al. (2015) showed that problems with social security benefits accounted for 47% of food bank referrals (administrative delays, sanctions, benefit changes/stoppages) while low and insecure income and/or debt accounted for another 31%. Academic studies of UK foodbanks have explored their potential as sites of political encounter and economies of care (Cloke, May, & Williams, 2016), as sites of shame but also users' resourcefulness (Douglas et al., 2015) and as operating a palliative discourse that prevents structural change (Ellis-Petersen, 2014). Others have pointed out the need for language that better captures the range of food aid provision and its potential role in fostering community resilience (Blake, 2017).

A growing body of research has situated food precarity in contexts of welfare reform, the growth of precarious and low-paid work and the price of food as the 'elastic' part of the basket of basic needs (Caplan, 2016). While these changes can partly explain rising foodbank use, they are rooted in much longer-term dynamics of poverty, income and inequality. Many North American foodbanks use measures of relative or absolute poverty to estimate whether a household is food insecure, calculated according to estimates of living costs such as the cost of a 'nutritious food basket' (Toronto Medical Officer of Health, 2015). Himmelgreen and Romero-Daza (2010, p.101), however, argue that poverty is a poor proxy for hunger as it "does not directly measure hunger, nor does it take into account the fact that hunger…var[ies] in intensity and diachronically among individuals, households, and communities". Practices and discourses of measurement have earned criticism, for example the removal of "hunger" from the USDA food policy

lexicon in favour of the more quantifiable "very low food security", which Himmelgreen and Romero-Daza suggest "does not correspond to the lived experience of those facing food-related problems" (p.101).

This raises the question of how to conceptualise, measure and explain something with individual emotional and physical dimensions as well as structural causative factors. Efforts to measure hunger give evidence to policy-makers and can inform ideologically-constrained debates around foodbank use. There have been calls to introduce comprehensive measurements of UK hunger (e.g. Sustain et al., 2016, CAP, 2018). Fabian Society (2015b, p.10) quotes Dowler arguing that "'we cannot use usage of food banks…as an indicator of food poverty" because charitable food-use statistics "are markers of households, usually, facing extreme or crisis problems, not about longstanding, ongoing issues". Other reasons for the insufficiency of the foodbank proxy include stigma attached to accessing food charity (Lambie-Mumford, 2014) and other barriers such as foodbank availability. This is borne out by Loopstra & Tarasuk's (2014) finding that even among severely food insecure people, only 40% use foodbanks. They conclude that population-level monitoring of food insecurity is "imperative for understanding the true number of people experiencing insecure and insufficient access to food, the full spectrum of households affected and the impact of policy interventions and changing economic conditions on this problem" (p.452). The US and Canada do in fact measure and monitor hunger via the Food Security Module, a series of questions posed to respondents as part of the annual census (Chilton & Rose, 2009). A similar approach is called for by Labour MP Emma Lewell-Buck's (2018) 'Food Insecurity Bill'.

In the absence of official measurement, and acknowledging the shortcomings of using foodbank use as a proxy for hunger, Smith et al. (2018) propose and map alternative proxies in their tool to predict geographical risks for food insecurity, drawing on data about childhood obesity, benefit receipt and other demographic factors. They estimate that "just over 4% of the population is estimated to be at high risk at any one time" (ibid.p.30).

Even if there were national standards for measuring food insecurity, this would not determine collective understandings of the causes and solutions to hunger. The following section summarises efforts to assess these in the UK.

Overcoming the frame contest? Cross-party and multi-stakeholder research and responses

The All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) 'Inquiry into Hunger and Food Poverty' led by Frank Field MP heard evidence from government, churches, voluntary organisations, academics, food redistribution organisations and food assistance providers from 2013. Its report 'Feeding Britain' (2014) charts a range of economic explicators for rising evidence of hunger, including housing, fuel and food inflation (with food spending often curbed as the most 'elastic' part of basic expenditure), historical jobs losses and the extent of low-paid work. Reported findings reflect the range of individual and structural causes reflected in media debates: the report cites budgeting, parenting and cooking skills, 'resilience', debt and addiction as causes of hunger, as well as 'benefits administration/delays', lack of awareness of emergency financial support, sanctions and other aspects of welfare reform. Recommendations include roles for food aid providers, surplus food redistribution, local authorities and state government, under a nationwide programme called 'Feeding Britain' to coordinate responses. Activities resulting from this were reported in Feeding Britain (2015) and continue.

The Fabian Commission of Food and Poverty comprising hearings with academics, third-sector/food aid providers and an expert panel of people experiencing HFI. Its report (Fabian Society, 2015b) noted that "while every member of the panel had direct experience of household food insecurity as well as poverty, none of the panel had visited a charitable food provider" (p.10), suggesting again the limitations of using foodbank use as a proxy for HFI. It attempted to convey lived experiences of hunger:

> ...parents going hungry to feed their children or having to prioritise calories over nutrients to afford their weekly food shop. Many people are feeling a deep sense of anxiety from the struggle to manage serious squeezes in household budgets that arises from the cost of living rising faster than income (Fabian Society, 2015b, p.1).

The report reiterates structural causative factors of hunger: social security benefit sanctions, delays and errors, low wages and the government's "outsourcing of responsibility" (p.8). It describes the problem of 'food access' as "physical barriers to affordable, sustainable, nutritious food", and the "poverty premium" of higher living costs for poorer people. Authors note environmental, social and economic trade-offs of achieving food system sustainability, where affordability of (especially healthy) food, may clash with goals of transitioning to a low-carbon, resource-efficient food system.

A Right to Food?

Asserting that "the disjointed 'big society' approach to HFI has not worked", the report (Fabian Society, 2015b, p.1) recommended appointing a cross-departmental minister responsible for eliminating HFI, and a government-civil society alliance to monitor government compliance with the right to food. A 'right to food' approach to policy-making is shared by Riches and Silvasti (2014) and Lambie-Mumford (2014). Dowler & O'Connor (2012) analyse some of the challenges of such an approach, hinting how UK government anti-poverty strategies have been framed in neo-liberal terms of 'making work pay', transferring responsibility to individuals. Within this framework of state-level reform, Spencer et al (2015) recommend improved benefits administration, reconsideration of sanctions and other welfare reform and ensuring income adequacy. Government responses have included an APPG on foodbanks, a bill to address holiday hunger (Field, 2018) and the aforementioned Food Insecurity Bill.

National organisations have formed campaign alliances, including End Hunger UK (EHUK), the Independent Food Aid Network (IFAN), Food Power and, in Scotland, Menu for Change. EHUK's 'Menu for Change' calls for a 'coordinated government strategy' and almost every demand relates to national-level change (CAP, 2018). Interestingly, an item asking for improved SFR was removed from the 'menu' following the distribution of an earlier draft at the first EHUK conference in October 2017. Food Power has released funding for regional-level 'food poverty alliances' to form strategies aimed at local-level change as well as support to link with national-level campaigning.

International perspectives

Gentilini (2013, p.7) argues that the "nature and magnitude of food insecurity in developing countries is very different from that of [high-income countries]", citing European measures of food insecurity as inability to eat meat/fish every other day, not severe malnutrition. However, Riches & Silvasti (2014) and Caraher & Coveney (2016) document food insecurity as a global phenomenon: the inclusion of South Africa, India, Brazil and others nuances any simplistic distinction between developed/developing world 'hunger' (Heynen 2009, p.408 analyses their universal rootedness in uneven capitalist development). These examples demonstrate international differences in, for example, combinations of neo-liberal policy with strong government-led social programmes in Brazil (Rocha, 2016), innovative programmes linking food aid and agriculture (Duboys de Labarre & al., 2016) and perceptions of "'American-style' charity"

vs traditional welfare statism (Silvasti & Karljanainen, 2014, p.80). At the supra-national scale, the UN's Special Rapporteur on the right to food noted widening income gaps and threatened food security in Canada and other regions (de Schutter, 2012).

The case of the US's foodbanking history is explored in later chapters. North America provides a wealth of interdisciplinary studies from a range of perspectives. For example, Henderson (2004) theorises foodbanks as sites of de/revaluation of food and labour, through articulation and representation. Lindenbaum (2016) analyses them as "re-gifting depots" where decommodified food recirculates as part of everyday, uneven capitalist accumulation, benefitting from 'gifts' including tax incentives and free voluntary labour but where re-imaginings of a capitalist system are made possible. Lohnes & Wilson (2017) analyse them as integral parts of global food destruction networks extracting value from wasted labour and food. Warshawsky (2010) analyses foodbanks as institutions of neoliberal governance regimes, while others critique foodbanks' discursive, material and corporatized containment of hunger as masking alternative narratives and/or systemic solutions (DeLind, 1994, Poppendieck, 1998a, Winne, 2008). Dickinson (2016) theorises both food charity and 'food stamp' welfare in terms of discourses of self-sufficiency, deservingness and welfare-to-work. More positively, Dixon (2015) theorises foodbank volunteering as a potential site for forming counter-stories that re-frame poverty in social justice terms.

Summary: food precarity, not 'voluntary poverty'

Even as academics, food aid providers and NGOs have produced critical research aimed at structural change, the rollout of food charity has continued, with some suggesting that it provides an adequate and even "uplifting" response to poverty (BBC News, 2017). Oxford Food Bank's founder accused "the left" of wanting to waste state resources on what was being adequately managed with surplus food and voluntary labour (Aitken, 2014). Framing contests thus persist, positioning both food poverty and food charity as contestable concepts with important discursive, material and structural dimensions. The role of framing is further explored in Chapter 4.

Before turning to consider more general theories of scarcity and excess and reviewing literature addressing specifically SFR, I note a pattern in the above literature about the progressive possibilities of food poverty and responses to it, rather than its merely reflecting neoliberal containment. These include Blake's (2017) suggestion that tackling

food poverty can form part of wider sustainability/justice-focussed "food cities" approaches (p.21) with third-sector approaches offering both social support and "creating resilience" (p.22). Williams et al. (2016, p.2303) similarly suggest food banks' potential to contribute to food justice-fostering alliances should they "continue to facilitate spaces of encounter that can, even if only partially, rework, reinforce and generate new and progressive political sensibilities among food bank volunteers and clients". Such views hint at a 'moral economy' approach in which mobilisations around food reflect deeper social concerns around equity, resource (re)distribution and civil liberties (Caraher, 2003). Heynen (2008, p.39) theorises social movements around subsistence as evidencing "material foundations [that] are the root of power to make people stand up for their rights, to organize, to work to change the destructive systems within which they live".

This thesis attempts to navigate the theoretical and practical affordances and challenges of diverse forms of SFR that may serve to empower and/or disempower. It is rooted in recognising access to food as a function of freedom. In a final cautionary word about the connections between food precarity and 'voluntary simplicity' and discourses of parsimony deemed necessary to a 'healthy' and 'sustainable' future, Caraher & Coveney (2016, p.2) differentiate these through recognising the privilege of choice:

> ...while the well-off adopt a lifestyle based on austerity they do so to improve their health or save the planet; the poor on the other hand are driven by a lack of choice and the imposition of austere choices.

I return to consider this question in the concluding chapters. Links between consumption, class and choice require viewing poverty as relational, and I now turn to broader considerations excess and scarcity in social theory and the determination of problems.

2.6 Excess/scarcity

Before considering literature about UK SFR, I detail theories exploring relationships between excess and scarcity as broader frames for thinking through dominant imaginaries of waste and hunger.

I noted above important differences between food precarity and 'voluntary simplicity': "wealth allows choices, including the choice to be 'poor'" (Wilk, 2018, n.p.). A learned disdain for material goods in late capitalism can be linked to romanticism about poverty, Weberian self-restraint and the contemporary 'bulimia' of contradictory ideas around wealth and, for example, body size (Guthman & DuPuis, 2006). Scarcity has dominated as

the foundation of liberal economics, which defines abundance as non-economic, posits the choosing individual as the economic subject and economic rationality as necessarily choosing between scarce means in order to maximise outcomes (Tellmann, 2015). Such economics of scarcity can serve "ecological demands for a less wasteful…use of resources" (ibid., p.26). Drawing on Latour, Wilk (2018) views poverty as a 'hybrid' concept of both natural/objective and social/subjective elements, as I have already suggested in the notion of 'hunger' as rhetorical and conceptual tool as well as denoting material realities of food insecurity. Viewing poverty not in absolute terms but as anthropologically relative, as Wilk does, mirrors an understanding of scarcity as similarly relative.

Reading liberal economic theory genealogically, Tellmann (2015, p.32) articulates scarcity not as "general economic truth, but a particular and malleable device that sustains specific modes of individuation and economic futurization…it allocates and orders where abundance applies and where restriction is called for". Such allocation calls to mind Budget Day and the welfare reform papers of New Labour and the Conservative-Liberal Coalition (Wiggan, 2012). Scarcity as "device for inventing economies" (Tellmann, 2015 p.35) can be empirically explored; as Çalişkan & Callon (2010, p.22) explain, there is "no economization without…institutional assemblages that act as socio-cognitive prostheses to ensure the coordination of agents". Austerity can be seen as a translation of scarcity into budgetary policy of state retrenchment. This has reordered the roles and responsibility of state and market actors in the management of public services and, through cuts to welfare spending, created new spaces for non-governmental actors such as charities in the management of resources; in the case of my own research, of food and peoples' access to it. Later I consider studies that root SFR in such societal contexts.

Abbott (2014) affirms that social theory has persistently treated problems of excess as problems of scarcity. Food waste, whose visual stereotype conjures mountains of rotting salads, an abject cornucopia of global comestibles, is often represented as a problem of lack. Lack of shoppers' concern, care, time or storage, planning, cooking and portioning skills (Evans, 2011), lack of supermarket transparency, auditing and attention, lack of government commitment or a lack of caution about the climate change implications of overproduction (Stuart, 2009). Abbott quotes Marx, who located the key problem of society as 'the unjust allocation of socially superabundant production, which imposes personal scarcity on the majority of the population'. Marx yet avoided commenting on

"the central reality of nineteenth-century British economics: the sudden excess of production in both agriculture and manufacturing, an excess so large that even all of India was not able to absorb it" (Abbott, 2014, p.5). Scarcity and excess are central to problems of social organisation, but their interrelationships may not always be made explicit. I now turn to link theories of scarcity and excess to the problems of poverty and hunger.

Poverty is so often held to indicate a *lack* of resources that the contextual dimension of societal excess is often missed. The term 'food poverty' takes on this scarcity angle, clear from definitions such as this from the Food Ethics Council: "an individual or household *isn't able* to obtain healthy, nutritious food, or *can't* access the food they would like to eat" (2014, p.4 italics added). Poverty could be reconceived not just as a lack but a matter of excess, such as Abbott's (2014 p.23) citing of Broughton's 2001 ethnography of poor women on workfare programs in the US. This recasts poverty as not merely a matter of scarce resources but one that imposes an excessive cognitive burden and requires excessive time to manage. Foodbanks require considerable time and effort by organisations redistributing food as well as time spent by foodbank users queuing, waiting and dealing with the demands of the welfare state (Riches, 2002).

Wealth also constitutes lack: a lack of scrutiny or having to learn and navigate the punitive bureaucratic practices negotiated frequently by people in poverty. Chapter 7 describes anti-hunger campaigners' insistence on highlighting extreme wealth as intrinsically linked to poverty. Seeing hunger not just as a lack of food, then, allows for a consideration of poverty as relational and requiring critical consideration of wealth and excess.

Scholars have shown how assumptions and theories of economic liberalism affect food access. For example, Caraher & Coveney (2016) note how Adam Smith's economic dogma promoted free-trade and self-regulating economy as the route to social progress, a philosophy that justified non-intervention in famines in India and Ireland. Gidwani and Reddy (2011, p.1633) depict classical economic liberalism's determination to wage "a relentless battle against 'inefficiencies', or wastes, of all sorts". Their 'minor history' of surplus accumulation in India shows how, for colonisers, waste constituted "an indetermination: an untapped potential awaiting transformation into value by dint of human labor and colonial stewardship" (p.1630). Here, 'waste' recalls its earlier etymological senses of wild, uncultivated land: for colonialists, such 'waste' land was to be subdued and brought into 'productive' control- whether or not it was used for other

means by local populations. As we have seen, conceptualisations of the relationship between waste, value and people can have very different implications for their analysis and approach to addressing the problem, as demonstrated in Chapter 4.

Having situated hunger and waste in the politicised history of economic theory and its application, and before addressing their translation into analyses of SFR, I briefly question the implicit anthropocentrism in the hunger-waste paradox.

Food precarity refers to a specifically human hunger. Some researchers have posed the hunger/waste problem from a more-than-human perspective, considering food needs of other animals and digestive microbiomes as 'parasitic ethics' (Burton & Tam, 2015). However, the problem is generally represented as human-created: food is produced for human nourishment, mediated by a 'food system' of buyers, processers and retailers. While this serves purposes and motivations other than feeding people, particularly generating profit, the hunger-waste paradox focusses on food's humanistic functions, evidenced in these quotes:

> Food wastage is ironically behind the billions of people who are malnourished. (CSR Journal, 2015)

> In various meetings and documents on the reduction of wastage, a direct link is claimed with reducing worldwide hunger, malnourishment and poverty...reducing food wastage will strengthen general food security. (Tielens & Candel, 2014, p.7)

> ...has called on a change in the law to prevent the UK's "criminal" levels of food waste - especially by supermarkets - while so many go hungry. (Campbell, 2014)

These imply that when there is hunger alongside waste, food's teleological failure constitutes an ethical failure. Tielens and Candel document the 'implicit link between food waste and food insecurity' (2014 p.13) in discourse analysis, arguing that studies exploring their 'causal links' often lack a 'sound empirical foundation or...ex-post evaluation' (p.21). Chapter 4 theorises these representations, and their implications, using framing theory. First, the following section explores in greater detail literature and debates around SFR.

2.7 Surplus Food Redistribution: literature and debates

First, a brief historical tracing. Chapter 1 rooted wasted food redistribution in wartime thrift and, in America, the visible juxtaposition of destitution and agricultural excess (Poppendieck, 1998a). Schneider (2013, p.756) provides a fascinating, if brief, history of wasted food for the poor in 13-18C Europe e.g.

> In the 14th century, Peter IV of Aragon ordered his subjects to separate stale and mouldy bread, acetified wine, spoiled cheese and fruit and similar food for donations to people in need

This hints at the rooting of charitable SFR in histories of inequality and presumptions that the poor can/should eat inferior food. Nally (2011) uses notions of moral economy and biopolitics to frame transitions between non-capitalist and capitalist modes of food provisioning, while others have drawn on Polanyi's 'great transformation' to do the same (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011). Versions of these debates re-emerge in recent policy discourse around SFR and the various models of it forming the empirical subject of this thesis, and I begin by tracing these policy debates.

DEFRA's (2006) strategy cites the work of charities like FareShare, suggesting that the "sustainable management of…waste food" through "quality surplus food redistribution" could generate social, environment and economic benefits for the food industry" (p.39). Hawkes and Webster's (2000, p.27) review of SFR in the UK states that despite there being no absolute measures at the time, "a study of supermarkets and other sources of surplus estimated £386 million worth of food is wasted each year". The study is attributed to Crisis, the homeless charity that co-founded FareShare in 1994, suggesting that early estimations of food waste were prompted by organisations considering this as a potential resource for the voluntary sector. Hawkes and Webster (2000, p.27) state that "the sight of waste commonly leads to outrage", quoting FareShare staff saying "it's terrible when people need the food". The moral inflection of food waste as discursively linked to poverty and hunger are thus present in early UK SFR literature. Midgley charts the "incremental promotion of [SFR] practice in UK/English government policy" before 2009-10 when she conducted research into household food insecurity and identified SFR as an emergent topic of relevance (Midgley, 2013), discussed further below.

The Feeding Britain report cited potentials as well as limits of food aid. It suggests that, given the strain on foodbanks to maintain supplies with publically-donated food, the next logical step is to increase the supply of redistributable food from:

> …the surplus or wasted food that is destroyed on an industrial scale in our country. It is in harvesting from this source that we believe the next big breakthrough will be made in eliminating hunger in this country… (APPG, 2014, p.21).

Before further detailing such UK-specific research, I first consider international studies and debates around SFR and their application to UK developments.

European policy and research

SFR developments can be situated in broader contexts of supranational efforts to address food waste. A European Commission (EC) roadmap published in 2011 states that 'by 2020, disposal of edible food waste should have been halved in the EU' (Gonzalez Vaque, 2015). In 2015, the USDA and EPA announced a national goal to halve food waste by 2030 (Bloom, 2015). A European Commission communique (2013) commits to "support retailers…to reduce food waste", through "common voluntary action", dialogue and sharing best practice.

Action-focussed partnerships such as FUSIONS have developed frameworks for measuring and preventing food waste across EU countries (Vittuari et al., 2016). Some of its findings, such as ways to ease SFR, were taken up in the EC Circular Economy package (REFRESH, 2016). FUSIONS' newer incarnation REFRESH is an international research project aiming to "contribute towards Sustainable Development Goal 12.3 of halving per capita food waste at the retail and consumer level" (http://www.eu-fusions.org/). Sustain (2018) note challenges of finding universal definitions and measurements in achieving this goal.

Improving donation practices for recovering surplus food has been seen as part of achieving supply-chain efficiency (Quested et al., 2013a). Many programmes have adopted the USDA's food recovery hierarchy that prioritises, after prevention, consumption of food by humans before other disposal options: animal feed, composting, anaerobic digestion, incineration and landfill (see Mourad 2015 on how such solutions compete). Including Feedback Global, Anthesis and WRAP as UK partners, REFRESH led studies into food recovery from, for example, hospitality and public procurement sectors, for redistribution to foodbanks or charities that include feeding in their activities. A recent initiative is Saving Food (https://savingfood.eu), a partnership of community-level organisations running pilots largely based on surplus recovery and redistribution. Efforts appear to be focussed on preventing eventual wastage rather than preventing surplus production (Sustain, 2018), the latter clashing with imperatives of economic growth (Barnard, 2016). However, some countries have taken a stricter, legislative approach.

National food waste 'bans'

The French Parliament legislated a ban on discarding unsold edible food by supermarkets in early 2016 (Chrisafis, 2016), part of a national food waste policy. Petitions have

supported such an approach in other countries, and the EC passed a resolution recommending the ban be extended across Europe. Labour MP Kerry McCarthy's Food Waste Bill aimed to incentivise and legislate for greater SFR, in line with similar laws in France and Italy (Sheffield, 2016). The provision to ban the disposal of edible food "enshrines the strong moral case that food should not be thrown away when people are willing and able to take it" (McCarthy, 2015, n.p.). The bill aimed to shift national attention away from household causes and solutions to food waste and towards more upstream solutions, including demands for supermarkets to audit and publish their cross-chain waste arisings, but failed to reach its second parliamentary reading (Kelly, 2016). This contrasts with the voluntary commitment asked of signatories to the Cortauld Commitment, echoing calls by campaign organisation This Is Rubbish (Stewart et al., 2013). In line with the Circular Economy package, it would have required large supermarkets and manufacturers to reduce their food waste by 30% by 2025, reinforced disposal according to the 'food waste hierarchy' and called for recognition of responsibility across the supply chain, from consumers to growers (Downing et al., 2015, House of Commons, 2016).

Meanwhile, WRAP released a new phase of its voluntary commitment, Cortauld 2025. Its targets for 2025 are a 20% reduction in food waste arisings, similar reductions in greenhouse gas intensity of food and drink consumption and reduced water-use impacts. In a conciliatory letter to McCarthy, DEFRA's Minister responsible for food waste notes that "we have already made progress" in the government's voluntary agreements with industry to "encourage action in line with the hierarchy…it is clear that surplus food should be redistributed to people before [other options]", noting that "all UK supermarkets now have relationships with redistribution organisations" (McCarthy, 2016). The letter cites Tesco's plan to extend its pilot scheme partnering with FareShare Foodcloud to enable local redistribution of store-level surplus and WRAP's Redistribution Framework to guide retailers' partnership-building with recipient organisations. All these point to a sense at the policy level that adequate work is being done by private and community-level actors to manage food waste through redistribution rather than prevention.

Research into impacts and benefits of SFR

Having described some European developments in relation to the UK, this section summarises studies exploring the nature, prevalence and impacts of efforts to

redistribute surplus food. I begin with quantitative approaches before turning to more qualitative, ethnographic and critical studies of SFR, particularly foodbanking.

Some scholars have tended to employ quantitative, managerial approaches from which much critical waste scholarship departs. For example, Garrone et al. (2014, p.1472) analyse surplus generation as "production planning or demand forecasting errors", identifying "best practices" to achieve "supply chain sustainability" e.g. fiscal incentives to donors. Phillips et al. (2013) model and quantify food supply/demand and energy costs of food recovery in Colorado. Reynolds, Piantadosi and Boland (2015) calculate embodied energy and water savings of food rescue, concluding that while pricier for businesses than landfilling/composting, SFR provides cheaper food for charities than purchasing directly. Schneider (2013, p.755) theorises SFR in Austria as a "food waste prevention measure which can be seen as urban mining – recovering perfectly edible food from a mismanaged society". Such studies acknowledge environmental costs of food wastage but consider 'trade-offs' with financial bottom lines. Few challenge the assumption that redistribution constitutes an unquestioned socio-ethical good, nor problematise power dynamics between producers, retailers, charities and eventual recipients.

Of import for my research are studies linking food to political-economic conditions e.g. Holt-Gimenez & Shattuck's (2011) Polanyi-inspired theorising of 'food regimes' as socially embedded and subject to transformation reflects broader conceptual shifts around 'the economic' in geography as embedded in cultural, political and institutional contexts (Yeung, 2003). Lindenbaum (2016) challenges Polanyian interpretations of foodbanking as countermovement to neoliberal market extension, arguing that foodbanks do not exhibit Polanyi's vision of social protection operating democratically through the state. Neither do they challenge the commodification of land, labour and money as Polanyi's 'double movement' of market restriction envisaged (Fraser, 2013). Trudeau & Veronis (2009, p.1117) analyse how NGOs "enact state restructuring" as translation mechanisms of neoliberal governance, providing a key to considering SFR organisations in my own work as reflecting and shaping broader processes of social change, explored in later chapters.

Qualitative analyses of SFR include Lindberg et al. (2014)'s exploration of how an Australian 'food rescue' organisation frames problems and its response. The organisation celebrated its impact in providing healthy food to people in need, "empower[ing] community agencies" and reduced food waste as environmental benefit (p.1486). As

Midgley (2013) notes, SFR organisations thus celebrate their 'win-win' achievements through engaging both environmental and social justice discourses.

Critical ethnographies of SFR highlight mismatches between available surplus supplies and demands for food assistance (Tarasuk & Eakin, 2003) as well as its low access rates against food insecurity statistics (Loopstra & Tarasuk, 2014), suggesting both its inadequacy and stigma. Warshawsky (2015, p.27) suggests that the devolution of food waste governance to local institutions such as redistribution charities "may not effectively reduce food waste", and cites the potential for NGOs to overstate the potential of local actors to "effect social change and reduce food waste". By positing empowered individuals as solutions to food waste and food insecurity, he argues that it fails to "specify why food waste exists, structural barriers which limit food waste reduction, or how individuals effect change in communities" (p.31). This falls into what Born and Purcell (2006) call the 'local trap'; Chapter 5b specifically explores issues with emphasising 'community'-level action given inequalities and differences within 'communities' (Slocum, 2006). Warshawsky (2010, p.766) demonstrates how foodbanks have become "institutions of neoliberal urban governance regimes" through analysing their corporatised management operations e.g. practices of accountability and performance evaluation and building long-term private endowment. He argues that this leads to goal deflection and foodbanks' permanence as institutions that "promote third-sector "solutions" instead of governmental emergency food programs" (p.771). These analyses will be brought to bear on my analysis of UK SFR discourses. Lohnes and Wilson (2017) have developed this work, demonstrating precarity of growing food flows to charities, financially benefitting corporate donors, while foodbanks and their community agencies bear onerous labour and distribution costs. UK SFR organisations have similarly struggled with questions of resourcing, and I explore their strategies in Chapter 6.

Later I discuss critiques of charitable SFR through the alternative lens of food waste activism studies. First I continue the discussion of UK studies of charitable SFR.

Charitable surplus redistribution: UK emergence and growth

As summarised in Chapter 1, Hawkes and Webster (2000) reviewed early practices and debates around SFR that remain relevant, despite the much-expanded discursive and material space in which redistribution continues to expand. Midgley (2013) notes that their study was based on a period where only three food redistribution organisations

were in operation. They do, however, link SFR to international conceptualisations of foodbanking, important for my analysis of FareShare. They use Riches' definition of a foodbank as "a centralized warehouse or clearing house registered as a non-profit organization for the purpose of collecting, storing and distributing surplus food, free of charge, to front line agencies which provide supplementary food and meals to the hungry" (Riches, 2002, p.650). At their time of writing the UK had "one official food bank", South and West Lancashire Foodbank but Hawkes and Webster were clearly engaging with international discourse, stating that "on a universal basis, food banks are the most common way to redistribute surplus food (there are hundreds worldwide)" (2000, p.4).

Midgley (2013, p.1874) notes that "the US has a long history of food assistance programmes supplied through surplus food purchase and food recovery", but claims that "only industry donations are associated with surplus food in the UK", excluding organisations that incorporate "donations from industry *and* private individuals" from her own study. She argues that the North American "administrative background is not directly transferable to a UK context" (p.1877), so does not recognise foodbanking as a globalising phenomenon that might implicate UK SFR organisations (Riches and Silvasti, 2014). Terminological slippage should be noted here: in the UK the term 'foodbank' has come to denote centres of food distribution for individuals, most notably through Trussell Trust (TT), whose food is supplied largely by individuals via supermarket donation-bins and 'food drives' (Fisher, 2017b). Foodbanking in North America, as noted, relies heavily on surplus food; redistribution of excesses was one of its founding rationales (Poppendieck, 1998a).

 FareShare's warehousing and brokerage function brings it closer to Riches' foodbank definition, and it is a member of the Global Foodbanking Network (GFN). There are also signs of professionalisation by TT, with its Coventry Distribution Centre described as an "enormous, 25,000ft^2 warehouse in an industrial park on the outskirts of town, and the scale of the project...was quite staggering. It was an incredibly rationalised, efficient operation" (Smith, 2017, n.p.). ASDA recently announced a £20million partnership to help TT redistribute fresh food by developing FareShare's infrastructure (FareShare, 2018). I consider the implications of capital investment in SFR infrastructure in the empirical and discussion chapters.

TT have shifted towards the language of 'foodbank centres' to describe places where individuals can go for a food parcel, while the regional Distribution Centre described

above, and the FareShare collaboration, imply a shift towards Riches' definition of foodbanking as a complex operation separating warehousing from distribution spaces. Chapter 5 demonstrates infrastructural and spatial growth of SFR, mirroring that of the TT model. While TT are not research participants, slippage in language and form around what constitutes a foodbank makes Midgley's bracketing of organisations involving private individual donors seem arbitrary.

However, I adopt Midgley's (2013 p.1875) concerns around defining surplus food, the "values and qualities ascribed to it and how...these affect its management". Midgley asks "what do these qualities enable surplus food to do?", and the following section engages with her 'logics' analysis of SFR more fully. In sum, 'food poverty' and its management have come to complicate (and politicise) the landscape of food redistribution. New actors, spaces and practices have emerged, requiring greater analysis of the relationships between such actors in order to better understand the complex dimensions of UK redistribution assemblages. My research attends to such a gap, acknowledging that this remains a constantly-changing landscape. Foregrounding Chapter 4's focus on distinct discourses and alliances between SFR organisations and other food system actors, I now consider histories of UK SFR organisations.

Hawkes and Webster (2000) provide a useful snapshot of SFR at the turn of the millennium. FareShare was still allied to Crisis. Crisis-FareShare was set up with "the support of Marks and Spencer's, the New Covent Garden Soup Company and Pret à Manger", highlighting the roots of charitable redistribution in corporate concerns. At its launch, three target issues were noted:

> ...the simple fact that homeless people needed food. Second, a large amount of surplus food from retailers was going to waste. Third, research carried out at the time showed that three out of five homeless people had no intake of fresh fruit and vegetables" (2000, p.5).

Links between hunger, waste and health thus characterised early debates around SFR. Hunger, however, was ascribed as a 'homeless' problem. Crisis-FareShare had six franchises by 2000, funded by Big Lottery, the Landfill Tax Credit Scheme and supermarket donations, with some franchises having Local Authority funding. Corporate philanthropy appears to have grown; Hawkes & Webster (2000, p.5) note that "formal links" were "set up" with ASDA in 1999. They suggest that relationships were built up with corporate donors

> ...owing to Crisis-FareShare's strict adherence to food safety regulations (thus protecting the retailers from prosecution) and because the retailers feel that Crisis-FareShare is well managed and extremely reliable- food will always be collected at the specified time and it regularly checks the projects involved (2000, p.5).

These themes of compliance and process efficiency suggest that FareShare's success is rooted in an early recognition of needing to comply with donor priorities. However, critical voices and ethical debates are also apparent in these early reports.

Lang (cited in Hawkes & Webster, p.1) critiqued the 1991 setting-up of the Institute of Grocery Distribution's SFR scheme. He warned about "crisis solutions" set up "in the heat of the moment" that have "ended up being institutionalised". Arguments around unintended consequences of emergency responses were developed by Riches et al. in the first edition of First World Hunger (1997). Poppendieck (1998) analyses mechanisms by which food charity has become "institutionalised" as a secondary market for surplus food and last resort for those whose wages and social assistance cannot cover food needs. A key argument is that such provision has a chilling effect on advocacy and action addressing root causes of hunger: for Poppendieck, government action to maintain incomes (see also Henderson, 2004). Undergirded by philanthropic values and the satisfaction and/or religious approbation gained by volunteers doing the seemingly obvious moral work of feeding the hungry, she casts food charity as "moral safety valve" for failings in social policy and lost entitlements.

A similar debate has developed in the UK. Stuart (2009, p.229) challenges Lang's suggestion that giving surplus food to the poor amounts to "treating the poor like pigs". He replies that poor people are not pigs; they can make choices, so the moral thing to do when edible food is being thrown away is to offer it as a choice to people struggling to afford a decent diet. The point made earlier about limited choice as a fundamental characteristic of food poverty is worth repeating here (Wilk, 2018). Stuart's organisation Feedback continues to advocate for easing the path to greater donation of edible surplus by large retailers (they are key partners in SavingFood.EU). This view is corroborated increasingly by retailers themselves, such as Tesco's CEO announcing that "we didn't feel comfortable...[being]...left with food that passes its sell-by date but is still perfectly good for human consumption" (Harris, 2016). The literature yields an array of justifications for the redistribution of surplus food, which will be compared with my own findings. These include economistic claims of rebalancing inefficiencies in the food chain (Midgley 2013), environmental savings (Stuart 2009), ethical debates around global mal-distribution

(Barnard 2016), and questioning foodbanks' inadequate supply from public donations (Feeding Britain 2014). I now discuss more recent academic studies of SFR praxis.

Few UK studies focus specifically on SFR. Midgley (2013) analyses surplus food from a third-sector provider perspective in northeast England. She situates her study in growing policy attention to SFR (Defra, 2010) and discourses around the 'win-win' solution seemingly offered by redistribution as a means to tackle both waste and hunger. She considers SFR 'logics' i.e. "values, qualities and framing" (2013, p.1875) to examine different types of SFR in relation to primary food markets. Her analysis (p.1889)

> …reveals a continuum of economic flows and relationships rather than a disjuncture from market logics…surplus food redistribution practices are subject to and premised on decision making within a capitalist food system; *the same logics that have given rise to the problems of food poverty and food waste are also the basis upon which surplus food redistribution is rationalised* (emphasis added).

Hunger and waste are conceptualised here as logically coterminous or mutually constitutive, with systemic causes, rather than as paradoxical opposites whose solution can be found in using the symptoms of one to address the other. While SFR may appear to offer "alignment" between system actors, contention arises over the "values associated with the practice and the goods involved" (p.1873-4). Midgley draws on prior theorisations of the processes by which food moves through the supply chain and towards waste (e.g. Evans, Campbell, & Murcott, 2012). She argues that beyond material properties, food's categorisation as surplus and/or waste requires emphasising alternative values and qualities e.g. regulatory setting determining 'expiry dates' and the de/re/attachment of qualities pertaining to social, environmental and economic values. Her notion of 'constant requalification' as food moves through spaces and relationships resonates with the assemblage ontology of emergence and immanence that I employ in Chapter 5 to explore infrastructural/spatial change.

Midgley pays close attention to critiques by US researchers of the potential for redistribution to depoliticise, 'other' and devalue people as well as food (e.g. Henderson, 2004, Poppendieck, 2008). Not simply negative by-products, such othering is central to the logics of SFR, whereby "goods disposal (resale or donation) must be done so as not to devalue existing and future transactions and values" (Midgley, 2013, p.1877); recipients of surplus food must be constructed in terms of their inability to purchase food on the market. Henderson's notion of 'socially necessary representations' of need (2004) is pertinent here, where food charity sustains images of the 'deserving poor' in their

funding efforts. The notion of constructing social difference and the ways redistributors uphold or challenge this forms a theme of Chapter 6. Midgley quotes Çalişkan & Callon, (2010, p.8): "to frame is to make selective inclusions and exclusions". The contribution of Science and Technology Studies (STS) approaches has been to query and follow the actual processes by which certain things are rendered valuable or afforded qualities, a commitment that can help bridge incompatabilities between constructionist and materialist ontologies. Çalişkan and Callon (2010 p.4) discuss this, and I consider the question in Chapters 3 and 4.

People first? Competing solutions and waste hierarchies

Discussing waste disposal technologies, Alexander & Reno (2014, p.351) argue that waste's polyvalency makes it "attractive…for socio-material experimentation: a bad that can be made to do good", with 'public good' from waste schemes morphing between emphasis on "environmental and human benefit, variously defined at local and global scales" (p.338). Midgley (2013) notes the capacity of the 'national redistribution network' (presumably FareShare) to insert itself into "established and seemingly competing 'green' and 'food security' discourses" (p.1883). The redistribution charity manager acknowledged that by ensuring "that food goes to people first", their organisation occupies a "unique" space given competition with other 'green technologies' that may claim surplus food for disposal. Midgley thus opens up a space for discussing the competing actors of the 'food waste hierarchy' (Papargyropoulou et al., 2014). Importantly, insights from waste studies have highlighted the moral and political dimensions of such polyvalences, where considering 'hunger' alongside 'waste' provides a useful vantage point for considering 'environmental' and 'human' benefit (and the validity of such a distinction).

Other insights from Midgley (2013) relevant to this thesis include the normalisation of 'overflows' and surplus generation by supermarkets; waste has become an expected externality. Types and quantities of good are nevertheless unpredictable; other authors note how FareShare's model is "beholden to turbulence within its donors' logistic operations" (Alexander & Smaje, 2008, p.1295). Midgley also acknowledges the passing-down of waste from producers to community-based organisations: the "multiple values" for which redistribution organisations must manage responsibility include "assets (brand integrity), liabilities (food safety) and obligations (waste disposal)" (p.1887). Power dynamics inhering in such hierarchical relationships are also analysed by Alexander &

Smaje (2008). Both papers reveal tensions and conflicting interests in a model imagined to function as 'win-win' solution to the hunger-waste paradox. Others (e.g. Dowler & O'Connor 2012, p.45) advocate instead a right to food approach, ensuring people can "reach shops or markets which stock appropriate food at affordable prices, or they can grow or otherwise obtain food in ways which are dignified and in keeping with social norms", with government respecting and upholding conditions for this (Riches & Silvasti, 2014). These papers' attention to logistical, discursive and material aspects of SFR lay useful empirical and theoretical ground for my work. However, since these publications new model have emerged, including entrepreneurial re-commodification of waste food, and social movements using collective cooking and eating to reveal system contradictions, discussed below. This broadening picture provides the empirical landscape for my study. Another key theme is that of labour: who does the work of redistribution? I now turn to studies and debates attending to this question.

SFR labour

Alexander & Smaje (2008, p.1295) address FareShare's "large-scale use of voluntary labour". This can yield "direct financial benefits to the...operation and indirect social benefits through enhanced community involvement, employment and training". However, they note that voluntary labour can be "costly in terms of managerial input, inefficient working practices and the sub-optimal deployment of available staff resources" (2008, p.1925). IFAN and TT found that managing food poverty through food aid currently relies on over four million hours' of voluntary time (IFAN, n.d.). Tarasuk and Eakin (2003, p.177) argue that labour-intensive food charity is enabled by the "surfeit of unpaid labor in food banks, the neediness of food bank clients, and clients' lack of rights". In later chapters I explore aspects of SFR labour in relation to welfare reform (Chapter 5a) and suggest alternative SFR models that provide training and/or paid work (Chapter 7).

Chapter 5a will also consider sensorial dimensions of labour in distinguishing edible food from that which must become waste. Scholars have explored food waste more generally through these lenses (e.g. Alexander, Gregson and Gille, 2013). Nunn & Gutberlet (2013) highlight tensions between stigma and empowerment in collective 'waste work' while Reno (2015) highlights the human-nonhuman interactions at play in marginal waste labour. While often focusing on hazardous or material-symbolic 'dirty work' (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2016) that might obscure insights into the moral 'halo effect' afforded food

charity workers (Poppendieck, 1998), these theorisations of waste work sociality can inform interrogation of SFR ethics.

Successful failures?

Critiques of SFR can be situated in broader critiques of charity. Ronson and Caraher (2016, p.80) characterise foodbanks as 'highly visible successful failures'. They examine how voluntary organisations respond to visible but hard-to-resolve social problems in a context of governmental tendencies towards "shifting power to the local level…where civil society can provide local services formerly supported by the State" (p.80). Such organisations are celebrated for doing so (including by politicians glad to see such problems addressed) even when responding only to the visible manifestations of a problem rather than its social determinants, often referred to as 'sticking plaster' solutions (Caplan, 2016). Ronson and Caraher argue that while many voluntary organisations advocate for structural solutions e.g. by calling for government action, they encounter seemingly endless growth in demand as root causes persists or worsens. Seibel's (1996) 'successful failure' concept, upon which Ronson and Caraher base their analysis, highlights resource and power imbalances between, say, the State and foodbanks as 'agents' whose performance measurement is blurrier and thus permitted to fail. This is echoed by de Schutter's observation that "in many countries the role of charities was seen as supplementing the failure of governments to protect their populations from economic shocks" (Lister et al., 2013, p.15). Ronson and Caraher apply this to shifting UK food charity discourses: while TT has become more vocal in its political advocacy around the causes of food poverty, it has continued to grow (Williams et al., 2016). As demand for sticking plasters grows, organisations will

> …construct their operations to ensure they have a continuous supply of sufficient and appropriate resources maybe even encouraging a new stream of users, even if the objectives of the organisation become compromised in the process… (Ronson & Caraher 2016, p.81).

They propose a 'shunting yard' metaphor to describe foodbanks' function: they "minimise…dissonance" the public may feel about "potentially problematic policy" and "glaring inequalities" (ibid., p.86) by assuring that the targets of welfare reform will not go unfed. Foodbanks thus "enable a smooth transition to the new sanctioning regime" (ibid.), alleviating resultant poverty with gifts of food. They bridge critiques of foodbanking in North America and its current rollout in the UK, suggesting that "the services [foodbanks] offer are more about the sustainability of their operations, than

meeting the real needs of their users" (ibid., p.82). ASDA's recent donation speaks to a dissonance between TT's stated commitment of preventing hunger through structural advocacy (Wells & Caraher, 2014) and their continual growth. However, I also consider the radical possibilities of SFR, to which the following section attends.

SFR as activism

Earlier sections demonstrated how analyses of capitalist food and economic systems have been applied to the generation of both food waste and hunger (Heynen, 2010, Giles, 2013, Barnard, 2016). These authors situate their analyses in the praxis of FNB and freegan.info that critique such systemics *while* redistributing food. Most UK studies acknowledge international research into SFR as "political and community activism" while focussing on charitable models (Midgley 2013, p.1874, also Hawkes & Webster 2000, Williams et al., 2016). The lack of comparative studies into different forms of redistribution constitutes a key gap addressed by my thesis. Below I acknowledge studies of SFR in various guises, subsumed by different versions of political activism.

'Freeganism' (or 'dumpster-diving', 'bin-diving' and so on) is often viewed as the root of individuals' realisation of the materiality and scale of wastage, not only of food but of other commodities, housing and pubic space that freegans attempt to access in other ways than paid work or shopping. It thus denotes a broader praxis than a focus on food alone (Barnard 2016). Eating food from the waste stream for personal consumption can be seen as the root of the mainstreaming of wider problematisations of food waste, such as Stuart's own long-term practice (2009). Edwards and Mercer's (2007, 2012) studies of freeganism in Australia describe it as 'political gleaning', rooting it in both the biblical practice of gleaning and the 'voluntary simplicity' movement mentioned earlier (2007, p.281). They typologise freegan 'subgroups' bearing distinct repertoires of freegan practice. They discuss cooking practices as means of managing food safety fears (2012, p.182) and etiquette around dumpsters (p.183), both of which are discussed in Barnard (2016) and are reconsidered in Chapter 5's analysis of material, infrastructural and sensory dimensions of sorting food from waste.

These studies consider diverse cultural and historical dimensions of SFR. Giles (2013) explored aesthetic and political adherences of FNB activists to 'crust punk', describing sights, smells, atmospheres, dress and squat 'style' that constitute forms of identification, belonging and, for many, prefigurative politics. The San Francisco Diggers were early

pioneers of the 'radical-living-as-activism' characterising freeganism (Barnard, 2016). They demonstrated alternatives to capitalist lifestyles through 'life-acting' that included intercepting, cooking and publically-sharing wasted food in the 1960s-1970s (Judy Goldhaft, interview). The Diggers, it appears, shared food with the Black Panther Party as it launched its Free Breakfast Program for children (Patel, 2011). I explore this history in Chapter 5b when considering redistribution-as-activism in schools. First, I consider literature teasing out distinctions between radical and reformist tendencies of SFR.

Relationships between different SFR forms are explored by Barnard & Mourad (2014), using Tilly's theorisation of social movement "repertoires" as tactics groups use to demonstrate the 'political' nature of their claims. They compare the superficially similar act of redistributing free food from surplus by Disco Soupe and FNB, and whether movement actors (and public observers) consider these 'performances' as contentious. Barnard and Mourad locate France's Disco Soupe in the "rapid emergence of 'food waste' as an object of concern for mainstream non-profit groups and governments" (2014, p.7), with its soup-making to music events having been started by "business students involved in social enterprises" (ibid.), inspired by German Slow Food Youth Movement's Schnippeldisko ('Peeling/Chopping Disco').

Such comparative work sheds light on the politics (or 'anti-politics': Biltekoff, 2016) of diverse actors redistributing food. Another useful framework for comparing tendencies of actors, organisations and movements is 'food regimes'. McMichael (2009, p.281) defines the analytical typology as

> ...optic on the multiple determinations embodied in the food commodity, refocusing from the food commodity as object to the commodity as relation, with definite geo-political, social, cultural, ecological, and nutritional relations at significant historical moments.

Holt Giménez & Shattuck (2011, p.115) describe Slow Food as exemplifying the 'reformist' food regime, reflecting a 'consumption-as-politics' approach that fits with neoliberal ideologies and may be limited to an elite subsection of society (see Pink & Servon, 2013 for an alternative interpretation). This root for Disco Soupe's performative repertoire clearly differs from FNB's, which are rooted in 1980s anti-nuclear movements:

> ...by serving free, surplus food, the group sought to demonstrate how its core principles—vegetarianism, consensus-based decision- making, and non-violence—could be used as the basis for a more just and peaceful world...(Barnard & Mourad 2014, p.6).

FNB's public feedings aim to offer 'solidarity not charity', a dynamic Heynen (2010, p.1225) analyses as FNB's demonstrating "mutual aid and co-operativism…the kinds of resistance necessary to secure the most fundamentally inherent right to the city, which is the right to eat and survive in the city". He sets this against the undermining of those rights by a politics of "containment…the outsourcing of basic welfare by the state to private charity" (p.1227) and draws on Poppendieck's critique of food charity as operating in "direct collaboration with what is now recognised as the neo-liberal project" (p.1226). These distinctions are central to my comparative analyses of UK SFR models.

FNB offers fertile ground for exploring counter-politics to charitable SFR. Giles (2013, p.17) theorises FNB as 'counterpublics' "cultivated in their very exclusion from this world-class, capital-friendly version of public life". He analyses prodigious waste and spatial exclusions by municipal governance in 'world-class cities'. These contradictions underpin FNB's "abject symbiosis" of want and waste, market capitalism and radical social movement. Giles draws on Bataille to note that while "scarcity…may be a cornerstone of market economics…life itself…is usually in excess one way or another— and it always finds a way" (p.17). The very existence of globalised capitalism and its excesses makes possible the counterhegemonic imaginaries, practices and networks of FNB, described as "globalised, counterpublic forms of "habitus" and "hexis,"… 'commonsense' and embodied cultural assumptions that both challenge the norms of predominant market-publics" (p.30). These notions from Bourdieu suggest the more-than-imagined dispositions by which structure and agency overlap in hybrid forms (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Such hybridity will be key in my own analysis of both the socially-constructed and material dimensions of debates and practices around SFR. I now turn to consider SFR activism as a form of affective care.

SFR sites and practices explored in my fieldwork and reading are places filled with what Barnard calls 'ex-commodities' and Giles, 'abject commodity capital'. These studies unite political economy with social movement theory and attention to materiality. They analyse activist SFR as part of public performances and practices of care through which activists attempt to expose (and protest) the wastage of edible, nutritious food by businesses more concerned (they argue) with potential profits to be made from newer stock. Eating waste as a political act is explored in Chapter 5b and the notion of eating wasted food as collective/universal rather than charitable practice forms the basis of Chapter 6. SFR bears a long and politically-diverse history linking food and feeding to struggles against

racist state policy (Heynen, 2009), homelessness (Giles, 2013) and environmental degradation (Barnard, 2016).

These studies theorise SFR as far more than charity. They also reveal diversity within activist communities. Barnard and Mourad (2014) cast Disco Soupe as reformist, as hoping to raise citizen awareness and inspire change among public and private institutional actors, though the authors note diversity of intentions *within* the movement. They describe FNB as prefigurative of radical change, but note that for both groups, onlookers often did not view SFR activity as contentious. Operating within "deeply internalized repertoires of what counts as political" (p.21-22), neither group discussed ways to make their message overt. This insight raises questions about who and what is problematised in practices of SFR, and will be borne in mind when considering pedagogical aspects of redistribution in Chapter 5b.

Other SFR models: commodifying food charity?

Bauman (1998) observed of the 'new poor' of post-industrial nations under neoliberalism that in 'consumer culture', status is experienced and communicated not just by one's occupation but by one's capacity to purchase, buy and consume. By one's capacity to *spend*. Freely-given charitable food can be seen to deny or obscure such transactional agency (Riches, 2002). Responding in part to critiques of the paternalistic and stigmatising potentials of receiving charitable food as well as the need to develop 'sustainable' funding models in a competitive funding environment, organisations have developed models of SFR that require recipients to give something in return. Below, I consider the 'social supermarket' model and efforts to redistribute surplus food commercially.

The 'pantry' or social supermarket model is one fast-growing example, with Greater Manchester housing associations and other groups running pantries stocked by FareShare, where eligible families can pay a membership fee of a few pounds and 'shop' for food up to a higher retail value (Butler, 2017). Food retains traces of its commodity status, masking its previous journey of ex-commodification by the donor and being 'sold' to the pantry through FareShare's membership fee and tray charges. It is hoped to "avoid the stigma" of foodbanks (Forsey, 2014, p.10) and promote social inclusion (De Renobales et al., 2015). Concerns remain over the necessity of being on certain benefits or receiving debt/job advice in order to access such food. Schneider (2013, p.758)

highlights managerial practices that distinguish social supermarkets in order not to 'compete' with mainstream markets, such as strict membership rules for users to "ensure that they are really in need". This raises questions over how 'dignifying' such a model can really be. Fisher (2018) describes 'radical' forms of food rescue through 'no-cost grocery programs' that he suggests resemble UK social supermarkets and eliminate volunteer/recipient hierarchies, but overall there is a paucity of research into everyday practices of social supermarkets at present.

Community Shop's 'social supermarket' franchise has not expanded as predicted (APPG on Food Poverty, 2014). This may be part-result of high costs of providing not only discounted food but also envisaged 'learning and development hubs' and 'community kitchen/social eating space' (Stott & Widdison, 2017). Community Shop grew from the long-standing 'Company Shop' model of selling discounted surplus to workers. Company Shop has been running for over 40 years (LSEG, n.d.), suggesting that commercial redistribution may be a longer-standing practice than the charitable and activist forms explored in later chapters.

Other profit-making businesses have sprouted from growing availability/accessibility of wasted food alongside public awareness/willingness to buy and eat it. Approved Foods is a Sheffield warehouse and website selling mostly less-perishable food products purchased at low cost from suppliers unable to sell it at market value. Founder Dan Cluderay began as a market trader, selling from the 'grey market' of surplus food that long predates contemporary concerns around 'food waste' (interview). Such foods also find their ways to discount outlets such as 'Poundland'. These examples demonstrate that SFR comprises diverse commercial, charitable and activist models and has long been operating alongside primary markets. Commercial operators are potential competitors for access to surplus food, constituting low-cost outlets that may prove 'dignifying' alternatives to food charities while generating paid employment. They also suggest shifts in the broader population's exposure, and willingness to eat, surplus foods. Chapter 5a explores differences between 'expiry-dates' exploited to make such food available, and increased sales of such food may decrease supplies to charities while enabling retailers to recoup costs (East of England Co-op, n.d.).

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has summarised literatures dealing with food waste and food precarity as topics of media, policy, third-sector, campaign and academic concern. In using the lens of SFR to consider the ways waste and hunger have been discursively and materially aligned through practice, I have identified both parallels and distinctions between forms of SFR that could be characterised as 'charitable' and 'activist'. My work takes a comparative yet synthetic approach to understanding the differences, similarities and relationships between diverse forms of UK SFR. For example, while Hawkes and Webster (2000) and Midgley (2013) acknowledge the existence of independent direct donor-recipient relations outside of large charitable organisations, there exists a lack of comparative studies into these different redistribution relations. Lambie-Mumford et al. (2014, p.71) call for research into the "ethical and sustainability dilemmas involved in seeing 'food aid' as a solution to 'food waste'" that "should include different types of food aid provision".

A key theoretical issue noted to underlie critiques of charity is that of state-society relationships, problematising the causes of social problems and their representation, especially by NGOs. Chapter 4 employs framing in social movement theory to explore these representational practices in the development of UK discourses of SFR. More broadly, I attempt to understand the way macro-level conditions are translated into everyday SFR practices. The methodology chapter details my theoretical framework by which I explore this. Following Trudeau & Veronis (2009), Warshawsky (2015) and Ronson and Caraher (2016), I hope to understand how SFR spaces and practices enact, resist and shape broader societal changes in the governance of peoples' welfare, and of food.

My work examines other under-explored dimensions of SFR. One is the way material infrastructures, practices and spaces interact with these articulations of everyday SFR and societal change. There have been few studies of the implications of SFR's growing scale and complexity. Drawing on ontologies that destabilise dichotomising 'structural' explanations, I aim to broaden the ethnographic record of SFR's 'molecular' politics (Rose, 1999) and theorise human-nonhuman interactions that both challenge and uphold ethical assumptions about SFR, considering the emotive, visceral and embodied everyday realities of redistribution labour. 'New materialist' ontologies, outlined in the following chapter, provide theoretical resources to probe everyday sensory engagements with food required in boundary-drawing between food fit for humans and waste to be disposed of

in other ways. Such theories' linking of discursive and material components can help answer Midgley's (2013, p.1889) summoning of critical research into the values, qualities and framings by which market-state relations travel into the surplus food system, and "how different actors choose to challenge or maintain these in the management of this resource". As well as comparing actors' representations of how SFR relates to the problems of food waste/insecurity, I focus on material contexts and practices: cooking, eating and other means of reconfiguring the way food moves in SFR.

Finally, I contribute to discussions around whether charitable SFR constitutes a globalising form by comparing the UK with field research in North America. This goal interacts with those outlined above, questioning foodbanks as conduits of broader societal change, and the materialities of foodbank spaces and inventories. It adds to Lambie-Mumford et al.'s (2014, p.71) call for research into whether SFR is "driving food aid provision in particular directions; to what extent is its increase promoting an entrenchment of food aid provision?". While considering this through the lens of macro-micro translation/change noted above, I expand this question to embrace whether international models of SFR are also driving food aid in particular ways.

Additionally, findings in America consider the question of whether foodbanking can/should use its infrastructures to influence flows of 'healthy' food into low-income communities, using 'dignifying' distribution and inclusion models that attempt to redress criticisms of its stigmatising potential. Chapter 7 also considers challenges to the possibility of 'better' SFR, exploring struggles of campaigners who insist that foodbanking simply perpetuates a second-tier food system and prevents distributive justice.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

Having situated the study in critical literatures of diverse forms of SFR, this chapter describes my choice of philosophical and theoretical approaches to research. It then describes methods for data-collection and analysis. Field sites and the research process are introduced and justified, also considering issues of reflexivity. Ethical considerations are also discussed.

3.1 Theoretical framework

This chapter justifies the theoretical underpinnings of my analysis and writing, including social constructionism, critical theory and 'new' materialisms. I consider network/assemblage thinking and political ecology as means to address interactions of environmental and social (in)justices. I combine 'anti-realist' ontologies considering reflexive interpretations by social actors as a means for accessing knowledge (Mason, 2002), and 'realist' approaches that carve a role for more-than-human agency in creating and knowing reality (Delanda, 2016). The ontological assumptions and genealogy of these approaches have distinct epistemological implications for the nature of knowledge acquisition and organisation and thus crucial implications for methodology (Talja, Tuominen, & Savolainen, 2005).

3.1.1 Defining concepts?

Bacchi (2015, p.1) notes that terms like constructivism, problematisation and discourse "have no fixed meaning" and are used in different and overlapping ways by theoretically-diverse scholars. Conceptual terms can be redefined to fit different analytical purposes. Talja et al. (2005, p.94) note differences between researchers' critieria for "mapping paradigms", arguing that conceptual categorisations cannot be considered definitive or exhaustive. We necessarily reduce the complexity and history of thinking and influences within qualititative research when 'defining' theory (Mason, 2002). This chapter sets out terms as I use them in my own analysis but recognises their tendency to shift.

I acknowledge historical debates around resolving antinomies between 'objectivist' theories positing structures beyond human perception that shape reality and

'subjectivist' approaches positing human perception, interaction and interpretation as the basis for social reality- a resolution that scholars like Bourdieu have tried to overcome (Wacquant, 1998). Foucault's questioning of the notion of the political subject in interpretivist/subjectivist thought (Bacchi, 2015) is another example. Later I grapple with critiques of the humanist biases of the interpretivist tradition (Anderson & Harrison, 2010), a necessary step in justifying my own borrowing from different meta-theoretical approaches. I first justify my use of constructionism to analyse hunger and waste in public and organisational discourse.

3.1.2 Social constructionism

As meta-theory, social constructionism refers to the creation and institutionalization of reality in social interaction (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). It is rooted in interpretivist histories of scholarly attention to representations. It challenges "objectivist" ontologies through which problems like hunger are defined and assumed to comprise objective characteristics that can be categorised and measured (Maurer & Sobal, 1995, p.xi). I distinguish my use of constructionism from that privileging human cognition alone (Talja et al., 2005) and later explore theories troubling human/nature dichotomies in certain ontologies of the 'social' (Latour, 2005). With curiosity as to the nature of 'social actors', I locate my use of constructionism and framing in an interactional view of social reality as shaped by discourse, where meaning and epistemic disputes may be obscured by words and definitions (Talja et al., 2005). Discursive practices are the object of research, and Chapter 4 uses frame theory to explore discursive contests underway in the conceptualisation and politicisation of waste, hunger and redistribution.

Previous chapters charted how hunger and waste have become prominent issues, gaining attention of government, academics, social movements and civil society. In a constructionist vein, Blumer (1971) theorised such 'social problems' not as 'objective conditions' but as processes of 'collective definition'. He noted tendencies of researchers to take proposal cues from whatever happens to be the foci of public concern. I note the origin of this study in a research proposal that quoted extant literature positing and analysing 'food poverty' as a problem receiving increasing public attention at the time (e.g. Cooper & Dumpleton, 2013). This study is therefore no exception to Blumer's thesis.

My theoretical choices reflect the influence of Poppendieck's (1998) constructionist account of how US poverty came to be defined as hunger that could then be alleviated

through emergency food. Her work reflects the dominance of constructionism in health and nutrition research in the 1990s, arguing that social problems are "*dependent* on public definition" (Maurer & Sobal, 1995, p.xi, emphasis in original) and have no independent ontological status. This grew from critiques of positivistic paradigms of considering problems as objective facts (Srnicek, 2007).

Frame theory

Frame theory is rooted in Bateson's notion of framing as meta-communication, without which no communicational form (verbal or nonverbal) can be understood (Tannen, 1993). Framing refers to the "meaning work" that until the mid-1980s remained implicit or ignored in the description and analysis of social life: the struggle over the production of mobilizing and counter-mobilizing ideas and meanings, especially in social movement studies (Benford & Snow, 2000, p.613). Here, framing refers to meaning-making in the form of:

> ...grievance construction and interpretation, attributions of blame/causality, movement participation, the mobilization of popular support for a movement cause, resource acquisition, strategic interaction, and the selection of movement tactics and targets (Benford, 1997, p.410).

Analysing social movements' framing practices can elucidate power differentials and dynamics that interact with contextual processes in the determination of outcomes (Benford, 1997). The emphasis on meaning construction and communication processes throughout the 1980s/1990s grew from socio-linguistic critique of structural determinism towards examining how social movements "seek to affect interpretations of reality among various audiences" (Benford 1997, p.410). Chapter 4 applies frame theory by linking Mooney and Hunt's (2009) elaboration of Goffman's (1974) notion of sharp/flat 'keying' to analytical devices for assessing the power dynamics of charity and activism work, namely 'food regimes' (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011) and contestation v containment (Heynen, 2010).

Later I address accusations of constructionism's dichotomous ontology of nature/culture that privileges human perception in construction (Anderson & Harrison, 2010). Chapter 5 addresses this critique, drawing on more-than-representational approaches that reject 'correlationist' assumptions and linguistic biases of human perception as the primary channel to access non-human phenomena (e.g. Bennett, 2010). Chapters 5b and 6 employ political ecology to synthesise attention to discursive, material and structural factors in

SFR. However, a Foucauldian reading of constructionism challenges the presumption of human exceptionalism, to which I now turn.

Problematisation

Foucault's notion of problematisation (Midgley, 2012) provides tools for understanding why some representations gain power and political purchase while others earn less potency. This will be helpful in comparing the efficacy and trajectories of SFR models compared in later chapters.

Bacchi's (2012) analysis of Foucauldian problematisation notes a recursive relationship between practice and discourse, where practice implies the codes governing action and thought (itself a practice) as well as the true discourse through which such actions are legitimated. Foucault was interested in how knowledge could be understood by looking at what is done e.g. how one could know 'madness' by looking at the practices through which madness is ascribed, treated, defined. He was interested not in identifying pre-existing phenomena but in understanding how those phenomena came to *be* as processes of problematisation. By examining material, temporal and relational experiences narrated by social movement actors redistributing food, we can identify shifts and splits in collective framings of the problems they felt they were representing and addressing. Bacchi (2015, p.3), however, distinguishes poststructural readings of problematisation from frame theory. Interpretivists, who she argues include frame analysts, emphasise the role of people as "problematizing agents", standing outside of the social reality/problems they interpret. In contrast, Foucault-influenced analysts view problematisations as "products of governmental practices" where subjects are not self-evident but are "constituted in discourses, understood as broad, socially produced forms of knowledge" (p.3).

Problematisation as a mode of enquiry provides an alternative way of analysing the constructed nature of social problems. Analysing HFI, Midgley (2012, p.294-5) quotes Foucault:

> Problematization does not mean the representation of a pre-existent object, more the creation through discourse of an object that did not exist. It is the ensemble of discursive and non-discursive practices that make something enter in to the play of true and false and constitute it as an object of thought (whether in the form of moral reflection, scientific knowledge, political analysis, etc.).

Foucault's notion of discourse implies:

> …ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern" (Weedon, 1987, p.108).

Discourse both constrains and enables ways of thinking, speaking and writing; it is through contextualising by thick description what is said and practiced in different field encounters that something can be said of how organisations produce forms of knowledge that can be acted upon (Geertz, 1973). A Foucauldian definition of discourse, however, draws out the imbrication of discourse and practice, embracing material, embodied and emotional ways of knowing/communicating. Discourse is not opposed to practice; it co-constitutes it.

Chapter 4 provides a constructionist account of 'hunger' and 'waste' i.e. how they have come to be framed and problematised. Later chapters address critiques of constructionism's dualistic tendencies and neglect of materiality. Arguably, Foucault's troubling of the human subject and inclusion of bodies, spaces and techniques in notions of governing avoids this critique.

As mentioned, I use frame theory to analyse the representational practices of SFR organisations as ways to understand their orientations towards causes and solutions to hunger/waste i.e. their political affiliations, stances and actions. A deeper understanding of organisational politics has come from critical theory, to which I now turn.

3.1.3 Political economy and critical theory

Wacquant (2004) recalls Horkheimer's definition of critical theory as explanatory, normative, practical and reflexive. The Frankfurt School employed Marxian theory to analyse socio-historical reality as consisting of masked forms of domination and exploitation. Barnard (2016) and Giles' (2013) ethnographies of waste and hunger amidst wealth adopt such critical stances, shared in large part by the anti-capitalist activists populating their ethnographic work.

Critical theory attends to structural conditions impinging on the lives of heterogeneous communities and individuals. Below I examine political ecology's aligning of Marxism with theories attending to processual and materialist ontologies that challenge easy invocation of concepts like 'structure' and 'power'. This training of attention will be brought to bear on the analysis of SFR practices, for example using 'metabolism' as

analytic for investigating socio-material more-than-human interactions in the making of SFR assemblages.

 Political economy provides potent and historically-weighted analyses of inequality, oppression and struggle, suited to a study comparing political modalities of alternative food governance. My research grapples with the distinct contributions of Marxist and 'new materialist' ontologies: Farías (2011, p.365) argues AT's "radically relational understandings of power-knowledge…messes up the object and standpoint of critique". This differs importantly from critical theories of capitalist space as contradictory 'point of collision' between "mobilizations of the deprived, the discontented and the dispossessed, on the one side, and on the other, ruling class strategies to instrumentalize, control and colonize social and natural resources" (Brenner et al., 2009, p.182). One way I have navigated these ontological irreconcilabilities is to use political ecology's notion of metabolism (Warshawsky, 2015) and the structure-agency-materiality triad of the 'political ecology of the body' (PEB) model (Hayes-Conroy, 2015), detailed below.

3.1.4 From constructionism to material, embodied agency

While critiquing co-representations of hunger and waste (Chapter 4), my study examines material infrastructures through which SFR practices have been spatialized and rendered more (or less) permanent/mutable. This addresses critiques of constructivism by theorists of "non-representational" dimensions of social life. Anderson & Harrison (2010) argue that constructivism acknowledges the arbitrary, invented and contestable nature of social 'truths' but at the cost of relying on a Cartesian split between the world and meanings it generates. Their opposition of action/interaction and discourse/ideology is challenged by Weedon's (1987, see above) broad, bodily definition of discourse. However, I accept their argument that "anti-realism" gives little attention to the "fact that 'if life is constructed, how come it appears so immutable?'" (2010, p.6), for its invitation to a richer analysis of multi-dimensional social life. For example, while Poppendieck (1998) notes material dimensions of excess and scarcity: rotting pigs, trucks, cheese vaults, and bureaucratic practices driving foodbanking's emergence and stabilisation, social constructionism affords these little agency except as effects of definitional processes. Theories redressing the ontological status of more-than-human actors in understanding the emergence and trajectories of social problems can provide a deeper analysis of how phenomena emerge and are de/stabilised (Muller & Schurr, 2016),

forming the task of Chapter 5. I now turn to theories considering affect, sensoriality and embodiment.

The theorisation of affect attempts to fill blind-spots of constructivism while embracing feminist attention to pluralism, anti-essentialism and relationality (Colls, 2012). The visceral phenomenology of bodies has come to the fore, where the visceral denotes

> ...bodily experiences or judgements—that may be narrated as moods, emotions or sensations—of our sensory interactions with contexts which are fashioned by the interplay of the discursive and material (Waitt, Ryan, & Farbotko, 2014, p.285)

Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy (2008) argue that viscerality provides a way to link material experience and ideological beliefs around food. Chapter 5b draws on their PEB model (2015) as a way to simultaneously attend to structural inequality, bodily/sensory experience and epistemic and ideological discourses of food ethics. Another useful resource in this has been critical nutrition theories, such as conceptualising eating as pleasure (Vogel & Mol, 2014), linking taste and class (Guthman, 2003) or moral politics in dominant notions of 'healthy' and 'sustainable' food (Coveney, 2006, Bell & Hollows, 2011, Flowers & Swan, 2012). While these approaches bear influences of constructionist theorising, they emphasise the intimate, everyday realm of politics, especially as this relates to vectors of inequality such as gender, race and location.

Before departing from critiques of constructionism, I turn to Latour's challenge to Cartesian dichotomies of representation and reality in 'social' life. Latour (1990) acknowledged the value of the 'semiotic turn' from which constructionism grew. He argued that "meaning productions" should no longer be seen as unproblematic, but as opaque. The task was no longer to make human communications more transparent but to "recognize and relish their thick, rich, layered and complex matter. Instead of mere *intermediary* they had become *mediators*" (p.8, emphasis added). This point exemplifies actor-network theory's commitment to studying "the construction of entities" (ibid). Rather than seeing representations as ontologically distinct from what they represent, representation can itself modify and transform (as mediator), as well as reflect (as intermediary). Representations are here seen *as entities* (in assemblage theory, DeLanda 2016 describes them as the expressive axis of deterritorialisation). I will use Latour's distinction between intermediaries and mediators (Latour, 2005) to analyse how redistribution infrastructures are stabilised and destabilised, explained further later.

I now discuss assemblage theory and political ecology, approaches attending to the shortcomings of theories focussed solely on meaning-construction or attributing all change to abstractions, including 'capitalism'. They hail methodological shifts enabled by the work of actor-network and affect theory in attending to materiality, emotion/feeling, embodiment and post-humanist ontologies (e.g. Whatmore, 2002, Callon, 1986, Thrift, 2004, Guthman, 2012).

3.1.5 'New materialisms' and assemblage ontology

Actor-network theory introduced a performative ontology of social life, challenging nature/society dualisms and focussing on how realities "get done" rather than "get known" (Law, 2009, p.1). Some describe this as a turn from epistemology to ontology (Bennett 2010). Such an endeavour remains political because realities can always be *done* differently, but poststructural analysts criticise the blackboxing of performativity and heterogeneity in abstract concepts like 'power' (Callon & Latour, 1981). Similarly to treating representations as mediators, following actors involved moving beyond explanations invoking structure as *the* causative factor in change or stability towards interrogating why and by what means/whom 'structures' come to be (and change) rather than assuming their nonhuman, deterministic self-evidence (Yeung, 2003).

This is also an ethical pursuit: Bennett (2010) asks how an ontology that includes non-humans might inculcate ethical sensibility around "vibrant" materialities and trajectories. She argues that "the locus of agency is always a human-nonhuman working group" (p.xvii), acknowledging Latour's notion of 'actants' in developing a vocabulary that "addresses multiple modes and degrees of effectivity" (p.viii). Such linguistic attention to emotive and sensory dimensions enables reconceptualisations of, for example, eating, as mutually-embodied caring that may be elided by focussing on, say, critical theories of 'commodity fetishism'. Bennett argues that "the locus of political responsibility is a human-nonhuman assemblage" (p.36), figuring nonhumans "less as social constructions and more as actors" (p.21).

I have carried this notion of distributed agency into the field and it informs my analysis of redistribution infrastructures and food's materiality. My conclusion chapters consider whether this attention yields understandings of SFR as sites for cultivating deeper ecological resonances between humans and food, collapsing distinctions between social and environmental concerns for sustainability (Whatmore, 2002).

The food/waste continuum has been conceptualised in terms of social practice theory (Evans, 2014), the political economy of supply chains (Gille, 2012), emotion/love (Cappellini & Parsons, 2012, Watson & Meah, 2012) and embodiment (Waitt & Phillips, 2016). However, less attention has been paid to the agency of food/waste matter and the human-nonhuman collaborative *work* of redistribution.

Bennett subscribes to Spinozist notions of affect as "the capacity of any body for activity and responsiveness" (2010, p.xii), where bodies include the non-human. Spinoza described bodies as 'conative' or expressing a vital impetus, things are therefore inherently "associative" or "social" (2010, p.21). Bennett traces this to Deleuze's conceptualisation of affect as the capacity to affect and be affected. She draws on Deleuze and Guattari's concept of assemblage: "ad hoc diverse groupings of diverse elements" (p.23) with uneven topographies, where diverse affects and bodies differ in their ability to make things happen. I call upon these notions in Chapter 5, especially Muller and Schurr's (2016) synthesis of assemblage and actor-network thinking for analysing how redistribution assemblages emerge, are maintained and change.

3.1.6 New materialism/critical theory: challenging dichotomies

Assemblage theory flattens hierarchies of scalar power inherent in approaches positing policy or state/Government as broader, superior scales of analysing power. Dovey (2011, p.348) writes that through such thinking, "microscale specificities of urban space, public/private interfaces, pedestrian networks and everyday urban experience are often reduced to epiphenomena of larger scale processes and structures" . AT adopts a more Foucauldian conceptualisation of power as capillary, enacted through distributed micropractices that are insinuated within the field of operation rather than simply held by agents: "power is immanent to the assemblage, it operates and mutates through the connections between sociality/spatiality, people/ buildings" (Dovey p.349). This departs from a Marxian critique of power; as Farías (2011, p.365) notes, "Assemblage thinking is...at odds with an understanding of critique based on a notion of power as a resource a ruling class possesses and of knowledge as an ideological construct that needs to be unveiled". Nevertheless, rich debates in geography around the relationships between power, scale and space complexify the flattening of received analytical boundaries (Soja, 1996, Marston & Smith, 2001, Escobar, 2007).

Chapter 5 engages AT and ANT to explore dimensions of change and (de)stabilisation in SFR spaces and practices. Some view structural Marxist and assemblage ontologies as

incommensurable, given the former's prioritisation of certain variables in explaining issues (e.g. class, capitalism, inequality), while the latter flattens them (Lancione, 2016). In linking them, I take inspiration from DeLanda's own intellectual journey. As a Latin American scholar, he notes his own journey from Marxist historical materialism towards non-dualist 'new' materialisms (Dolphjin & van der Tuin, 2012). Overcoming dualism is key to new materialist philosophies such as AT and ANT. This is not just epistemological 'sequential negation' in theory building, where

> ...prioritizing mind over matter or culture over nature is a transcendentalizing gesture following humanist and dialecticist thought. It posits postmodernism as overcoming the flaws of positivism, and social constructivism as overcoming biological determinism. (Dolphjin & van der Tuin, 2012, n.p.)

Indeed, Bennett (2010, p.x) aims to "dissipate the onto-theological binaries of life/matter, human/animal, will/determination, and organic/inorganic". This offers not only dissent but new tools of description and analysis that force us to think (and look) more closely at how structures emerge, persist and change. These points, of course, have implications for methodology; for example acknowledging that interviews alone cannot capture certain non-verbal dimensions of social life (Hitchings, 2012). Ontological attention to the role of nonhumans required different ways of seeing and recording experiences in the field, detailed below.

I now turn to political ecology's synthesis of structural and materialist theorising, especially its development of the Marxist notion of metabolism which I use to consider socio-material flows of food and people in SFR as both environmental and social phenomenon. Political ecology provides theoretical and empirical resources for addressing one of the central underlying questions of this thesis, the interactions of waste and hunger as problems often relegated to separate spheres of 'environmental' and 'social' analysis.

3.1.7 Political ecology

Political ecology's development is often traced to work by scholars including Wolf's (1982) multi-scaled analyses of interactions between ecological resources, environments and political processes/structures. Wolf wrote during a period when studies of globalism, colonialism and 'world history' were connecting capitalist food production to globally-uneven development (e.g. Mintz 1985). Scholars sought to collapse traditional analytical boundaries of near/far, primitive/modern in exploring connections between environmental, political and economic realms, with Wolf attempting to broaden the

individualising political economy of Smith and Malthus yet employing neo-Marxist insights into the relations between modes of production, ecological contexts and sociocultural forms (Bryant, Kizos, & Paniagua, 2015).

Metabolism and Urban Political Ecology

One Marxist concept that has deeply influenced recent political ecology has been 'metabolism' or 'material interchange' ("stoffweschel"- see Heynen, 2013). The notion of metabolic rift theorised human-nature interactions under capitalist forms of reproduction, implying that ecological sustainability is impossible under a capitalist system (Bellamy Foster, 2009). Marx's critique of unsustainable capitalist agriculture provides a foundation for ecological studies of complex and dynamic interactions between human and nonhuman nature. At a time of Enclosure and rural-urban migrations, Marx viewed such ruptures in empirical, materialist terms and not as abstractions. While much late 19th/20thC classical social theory sought century to "liberate social thought" from reductionisms and prejudices, such theory "exaggerated the autonomy of social processes from the natural world" (Battel, 1996, n.p.).

Bellamy Foster's revitalisation of Marx's theorisations of society-nature relations through metabolic rift theory can also be seen in the theoretical elaboration of metabolism and the 'new materialism' in urban political ecology (UPE). Rademacher (2015) suggests two means by which the 'urban' has been brought into political ecological thought. Firstly, the Lefevbrian notion that "by tracing the capitalist flows that bind city and countryside, we are poised to recognize a completely urban world" (Rademacher 2015, p.141) and secondly, how political ecological theorising that "evolved in nonurban contexts may shed new light on our understanding of socionatural dynamics in cities" (p.141). 'Metabolism' has thus been elaborated to explore the range of human-nonhuman imbrications of political ecology. In geography, Swyngedouw (1996) foreshadowed UPE's theorisation of

> …synergies between political economy, political ecology, and…STS by blending representational, discursive, ideological, material, and biochemical constellations of uneven power relations through the notion of urban metabolism (Heynen, 2013, p.2).

Swyngedouw (1996, p.65) argued that "in the city, society and nature, representation and being are inseparable, integral to each other, infinitely bound-up, yet simultaneously this hybrid socio-natural 'thing' called the city is full of contradictions, tensions and conflicts". An important emphasis has been on the unevenness of urban development and its socio-material flows (Heynen, 2009).

My study of socio-material infrastructures and processes mediating SFR draws on these theories highlighting such emergent, processual human-nature relationships. Heynen (2013, p.2) defines UPE's articulation of 'metabolism' as the "dynamic process by which new sociospatial formations, intertwinings of materials, and collaborative enmeshing of social nature emerge and present themselves and are explicitly created through human labor and non-human processes simultaneously". While seeing food waste and hunger as man-made phenomena (Sen & Dreze, 1989), metabolism offers an ontological bridge between historically-loaded dualisms of nature and society. These 'social problems' may be 'created' but Latour and others' work have challenged viewing 'the social' as ontologically distinct from 'nature', leading to understanding such problems as *co*-created through human-nonhuman assemblages.

Recapping: theoretical commitments

This thesis engages with productive tensions between Marxist analysis and theories of more-than-human matter/power (Bennett 2004) to weave between micro-ethnography in SFR spaces (e.g. bacterial qualities of food, sensual capacities of bodies) and the nested multi-scalar contexts that recursively co-produce these micro-moments. Histories of global trade and monoculture connect somehow to the wrinkled nose of a volunteer determining whether an ex-commodified but donated spear of asparagus might should be fed to a 'person in need'. I combine close ethnographic attention to bodies, matter and senses with a grounding in theories of excess, uneven urban development, value in 'supply-chain capitalism' and corporate 'responsibility' (Freidberg, 2004) to situate the growth and nature of different SFR models forming the empirical focus of this study. The destabilising of fixed and hierarchical anthropomorphisms and representational biases of humanist thinking aims to make ethico-ontological claims about what can be considered an agentic subject. Bennett's 'vital materialism' frames this as fundamentally related to the ontological roots of political power, 'advocating' the vitality of matter because "my hunch is that the image of dead or thoroughly instrumentalised matter feeds human hubris and our earth-destroying fantasies of conquest and consumption" (2010, p.ix). She asks 'how would political responses to public problems change were we to take seriously the vitality of (nonhuman) bodies?'. Similarly, Demeritt (2005, p.818) notes of Whatmore's 'hybrid geographies' that "by remapping what counts as an autonomous subject, she challenges long-standing humanist assumptions about who has ethical standing and right". My own work brings into the picture some of the multitude of actants

enabling SFR, respect for whose "material powers" might foster, Bennett hopes, "more ecological and more materially sustainable modes of production and consumption". Politically, I seek what Bennett hopes for as "human decency and a decent politics" which she argues may be fostered "if we tune into the strange logic of turbulence" (2010 p.xi). Research took place during a turbulent time, including the UK's Brexit referendum with its attendant implications for transforming food systems (Lang et al., 2017). The calcifying polarisation of politics prevents the 'decency' of acknowledging all beings. While many endorse ethical principles, many fail to make the leap into ethical practice: Bennett believes that encounters of 'sensuous enchantment' with 'everyday worlds' might provide the motivational energy to make this leap. Later chapters explore practices and processes that grapple with some of the disturbing and increasingly visible disjuctures between wasted excess and increasing evidence of the unequal distribution of resources in the form of food insecurity.

3.2 Approach to fieldwork: ethnography

> By interrogating the subject positions of ourselves as intellectuals as well as the objects of our inquiry we can excavate a 'space of betweenness' wherein the multiple determinations of a decentered world are connected. (Katz, 1992)

My fieldwork engaged with organisations redistributing surplus food with the aim of producing an ethnographic account based on principles of participation and reflexivity. The choice of ethnography reflects my background in social anthropology, where sustained, intensive ethnographic fieldwork is well-established as primary means for the researcher to "make the strange familiar and the familiar strange" (Spiro 1990). The PhD proposal specified ethnographic methods.

A key epistemological tenet is that ethnography does not simply denote a technique, length of fieldwork, written product or merely establishing good rapport with participants. It denotes a "way of seeing" (Wolcott, 1999), a reflexive orientation to grounded cultural interpretation. Its interpretative nature has earned 'social' science criticism from 'natural' science for being open to researchers' subjective biases. However, the very proximity to practices unfolding in time and space allows ethnographic fieldworkers to question their own assumptions, recognising that "the study of human activity…demands that one…occupy oneself with values as a point of departure for praxis" (Flyvbjerg 2001, p.70).

A core assumption is reflexivity. Denoting reflection and complexity (Osterweil, 2013), reflexivity involves recognising how one's attributes and ways of being inevitably colour

the field experience, including others' perceptions. Wacquant (2009, p.121) distinguishes "narcissistic and discursive" reflexivity where the researcher turns the analytic gaze to herself as knowing subject from "epistemic reflexivity", a "constant questioning of the categories and techniques of sociological analysis and of the relationship to the world they presuppose". Reflexivity is not applied retrospectively but throughout research, and recalls Bacchi's distinction of a Foucauldian problematisation that calls into question the very epistemic production of problems and their purported subjects.

3.2.1 Methodologically qualitative

Flyvbjerg (2001) critiques the "science wars" whereby qualitative research attempted to justify its existence using the same ontological standards of reliability/validity as quantitative approaches, rather than highlighting its particular power in analysing issues of power, value and interests. Aldrich (2014) argues that the qualitative/quantitative dichotomy obscures the breadth of techniques and skills within 'qualitative research' but notes how institutional norms such as deep-rooted perceptions (and funding preferences) of statistical research as holding greater prestige have reified the persistence of the quantitative/qualitative dichotomy (also Yeung, 2003).

Rather than stressing its explanatory/predictive power in relation to natural sciences, ethnography involves close attention to the unfolding co-production of epistemic, technical and interpretive aspects of real-life situations. Flyvbjerg (2001) notes vital elements of good social science: thick description and contextual analysis. Methodologically, these go hand in hand. The phenomenological stance taken to fieldwork sites was one that tried to capture the minutiae of the particular through the practice of 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973), discussed below. Opposing conventional wisdom as to what constitutes 'important questions', this fundamental stance of ethnography assumes that "small questions lead to big answers" (Flyvbjerg p.132). For example, ethnography can identify spatial linkages between structural forces or macrocosms at regional/local/global scales and local microcosms of everyday life/lives. This is vital in answering my objective to analyse institutional contexts, patterns of social change and global processes mediating, and mediated by, SFR practices. One useful tool is translation: as Rose (1999, p.11) articulates it, "so often…events, however major their ramifications, occur at the level of the molecular, the minor, the little and the mundane". By flattening scales of analysis, AT and ANT will be used to consider whether localised SFR practices act as mechanisms for state governance in ways that depoliticise, or

politicise in neoliberal ways, causes and solutions to hunger/waste (Trudeau & Veronis, 2009).

Giles (2013, p.127) notes the stakes of the ethnographic commitment: "while the work of rogue soup kitchens like Food Not Bombs, and of other abject economies, is a productive part of urban social ecology it is also routinely excluded from representations". He describes how through attendance and documentation of encounters between activists and police, "diverse modes of living in the city are rendered visible, viable, and even grievable…within the symbolic economies of major metropolises" (p.127). Such moments, he suggests, forge the "ontological and experiential boundaries of metropolises, markets, and publics" (p.128). In other words, ethnography attends to what is visible and/or hidden in the political-economic imaginaries of cities: the way certain lives, spaces and discourses are nourished while others less so (Nally, 2011). Ethnographic work aims to reveal what is missed, hidden or ignored. With such revelation comes responsibility, discussed in the ethics section.

Time and space

Ethnography requires the passage of adequate time to develop what Falzon describes as "the ethnographic consciousness" (2009, p.7) until a point, developed slowly and by accretion, when one 'understands'. Participation in relationships, activities, exchanges, events over time allows connections to become visible, as one 'becomes an insider'. However, this traditional view of ethnography assumes 'the field' to be somewhat unitary and stable, with 'multi-sited ethnography' proposing that not only time, but space, can be transformative (Falzon, 2009, p.8). As discussed in the ethics section, some research encounters, especially in North America, were 'shallow' one-off interventions (Kesby, 2000), but were useful in, for example, experiencing the physicality of foodbank spaces, with interviews derived from my reading rather than having built up experience of the specific site.

Giles' (2013, p.22) ethnography of Food Not Bombs recognises the multi-sitedness of cities like Seattle: "cultural, economic, and political terrains of any given locality are hardly stable or unified. They are fractured, stratified, and pluralised" over space and time. The multiplicity of forms, structures and fields of engagement that overlap within a geographically-bounded 'site' can be hard to contain in our imaginaries of singular places. These insights have contributed to geographical analyses of more-than-human networks, such as exploring waste mobilities (Gregson & Crang, 2010, Herod et al., 2014). 'Follow

the thing' or actor-network approaches hint at the inadequacies of trying to 'capture' a site, an organisation or a city. The unexpectedness of my own ethnographic journey, described later, hints at the fruitlessness of trying to 'pin down' social phenomena, though paying attention to in/stabilities over time and space of different redistribution organisations/practices fuelled the very arguments I formulate in later chapters.

Another issue was the salience of the topic, which presented methodological issues. With a live and changing problem, I had to introduce 'cut-off' points for literature and data-gathering. I recognised from the start that conclusions would be subject to the changing contexts in which research was conducted.

3.2.2 Participation and reflexivity

Most study participants work or volunteer for organisations working to redistribute surplus food. This reflects a frequent bias in social studies of food justice; the preponderance of attention paid to NGOs rather than, for instance, corporate boards and government legislatures whose decisions affect these processes, or service users. Warshawsky (2016) argues that this reflects greater access and ideological affiliation to such organisations by researchers. I later discuss my own affiliations and participation in SFR activities. Academic research offers a space to explore and question discourses that may be taboo or viewed as extraneous to the everyday task of doing the work (Katz, 1992). This privileged space allows me to question and attempt to transcend some of my own assumptions and political biases but the power to speak to such issues is never neutral.

Assuming that "data collection and analysis are done concurrently rather than being separately scheduled parts of the research" (Agar, 1980 p.9), the fieldwork encounter is reflexive, involving the researcher's constant interrogation of the theoretical and methodological assumptions that enable contextualisation of observations. The task is not merely to observe and describe but to understand what it is that enables practices, relationships, discourses and networks to hold together, to make sense, change and have effects in the world. In sensory ethnography, the task can be to open the body to new ways of 'seeing'- touching, smelling, and feeling in ways that may not be readily cognised (Paterson, 2009). I reflected on the visceral and emotional experiences of doing SFR work as embodied subject (Longhurst, Ho & Johnston, 2008), and use this in my analysis of sensory and interpretive labour.

The participant-observer role introduces methodological and ethical considerations about how to include the subjects of research and how research should contribute to their practice, if at all (Heynen, 2013). Participatory Action Research (PAR) shaped the early development of my methodology:

> PAR seeks to understand and improve the world by changing it. At its heart is collective, self-reflective inquiry that researchers *and participants* undertake, so they can understand and improve upon the practices in which they participate and the situations in which they find themselves. The reflective process is directly *linked to action*…(Baum, MacDougall, & Smith, 2006, p.854, emphasis added)

Such methodological intentions were rooted in my commitment to critical theory, previous work for campaign organisations conducting participatory research, and an ethical commitment to academic research that genuinely contributes to social change. Qualitative research provides "ways of identifying and explicating implicit assumptions…in which a researcher can bring to the fore beliefs and values of which even those who are members of the culture are unaware" (Morse, 2003, p.835). Flyvbjerg (2001, p.57) renders this power more actionable using the Aristotelian notion of 'phronesis', the "analysis of values…as a point of departure for action". Such commitments are clear in the work of UPE geographers such Heynen's (2006) insistence that geography should, fundamentally, struggle to identify and contest uneven development and its threats to basic facts of human survival, let alone thriving. I now turn to the specific organisations chosen for the research.

3.2.3 Selecting cases

My research interrogates relationships between hunger and waste through the lens of surplus food redistribution. It goes beyond literature critiquing emergency food aid (e.g. Poppendieck, 1998) to incorporate environmentalist and anarchistic arguments from ethnographies of surplus redistribution as politically-engaged street feeding (Giles, 2013, Barnard, 2016), asking whether charities and social movements differ fundamentally in their capacity to address root causes of hunger and waste. An ethnographic approach best enables the collection and comparison of qualitative observations that can shed light onto this value-laden question.

For the purposes of comparability, organisations were chosen to reflect a range of operational scales, stated missions and orientations to other food system actors (for example, attitudes towards partnerships with supermarkets or policy engagement). It was important to include a charity providing food aid as well as a social movement with an explicitly anti-charity approach in order to address the critique raised in Chapter 2

around the shift from state to charitable welfare and the potential for social movements to highlight and challenge food charity (or indeed, versions of its critique). Organisations were also chosen for their practical accessibility, although challenges in accessing Manchester's Real Junk Food Project (partly because it lacked a permanent café space) required travel to a range of locations.

Personal knowledge and experience of studied organisations preceded the PhD (Maxey, 1999) and thus guided my approach to the broader question about the relationships between food waste and food poverty; namely the role of SFR. To better my understanding of the SFR landscape and access sites of study, I built relationships with organisations I hoped to work with and held prior meetings to discuss potential issues- role clarity, expectations, confidentiality and timescales. At FareShare I tended to correspond with one staff member who acted partly as gatekeeper and gave consent to my participant-observation.

Table 1 details organisations included in the research, and methods used.

Table 1. Research organisations, sites and fieldwork plan

Name	Type/ structure	Location	Description	Research plan	Provision
FareShare Greater Manchester	Regional branch of national SFR organisation	New Smithfield Market, Manchester	Depot of national social franchise that creates partnerships with national retail chains and redistributes their surplus food to 'Community Food Members', often organisations using food as part of wider activities. Members pay an annual subscription and fee per 'tray' of food ordered. The location on a wholesale produce market and relationship with neighbouring composting enterprise Fairfield Recycling allows it to receive and distribute greater quantities of fresh produce than other FareShare branches.	- Participant observation weeks (Nov '15, Oct '16, Nov '16), occasional days. -Interviews with 9 key staff (Appendix 1)	Intermediary- food provided to diverse charities, schools etc.
The Real Junk Food Project (TRJFP)/ Fuel For School (FFS)/ Sharehouse	Social movement comprising surplus food cafes (mostly Community Interest Companies), social enterprises and a charitable trust	Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Newcastle, Brighton, Saltaire, Northampton, Cardiff, Birmingham, Bethesda	Network of cafes and temporary ('pop-up' or weekly) food distributions around the UK and abroad. Meals are distributed using a 'pay-as-you-feel' (PAYF) basis. I describe those who founded and run cafes as 'director/organisers' to reflect both their leadership and activist roles. Some cafes redistribute leftover stock (or that which is unsuited to cooking) through 'food boutiques', also operating the pay-as-you-feel model. Some projects have developed '**Sharehouses**' independent warehouses open to the public to access food in return for PAYF donations. Individual cafes develop local relationships with retailers and residents while the charitable trust in Leeds liaises with national food waste campaigns and supports/develops the wider network. Key organisers of **Fuel For School** were also interviewed.	-Participant observation in cafes (Sept '15-Jan '17) -Interviews- 22 key organisers (Appendix 1) -Annual Gatherings (Dec '15/'16)	Direct to public- access to all
Bethel Welcome Centre and Foodbank	Catholic charity redistributing food parcels + 'welcome centre' for social care	Manchester	Expanded its foodbank provision after lead organiser, Sister Angela, noticed swelling numbers of people asking for food. It receives back-of-store surplus from CostCo, Greggs and other food companies. On foodbank day, clients can make appointments with social workers to assist with accessing benefits and sanctions appeals.. The foodbank was subject of a BBC documentary, which charted Angela's attempt to address the area's social problems by enlisting former Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith.	-Participant observation at foodbank once/twice weekly for two months from Feb '15	Direct to public- access restricted

Fairfield Recycling	Social enterprise	New Smithfield Market, Manchester	Charged with removing and processing food surplus from market traders. They work with FareShare to set aside food fit for humans before sorting food into disposal streams for animal feed/composting. Interview sought to identify causes of large-scale food waste in Manchester and consider labour issues and aesthetic values associated with the identification and diversion of 'edible' food waste.	-Occasional participant observation. -Interview with key staff member.	Food to FareShare, animal feed, compost, AD
FoodCycle	Charity and network of activists	Manchester	A national organisation with local branches. Food is collected using bicycle trailers. Weekly cooking and meal service takes at the Roby church in Longsight. At time of research, Sunday meals were taken by bicycle to be served in Piccadilly Gardens alongside Coffee for Craig's distributions of food and advice to homeless people.	-Occasional volunteering to collect, cook and serve meals	Direct to public-access to all
Super Kitchen	Social eating network	Nottingham	Describing itself as a 'Public Eating Service', Super Kitchen's network members run 'social eating spaces' which aim to tackle food waste, food poverty and social isolation through a model of providing a package of set-up support, networking and food provision (generally via FareShare). Groups pay a fee for membership and abide by guidance around food safety compliance and public food provision: often offering a regular (eg weekly) meal service, open to all, for which eaters pay a small price for a limited menu choice (a pay-it-forward option exists for those who cannot pay).	-Interview, founder	Direct to public-access to all
Community Shop	Social supermarket	Nationwide	Franchise providing discounted food, 'learning and development hubs' and 'community kitchen/social eating space' (Stott & Widdison, 2017). Charitable offshoot of 'Company Shop' model of selling discounted surplus to workers.	-Interview, former employee	Direct to public-restricted access
Approved Foods	Resale	Sheffield	Warehouse and website selling mostly less-perishable food products purchased at low cost from suppliers unable to sell it at market value.	-Interview, founder	Direct to public-access to all

Involvement in local policy and practice

In addition to fieldwork, I have attended meetings of Greater Manchester Poverty Action's Food Special Interest Group, which is currently becoming a Food Poverty Alliance within the national Food Power network (https://www.sustainweb.org/foodpower/). I have also attended meetings of Manchester Food Board, Feeding Manchester, Wythenshawe Food Poverty Group and Good Food Greater Manchester, making it clear each time that I am a researcher. However, it has become increasingly apparently that the 'city' is only one level of appropriate analysis for an issue with micro, national and global complexity. I interviewed a key staff member at FareShare's national headquarters to discuss the macro-level of SFR, including relationships with supermarkets and fiscal incentives etc. During research, national alliances formed to research and campaign about food waste and food poverty. I organised or attended numerous events, including those in Table 2:

Table 2. Non-fieldwork engagements

Date	Event	Description
31/10/2014	This is Rubbish 'Edible Education' pilot, Oxford Pumpkin Festival	I assisted in the running of a drama/song/game-based education session meant for children but tested on adults.
20/6/2015	Disco Soup, Manchester	I co-organised this with TRJFP, Cracking Good Food and involved my co-organiser from Smiths Disco Soup as a key chef
10/9/2015 and 20/10/2016	Westminster Food & Nutrition Forum: 'Next steps for UK food waste policy' and 'Food waste policy in the UK- next steps'	Seminars bringing together private, policy and third sector actors to discuss, for example, the waste hierarchy.
9/11/2017	'Food banks, hunger and poverty: whose responsibility?', Manchester	Talk I organised, by Andy Fisher and Hannah Lambie-Mumford
17/10/2017	End Hunger UK conference	First UK conference bringing together MPs and various stakeholders of End Hunger UK campaign
18/10/2017	'People-Powered Local Food Communities: How we can promote local collaboration for better food surplus redistribution and more sustainable food systems',Houses of Parliament	Multi-stakeholder meeting to discuss SFR as solution to waste and poverty with Kerry McCarthy and Frank Field MPs, hosted by Neighbourly
7/2/2018	The Value of Stories, Independent Food Aid Network	AGM and discussion of ways to 'tell' food poverty through participatory means such as 'Storybank'

North America: international comparative research

While reviewing literature, I realised that North America had potentially useful lessons about SFR given its long history of foodbanking, 'Good Samaritan' legislation and tax incentives for donation, hence deciding to spend 8 weeks visiting and interviewing organisations in the US and Canada in May-June 2016 (funded by Winston Churchill Memorial Trust Fellowship). This included food banks, anti-hunger advocacy groups and food policy councils (see table below). Destinations were chosen for different themes, shown in list below. A weblog was kept to record observations and initial analyses (Spring, 2016a) and a report written and disseminated (Spring, 2016b).

The trip required careful consideration of the overlapping but distinct requirements of my academic research and the Fellowship's demand for applicable knowledge for UK policy and practice (https://www.wcmt.org.uk/). I was grateful for the chance to write a report for a broad audience and to disseminate it. However, analysis for the report was formally separate from my analysis of findings for the thesis, which occurred alongside the UK data to enable comparison (although the trip's timing meant that I had already built up significant knowledge about UK and international SFR). The process of writing for these distinct purposes was a rich opportunity for questioning the political implications of both designing and carrying out data collection in different geographical contexts but also different approaches to analysis and writing contexts. The map (Fig.7) and table below visualise and list the places, themes and organisations explored during the trip.
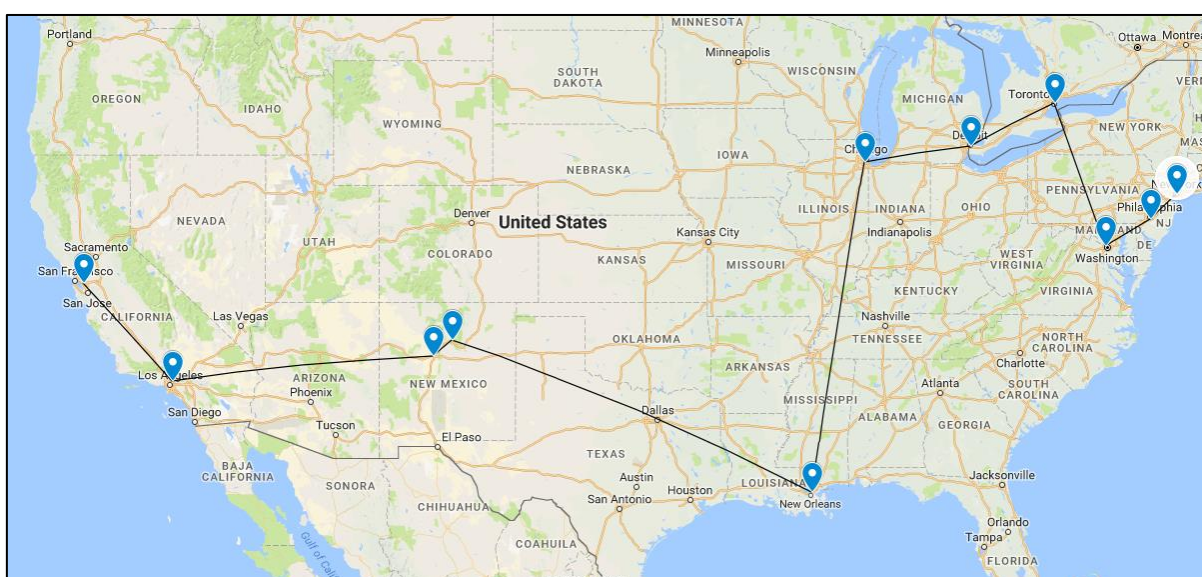
Figure.6 Map of North America research journey

Table 3. North America organisations visited

City/theme	Organisation/name	Research method
San Francisco (roots of SFR activism)	Planet Drum/San Francisco Diggers	Interview
	Community Food Security Coalition (Hank Herrera)	Farm visit, interview
	FoodRunners (SFR)	Participant-observation, interview
	Alameda County Community Food Bank	Visit, interview
New Mexico (independent SFR organisations and soup kitchens)	St Martins Hospitality Centre (and soup kitchen), Albuquerque	Participant-observation, interview
	GoAdelante Desert Harvest Programme, Albuquerque (SFR)	Participant-observation, interview
	Rock@Noonday Ministries, Albuquerque (soup kitchen)	Lunch visit
	Storehouse food pantry, Albuquerque	Visit
	Mark Winne (author of 'Closing the Food Gap')	
New Orleans (street cooking from surplus)	Community Kitchen Collective (Food Not Bombs-like street cooking from surplus)	Participant-observation
Chicago (foodbanking institutions)	Director of Retail Partnerships, Feeding America HQ	Interview
Toronto ('community food centres', anti-hunger campaigns/unions)	Freedom 90, Ontario	Group discussion
	Ontario Society of Nutrition Professionals in Public Health	Conference call
	Mike Balkwill, organiser of Put Food in the Budget (PFIB) (Figure.11)	Interview, unrecorded group discussion (PFIB)
	Voices for Change Halton (community organising)	Unrecorded group discussion
Washington DC (policy groups, Congress, fresh food access innovation)	DC Central Kitchen (SFR through cooking school/community meals, culinary training)	Visit, interview
	DC Greens (community policy and practice, runs Produce Plus)	Interview, participation in training/recruiting session for Produce Plus
	DC Department of Health: Food Justice Action Team	Attended meeting
	Jennifer Chandler (Chief of Staff to Congressman Jim McGovern)	Interview
	Capitol Area Food Bank	Visit, interview, joining City Hall policy hearing
Philadephia (participatory research/advocacy)	Mariana Chilton (Witnesses to Hunger/Drexel University)	Interview
	Philabundance Food Bank	Visit, interview
New York (research/advocacy)	Joel Berg (author and CEO of Hunger-Free America)	Interview
	Janet Poppendieck and Maggie Dickinson (hunger/foodbank research)	Interview

3.2.4 Ethnographic techniques

Participant-observation

A traditional tenet of ethnography has been the researcher living among the people and/or phenomena she wishes to investigate, rooted in colonial-era voyages and, in its reflexive and committed form, the work of Malinowski in making the 'exotic' familiar (Myers, 2011). Participant-observation aims to produce depth and thickness in accounting for complex realities (Falzon, 2009). It refers to the researcher's immersion in a setting to "experience and observe at first hand a range of dimensions in and of that setting" (Mason, 2002, p.84). The validity of such a method assumes an ontology that views everyday actions/interactions, behaviours and interpretations as meaningful grounds for inquiry and discovery (Trudeau & Veronis, 2009). Epistemologically, it assumes that knowledge of social life can be generated by participating/observing 'real life' (Mason, 2002). It also assumes the potential for insights that may not be accessed through interviews alone and, of course, acknowledges that social reality cannot be understood through the hypothesis-setting and experimental design of natural sciences (Flyvbjerg, 2001). While not simply 'context' for the more direct mode of interview inquiry, participant-observation nevertheless provides a vital 'training ground' of familiarisation in a setting where everyday happenings invariably raise questions and themes that can be later discussed in the interview setting. Further, a more-than-representational approach places participant-observation above the interview in trying to understand how life in its heterogeneity is 'assembled' (Lancione, 2017).

Negotiating permission to participate can be challenging, and requires careful consideration of how the research will be communicated and discussed during initial encounters (Crang & Cook, 2007). Some organisations approached turned me away for lack of time or interest. Others agreed with my suggestion to take on a voluntary role, fitting with Crang and Cook's (2007) suggestion that participant-observation is well-enabled by taking on a recognisable role. This also reflects researching organisations reliant on voluntary labour and often short of it, so my offer to help out in exchange for being allowed to participant-observe was usually welcomed.

As a volunteer I was subject to certain expectations of behaviour, which proved interesting in themselves. For example, if I stopped work to chat to a FareShare customer, a supervisor might tick me off and send me back to work. In order to maximise generalised informed consent, detailed below, I endeavoured to make my volunteer role

clear to anyone I interacted with, my prefacing my self-introduction with a statement such as 'my name is, I'm here to volunteer with you but I'm also doing research today for my PhD'. I note the potential for forgetfulness, confusion and contingency to scupper the aims of informed consent, detailed below (Maxey, 1999). The volunteer/researcher role was not always one I was able to fully convey, especially where it was impractical to explain my researcher role to co-workers e.g. when work was time-pressured and frantic, and efforts to explain would have slowed progress, though I took every opportunity to clarify this. At times, my identity as a researcher engaging in volunteer work resulted in different treatment, such as being selected to record new deliveries because "she's an academic, she likes numbers!" or two colleagues admiring the quantities of cans I was able to lift in a day: "not bad for an academic". I accepted this as the outcome of my efforts to communicate my role, and it reminded me of the inevitability that ethnographic knowledge is produced by, and through, the ethnographer's identity, presence and interactions in the field that may be occluded in other research methods (Cassell, 1980).

To understand SFR from the perspectives of different donors, workers, volunteers and eaters, I sought to 'participant-observe' in varied places: primarily offices (learning redistribution software), warehouses, kitchens and dining spaces. Volunteering part-dictated my daily placements, though I was able to experience different aspects of this-'receiving' donations on the computer in the (heated) office, sorting foods in the (cold) fridge, delivering food on the van rounds, eating lunch with fellow volunteers. In line with my stated commitment to analysing more-than-human agency, I also attended closely to 'thing-power' (Bennett, 2010): to spatial, material and affective dimensions of everyday SFR. These ranged from the obvious (bins, cans of food, packaging, fridges) to the unexpected and serendipitous: the 'cages' that find their way from major retailers to redistributors for the conveyance of 'trays' of food, holes nibbled by mice, summer temperatures and comingled smells. The taking of fieldnotes was essential to capturing these details.

A key method in the ethnographic toolkit is the detailed recording of fieldnotes. I recorded multiple dimensions of my field experiences: spatial, environmental and material backgrounds and practices; names, appearances and the nature of peoples interactions with myself and one other; events unfolding over time; social and emotional atmospheres and notes about my own feelings or activities. I tried to record practices unfolding alongside verbatim narratives or conversations taking place, to try and later

interpret the practical knowledge/rationality employed in context. Discourse, then, was noted in the context of "actual daily practices" (Flyvbjerg p134). Recognising the limitation of a focus on the purely narrative, efforts were made to employ multi-sensorial approaches (Pink, 2011) and this attention grew into the analysis that forms my chapter on sensory pedagogies.

There are, of course, practical issues around note-taking (Mason, 2002): it can appear inappropriate, interfering or suspicious given a busy scenario in which you are a participant or can just be practically impossible (while sorting through half-rotten melons outdoors in the rain, the last thing you want to do is pull out a notebook!). Some of these issues were addressed by ensuring that people knew I was there as a researcher, which might explain my behaviour (and is a vital part of full disclosure), making notes during breaks and ensuring evenings or a following day were free to type up reflections. Such 'extra-fieldwork' activities were integral to the planning and organisation of my research rhythms.

Time issues

Participant-observation took place over a year from November 2015 (see Table 1). Participant-observation at FareShare primarily occurred over three separate weeks, to detect weekly and seasonal patterns. I spent 2-4 days at each of five TRJFP cafés around the UK over summer 2016. This included participating in food interceptions, sorting, cooking, serving and eating, and allowed comparative breadth, but had time and funding allowed, I would have preferred to spend a week with each to allow the ethnographic consciousness described above to develop further (each visit away from home required securing accommodation, though I received some funding via a university travel grant).

I made return trips to Leeds, where the project originated, to gauge changes over time at flagship café Armley Junk-tion (now closed) and to visit other Leeds TRJFP cafés, often spending one day. After meeting café organisers who'd made interesting contributions at TRJFP AGMs, I held some interviews by phone/Skype. These entailed minimal gathering of contextual data enabled by participant-observation, which I remembered during analysis, where interview data was frequently cross-referenced with fieldnotes.

Interviews

Open-ended, qualitative and in-depth interviews were conducted to trace connections between field observations and individuals' experiences. My choice to use interviews was driven both by research objectives relating to analysing diverse perspectives of those

involved with SFR. My choice of frame theory entails curiosity in how issues are represented: interviews are well-suited to constructionist approaches. Epistemologically, I view understanding social knowledge, especially contested or contentious knowledge, as requiring attention to nuance, complexity, contradiction and depth (Mason, 2002, p.65). The interview provides an intimate and, hopefully, trusting space for these to emerge (as opposed to surveys, for example), but is based on the re/construction of experience, and understanding the epistemological implications of this is vital in analysing interview data in relation to, for example, participant-observation (Mason, 2002).

Interviews were semi-structured, involving variation in control over topics and question styles by the interviewer, and a degree of structure dictated by the choice of interviewee (Crang & Cook, 2007). Mason (2002, p.62) notes the idea of "conversations with a purpose"; a dialogic exchange lending space for new ideas to be introduced and explored rather than a highly-structured formal question-answer format. An important stage is thus the 'structuring' of the interview itself, which involves as much preparation as possible: reading organisational grey literature, field notes, media reports and so on (Crang & Cook, 2007). Most interviews were one-to-one except for two group discussions in Canada and two interviews with pairs of RJFP café organisers.

Mason (2002) notes the interviewer's role in producing 'situated knowledge', by gathering enough contextual information to make sense of interviewees' statements. One way I used 'situatedness' was to mention events or issues raised during participant-observation to stimulate conversation about broader topics. I improved my 'contextualising' practice throughout the data-gathering phase, especially in light of observations made during transcription where I noticed I had not sought enough extra information to make sense of an utterance (and would, where appropriate/feasible, make notes of this for a follow-up interview). There is a general acceptance that interviews do not simply yield statements of fact but represent reconstructed articulations of what people do/think (Watson & Meah, 2012, p.107). Kvale (1996, p.14) notes that

> The qualitative research interview is a construction site for knowledge. An interview is literally an inter view, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest.

While accepting that peoples knowledge and views may be shifting and partial, Taber (1993) suggests tactics for checking 'validity' in the interview encounter, such as returning to a similar point in a different context later in the interview, seeking

clarification or paraphrasing what you feel a respondent is saying/arguing and seeking confirmation. However, I also recognise the dependence of the interview on people's capacity to verbalise, remember and conceptualise, as well as their willingness to share thoughts (Mason, 2002, p.64). While affording participants a chance to speak more freely than methods such as surveys or document analysis, I also hoped that they would provide interviewees as well as myself an enjoyable and thought-provoking experience. It was thus important to prepare a comfortable and ideally private place for interviews (this was not always possible, especially in busy work places) and to be punctual and mindful of time-management (again, especially where people had busy schedules, though on several occasions interviewees were happy to extend interviews if they were enjoying the experience). I discuss interview ethics more fully below. First, I discuss my process of recruitment.

Choosing interviewees was determined by a number of factors. Firstly, it is often easy to identify key staff or organisers with experience of an organisation; they may be a first point of contact when approaching an organisation, or I might have researched their role on the organisation's website. In talking through my consent form with key informants at organisations (described below), I sought permission to approach staff for interviews. In some cases, staff wanted to get permission from their seniors to be interviewed; with hierarchical organisations I tried to get consent from such senior staff first. Where possible, I waited until I had become somewhat familiar with a research site before approaching people for an interview. One issue at FareShare, where the distinction between volunteers and paid staff is more pronounced than activist organisation, was that volunteers and junior staff members were rarely able to spare time to be interviewed. At the time of research, many volunteers had to meet certain requirements as part of programmes (such as achieving a qualification or welfare-to-work schemes) and could not take time off to be interviewed. I could have got around this by asking for permission from staff but, only partially grasping the power dynamics involved, did not want to cause unnecessary discomfort. For junior staff, daily tasks were often so pressing that they couldn't conceive taking time off for interviews, but this was less so the case for senior staff, and this may have affected the representativeness of my interviews. Crang and Cook (2007, p.36) describe negotiating interviews as a matter of "compromises between what it takes to gain access to, and to maintain contact with, potential research participants…and what it takes to continue addressing your research concerns in this context".

Choice of interview location was at times a struggle: for lack of space some were carried out in busy offices with a lack of privacy, while locations such as cafes did not always guarantee a quiet environment. Such considerations were a matter of comfort for interviewees but also for recording quality purposes. Herzog (2012) notes that a focus on interviewee comfort alone can depoliticize locational factors in interviews as spaces for the playing out of power inequalities between researcher and interviewee. Arranging locations were therefore subtle negotiations between my preference for meeting in public places for safety reasons and giving participants agency to determine the setting (Crang & Cook, 2007). The availability of space and time for participants to be interviewed often reflected work hierarchies; volunteers often lack this.

Interviewees were sent/given an information sheet (Appendix 4), ideally in advance of the interview, and helped to read it if necessary. I drew on university guidelines in writing these materials (Salford University, 2014). Informed consent forms were given and I endeavoured to ensure that this was understood before inviting participants to sign (Appendix 3) by leaving adequate time for participants to read and pose any questions. I took a question schedule to all interviews, which might include references to previous conversations as well as to the specific topics of my PhD. Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Pseudonyms have been used for all quoted respondents in the interests of protecting individuals, although given the unique and sometimes publically-visible nature of some organisations and individuals, it is difficult to fully conceal their identity; this was made clear at the time of seeking informed consent.

3.2.5 Ethics

Ethics approval was granted by the University of Salford Ethics Committee (Appendix 2). I endeavoured to avoid harm, manipulation or inadvertent deception (Maxey, 1999). I consulted methodology textbooks (e.g. Mason, 2002) and papers (e.g. Katz, 1992) for guidelines on ethical research and the BSA's Ethical Guidelines which train the attention on power relationships and responsibilities between researchers and subjects. Below I detail some of the issues that I anticipated or which arose, and how I responded to them. First, I consider the issue of clarifying my role as a researcher to participants.

Research encounters required careful reflection about clarity of role separation and how this is communicated in the field; while fieldwork inevitably travels everywhere with the researcher as embodied mode of inquiry (Heynen, 2013), it is important to communicate

where the explicit researcher role begins and ends in order to validate practices of consent. In practice this is difficult: Crang and Cook (2007, p.23) note how easily "boundaries between field and academic experiences become blurred". Maxey (1999, p.203) notes the blurry boundaries of "the field", including the impossibility of delineating discrete researcher-nonresearcher roles and stages of research when one is already involved with the organisations under study.

Part of my research plan was to engage with multiple stakeholders to discuss how food waste and poverty might be addressed at different levels. This entailed participation in diverse activities during the research period, including organising a 'Smiths Disco Soup' event at Salford Lads Club. This involved partnering with a local chef and co-organising food procurement, gleaned from surplus. The event invited Ordsall residents to help prepare, cook and eat soup using surplus produce.

While producing plenty of soup for homelessness support organisation CoffeeForCraig, the challenges of the event called for reflection. For example, negotiating access to surplus pumpkins occurred during my first week of fieldwork at FareShare in November 2015. While building relationships with my colleagues/participants, I was also attempting to access pumpkins, involving seeking permissions and justifying my use for them in a role that lay outside of my PhD researcher role. My field diary noted awkward moments this produced, such as a staff member giving all surplus pumpkins to a cooking-skills organisation and paying client, telling me "you're just one customer" when I asked whether he'd saved me any. Being positioned as a Community Food Member (CFM) i.e. FareShare customer, was a way to learn about the economics, relationships and everyday processes by which food becomes apportioned. Challenges of an 'activist-scholar' role are discussed below.

While university ethics procedures constitute an important shift towards collective reflection on the ethical implications of conducting research, Gillan and Pickerill (2012) note the potential ill-fit between consent in university ethics procedures and the lived ethics of doing research with social movements. Maxey (1999, p.204) suggested that it was "impossible to assume" that he could "gain a definitive informed consent for all members at all stages of my research"; reflexivity is required throughout research as to researchers' responsibility and power dynamics in engaging with and representing participants (Katz, 1992). I now consider the role of partipation in designing my method.

I have mentioned volunteering as a way to conduct participant-observation. This differs from PAR, which involves research participants as active in research design and delivery (Mason, 2015). The comparative dimension of research made the goal of a PAR study less tenable; if involving organisations in research design, would this have been required for FareShare, TRJFP and the 20+ other organisations interviewed?

I retained freedom to design and modify research in light of comparative findings from the wider fieldwork, but this did not negate reflecting on my positionality and relationship to participants (Gillan & Pickerill, 2012). For example, a FareShare manager expressed gratitude at my volunteering, telling me this notably contrasted with another researcher who had approached them with no such offer. There was mutual advantage there: volunteering proved a vital vantage point for observing and experiencing daily life of SFR and eased the workload of organisations. One could argue that in so doing I reinforced the value of unpaid labour in 'alternative' food systems (Guthman, 2017). However, my 'payment' was the considerable time individuals took to train, accompany, explain and discuss their work with me.

Activist-scholarship?

During fieldwork it became obvious that markers of success for groups studied differ from markers of successful academic research. This does not remove the goal of conducting research with outcomes that have relevance to discourse and practice, but this was not tied to outcomes for a specific organisation. Gillan and Pickerill (2012, p.136) note the complexities of reciprocity in research, that "problems of objectification do not disappear through participation". On the other hand, power dynamics can be recursive, as (Cassell, 1980, p.31) argues:

> …power is shared between investigators and subjects, with subjects having somewhat more power to frustrate research than researchers have to compel them to participate. Subjects control the setting of research and influence the context, with interaction flowing comparatively freely in both directions.

My research fits within a largely 'extractive' frame of the researcher controlling research design. I struggle with the recognition that academic scholarship is "at best…a circuitous route" (Croteau, 2005, p.20) to supporting social movements as an activist, but accept the challenge of conducting ethnography that

> …offers the possibility for traveling intellectually and strategically between the macrological structures of power-that is, the global processes of capitalism, imperialism, and patriarchy-and the micrological textures of power played out in the material social practices of everyday life. (Katz, 1992, p.500)

This quote expresses my goal in meeting the objective of linking SFR to broader processes, and that this is a valuable task in itself; the way we conduct and use research has implications whether or not we self-identify as activists (Davies et al., 2017). The next section considers fieldwork dilemmas in more depth.

Coffey (1999, p.1) notes that 'fieldwork is personal, emotional and identity work'. It can be physically and mentally tiring, frustrating and challenging to one's presumptions and values; it can (and perhaps should) be transformative.

The volunteer role at times placed me in the uncomfortable position of having to enact a role I felt to be unjust. The following fieldnotes were taken during a day's volunteering at an independent foodbank:

> ...There are one or two volunteers 'stationed' at each section- me on bread/fruit...Peter [manager] says "just wait, you'll see, some are so greedy". Clients come down in twos. I greet them- some go straight to the tables, some look at me quizzically about what they're allowed to do, some are clearly confused. I explain "one on the bread, please", following Peter...I really dislike this job- keeping watch out of the corner of my eye as I chat to Peter, knowing my words are what separates people from two loaves. Some say "what, only one bread?..." [fieldnotes, 10/2/2016]

I had read analyses of shame, stigma and expectations of gratitude by clients (Stein, 1989) and the latent power dynamics of the foodbank exchange, but had not expected to feel shame as a volunteer. This experience bore out what Williams et al. (2016) have described as contradictory politics in the foodbank encounter, where intentions to care may meet structural limitations. My shame at 'policing' poor peoples' access to food, and volunteers' frequent judgements of clients as undeserving or greedy, has been reflected by other researchers e.g. Fisher (2017). A contributor during AAG 2016 session called 'Distribution with Dignity' described church-going teens (largely white) being trained in this very role of policing (largely non-white) foodbank client behaviour. Such experiences were insightful and formative, yet troubling in a way that was hard to anticipate when gaining ethics approval (Maxey, 1999).

I have mentioned assumptions others made about my work capacities as an 'academic'. I am also white, female, (relatively!) young and, as was at times made explicit, 'southern', 'a bit posh/hippie'. Some of the male volunteers would save me 'posh shite' at the end of the day: bags of leftover greens or herbs that didn't suit their dinner plans but they'd noticed I loved. Others were flummoxed by how interested I was in their work, or in the materiality of food, especially when handling abject items: perhaps given the 'dirty'

nature of waste work (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2016), constructing boundaries around what (not) to touch is a means to determine boundaries of belonging that I at times perhaps threatened. Reflecting on these observations goes beyond the narcissistic reflexivity Wacquant (2009) suggests of merely recognising one's influence on the field.

The complex nature of the topic under study has involved sensitivity to the multiple interests at stake in different sites and processes. For example, surplus food at New Smithfield Market is 'owned' by Manchester City Council, yet Fairfield Recycling are contracted to process it for composting and have a working relationship with FareShare who are able to 'glean' edible produce for distribution via their networks. This relationship can lead to conflict given contrasting organisational missions and ways of working. Fieldwork that 'travels' and enables these relationships to be contextualised and understood must therefore be communicated and approved by all of the organisations involved, in addition to (potentially) the traders who produce the surplus.
Throughout the planning, fieldwork, analysis and writing process, I have tried to be sensitive to power relations, (potential) conflicts, tensions and limitations in what can be said in specific contexts, as well as the implications of my dissemination of knowledge. The sensitivity of discussing contentious issues such as poverty was acknowledged throughout. While my research did not involve interviews with clients of charitable SFR, epistemic reflexivity demands attention to the import of reproducing power-laden categories and analyses, especially in an unstructured interview context (Corbin & Morse, 2003). The ethical approval process included reflecting on the likelihood of interviews stirring potentially-disturbing emotions. It would deny participants agency to avoid such potential (Cassell, 1980) and the very subject-matter of the research is disturbing as it relates to matters of survival (Heynen, 2006). Nevertheless I tried to be aware of gestural and expressive cues that conversations were causing unnecessary discomfort. The situational and contextual relativity of fieldwork ethics requires the researcher to be vigilant in making ethical decisions to suit specific scenarios as these arise, while taking responsibility for the fact that they can never be fully in control of this (Maxey, 1999).

3.2.5 Analysis

Initial analysis and data collection took place concurrently. Since the "interpretive turn" (Geertz, 1983), greater attention has been paid by social scientists on contextualising field observations, where behaviour and narrative are seen as hermeneutically readable.

Analysis has been guided by principles of reflexivity and iteration. The analytical process is multi-pronged, emerging from understandings of the literature alongside the field-data.

Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Software Analysis (CAQDAS)

I was new to using IT for qualitative analysis, and was reticent for similar reasons to those discussed as CAQDAS grew in the 1990s. Researchers were concerned that computers would fundamentally alter processes of interpretation and invite positivistic practice, countering the development of postmodernist thinking (Bringer, Johnston, & Brackenridge, 2004). While these arguments do apply to algorithmic procedures applied to qualitative data (Kelle, 1997), such programmes nevertheless make the process and organisation of analysis more efficient and manageable. Bazeley (2007, p.3) notes that using IT "ensures that the user is working more methodically, more thoroughly, more attentively". Bringer et al. (2004, p.250) point out possibilities of using QSR*NVivo that are impossible with manual analysis, such as running Boolean-type searches, for text coded with one category but not another, for instance. They point out contextual factors in the quality of analysis afforded by CAQDAS, such as the design of manuals or training courses, where methodological and epistemological assumptions have not been made explicit. I have borne this in mind when accessing university-based CAQDAS training. Bringer et al. (2004, p.249) insist that the "researcher must still interpret, conceptualize, examine relationships, document decisions, and develop theory". Considering IT's impact on quality of analysis, transparency about these processes is therefore essential in justifying the use of CAQDAS for my chosen methodological framework. I document the iterative process below.

Coding

Nvivo 11 has helped to make coding, comparison and interpretation more systematic. I drew from Miles and Huberman's (1994) approach, delineating three stages of data reduction (into categories through coding), visualisation (through comparing nodes and reviewing observations at different stages of coding and in relation to others) and drawing conclusions (and testing conclusions against other data). After transcribing field notes and interviews, I uploaded them to an NVivo project and underwent the iterative coding process described below.

I followed Glaser & Strauss' (1967) tactic of concurrent coding and analysis, keeping annotations to explain the reasoning for each new code creation and keeping annotations/memos when relevant connections between sources, nascent themes and

links to literature occurred to me. Such built-in tools help to develop a "dynamic audit trail to meet the criterion of transparency" (Bringer et al., 2004, p.250) The initial inductive 'open-coding' proved to be incredibly time-consuming but a useful way to immerse myself in the data. I later revised processes for coding in light of the insights of Belfrage & Hauf's (2017) 'critical grounded theory' method, which uses 'theoretically guided coding', where synthesising literature results in conceptualisations that also guide fieldwork in an abductive process. For example, when analysing data relating to sensory pedagogies and food waste in schools, a PEB framework felt most appropriate (Hayes-Conroy, 2015). I developed codes to highlight PEB's attention to structural, discursive and material dimensions of interviews with school organisers before comparing these with my wider coding structure; where a particular chapter called for a particular emphasis, therefore, I adapted my analytic process.

The open-coding process produced too many codes and sub-codes to be useful for analysis, so I refined these in line with conceptual themes emerging from the analysis: 'themes' denoting not just 'meta-codes' but relational, integrating ideas from data (Richards, 2005). I was particularly attentive to divergent views expressed by participants, and created codes to capture comparative utterances, such as where one organisation criticised or compared itself with another. This decision grew from the wider comparative focus of my research objectives but also proved to be central to unveiling critical processes; power relations, resource imbalances and the contested nature of problems and their solutions.

As Bazeley (2009, p.6) has argued, "Too often, qualitative researchers rely on the presentation of key themes supported by quotes from participants' text as the primary form of analysis and reporting of their data". To move beyond 'identifying themes', I followed steps noted above (Huberman & Miles, 1994); 'visualisation' or comparison of codes in relation to attributes such as organisational affiliation and the timing/place of interviews/observations. The 'coding stripes' tool in NVivo was useful in visualising my data. I describe the analytical process of writing in more detail below.

Writing-as-analysis

Bazeley (2009, p.9) recognises that "description is part of the analytic journey" and that 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) is central to providing a phenomenological account, but that data must be "challenged, extended, supported, and linked in order to reveal their

full value". She notes how a researcher might use a single quote that powerfully illustrates a theme, but this must be situated in the broader data: how representative is this quote, or how does it diverge from or repeat other expressions (or non-expressions) of this theme? When formulating arguments in my writing, I tried to test claims against other data (Yeung, 2003). One aspect of NVivo that I under-used was its case classification tools, with which I could have attempted richer explorations of my data. I classified sources in terms of organisational affiliation, enabling comparison for distinct framings/political modalities (Chapter 4) but neglected to attribute gender, class, political affiliation etc. This is partly because I didn't collect demographic data for interviews, partly because such factors were not directly relevant to my research questions and partly because this may make interviewees feel intruded upon.

While the process outlined above contains elements of grounded theory, the hermeneutic aspect is most relevant to a phronetic approach to social science rather than the more positivistic aspect of assuming generalised truths to be derivable from 'data'. As Rabinow and Sullivan (1987, p.6) point out "there is not going to be an age of paradigm in the social sciences"; efforts to reduce the human world to specific laws or operations independent of particular contexts as is the case in the natural sciences ignores the rich potentials of social science to understand "concrete varieties of cultural meaning in their particularity and complex texture". My analytical approach therefore is not seeking demonstrable rules or facts, but setting discursive and value-laden norms around SFR against the actual practices unfolding in different spaces, to assess ethical claims about how best to address the root causes of hunger and food waste in these ways.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the theoretical framework used to analyse data, justifying the use of frame theory, assemblage and actor-network thinking and political ecology as ways to critically explore discourses, material practices and structural aspects of surplus food redistribution. It justified my use of ethnography and its insistence on close dialogue and in-situ engagement with social actors (broadly defined) given my theoretical commitments to exploring SFR as a site of power, complexity, relationality and contingency. Rather than seeking an objective picture, I have situated my personal and political positioning as reflexive site from which to explore the constructed, spatial and political dimensions of SFR. I have detailed data collection and analysis methods and

tools. I considered ethical dimensions of research, including recruitment, reflexivity, anonymity and consent.

Having situated the research problems and literature in a theoretical and methodological framework, following chapters detail my analytical findings. Chapter 4 explores UK SFR organisations' framings of hunger, food waste and the role of redistribution, situating these in distinct visions of food system problems and solutions. Chapter 5a theorises materialities of redistribution work and Chapter 5b applies this thinking to sensory engagements with SFR in schools. Chapter 6 explores SFR's spaces of encounter, considering who surplus food is/should be 'for'. Chapter 7 compares UK findings with insights from North America.

Chapter Four: Co-constructing hunger, waste and redistribution

4.1 The importance of representation

This chapter draws on framing theory, social constructionism and problematisation to evaluate the dynamic interplay of discourses around hunger and food waste in producing distinct approaches to SFR. After discussing theory and literature used to construct the argument, I draw on organisational literature as well as field data to demonstrate how an outwardly similar act, redistributing food, can be inspired by, and promote, divergent ideas and messaging about social problems and their solutions. I compare discursive origins of SFR organisations, revealing distinct formulations of redistribution as politically contentious or as containment (Heynen, 2010). Redistributors express divergent notions of causality and remedy, translation of which into public discourse carries specific implications for what gets done. These dynamics are power-laden and will be analysed in terms of institutional alliances as well as representations that organisations make of their perceived rationales and beneficiaries.

More than expressing ideological beliefs, as Mooney and Hunt, (2009, p.471) note, "framings...have prognostic implications"; this chapter investigates how discursive framings of the hunger/waste relationship are translated into the material practices and societal debates about the role of SFR explored in subsequent chapters. The chapter proceeds by rooting recent UK problematisations of hunger and waste in histories of their construction in public discourse before analysing participants' representations of hunger, waste and the role of SFR in addressing these.

Analysing household food insecurity, Midgley (2012: p.294) asserts the importance of understanding social problems discursively. The political purchase that discourse exerts, she argues, warrants critical consideration of its capacity to be applied to new settings, and the "practices it can create and maintain that influence everyday life". Meaning and messaging around social problems play active roles in reproducing social, economic and political relationships underpinning food and welfare systems. While public discourses around UK hunger have been analysed in terms of media coverage (Wells & Caraher, 2014), policy development (Midgley, 2012) and institutional responses (Lambie-

Mumford, 2013), I focus on discourses linking hunger to food waste as a specific elaboration of these representations, with specific repercussions. Analysing the 'hunger-waste paradox' and discourses around redistribution, then, reveal divergent interests at play in different approaches/models.

This chapter pays attention to processes of constructing SFR. Divergent ideological and practical justifications and solutions posited by actors redistributing wasted food are played out in material praxis. As demonstrated below, these solutions hinge on distinct interpretations of causation, rationales for participation and repertoires of collective action deemed necessary for addressing the problem (Barnard & Mourad, 2014). They reveal polarised beliefs about the roles of government, corporations, citizens and communities in welfare and wellbeing. As well as revealing underlying dynamics, I argue that these representations have performative force (Anderson, 2018).

4.2 Histories of contested concepts

As already demonstrated, food waste and hunger have earned prominence and visibility as social problems in the UK in recent years. Examples of their co-representation include Poppendieck's (1998) history of how poverty came to be defined as hunger amidst changes to 1980s US welfare systems. She documents interactions between politicised debates around the extent and causes of hunger and the growth of 'emergency' food provision.

The capacity for competing interpretations of the problem is evident in the ambiguity around the term 'hunger': "how hungry to people have to be, and for how long, or how often, before we feel that it is appropriate to assist them?" (Poppendieck, 1998, p.79). She notes how the concept of 'food insecurity' was adopted from the international development field by US anti-hunger advocates seeking to shift the discourse from sensations (and sensationalism) towards pinpointing societal causes of hunger and its embedding in complex structurings of precarious access to resources. She roots the relationship between hunger and foodbanking in a longer history of discursive alignment between concerns for hunger and food wastage. The ongoing slippage at play in UK discourse about hunger/food poverty/insecurity in policy, media and academia is exemplified by Sustain et al. (2016, p.2) which uses all three terms, sometimes interchangeably.

One way to consider representations is as separate from what they represent. Wilk (2018a) writes that "poverty and shortage can simultaneously be objective 'facts of life' and culturally and historically relative constructions with shifting and complex meanings". 'Hunger' and 'food poverty/insecurity' arguably relate to the idea of 'emic' and 'etic' concepts, implying hungry people's experiences/conceptualisations and their construction in research/policy, though the dichotomy obscures their hybridity (Wilk, 2018). 'Hunger', increasingly used in UK media and campaign discourse, arguably denotes subjective, lived experience while providing an evocative shorthand for a problematisation that has generated specific alliances and practices. This emic use mirrors Poppendieck's argument that the growth of food charity co-occurred with a redefinition of poverty *as hunger,* with consequences for the way poverty came to be addressed.

'Food poverty' and 'food insecurity' discourses have undergone processes of abstraction and politicisation; as definable, quantifiable and measureable representations of phenomena whose lived reality will always exceed and escape such processes (Midgley, 2012). However, representations can have specific effects/affects (Anderson, 2018). While potentially sensationalising and individualising structural dimensions, especially given the exploitation of 'hunger' in US charity fundraising strategies (Fisher, 2017a) and increasingly the UK, 'hunger' retains a broadness, emotional reality and familiarity denied by scientific efforts to define and quantify it, central as such efforts are to enacting policy measures (Smith et al., 2018). However, arguing over terminology obscures the fraught nature of debates around the legitimacy of food insecurity as a problem of official concern (Garthwaite, 2016). As etic phenomenon, the language of food insecurity has become central in attempts to define, measure and explain its complex symptoms, explored more below.

4.2.1 Public visibilisation of excess and scarcity

Poppendieck (1998) roots her history of food charity in 1933, when Roosevelt was faced with a paradoxical and embarrassing political situation. His fledgling New Deal administration faced unprecedented poverty and destitution amidst overwhelming agricultural surpluses (p.142). Families struggled to afford food while supply threatened to collapse commodity values. Agricultural administrators tried to curb an anticipated glut in the hog market by incentivising the slaughter of baby and pregnant pigs. Poppendieck documents how public outrage ensued as farmers sent more piglets to

slaughter than anticipated, due to drought-induced shortage of corn to feed them. The hog-butchering equipment was not designed for baby animals so most were liquefied for fertiliser or feed. Storage tanks overfilled, with rumours of processors dumping liquefied pig in rivers and pits near Chicago. The stench and flies were unbearable. "The press had a field day", writes Poppendieck, as angry letters to newspapers protested that "wilful waste brings woeful want" (1998, p.144). Poppendieck charts how Roosevelt ordered the redistribution of food surpluses to the unemployed via a new agency, the 'Federal Surplus Relief Corporation'. US histories of welfare and food charity have thus long been tied to politicised bargaining over agricultural productivity and citizens' access to money and food.

Media attention also played a role in hunger's rise as public problem. 1968 CBS documentary 'Hunger in America' (Levine, 1978) exposed US audiences to the gross malnutrition affecting migrants, ex-slaves and poor white farmers at a time of congressional hunger investigations into malfunctioning surplus commodity distribution programs (Poppendieck 1998, p.60). Hunger discourses and charitable responses broached ideological divides: Senators McGovern and Dole's bipartisan alliance cemented 'fighting hunger' as a cause that could win support throughout society. The "broad political and social spectrum that gives emergency food much of its staying power" (p.309), she argues, covers those engaged in hunger relief out of 'corporate social responsibility' and avoiding state wealth redistribution, and those whose engagement is rooted in opposition to social inequality.

4.2.2 The 'accidental' alignment of food charity and surplus

Before exploring these contested framings, I briefly return to Poppendieck's (1998) analysis of poverty-as-hunger in relation to problematisations of food waste and its relevance for understanding the phenomenon of UK redistribution. While US federal SFR was rooted in Depression-era imperatives to balance farmers' and poor citizens' needs, the second-wave expansion of food charity from the late 1960s grew from a series of 'accidental' associations of hunger with waste. Poppendieck (1998, p.112) traces chance encounters through which numerous small-scale SFR operations pragmatically linked the "supply-driven" availability of surplus food with concerns about hunger. For example, Feeding America, now America's 3rd largest non-profit organisation (Lohnes, n.d.), is rooted in one man gleaning fruit from disused orchards for a mission dining hall (Poppendieck, 1998). "Nobody planned the emergency food network" (ibid., p.110),

Poppendieck argues; it grew out of thousands of organisations committing efforts to meet collectively-defined social problems, and the interactions, networking and growing systemacity of those efforts.

4.3 UK emergence of hunger-waste

Before teasing out some of the contradictory dynamics and framing contests at play in UK redistribution politics, this section explores relationships between the emergence of food waste and hunger as public problems, drawing on resonances between Blumer's constructionism and Foucauldian 'problematization' (Midgley, 2012).

Blumer (1971, p.301) theorised social problems as processes of collective definition, "not the result of an intrinsic malfunctioning of a society but the result of a process of definition in which a given condition is picked out and identified as a social problem". He contrasted this with sociological efforts to depict social problems as objective conditions that can be prescribed "solid and effective means for remedial treatment", obscuring realities of how social problems come to be defined and acted upon: "a social problem is always a focal point for the operation of divergent and conflicting interests, intentions, and objectives" (p.301). This approach resembles Foucauldian problematisation as mode of inquiry into relationships between knowledge and truth, interrogating "how and why certain things (behavior, phenomena, processes) become a problem" (Foucault, 1983, n.p.), and how they are shaped as particular objects for thought (Bacchi, 2012, p.1). Problematisation as praxis can also imply Freirian "pedagogical practice that disrupts taken-for-granted "truths", accomplished by posing the "myths fed to the people by the oppressors" as "problems" (Freire, 1972: p.132- cited in Bacchi p.1).

For Blumer (1971), emergence refers to how macrostructures emerge from the micro-level of human interactions. Conditions of emergence include mass media attention, the play of interest groups, agitation/violence, political figures "fomenting concern" or "adventitious happenings that shock public sensitivities" (1971, p.302). Poppendieck (1998) adopts Blumer's schema for understanding social problem development/construction as forms of collective action, beginning with their emergence in aforementioned media outcries over publically-visible juxtapositions of destitution and waste.

Towards the UK's problematisation of food poverty, the image and metaphor of the foodbank, involvement of political actors, and media coverage (Wells & Caraher, 2014)

have all contributed to the assembling of images, practices and messages that have associated poverty with lack of adequate food access and the ethical ironies of systemic food wastage. Earlier examples of hunger and waste's co-framing in the UK is documented by Hawkes & Webster (2000). As noted in Chapter 3, FareShare was co-founded in 1994 by a supermarket and homeless charity. An early review (Evans, 1996) suggested that fresh surplus food donated by supermarkets could alleviate nutritional deficiencies common to homeless people. Clearly FareShare's remit has much expanded since, but this suggests early discursive alignments of the potentials for wasted food to address destitution/hunger.

Company Shop's 40-year history of re-selling surplus through membership-only staff shops also reveals a longer view of SFR. A former employee noted that quantities of available surplus food have much reduced in recent years as companies have become more aware of waste costs (interview, 12/7/2017). However, the expansion and public visibility of UK food redistribution as specifically 'charitable' practice has occurred recently and rapidly. Company Shop's founder stated that "a new commitment by retailers to deal with surpluses *more responsibly* has led to a recent surge in business" (LSEG, n.d., emphasis added). The invocation of responsibility conveys the ethical problematisation of food waste; for Company Shop, the 'surge in business' was accompanied by the rollout of its wing: Community Shop, where surplus food is resold at discounted prices to those on low incomes (Feeding Britain, 2015). While food producers' enrolment in public concerns over waste thus boosted surplus donation, concerns around food poverty have stimulated distinctions between redistribution as commercial enterprise and charitable good. These negotiations take place within broader processes of corporate food businesses pressured into making supply-chains more 'ethical' (Freidberg, 2004). Long-standing business practices for redistributing surplus have thus become problematised in relation to broader concerns around business ethics as well as food poverty.

Blumer noted how social problems emerge in contingent and diverse ways, for example through policy priorities and documentation. Midgley (2012) links the emergence of 'household food insecurity' to "'neo-liberal' logics" that rendered the household a target of governance amidst the 2008 "global food crisis and attendant food price inflation", the emerging global crisis in capitalism and "UK political pressures" (2012, p.296). While no factor in isolation drove the emergence and legitimation of HFI, they help explain the

trajectory of concerns for food waste in light of broader concerns about food system sustainability and the uneven, unstable development of capitalism. MPs and parliamentary groups have sponsored parliamentary processes to legislate around food waste (House of Commons, 2017), but the success of these has been affected by an unfavourable political environment for the interference of government in business, despite food's problematisation in sustainable development discourse (Defra, 2010).

Redistributing waste through charitable channels has provided an alternative, perhaps more politically palatable, governance route. The US bears parallels. Poppendieck (1998) analyses foodbankin's emergence as resonant with Reaganite preferences for charitable responses to surplus and hunger, which she calls the 'Herbert Hoover Doctrine': "private charity is the American way; it can do the job; no one will starve" (p.159). Not only can charity 'do the job', it has also "proven extraordinarily useful to business" (ibid.). Poppendieck suggests that the involvement of not just food companies but logistics and other businesses in charitable redistribution provides similar benefits as it does for government: "the halo effect, the preservation of employee morale, an acceptable outlet for unsaleable products, and tangible financial savings" (1998 p.160). The enrolment of businesses as ethical and responsible actors (Freidberg, 2004) has occurred in line with shifts in the social contract through which citizens' access to subsistence has been recognised, institutionalised and protected. Chapter 5 explores how such relationships have contributed to the stabilisation of SFR.

4.4 Frames and keys: contention or containment in SFR

Having established certain shared contexts and practices through which hunger and waste have come to be co-represented and recognised as potential co-solutions, I turn to Mooney and Hunt's (2009) elaboration of 'keying' in frame theory. I then use this to compare interview data for divergences in ways individuals and organisations frame hunger/waste, and redistribution's relationship to these problems. As Blumer noted, (1971, p.301), social problems provide hubs around which "divergent and conflicting interests, intentions, and objectives" coalesce. I discuss the "politics of signification" (Hall, 1982) by which behaviour, phenomena and processes (Foucault, 1983) are divergently problematised by SFR organisations, leading to a discussion of specific framing contests in my data around the mission and purpose of redistribution organisations.

4.4.1 SFR as 'collective action frame'

'Framing' in social movement studies denotes an "active, processual phenomenon" implying "agency and contention at the level of reality construction" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p.614). It denotes a dynamic process in which different interpretations of reality may be generated and jostle for attention. Goffman (1974, p.21) defined frames as "schemata of interpretation" enabling individuals "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" phenomena; to contextualise them. Benford and Snow (2000, p.614) define the results of such processes 'collective action frames': "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns" of social movements. I argue that 'surplus food redistribution'/SFR constitutes such a frame, resulting from the co-representation of food waste and food poverty. However, Mooney and Hunt (2009, p.469) show that despite seeming consensus around such dominant collective action or 'master' frames, their ownership and discursive content is contested. Such contention has implications for the capacity of social movements to impact socioeconomic systems.

4.4.2 'Sharp' v 'flat' keying

Mooney & Hunt (2009) adopt Goffman's 'sharp' and 'flat' 'keying' concept to convey divergent positionings in relation to normative approaches to social problems. Goffman (1974, p.43-44) defined keying as

> ...the set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by participants to be something quite else... A rough musical analogy is intended.

Mooney and Hunt elaborate the analogy of 'sharp' and 'flat' keys to suggest such dynamic tendencies of movement actors' framing activity, in my case how SFR represents diverse meanings. They define the "sharp keying of a frame as critical, suggestive of crisis and a challenge to dominant institutionalized social and discursive conventions" (2009, p.473), while the flat key "tends to reinforce dominant institutionalized practices". This provides a vocabulary for thinking through the power-laden dynamics of discourse operating in the multi-organisational field of redistribution. Flat/sharp, Mooney and Hunt (2009, P.481) note, need not represent dichotomous polarities but "tendencies toward sharpening and flattening", including a more neutral position in which institutional practices are viewed as natural or inevitable.

4.4.3 Contention v containment

An alternative vocabulary to discuss these discursive tendencies is contention or containment. Before applying this to my own data, I consider Barnard and Mourad's (2014) comparison of Food Not Bombs (FNB) and Disco Soupe's public serving of meals cooked from waste in terms of 'repertoires'. Repertoires are practices, spaces and narratives through which actors conceive their activity as political, in potentially divergent ways. FNB is rooted in anti-war civil disobedience, where participants , conceive their activity as forms of direct action and prefigurative politics, while Disco Soupe is rooted in the social enterprise of business students concerned with raising public awareness of food waste reduction and institutional change through partnership with food businesses and collaborative solutions (2014, p.14). Its politics are not explicitly "contentious" but "optimistic, win-win, business-friendly solutions" (2014, p.16). Barnard and Mourad note the potential for different framings *within* each organisation, as well as the potential for shared understandings, messages and aims to be missed by onlookers. Intended contention is not guaranteed to be effective in creating change. Heynen (2010, p.1227), in contrast, theorises FNB as radically transforming "geographies of survival" by contesting the "politics of containment...outsourcing...basic welfare by the state to private charity". Arguably, therefore, the same tactic of public serving of wasted food thus conceals distinct beliefs and meanings relating to food waste and social need.

Summing up: theory and literature

I have presented frame theory as a means to analyse the political work performed not only by representations of social problems but the way that such conceptualisations and representations impact practice. Indeed, as Hall (1982, p.65) notes, "significations enter into controversial and conflicting social issues as a real and positive social force, affecting their outcomes". Contests over meaning and interpretation in this view can have concrete and material impacts. Dualistic heuristic devices such as 'sharp' and 'flat' keying lend a vocabulary to comparing organisations whose activity may be similar (redistributing surplus food) but whose symbolic and political work may be distinct and even conflictual. I now turn to my interview data to consider how movement actors in different redistribution organizations frame their own and others' work, using the notion of keying.

4.5 SFR in the UK: flat and sharp keys

4.5.1 The flatter key: collaboration and food as charitable good

As mentioned, commercial SFR by Company Shop provides a long-running example of redistribution as embedded within food industry business-as-usual. The founder describes how "we have placed a real emphasis on broadening and deepening relationships with a growing number of the UK's major food companies" (LSEG, n.d.). My own research revealed that it is often through alliances and relationships that organisations frame their position in the SFR landscape.
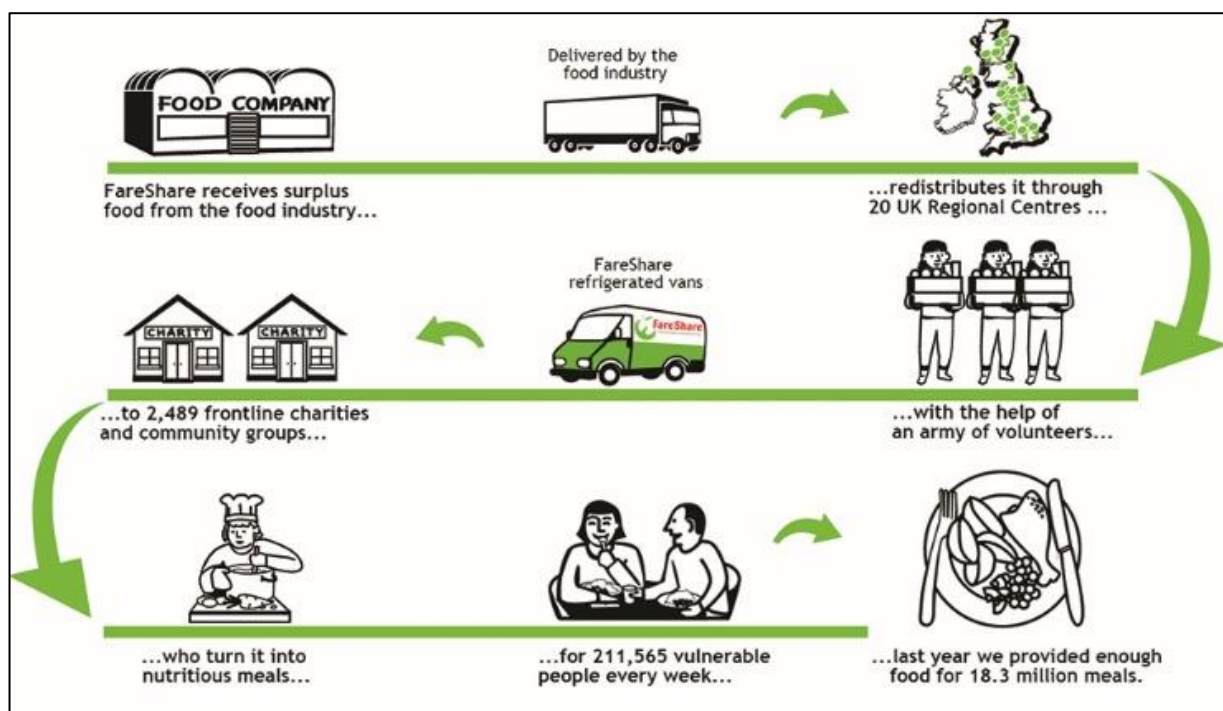
Figure.7 How FareShare redistributes surplus food (Coca-Cola, n.d.)

FareShare Manchester employees tended to express a flatter key in describing the role of industry collaborations in enabling redistribution, as shown below. Such a relational framing may be rooted in its having been co-founded in London by Sainsburys in 1994 and homeless charity Crisis (FareShare, n.d.-a). Its remit has expanded and it has spread across the UK, as surplus donation has expanded and 'food insecurity' has come to denote a far wider population than the category of homeless e.g. the prevalence of the 'working poor' visiting foodbanks (Caraher & Cavicchi, 2014). FareShare has consistently worked closely with the food industry, indicated by Fig.8.

To compare perspectives on corporate collaboration by FareShare representatives and outsiders, consider the following (Appendix 1 for interviewee list):

> …we're the organisation that's in bed with them so they DO trust us…they trust us with the food, they trust us because we put in these things in place- they know they're not gonna get sued because of- so you've got that side- you know, I'm still happy to live in that thing… (Paul, FareShare manager, interview 4/11/15)

Paul expresses a view of working with large retailers as pragmatically upholding a responsible, professional, food-safe reputation. As revisited in Chapter 5, compliance with food governance rules and norms functions as a key node of discursive and material power and contention. The affective ties of trust in a risk-prone industry are highlighted as a benefit of the potentially negative connotations of 'being in bed with…'. The mutual benefits conveyed contrast with the views of a former FareShare employee:

> …[FareShare was] set up by the supermarkets…it allowed them to tax avoid and also to offset some of their obligations…because it gets the food for free, they are beholden to the supermarkets and they have to do what the supermarkets want… (Kit, interview 2/8/16)

Kit highlights power differentials between the charity and its donors and stresses supermarkets' agency, founding role, financial and reputational (offsetting 'obligations') interests and relative position of power as donors.

4.5.1.1 The growth imperative: corporate partnerships

Reviewing its history provides a lens onto SFR expansion within the 'flatter' key of corporate partnerships and containment of industrial surpluses. FareShare became independent from Crisis and broadened its remit beyond homelessness in 2004 (FareShare, n.d.-a). Its fastest impulse towards growth occurred following 2008's financial crisis. New regional depots opened in 2007 and a '10,000 pallet challenge' was launched in 2009 to increase food donations, following a strategic partnership with the Food and Drink Federation (trade association for manufacturers). Since the recession and as problematisations of HFI have proliferated (Midgley, 2012), the number of charities providing food assistance has increased hugely. These provide outlets for increasing food volumes in line with FareShare's growing infrastructure to handle it, whose material trajectory I explore in Chapter 5. I now consider the growth aims of SFR organisations.

Redistribution to humans still constitutes a small proportion of potentially redistributable food: while 47,000 tonnes were redistributed to humans in 2015, 660,000 was fed to animals (WRAP, 2016). However, while I wish to retain proportion in representing the growth of SFR to humans, there is much potential for its *future* growth,

and the experiences of Canada and the USA provide templates for its entrenchment (Poppendieck, 1998, Fisher, 2017a). A FareShare manager described its aim to "double [tonnage coming through the warehouse]. Double the membership, double the volunteers, bang bang" (Paul). Approaching Christmas 2017, The Evening Standard ran an appeal for The Felix Project (described below), quoting WRAP's estimate that "the 17,000 tonnes of food redistributed in 2015 can be quadrupled by 2025" (Murphy, 2017). Achieving such growth entails working in collaboration with the food industry, revealing an explicit commitment to a flatter keying of the hunger-waste problem, as argued by a FareShare warehouse manager:

> …we definitely have to work with the food system that exists, because it's very lucrative, very embedded in this country. So the supply chains, the supply lines, the haulage, the distribution centres, these are well invested-in and well manifested, so rather than working against them to set up an alternative system, we wanna work within that system as we are now to access the food waste at source…(Mike, interview 3/11/15)

FareShare belongs to the Global Foodbanking Network (GFN), which operates in 32 countries and assists in the creation, up-scaling and efficiency of foodbanking (GFN, n.d.-a). Its website reads "hunger is often not a food problem; it's a logistics problem" (GFN, n.d.-b). FareShare has received funding for 'capacity building' from companies like Enterprise via its GFN membership (Auto Rental News, 2017). As GFN suggests, "Food banking is a proven method in alleviating hunger worldwide" (Global Foodbanking, 2018) framing SFR in a flatter key of success, global reach and future continuation.

Competition between redistributors

The close and long-term partnership between FareShare and retailers places it in a position of some dominance in terms of access to food and other resources vis-a-vis smaller redistribution organisations, a position that can generate dissent by other organisations seeking food. Former employee Kit described FareShare as

> "competitive, territorial and…controlling. They're a massive gatekeeper and actually I don't think it's right to have this massive monopoly within the charitable sector"

This accusation is clearly rooted in personal experience of acting within an increasingly competitive landscape; itself a product of the ways that SFR has gained public prominence and attracted increasing numbers of organisations and individuals seeking to gain access to surplus food for an increasingly diverse range of purposes. Smaller redistribution organisations sometimes articulated power differentials between differently-scaled actors seeking to co-habit that space.

Relationships *between* redistributors involves representational politics but also access to resources and public attention. Over the fieldwork period, new organisations entered a space once occupied by FareShare alone e.g. Felix Project, an offshoot of Oxford Food Bank (http://thefelixproject.org/), and UK Harvest (https://www.ukharvest.org.uk/). Differing in funding and charging models as revealed by visits and informal chats, these also operate through warehousing rescued retail surplus and its refrigerated transportation to member charities, evident from their websites. Implications of this for changing geographies of SFR merits comment, but for now I merely note the increasingly-crowded 'marketplace' of redistribution, a place in which representations of other actors become politicised. The 'consensus' frame that food waste and hunger constitute important problems is thus splintered into distinct framings of the best way to approach this (Mooney & Hunt, 2009). While Mike expresses a flatter key of working with food business, Kit problematised FareShare's non-acknowledgment of how this might impact smaller redistribution actors.

Corporate involvement and limits on advocacy

Food donors' influence over redistribution charities has been critiqued in the US. Fisher (2017a) calculates the frequency of major corporations represented on foodbank boards of directors. He notes a distinction between foodbank staff, who "tend to be fairly liberal, and want to address the underlying causes of hunger through programs and policy advocacy" (p.59), and board members whose "vested interests" may stymie such intentions. Fisher notes that of 154 Feeding America foodbanks listing their board members' affiliations, 715 out of 2,817 board members (25%) worked for a Fortune 1000 company or similar-sized company. This resembles Henderson's (2004) analysis of a foodbank director who wished to support a Living Wage bill but was vetoed by his board. The chair of FareShare's Board of Trustees is Financial Director of Associated British Foods (FareShare, n.d.-b), representing numerous global food corporations as well as other agribusinesses and retailer Primark. Such involvement, as well as highly-publicised fundraising alliances with CocaCola, Walmart/ASDA, Nestle and Tesco, have created an image of alignment with elite interests (Davison, 2018).

Some FareShare staff framed the partnership position as a platform from which to "change a culture within the food industry" (Mike), reframing waste as surplus and influencing producers to manage excess stocks responsibly. This suggests charities' framing role as one of nudging reform, through increased corporate responsibility and

compliance (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011). Mike reported witnessing a change in donor attitudes and behaviours, evident in FareShare receiving less unusable food: "We're in a much stronger position now with the food industry to turn round and say 'we're not even gonna LOOK at that'". This contrasts with the national Director of Food (interview, 9/11/16), who described needing to persuade companies to donate rather than sell surplus to Anaerobic Digestion/animal feed. It also contrasts with activists' framing of FareShare's relationship with corporate donors as one of dependency. The 'flatter key' of donor relations has thus been leveraged in the oppositional politics of other redistribution actors, as will be explored in the 'sharper' key section.

Food waste causation: the flatter key

During volunteer days, a FareShare supervisor would often tell corporate volunteers (usually volunteering for a single day) that surplus represents a tiny fraction of all food handled by major retailers: inevitable accidents- mislabelled jars or a dented pallet, multiplied across a large company, translates to the apparently large quantities in the warehouse. Surplus food generation was thus framed as inevitable. During a day's volunteering at FareShare, a major supermarket arrived to film a promotional video about their redistribution partnership. Asked by a celebrity chef why perfect-looking produce ends up at FareShare, the supermarket's operations manager described wastage as an inevitable margin, where tiny errors translate into large amounts of waste that are nevertheless a small proportion of overall resource flows. I later compare this with the framing of food waste causation by activist redistributors.

Some volunteers expressed a strong sense of the environmental benefits of rescuing food at the scales enabled by FareShare, as seen in the following description of rescuing nectarines by an 'urban gleaner':

> '…after 3 hours' work I'd saved about 600kg of fruit…when you think it takes 4kg to produce 1 kg of fruit, that means I'd saved over 2 tonnes of CO2, effectively. Or averted that being produced…I'd saved more in 3 hours than my solar panels had saved in a year, so it shows the importance of avoiding food waste' (interview, FareShare urban gleaner, 4/11/2015).

While somewhat simplistically assuming that preventing waste averts surplus production and doesn't simply create waste further down the line (Davison, 2018), this suggests a justification for SFR that motivates volunteers differently from 'fighting hunger' and saving corporations money. Some volunteers expressed anti-capitalist or environmentalist views, explaining their volunteering as thanks for FareShare's

assistance to people left hungry following welfare reforms, or as carbon saving. These perspectives highlight the importance of considering the diverse views of individuals involved. They also highlight what Anderson (2018) describes as the 'force' of representations; the rationales given to SFR, and communication of these to different stakeholders, can motivate, justify, and prompt future engagement. A FareShare manager recognised the value of switching frames to suit different audiences:

> '…it's…something I used to sell to people all the time- corporates and volunteers. Share the love...there's that strapline fighting food hunger and tackling waste, and the third thing we do is bringing people on and getting them jobs, and on top of that, every kilo there is 4.5kg of CO2- you've just saved a small cars-worth of atmosphere out the planet, and some people, that's proven to motivate them more than the charitable aspect, the giving food to people, it's the ecological aspect' (Graham, interview 14/11/2016).

Representations can thus play a powerful affective role if we recognise "what representations *do* rather than what they *stand in for*" (Anderson, 2018, p.3, emphasis original). I will later consider representations as powerful mediators in bridging constructionist and new materialist ontologies.

This section has described the framing of corporate donation of surplus food played in a flatter key, where recipients view donors as responsible collaborators and benevolent providers. FareShare upholds supermarkets' framings of waste as an inevitable and relatively tiny proportion of overall food flows. Another dimension of their framing activity concerns perception of SFR as hunger relief, to which I now turn.

Mooney and Hunt (2009, p.473) note that frames "do boundary work in the social construction of conceptual demarcations that enable and constrain collective action". One of the representational tasks involved in redistributing surplus food as charity is defining and communicating who should receive food. This section highlights discursive boundaries drawn to demarcate 'legitimate' recipients by redistributors who explicitly frame their work as addressing food poverty charitably. This presents an important dimension of framing SFR, introducing fundamental questions of food access equity and justice. This theme is developed in Chapter 6, comparing how organisations convene spaces that uphold or challenge distinctions between givers and receivers and foster encounters across difference (Williams, Cloke, & Goodwin, 2016). I now turn to individualising tendencies of food poverty discourse.

In line with Midgley's (2012) observation that the emergence of the household as a focus for food security governance(rather than national or global level) fits neo-liberal logics,

Mooney and Hunt note the "individualization of collective action" (2009, p.476) in hunger discourses as expressing the flat keying of food security. They note the representation of children and donors as "radically individualised" solutions to poverty through, for example, sponsorship programmes. Poppendieck documents similar tendencies in American anti-hunger efforts, where celebrity appearances and sponsored walks allow individuals to share the "halo effect of emergency food" (1998, p.151), while food insecure individuals are often framed as vice-afflicted or poor household managers (p.241). Henderson (2004) analyses "socially necessary representations" of food insecurity by foodbanks, whereby fundraising literature highlights working mothers and children while obscuring the "intimate situatedness of food insecurity within very particular groups of bodies, in particular neighbours, and in particular labor markets and economic sectors" (p.505). He links foodbank representations to the need to recruit funding and interest from a broad (and resourced) spectrum of society, suggesting the material implications of framing.

FareShare staff often stressed food recipients' neediness in framing the purpose of surplus food. Manchester's development manager described priority groups to receive food:

> '...the top three categories would be projects working with people in income poverty, and then there's that family element- families in income poverty, then children and young people's hunger...' (Erica, interview 11/02/16)

Staff acknowledged varied 'needs' that SFR might alleviate: homelessness, children lacking breakfasts in deprived neighbourhoods, and lonely pensioners, adding that organisations receiving food "have to have a definite client base that we can see are at a disadvantage in our society or at risk of food poverty and hunger" (Erica). In the absence of official hunger monitoring, calculating such 'risk' was described as using socio-geographical proxies e.g. children receiving free school meals.

Surplus food was framed by a FareShare manager as having a facilitative function beyond alleviating hunger, discussing former work as a night shelter manager and CFM:

> They didn't need the food- cos some of them were on like 180-a-week benefits, but they were alcoholics or drug addicts...but the food gave us that place where we could sit round the table and start to work with them, befriend them, and move them on (Paul)

While recognising the limitations of focussing on 'food poverty' alone, and acknowledging complex factors affecting marginalisation, this quote affirms an orientation towards community organisations as well-placed to help individuals 'move on'. Recognising

diversity among CFMs, he welcomed SFR as a means to help people in very different ways: "a food bank is a different type of member to a school breakfast club".

Using mediating organisations rather than giving food directly to individuals thus constitutes a means to ally with a broad range of actors doing multiple kinds of work. Staff would often share pictures of individual diners during fundraising events: at the launch of an appeal for a larger venue, images were shown alongside brief narratives of two homeless gentlemen and a toddler tucking into meals. Felix Project's promotional film shows images of rough sleepers, single mums and elderly individuals alongside verbal quotes about rising hunger, before presenting project vans and volunteers distributing fresh food (Felix Project, 2017). Charitable redistributors frame SFR as the moral, necessary, urgent response to a crisis, often employing emotional language and imagery in presenting the problem to which they are addressing themselves. Surplus food is re-framed as potential succour for helpless, needy individuals, and charitable work presented as vital source of assistance for those groups. A clear 'us/them' distinction underpins appeals for cash and kind donations from the public, while daily volunteer work included motivational reminders from supervisors that this bag of apples or that packet of fish would be going to feed someone in need. The 'flatter' key can be gleaned from representations of charity and individual good will as the solution to poverty.

This account, however, masks some of the variation in perception among charity staff. In line with Fisher's argument about the progressive beliefs of foodbank staff, the FareShare development manager noted that:

> '…it's a difficult time to bring about that legislative and policy change a lot of charities hope for in terms of lasting change for people in need, so the role of service providers and those of us that are supporting service providers is pretty important. I don't think that's gonna change very soon, sadly' (Erica)

She drew on their long experience of working in the charitable sector to argue the reality of cyclical change, that poverty levels rise and fall, and that in a cold policy environment the work of charities is "pretty important". Rather than framing their work as supportive of dominant institutional practices, as the flatter key would suggest, she frames institutional change to prevent poverty as unrealistic. FareShare's work can then be framed as maximising its mission of "fighting hunger through our partnerships with other charities and tackling food waste with the food industry" (Erica), but lacking resources for advocacy and campaigning. This frame posits a pragmatic and realist approach to charities as actors varying in degrees of opposition to the 'dominant institutions' that

could be construed as causing food waste, and exacerbating food poverty. I heed Poppendieck's (1998 p.305) warning that that defining poverty *as* "hunger" can "direct our attention away from the more fundamental problem of poverty, and the even more basic problem of inequality". Framing charitable food as a desirable or as 'the only feasible' solution, as suggested by the FareShare manager, Poppendieck argues, renders charities complicit in neglecting strategies that would address the root causes of that poverty and inequality.

Some FareShare staff were participating in policy and organisational efforts to improve food systems in a sharper key of what Mooney and Hunt (2009, p.481) describe as the "diversified, community-based food systems" view of food security. FareShare has formed alliances with organisations that may have otherwise been competitors (including TT), supporting national campaigns such as End Hunger UK and Manchester's food poverty alliance.

SFR as conservative politics

Before turning to the sharper discursive key of TRJFP activists, I note a more explicitly politicised framing of redistribution by a Felix Project founder. As noted, this began as an offshoot of Oxford Food Bank, an independent operation redistributing retail surplus. A newsletter describes The Felix Project as a "little brother", expressing hopes to "replicate our model" across the UK (Oxford Food Bank, n.d.). In a newspaper article, its co-founder chastises Feeding Britain's call for a publically-funded body to coordinate "state-backed" foodbanks and free holiday meals for children (Aitken, 2014). He challenges "the Left" for accusing Coalition cuts of "fuelling" the rise in foodbank use, arguing that "the poorest people in any decade have always gone hungry, regardless of which party was in power". He cites OFB's "sustainable" model of feeding such people through the "industrious, caring" labour of volunteers and donations by wholesalers and businesses "without a single penny of public money coming our way" (Aitken, 2014). Contra to the emergence and legitimation of 'food poverty' as a new and austerity-driven phenomenon, this framing of the problem positions poverty as almost inevitable; independent of party political decisions and akin to the Biblical notion of "the poor will always be with you". Poppendieck cites the importance of religion in heightening America's conscience around hunger, as "probably the most important evocation of poverty and injustice found in either testament" (1998, p.39). She also cites charitable food providers' faith as a motivating factor given the frustrating "failure to make a dent in the underlying problems

of hunger and poverty" (p.193); the mission to 'feed the hungry' is rationale enough, regardless of cause or outcome. While noting the role of faith groups in articulating radical and structural arguments around hunger (Cloke, Beaumont, & Williams, 2013), Aitken's protest nevertheless makes explicit a view of some SFR actors that charity is an adequate and desirable solution, a view shared by certain politicians (BBC News, 2017).

I have argued that FareShare expresses a flatter key of SFR. While not internally homogenous, and representing largely the view of paid staff, interviews revealed representations of surplus food as inevitable outcome of large-scale food system flows and human error. Hunger and poverty were represented as requiring alleviation in a policy environment and organisational mission lacking space for structural advocacy. For certain redistribution actors, the problematisation of hunger and charity by, say, Feeding Britain, is critiqued as unnecessary meddling in the adequately-equipped work of charitable SFR. Corporate alliances were viewed as necessary for food sourcing but also a means to impact corporate responsibility through upwards pressure (Durrant, 2014). I now examine redistributors with very different perceptions of their work and its aims.

4.5.2 The sharper key: redistribution as oppositional politics

Charities' alignment with corporate retailers as donor-collaborators earns FareShare criticism from organisations like TRJFP that play a sharper key towards food (waste) producers. The sharp key "offers critical, alternative interpretations and practices usually voiced by challengers" (Mooney & Hunt, 2009, p.471). A TRJFP chef accused FareShare of facilitating overproduction, distinguishing FareShare's model as qualitatively different from TRJFP vis-a-vis food supply-chains:

> '...they're dealing with excess. They overproduce and give it to FareShare- they've always got loads of in-date stuff, we deal with stuff on the date...' (Andrew, interview 3/8/16).

 Another organiser questioned high salaries paid to certain national FareShare staff. While important to acknowledge diversity among TRJFP organisers, several are long-term activists who frame waste and redistribution through critical lenses of corporate globalisation and environmental degradation. This is expressed in multiple ways; a TRJFP director described her greatest food system concern as overproduction: "the pricing, so the payment to producers especially...milk, and milk quotas, all that...money-orientated stuff" (Mary, interview 3/8/16). Another criticised uncaring, profit-motivated retailers:

> '...one [reason for wastage] is just the way big food industry works...it's cheaper to, or easier even, to be a bit like, blasé about how you deal with food, so they order in

loads cos they're gonna make money off it either way…they don't really care much about paying a bit more attention and bringing in the right amount of food" (Finn and Leah, TRJFP co-directors, interview 24/6/16).

This contrasts significantly with FareShare's framing of corporate donors and expresses a sharper key of contesting extant practices.

TRJFP has attempted to distance itself from hunger discourses, at times making public criticisms of foodbanks as well as other SFR organisations.

> 'We're not seeing poverty as the solution to food waste because they're both two completely separate and very, very complicated issues, but I think a lot of the major players see poverty as the solution to food waste and have turned it into a sustainable business model, which is never ever gonna solve the issues' (Guy, TRJFP director, interview 3/6/16)

Rather, TRJFP tended to frame their work as making surplus food available for anyone who wishes to access it, a point developed in Chapter 6. However, the following section describes tendencies for sharp/flat tendencies to blur.

As we cleared up after lunch service, a RJFP director/organiser described the satisfactions of redistribution work compared to her earlier activism, as noted in my field diary:

> …she's worked for causes and social justice all her life and never felt like she's getting anywhere. [SFR] motivates her- she's DOING something: "I've learned that you can't wait for the government…to fix things- you have to start with your own life. And that's what I'm doing". I ask if she gets frustrated, finding so much waste every day and she says no, because she can see what she's going to make with it. (Fieldnotes, TRJFP 2/6/16)

This rather individualised framing of responsibility ('your own life') expresses a flatter keying than expected, reinforcing the point that keying represents a "range" rather than a polarity (Mooney & Hunt, 2009). The point about the frustrations of government-targeted activism echoes Erica's view that in an unfavourable policy environment, FareShare was focussing resources on the practical work of feeding people and reducing waste through industry collaborations, not campaigns and advocacy. In both organisations, redistribution work was described as satisfying through enacting care for others, despite its frustrations.

Poppendieck (1998) described how daily practicalities of redistribution work tend to dominate daily life: acquiring, handling and distributing food. Some TRJFP organisers were experiencing frustrations of this daily grind:

> '…we're starting to realise…that the three directors should really be doing the directing and trying to make the company grow and be able to do bigger and better

things but we're running the cafes everyday, we're running the events, we're first ones in, last ones out…we don't get enough time to do those things…' (Guy)

Guy articulated some doubt in the capacity of the network to achieve its aim of 'putting itself out of business', often repeated by the RJFP founder:

'…the 'put yourself out of business' bit, um, would be…fixing the rest of the system so that there wasn't the food waste, but I've got a feeling there's always gonna be surplus…' (Guy)

This idea of 'inevitable surplus' echoes FareShare and supermarkets' framings above. He continued:

'…it's about efficiently redirecting that into projects like this so that the benefits of these projects are still felt but without food waste along the way, cos there's a lot of attitude shift that needs to happen, I mean most food is wasted in the home, so if we can educate people through food…with Fuel for School, if we can educate the future generations then maybe we can fix the system over a quicker time period? (Guy)

These quotes reveal slippage in frames employed by TRJFP movement actors. While many expressed critical attitudes towards large retailers, this at times clashed with food acquisition imperatives (explored in Chapter 5a). The notion that "there's always gonna be surplus", echoing food corporations' public framings of surplus as inevitable, contrasted with Guy's view that food waste represents a "broken food system". This frames SFR as having managerial and educational purposes, mentioning the Fuel For School (FFS) programme aimed at SFR and food waste prevention education in schools. This suggests an ethos of containment rather than contestation, positing households and communities as prime locus for change. The distinction between 'surplus' and 'waste' is evident in the second quote: Guy suggests that surplus food can be efficiently redirected into 'beneficial' community projects whilst reducing food *waste* which here implies the failure to use surpluses, whether in the home or not.

I have traced tendencies for TRJFP actors to express a sharper key of waste-causation and the role of redistribution, but noted ambiguities not only between individuals but at times within individuals' accounts. The following section develops this picture of internally-differentiated networks expressing at-times conflicting framings of hunger/waste.

Contested futures: community care or self-eradication?

Guy was not alone in positioning SFR within competing frames. As his project grew, the wider network was debating future strategies: from early intentions to eradicate root causes of food waste through awareness-raising and campaigning, a number of cafes

were debating sustainable futures, which for most cafés implied paying managers, drivers, chefs and often securing warehousing and café spaces (Guy, 3/6/16). One organiser even compared their upscaling to FareShare:

> '…the good thing about TRJFP though is that it's getting a name for itself and it's becoming something a bit bigger like FareShare…more well known…we are part of TRJFP…this bigger thing which people will recognise us for cos it makes us a lot more legitimate and people will take us more seriously' (Leah, interview 24/6/16).

Here she articulates the reputational advantages of being networked, but this generated geographical diversity. Not all organisers shied away from association with the hunger-waste frame. Some acknowledged certain café's roles in making food accessible to people, often linked to geo-demographic specificity. Helen compared cafés in the network:

> 'Café [A] and Café [B]…being two of them who are…not in any way intentionally, but are definitely responding to food poverty more. So Café A is in an area suffering a lot of deprivation for a number of different reasons; Café [B] is slap bang in the middle of 3 really rough council estates…' (Helen, interview, 18/1/16)

> '…Café [C]'s in a very middle class area…and they're far more focussed on food waste, on demonstrating how very edible that food waste is, by cooking up amazing…a la carte restaurant grade…absolutely awesome meals' (Helen)

Diversity was also framed in terms of financial takings. Helen suggested that while Cafés A/B average takings of under £1 per PAYF meal, Café C was receiving £7-8. It was often suggested to me that to make a project truly inclusive and self-sustaining it would require the overpayment of wealthier customers to balance the lower takings from less wealthy ones, with the anonymous payment system seen as a way to mitigate the potentially shaming and excluding revelation of one's capacity to pay. The prevalence of poverty, then, was not framed as a justification for the project as a whole, but as inequality that could be overcome by redistributing resources at local and national network levels.

Alleviating food poverty was described by several organisers as a positive but incidental outcome of TRJFP's work, expressed by one director/organiser when asked whether other TRJFP cafes were doing hunger-focussed work. His response expressed geographical diversity of projects:

> Some are and that is just down to the areas that they're in. The main message of TRJFP is 'this is about food waste, not food poverty' but helping hunger is a by-product, a great by-product of stopping food waste. But it's pretty much just down to whatever area and demographic you're in. (Neil, interview 29/7/16)

Rather than focussing on food poverty as existential rationale, TRJFP participants therefore tended rather to emphasize local contingency and variation, and PAYF as enabling access to anyone regardless of need, with hunger relief a laudable 'by-product'.

The next section considers the framing of SFR as 'environmental' activism, and tensions this can generate.

I have identified a range of framings across TRJFP. This may partly result from the central network imposing few strict rules on members, contrasting with FareShare's insistence that network members follow strict compliance guidelines, for instance (see Chapter 5). TRJFP variation included projects adopting new models of working, such as distributing food to schools, which generated conflict at the 2016 AGM. Certain members shared concerns that the project's ideological compass had shifted away from environmental activism. Several café organisers described backgrounds in environmentalism, framing TRJFP as an "environmental" organisation:

> '...I set it up as an environmental project, to put ourselves out of business...' (Fran, TRJFP director/organiser, interview 13/1/17)

> '...we'll always have the environmental side running underneath and that's what we'd really focus on cos that's what we're the experts in cos that's what we do as a charity' (Tim, FFS coordinator, interview 26/10/16)

However, the decision to work with schools was interpreted by some as a move towards sustainability and thus betrayal of the network's stated ambition to 'put itself out of business'. One organiser reacted to the aforementioned tendency of some cafes to frame their work as alleviating poverty:

> '...the whole idea was that we were campaigning against food waste and trying to raise the fact that this was good food for everybody, not just for the poor, it's not just soup kitchen food. And a lot of the projects are not kind of taking that on board. They have a conflicting view...they're like yeah, but this is free food and we wanna feed the poor because there are people that can't afford food out there...' (Fran)

She even noted a conflictual dynamic within her own co-organisers:

> '...other directors are like 'well we don't wanna put ourselves out of business- we're providing a service for the community and we want to keep that service going, and what do we say to our customers- oh, sorry, there's no food, we're putting ourselves out of business'...'

These tensions contrast starkly with the FareShare manager's confident assertion of imminent doubling of capacity, a confidence reflected in the national organisation's sharing of this goal. I analyse the issue of redistribution organisations' growth and relative permanence as material, spatial and social assemblages in Chapter 5, and later consider how SFR may provide benefits that lie outside of alleviating food insecurity and/or reducing waste.

Ending food waste?

While often pointing to the importance of education, few TRJFP activists expressed concrete visions for how to eradicate food waste. One organiser who envisaged his volunteers co-creating localised food systems with allied organisations eventually felt pushed out by newer members who found the satisfying (and often tiring) work of feeding people with surplus food adequate. As mentioned, FFS generated conflicting views as to whether investing in school programmes indicated a desire for sustainability that compromised the mission statement of putting intentional teleology of self-demise in the aim to 'put ourselves out of business'. TRJFP activists were involved in lobbying Parliament around the time of the Food Waste Bill (McCarthy, 2015), suggesting action at different governance levels. Warshawsky (2015, p.27) suggests that community-level SFR organisations, by framing their environmental and social benefits in terms of moral economy, risk overstating "the potential of local communities, households, and individuals to effect social change and reduce food waste". Chapter 5b considers this argument in relation to UK SFR organisations.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored problematisations of hunger and waste emerging from participant-observation and interviews; these are multiple, complex and vary across/within FareShare and TRJFP. I have highlighted the diversity of ideological and policy positions, interests and future plans of charitable and activist actors operating within the master frame of SFR. Sharp/flat keyings of SFR do not represent a polarity. FareShare employees tended to represent corporate donors as partners and surplus as inevitable, proportionally-tiny overflow. However, some acknowledged the way this flatter keying of collaboration is critiqued by organisations like TRJFP's counter-framing of collaboration as 'being in bed with'.

Contrary to FareShare's keying of food waste as 'accidental', TRJFP organisers tended to frame food waste as environmental hazard, resulting from and expressing a food system some described as 'broken'. Others expressed pragmatic conceptualisations of SFR as doing 'what's possible', contrasting this to the frustrations of structural activism.

TRJFP cafes' roles in addressing hunger was widely held to be contingent upon geo-economic locations. On the whole, however, while FareShare justifies its work as aimed at "tackling food poverty", TRJFP frames its work as inclusive through the motto "feed

bellies not bins", highlighting environmental prerogatives to save food whose potential edibility can feed bellies, any bellies.

I have drawn distinctions in the way SFR as discourse and practice can be aligned, or opposed, to broader economic and food system prerogatives and issues. FareShare's tendency to frame hunger/waste in a flatter key of managing problems without requiring systemic change i.e. 'containment' (Heynen, 2010) has earned it widespread admiration and inclusion in media, policy platforms and, importantly, funding from major corporations (Auto Rental News, 2017).

While not directly contesting structural determinants of poverty and hunger (and allying with the GFN that appears to make no mention of these in advocating for managerial solutions), FareShare staff did voice critical concerns about structural issues that they felt unable to tackle in their everyday remits. Regional depots subscribe to a national body, itself a member of GFN, which posits foodbanking as "proven solution" to hunger/waste. Chapter 8 discusses FareShare's position in processes that I argue constitute a globalising rollout of charitable SFR.

Chapter 5 explores how this growth imperative is being enacted in the UK's concrete rollout of socio-material infrastructures. It moves beyond organisations' constructions of problems/solutions to consider the more-than-human flows and processes through which relationships, events and organisations are made and sustained. Following the argument in this chapter that TRJFP expresses a sharper framing of wasted food, Chapter 5 argues that controversies around TRJFP's contesting of food safety discourses produced material and reputational effects. These reveal tensions in articulating critical stances towards corporations blamed for wastage while relying on those corporations for food supplies.

Chapter 5a: Socio-material infrastructures: the fragile achievement of surplus food redistribution

This chapter extends the argument so far for recognising diverse, ambiguous meaning-constructions, analysing how those meanings interact with other dimensions of redistribution including material, spatial and legal mediations of food, workers, warehouses, fridges, packaging and other more-than-human actants. Drawing on assemblage theory (AT) and actor-network theory (ANT), I analyse SFR as a fragile and processual achievement involving numerous interacting bodies in ways that discursive-constructionist perspectives may fail to capture (or ignore). Re-asserting Chapter 4's value in resisting unquestioned assumptions about relationships between food, poverty, waste and redistribution, this chapter recognises constructionist theory's incompleteness for understanding SFR as dynamic assemblages; how its components are made, stabilised and transformed. This will help to address my objective of comparing different approaches to redistributing wasted food with particular attention to labour, material and spatial practices. Echoing Chapter 4's insistence that 'sharp/flat' keyings of the redistribution frame represent not mutually-exclusive polarities but tendencies whose operation may be contradictory and changeable, I here draw on recent work aiming to overcome unhelpful conceptual dichotomies while recognising difference. This chapter configures redistribution not as static entity but as ongoing process that entails space for ethical and political analysis and change.

5.1 Bridging constructionism and new materialisms: 'expressive' affect

First, I recall critiques of social constructionism. One response to its shortcomings has been a 'relational turn' (Anderson et al., 2012) towards ontologies described as 'non-representational' (Anderson & Harrison, 2010), 'new materialist' (Braun, 2015) and 'more-than-human' (Whatmore, 2002). Meanwhile, political ecology has shifted from a reliance on Marxist political economy towards embracing STS-inspired concepts, including Latourian actor-networks (Swyngedouw, 1996). These bring into the analytical frame a focus on the connections and disconnections in lived worlds between "land, people, other living beings, artifacts and technologies" (Rocheleau, 2015, p.82).

This chapter focuses on spatial and material actants involved in enabling and constraining SFR practices and networks, and considering their different kinds of impacts. Before applying some of these theoretical understandings to my ethnographic observations, however, I argue that a constructionist approach, or at least an attendance to framing, can be embraced as a component of these approaches, linking to Chapter 4.

Here I draw on DeLanda's (2016) elaboration of assemblage theory. An important distinction made between components of an assemblage is between materiality and expressivity. While political ecology does attempt to redress the under-emphasis of the material in analysing social life, the concept of assemblage retains attention to expressive dimensions of the social: the role of language, meaning and interpretation in shaping the way life is held together and transformed. While the term 'non-representational' reproduces its critical context of constructionism while repudiating it (Anderson & Harrison, 2010), assemblage theory selects not one facet or the other but sees both as vital components. Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p88) refer to social groupings held together by shared obligations as "collective assemblage[s] of enunciation". DeLanda (2016, p.40) cites Tilly's theorisation of 'repertoires of contention' as "the set of performances through which collective actors express their claims to political rights". This recalls Chapter 4's comparison of organisations' representations of problems and the effect of this on their claims-making and approaches to change.

Discourse and framing, as part of broader assemblages of performance, spatiality and resource-acquisition, are thus retained as analytical tools. As Bryant (2010, n.p.) notes in comparing assemblages to theories prioritising representation, "the point is not that the expressive is *not* a component of social assemblages, but rather that the expressive is *only* a component" (emphasis original). Some authors have indeed characterised new materialism as a second wave of social constructionism, which "moves beyond an exclusive focus on language and meaning to explore the objects, materials, and processes by which entities (or "objects") are constructed and maintained" (Price-Robertson & Duff, 2016, p.59). Similarly, attention to the synthetic role(s) of discursive, material and structural analysis is evident in the political ecology of the body framework of Hayes-Conroy (2015) which I use to analyse SFR to schools in Chapter 5b.

This chapter focuses on entities that enable or destabilise SFR assemblages, treating these not as static but as processual and relational. The growing attractiveness of SFR, particularly to those considered to be in need, necessitates specific 'treatment' of wasted

food in order for it to become (and remain) redistributable (Midgley, 2013). I demonstrate wasted food's precarious journey between material and expressive mediators of the food/waste distinction (i.e. food's agency to rot alongside variable human valuations of the line(s) separating food from waste). Before ethical judgements can be made regarding SFR, it is necessary to better understand actual processes by which it is enabled and stabilised, and I will draw on assemblage and actor-network theory to do so.

The chapter first theorises food's edibility as an assemblage whose coherence and stability can be explored through a focus on four of its interacting components: refridgeration, foodstuffs, people and expiry dates/packaging. I analyse these, in turn, along three dimensions, following Muller & Schurr (2016): stabilisation, change and affect. I then bring these together to suggest implications of these findings for thinking about food/waste transitions, labour ethics, nonhuman agency and what the dynamic social-environmental metabolisms traced reveal about valuing food, and people.

5.2 Maintainining edibility- theorising food infrastructures

Redistributing wasted food to humans requires specific handling care to retain its material and symbolic status as food. As we will see, the assembling of assemblages (people, food items, equipment all constitute assemblages themselves) to maintain edibility involves the coordination of multiple elements. Practices of intercepting, storing and redistributing food in maintaining edibility require, and produce, infrastructures. Differing somewhat between organisations, these generally comprise transportation (bicycles, vans, lorries etc), storage (boxes, cupboards, sheds, warehouses) and other spaces (for sorting, preparing, disposing and eating food, administration, etc.). Below I analyse some of the human and nonhuman elements whose coordination constitutes food's journey between the material and discursive category of food or waste. Star (1999, p.377) notes that "infrastructure is both relational and ecological...it is part of the balance of action, tools and the built environment, inseparable from them". Differing (but keeping an eye on) Marx's deterministic notion of infrastructure as economic basis for legal-political superstructure (Fields, 2017), I consider infrastructure as more than technical-physical structures and rather as productive, agentic devices with implications for distributive justice (Star, 1999). As connective, contextual and metabolic, infrastructure is a way to think about affect in Deleuze and Guattari's sense of *agencement* (Lancione, 2016). Agencement implies connection, such as between "a state of affairs and the

statements we can make about it" (Phillips, 2006, p.108), suggesting a third in the binary of representation/represented, infrastructure denotes not only the physical structures/entities but their work in connecting heterogenous elements.

5.2.1 Edibility as assemblage

One way to compare the spatial and material components, capacities and processes- the infrastructures- of FareShare and TRJFP, is to ask how their different settings of what DeLanda (2016) calls 'knobs', or parameters, of material and expressive components, affects the flow of food and the overall coherence or legitimacy of their operations. Food's edibility constitutes one prism for considering everyday life at redistribution organisations, comprising material and expressive parameters and a central aim/achievement of such organisations. I therefore treat edibility as an assemblage that forms part of broader SFR assemblages. It emerges from numerous, interacting entities that are themselves assemblages (Delanda, 2016), including date labels (and packaging), foodstuffs, people and fridges.

5.2.2 Synthesising assemblage/actor-network theories: stabilisation, change and affect

I draw on the analytical resources of AT and ANT, especially the synthetic work of Muller and Schurr (2016). They develop three 'cross-fertilisations' of AT and ANT, arguing that firstly "ANT can provide the notion of the assemblage with an explicitly spatial account of how relations in an assemblage are drawn together and stabilised" (p.218). Secondly, "the common ground between the two approaches has increased with ANT's turn towards embracing multiplicities and fluidities in the 1990s" (p.218). Finally, they suggest that "ANT would benefit from the attention to the role of affect and desire in bringing socio-material relations into being, which is so central in assemblage thinking" (2016, p.218). They thus theorise synthetic potentials of AT and ANT to explore stabilisation, change and affect. These are relevant to my own consideration of the expanding, shifting socio-material infrastructures of redistribution and, importantly, lend a vocabulary enabling comparison of different organisational practices and events. I briefly outline the contribution of AT and ANT to the three dimensions (stabilisation, change, affect) through which I will analyse the four components (fridges, foodstuffs, people, date-labels).

5.2.2.1 Synthesis a) stabilisation (of relations)

Assemblage thinking rejects the "logic of stability and linear causality" (Venn, 2006, p.107) assumed by the causal determinism of Marxist epistemologies. Refusing the fundamental analytic of 'structure', or essences, reflects assemblage's rootedness in scientific and mathematical shifts towards embracing complexity, for example Srnicek (2007). AT rethinks stable entities in terms of processes of emergence/becoming and potential for transformation. Perhaps for this very reason, Muller and Schurr (2016) note that AT is thus under-equipped with concepts for understanding stabilisation. The notion of territorialisation in AT refers to "as much an alignment of connections as a hardening of boundaries" (Dovey, 2011, p.348) and thus provides a way to examine how socio-spatial organisation occurs, albeit never in a state of equilibrium. Muller and Schurr thus emphasise ANT's multiplicity of concepts for understanding "the relational achievement of bringing what is far away close and making the close-at-hand appear far away" (Muller & Schurr, 2016, p.221) e.g. oligoptica, intermediary-turned-mediator, translation and (im)mutable mobile (defined later). In the sections below I consider how more-than-human processes combine the natural, social and technical in holding together redistribution as an assemblage composed of other assemblages (such as edible food, itself the achievement of inter-relating entities/processes).

5.2.2.2 Synthesis b) change

Despite its rich conceptual tools for describing stabilisation, ANT is weaker in tools for conceptualising change. Callon & Latour's (1981, p.289) insistence that "those it [Leviathan] enrols can desert it" does suggests that stabilised macro-actors always contain the possibility for de-stabilisation. Muller & Schurr (2016) also note the growing interest in fluidity and virtuality in later ANT. However, they suggest that AT is

> ...more attuned to the absent presence of the virtual, the incipient possibilities inherent in any situation and how, by relations of exteriority, elements are never fully enrolled and determined by their networks (2016, p.223)

Assemblage as process, as noted, involves territorialisation that always contains within it the potential for de/reterritorialization. Importantly, change in AT is always a more-than-human affair (Robbins & Marks, 2010). Rather than see stability/change as opposites, I present them as mutually-implicated, one containing the seed of the other. Because AT is "sensitive to time and temporality in the emergence and mutation of the phenomenon" (Venn, 2006, p.107) it provides a way to consider transformation at different temporal and spatial scales, from the ephemeral to the *longue duree,* whether the discursive claims

by activists for change or the ways in which social problems emerge and persist. Such processes are closely related to affect.

5.2.2.3 Synthesis c) affect (desire-wish brings elements into network)

Affect/desire is central to Deleuze and Guattari's notion of assemblages. Muller and Schurr (2016, p.224) write "assemblage is the expression of desire/wish", with Goodchild (1996, p.4) describing desire as 'a spontaneous emergence that generates relationship through a synthesis of multiplicities'. This is not simply the desire flowing from humans towards objects; while human specificity plays a role in AT, agency in Deleuze and Guattari is distributed, where the process of assembling is premised on emergent relations of exteriority. Components are not defined by their relation to a whole (a condition that would prevent analysing complex interaction and change- Price-Robertson & Duff, 2016), but connect through spontaneous, immanent affective relations: the 'synthesis of multiplicities' (Goodchild 1996, p.4). This idea can be applied to a more ecological and relational approach to the disposal of wasted materials: devaluing and wasting a material in one place does not mean that it may not hold value and generate the affective power to be re-enrolled as valuable and useable (edible, enjoyable food, or rich compost) in another. Desire thus acts in many directions and between multiple actants, from moulds to the electricity powering the fridge.

I will be thus drawing on the synthetic resources of AT and ANT to explore stabilisation, change and affect in refrigeration, foodstuffs, people and expiry-dates.

Affective bodies

AT considers *how* components are assembled and held together (Delanda, 2016). Muller and Schurr (2016) note ANT's under-conceptualisation of bodies' affective capacities. Where Latour does attend to emotion and embodiment, they argue, this tends to be conceived as a mediated effect of networked relationality. Deleuze and Guattari, in contrast, drew on Spinoza's theory of "affective" bodies in their theorisation of 'desiring machines' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983), later re-conceptualised as assemblages. Goodchild (1996, p.50-1) summarises assemblage as follows:

> A machinic assemblage exists as an individuated but partial object (lacking a totalizable unity) according to the extent that it has affects, that it has a capacity to enter into machinic relations of deterritorialization and reterritorialization with other machinic assemblages- it makes a difference.

Bennett (2010, p.21) also draws on Spinoza's notion of conative bodies, the conatus being the "vital impetus" to act, interact and collaborate/assemble with other bodies. She

emphasises the "agentic contributions of nonhuman forces" (p.xvi) in an effort to "counter the narcissism of humans in charge of the world". Muller and Schurr (2016, p.224) also connect affect to AT's embracing of virtuality: "Desire/wish can be read as an expression of the link between the actual and the virtual, where the virtual always bears on the actual but always exceeds it". The capacity to affect and be affected is thus a property and indeed a mechanism of assembling/ed bodies for these theorists, and I will analyse redistribution spaces, foods, people and regulations in terms of the affective relationships through which they stabilise and are de/re/stabilised in their interactions with other components. The theoretical resources I have delineated will now be applied to my own material, exploring the multiply-constructed and contingent nature of SFR infrastructures that suggest different degrees of cohesion. SFR infrastructures generate agentic affects whose potentialities to interact and combine can teach us about human-food connections and the ontological politics of waste-making/prevention.

5.3 Component 1. Fridges and redistribution spaces

It is hard not to attend to the qualities of fridges when you work inside them. Volunteering at FareShare particularly involved considerable travelling between temperate zones for storing and sorting different kinds of food, and these embodied labours, often alongside other workers, alerted me to their importance as part of SFR assemblages of edibility-maintenance. The large scale of FareShare's walk-in fridge frequently prompted visceral reflections, described more below, but fridges- and their discontents, were also frequently discussed at TRJFP. A key component of everyday SFR life, then, is refrigerated storage, which interacts with other components (e.g. expiry-dates), discussed later. Analysing refrigeration highlights its role in entrenching and legitimising redistribution discursively and materially.

5.3.1 Fridges a): Stabilisation

Fridges and their use (or lack thereof) involves human-nonhuman relationships that both enable (as intermediaries) and constrain (as mediators) the goal of redistribution: food eventually being eaten or sent to member charities in an edible state. Everyday life for redistribution organisations, like private households, involves material, embodied "practices of refrigerating and ridding" (Waitt & Phillips, 2015, p.360). Fridges can ease anxieties about food's edibility by slowing its decline, lending greater flexibility in what can be done with it.

Rotating

Here I use the example of FareShare's 'big fridge' to demonstrate how fridges ease daily tasks of rotating food flows. FareShare's warehouse, similarly to the temporal cycles of supermarkets, is a place of constantly moving food along: receiving/storing donations, 'picking'/delivering orders, and sorting unpredictable, arrythmic deliveries. The fridge's preservation of perishable food allows material stabilisation of food flows, part-stabilising these everyday tasks. Warehouse worker Dan described the impacts of FareShare's new walk-in 'big fridge':

> The big fridge has changed, well everything really. We were used to one little tiny fridge being emptied and filled...daily, which was putting more pressure on us than we could actually handle...you'd walk in after the morning vans had gone out...'this fridge is empty!'...then fill it full of new stock...getting organised and processed...you couldn't then put orders in there ready for the next day. If you could then you just filled the entire fridge and that was it until the van went out the next morning. It was a real challenge but the big fridge is just 'oh great, we can now put all of the food to be sorted in the little fridge and the orders that are ready in the small fridge and then everything else can just live in the big fridge'. (Dan, interview, 17/12/15)

Dan highlights the spatio-temporal affordances of the larger fridge in handling increased food quantities and incorporating new, easier ways of working with the older (small) fridge. It enabled work that was previously impossible when the smaller fridge was full of one category of 'placed' food and thus unusable for another. Dan highlights the importance of placing different categorisations of food as it moves from 'new stock' to filled 'orders' (consistent racking/coding practices were imperative to organising its use). FareShare's role as broker (Alexander & Smaje, 2008) and strict internal guidelines for managing food, requires all stock to undergo standard processes: sorting, logging, storing, 'picking', packing and delivering. Space for these activities is paramount: as Dan notes, finished orders alone (strapped shut in an individual cage per order) can now be kept in the small fridge, spatially and categorically separate from new stock. Of course, creating space also reflects FareShare's goal of processing increased food flows, as outlined in Chapter 4.

Waitt & Phillips (2015) identify 'rotation' as a key activity of refrigeration's imbrication with practices of ridding. Drawing on Gregson et al.'s (2007) analysis of ridding as 'moving things along', they locate the rotation of older and newer foods in the "arrhythmia of everyday life" (2015, p.370), while Evans (2014, p.33) contrasts the "routinized nature of food provisioning" with the "fallout of everyday life". To understand how these dynamics interact with SFR goals, we must consider 'placing'.

Placing

FareShare's spatialised practices recall Waitt & Phillip's (2015, p.365) analysis of 'placing' items in refrigerators, defined as "a practice of containment meant to slow material transformation and decomposition, while making fresh foods convenient for households". They cite Hetherington's argument that disposal is "not primarily about waste but about placing" (2004, p.159), that it is "as much a spatial as a temporal category". Hetherington aims to disrupt representations of waste and disposal as the inevitable end-point of consumption, emphasising rather processes involving semiotic and translation effects beyond material ones. The placement of wasted foods in redistributors' fridges constitutes a generative act of re-producing/extending food's value temporally and spatially, hearkening its future use. It thus enables territorialisation, the degree to which an assemblage holds together heterogenous elements and "homogenises its own components" (Delanda, 2016, p.22). The fridge produces holds FareShare's routines together, enabling mobility (of volunteers, fresh foods) and food's (short-term) immutability. The option to freeze particularly meat was frequently mentioned by American surplus redistributors, making it easier to handle and allaying safety concerns, but requiring mutual agreements with retailers to freeze donated meat using specific procedures:

> 'if you don't freeze it, retailer, tonight, and you accidentally forget about it and you come in tomorrow morning at 5.30 and you see you forgot to pull it, we can't take that' (Director of Retail Partnerships, Feeding America, interview 27/4/2016)

Fridges/freezers function as immutable mobiles, devices "that makes both mobilization and immutability possible at the same time" (Latour, 1986, p.10).

Legitimating

As well as stabilising food's materiality, refrigeration also stabilises food's expressive affordances. It enables food to retain not only qualities that assist its redistribution (edibility, freshness) but also regulatory compliance. Refrigeration stabilises redistribution spaces as appropriate and desirable destinations for donors' surplus, becoming an essential component of a flexible, professional extension of the food supply chain. I discuss later affordances of redistributing meat and reputational debates over surplus food qualities; the fridge enables food types to be distributed that can bolster an image of providing greater choice:

> 'the food offer has completely transformed over the past couple of years and now with the big chiller we've got a lot of chilled food, so we've got a lot more to offer' (Erica).

Different food's material qualities, as well as technical infrastructures and human labour, interact to determine its destiny. These shape not only outcomes for recipients of the food but also public imaginaries of SFR.

TRJFP refrigerates significant quantities of intercepted perishable food, with projects often maintaining banks of fridges and, if possible, a freezer. I was often told that freezers were mixed blessings- there was being little point freezing bread (thus using electricity) because of such frequent incoming excesses, but freezing was useful for occasional gluts of, say, herbs for cooking. This suggests the fridge's mediating capacity as specific to different foods and uses. While TRJFP cafes tended to convert refrigerated food into cooked meals on-site, however, FareShare's brokerage role introduced specific challenges for the extension of refrigeration's material and expressive stabilisations (edible and compliant food) to recipient organisations, to which I now turn.

Extending redistribution stability: from warehouse to home

The capacities of technical components to affect food in the intended way- to keep it cold- must be coordinated with the capacities of recipients' technical devices to render/keep food edible. This may be achieved through software interfaces; FareShare's inventory software flags up certain foods' requirements e.g. the recipient must have an oven to use it as designed, influencing specific foods' ultimate destinations. This point recalls the challenges foodbanks sometimes face in giving food to clients with mixed knowledge about those clients' capacity to use it (e.g. access to tin-openers, pans, stoves...). Erica's interview prompted questions about the limits of responsibility over food's refrigeration. In order to supply a 'food pantry' model (where housing associations run small shop-like outlets for residents to pay a membership fee in exchange for a significantly greater retail value of food), FareShare required that pantry users measure and monitor their fridge temperatures. Unlike their usual model of brokering food to intermediary organisations, the knowledge that products would travel beyond charities to clients' kitchens threatened FareShare's contractual assurance to donors that the cold chain would be maintained.

> '...we've got a procedure in place that we've been trialling that is deemed to be an acceptable way to move the chilled and frozen food through pantries. What we haven't got so much a clear picture of is how well the monitoring of this is going with the pantry providers and we don't have the capacity right now to ask those questions, but going forward we will be' (Erica)

FareShare's gaze thus extends, or aims to extend, into the home of the end-user and attempts to modify their spatial behaviours in the interests of donor compliance. Such an extension into the private physical spaces of eventual eaters requires, however, the enrolment of charity partners to enact and monitor such efforts as stabilising the refrigeration assemblage at a distance. Food's spatial deterritorialisation as it travels from warehouse to charity is usually managed with polystyrene boxes and refrigerated vans. FareShare's attempt to territorialise food donations through the imposition of risk management techniques in recipient homes recalls Latour's figure of oligoptica. These are control centres from which "sturdy but extremely narrow views of the (connected) whole are made possible—as long as connections hold" (Latour 2005, p.181). Beyond food labels' functioning as disciplinary techniques in responsibilising knowing, choice-exercising neoliberal consumers (Guthman, 2007), providing thermometers and monitoring routines by FareShare upholds retail donors' concerns. Refrigeration thus stabilises not only food materially, but also stabilises and enacts relations of compliance and trust mediating food's entry to, and journeying through, the liminal assemblages of redistribution spaces, and the values attached to this process (Midgley, 2013).

Managing excess

The fridge's territorialising capacities spread beyond the boundaries of individual redistribution organisations, stabilising broader assemblages of 're-redistribution', or secondary redistribution, by widening the scope of possibility for food use. FareShare worker Mike described the advantages of the national food team sanctioning payments for refrigerated haulage. Linked to this, the big fridge facilitated re-redistributing fresh food:

> "Now we're in a great position to be able to store it properly in the fridge-...I can only think of one other FareShare in the country that has a fridge of the same size. So they wouldn't be able to take a huge volume, but if we're spreading it around the country at one pallet a time, that's not a problem storage-wise" (Mike)

Manchester's fridge acted as storage space *for other* depots, supplementing their lack of refrigeration. In line with increases of donations of, for example, pre-mashed potato, the fridge afforded stability in otherwise unpredictable food flows, elongating the temporal window for different uses, such as re-shipping excesses to other depots. The fridge thus helps foster a vision of redistribution networks as professional and efficient, but the variation between depots highlights power and resource differentials between redistribution charities and the food businesses that supply surplus food. As I show in

regard to expiry dates, redistributors are expected to comply with similar regulation as applies to businesses, while handling food whose surplus nature introduces specific management challenges.

5.3.2 Fridges b): change

While fridges can be seen as spaces and devices of stabilisation, this is not guaranteed. This section demonstrates how they can also act as destabilising components of redistribution assemblages. Their stability requires not only paying electricity bills (and a reliable source) but considerable maintenance work. Stability must be made and cannot be assumed; this is Delanda's key argument about assemblages as processual achievements.

Maintaining

FareShare's approach to food safety and handling is controlled centrally and enacted through a hierarchical chain of responsibility: the London-based food team issue a standard Food Safety Manual (FareShare, 2017a) to all Network Partners, whose Trustees, managers, staff, volunteers and CFMs bear certain duties. Given the bureaucratic form of compliance, stability must also be performed (as by the recipients provided with fridge thermometers described above). During some visits, volunteers working in the fridge had to weave around technicians with contractor-branded hi-vis jackets and clipboards, contracted to gather data for auditing purposes. There appeared little engagement with volunteers' work. They were measuring temperatures at different places in the fridge, testing the success of the slatted plastic entry curtain at maintaining temperatures. The agency of clipboards, experts, temperatures and manuals thus interact in stabilising successful refrigeration, but fridges carry with them the seed of failure.

Examples of fridges' capacity to destabilise everyday processes may surface when things go wrong. Freidberg (2009) describes how fridges have failed her with leaks, buzzes and groans, resulting in spoiled milk and wilted lettuces. I visited Cardiff's TRJFP following a city-centre supermarket's fridges breakdown during a heatwave, reported in national media as sparking a "freegan frenzy" (Mills, 2016) and affording SFR actors critique of supermarket responses:

> '…people were just going up and filling their boots…doing pick ups for various youth schemes and the homeless community…it's not funny but it goes against Tesco's recent statement that they are now redistributing all of their surplus food to charity and then a huge news piece comes out…no, this store just threw it all away (Neil, TRJFP café director, interview 29/07/2016)

135

The example highlights both retailers' reliance on refrigeration and greater public expectation that such food can, and should, be eaten/donated, even when breakdowns occur.

Navigating

FareShare volunteers must leave and enter the fridge through transparent but heavy slats, carefully: one doesn't want to be hit by a slat flicking back from a trolley moving through it. The fridge's materiality and its affordances/challenges are here apparent in the door's multiple functions: for volunteers, a potential hazard that slows work and for auditors, a vector of heat transfer whose human interactions induce flux in their measurements. Here we see the uncertainties of spaces, technical components and their use by humans. Doors stem the escape of cool air yet slow down the volunteer; they thus act as both intermediary and mediator. They enable yet compromise the assemblage of edibility, both territorialising and deterriorialising the fridge-assemblage in the flux of everyday life.

Affordability of infrastructure

Fridges, electricity to run them and spaces in which to keep them present geographically-variable limitations to expanding and professionalising redistribution infrastructures. TRJFP and FareShare have experienced similar pressures to upscale their infrastructures to receive and redistribute waste, but were often variably able to achieve desired capacity. Brighton TRJFP organisers despaired at high property prices of storage facilities (interview 2/6/2016). They compared these to prices in Leeds, where the project was founded and a warehouse is now rented to serve as a hub to service multiple cafes and the Fuel for School programme (FFS). The public can visit the warehouse/'Sharehouse' to 'purchase' surplus foods. I later demonstrate how such territorialisation also increased TRJFP's visibility to regulatory authorities. The point here is about financial costs of accessing space.

Brighton organisers sought an affordable permanent café space but at the time of my visit they had to transport most food and equipment between three café locations throughout the week, storing food in organisers' homes. Local property prices mediate organisations' capacity to territorialise their activities and bind their identity to a particular space, preventing the formation of defined boundaries of operation or assemblage. The challenges of securing permanent venues, and the precarity of occupying business spaces, resulted in stress and anxiety for other TRJFPs. Others, however, articulated non-

occupation of permanent space as flexibility to travel to different events, such as band nights, protests and family days in parks, and thus to engage with different publics and 'plug into' broader community, political and entertainment assemblages (DeLanda, 2017). Such cultivated deterritorialisation aligns more with the mobile spatialisations of Food Not Bombs (Giles, 2013), whose preference for vegan or vegetarian food reduces the importance of refrigeration in ways explored in the 'foodstuffs' section.

I thus relate spatial strategies (or accommodations of financial limitations) to Chapter 4's sharp/flat keying, using DeLanda's term 'expressivity'. While FareShare's big fridge expresses an imaginary of expansion and professionalisation in line with corporate compliance concerns, certain TRJFP organisations rather emphasised their detachment to place as evidencing their intended short-termism and a more 'molecular' political engagement of space versus the territorialising growth of FareShare franchises. 'Molecular' here implies Guattari's notion of flexible micropolitics and "transversal organisation" that does not separate the 'how' and 'why' of collective activities, contrasted to 'molar' structures, centralising and hierarchical organisations like political parties (Souza, 2010, p.329); these polarities map onto the sharp/flat tendencies of redistribution charities and activists.

5.3.3 Fridges c): affect

How might a focus on refrigeration reveal how affective relations through assemblages are made/broken? As noted, Fareshare's fridge created space for coordinating orders. However, long hours spent logging donations in the big fridge induced numbness in my fingers and dry skin that, at least for my body, limited the temporal scope of my fridge-labour assemblage. At Philabundance foodbank (USA), padded coats are provided to volunteers expected to work in refrigerated spaces sorting donated meat, recognising how temperature might affect the desirability of modes of volunteering, so central to its labour requirements.

Evans' (2014) ethnography of household food waste suggests ways to understand the interactions of material components with expressive and affective mediators of storage assemblages. Evans notes that "items designed…for the preservation of food can…operate as coffins of decay" (Evans, 2014, p.69). He observes householders' fridge use and discourse to theorise that once a food has entered the category of 'surplus', its journey towards wastage can be seen as a "gap in disposal" that helps to manage the anxieties generated by non-use of food resulting from overprovisioning and chaotic routines. In

redistribution spaces, food enters as already-surplus and even already- 'excess', which may be 'disgusting' and "cannot be imagined as useful or valuable" (p.65). The 'gap' is "not simply the spatial and temporal extension of the…bin…rather it is a complex terrain in which households attempt to obtain settlement with the residual value of surplus food…" (2014, p.55). Evans' notion of the imaginary of surplus as well as its materiality helps to contextualise the "constant requalification" (Midgley, 2013, p.1876) that food undergoes as it travels through its redistribution journey, whose outcome emerges from multiple, interacting processes and actants both spatio-material and expressive-categorical.

The anxieties and care Evans' participants enact was evident in how redistribution staff and volunteers qualified/requalified the food in redistribution spaces, expressing desire or disgust towards foods that may or may not relate to their surplus status, such as liver sausage (undesirable) or steak (desirable). While volunteers were often carrying out the affective wishes of ordering customers, they nevertheless partook in 'assessment' practices (Waitts & Phillips 2016) when casually discussing foods during sorting. Such expressions became livelier towards the end of the day when volunteers could take short-dated foods home. At this point, packages and items were examined or touched differently from the speedy, efficient 'picking' of food to fulfil orders. When choosing foods for one's own dinner, a different affective relationship with food emerges: one where, perhaps, things *become food* (Roe, 2006) through inter-corporeal exchanges premised not on giving but on receiving.

Despite the stabilising affects/effects of FareShare Manchester's big fridge, other technical and material factors compete with foods' temperate environment in maintaining its capacity to stabilise edibility, such as expiry-dates (explored below). Failures to maintain edibility through stable storage assemblages can be viewed at one end of a spectrum of human desire, with food ending 'wasted' rather than redistributed. Examples included evidence of rodent nibbles on packaging, requiring a morning of volunteer labour to redress: animals may also desire stored food, while the desire to retrieve and ensure its safety for eventual recipients re-stabilises the assemblage (and requires work!). One day, a pallet of chilled soups was left outside rather than placed in the fridge, a lapse of memory or attention leading to its rejection/wastage. Recipient charities may simply not express adequate desire for every ready meal and box of mushrooms in the warehouse. Such failures could also be seen as rendering wasteful the

effort and energy expended to intercept it from the waste stream in the first place, a process with notable environmental impacts (Phillips et al., 2013). The spectre of failure, as Muller and Schurr note, underscores that redistribution assemblages are "fragile arrangements always at the brink of falling apart" (2016, p.223).

5.4 Component 2: foodstuffs

Having considered fridges' roles in de/stabilising redistribution assemblages, I now consider the properties and capacities of food itself. I pay attention to particularities of different foods' unique material affordances and agencies, as the object of redistribution and special substrate for exploring the boundaries of the human and nonhuman.

5.4.1 Foodstuffs a): stabilisation

Food's capacity to stabilise redistribution assemblages involves its material and expressive qualities. Humans' need for food, qualities of wasted food and food's capacity to express relationships of power, dependency and desire, are all powerful mediators of why SFR has come to cohere as a physical and discursive assemblage. Here, I focus on ethical debates around redistributed foods' qualities to link its material affordances to the maintenance of redistribution assemblages. I place strong emphasis on the 'expressive' axis of DeLandan territorialisation: how material qualities of food are re-presented in the interests of stabilising redistribution reputations and legitimacy. I first examine efforts to frame food as fresh, healthy, delicious, and dignified.

We have seen that audit (e.g. of fridge temperatures), is vital to its balancing of donor requirements with the physical demands of keeping food edible. Such compliance functions as a more-than-legal dynamic that helps to territorialise FareShare's desire to redistribute high-quality, fresh surplus food. Caraher & Furey (2017, p.12-13) questioned such 'quality' where food is intended to help poorer people, arguing that

> …Having less money than their higher-income counterparts does not refute the right to choose food that meets their tastes and preferences in socially acceptable ways, without attachment of social stigma or relegation to inferior choice, accessibility and (nutritional) quality.

Such critiques threaten the reputational coherence of charitable food, framing it as inadequate and a failure of basic rights to culturally-appropriate food being met (Goldberg, 2013).

FareShare responded with a video uploaded to Twitter (FareShare, 2017c). CEO Lindsay Boswell takes the viewer on a virtual tour of a FareShare depot, narrating that "a recent

report suggested that using leftover food is not a solution to food poverty...we entirely agree with that", arguing that their provision of low-cost food primarily assists *other* charities in "tackling the causes of hunger". He challenges perceptions of surplus food as "nasty, smelly, leftover second-class food for second-class citizens, that sort of rubbish language...let's have a look at that food". The camera pans fresh-looking foods in the warehouse and fridge. Boswell emphasises variety and nutritional quality, indicating vegetables and steak, declaring "today's date is 9th February. That steak is use-by the 12th". He insists, "this is not food on-the-turn. Everything...is within its date...yummy". Working at Greater Manchester FareShare's depot, one comes into contact with food in a variety of states; as mentioned, it is a place of constant moving-food-along.

The notion of 'translation' theorises how micropolitics of food's material agency are translated into macroconcerns: redistribution critics' abstractions about its appropriateness for addressing the hunger/waste problem, and redistributors' retorts. In analysing power and scale, Callon & Latour (1981, p.279) consider translation as the negotiations, persuasions, calculations by which an actor "takes, or causes to be conferred on itself, authority to speak or act on behalf of another". Invoked facts ('today's date', yumminess...) are efforts to enrol viewers to support FareShare's growing presence and practice of bringing food into new associations. The video aimed to demonstrate FareShare's prime concern as providing quality food for needy clients, countering Caraher and Furey's (2017, p.2) claim that "the benefits of using food waste to feed people accrue primarily to the food industry". My aim here is not to judge FareShare food's quality, but to demonstrate the relevance of food's material qualities to broader ethical debates around redistribution. Boswell's response conveys FareShare's awareness that it is not enough to redistribute food, but to redistribute 'good' food, in the eyes and mouths of recipient charities but also wider publics. Given the ontological politics of what constitutes 'good' food (Biltekoff, 2016), 'good' must be performed differently for multiple audiences, including critical scholars like Caraher and Furey (2017), whose sharply keyed briefing paper may threaten the coherence of FareShare's reputational assemblage.

The 'freshness' and 'healthiness' of food were, in the above case, tooled as signifiers of legitimacy and care. Fresh foods incorporate a particularly speedy vitality on Bennett's spectrum of "effervescence" of bodies and their becomings (Bennett 2010, p.57). While ambient and frozen foods in a warehouse are stored in environments that slow their

tendency to change, fresh foods exhibit distinct agentic capacities that demand specific management (the question of what constitutes 'fresh' is, as Freidberg 2009 demonstrates, not so simple). While UK foodbanks generally distribute non-perishable foods, mitigating the complexities of managing fresh, FareShare and TRJFP do distribute fresh food, including animal products. These were often framed as stabilising components of redistribution practice: providers from both organisations described meat as attracting customers (who might be put off by the image of a 'vegetarian space'- Neil), giving pleasure (bacon sarnies for homeless shelters- Graham), nutrition/protein (Laura), or greatest carbon savings (Caroline). Such capacities effect expressive and material territorialisation.

The supply of fresh foods has also increased. Retailers have expanded their donation of chilled products (Neighbourly, 2017). Chilled surpluses donated from higher up the distribution chain are liable to become surplus by virtue of their material qualities and economic positioning; due to limited shelf life, items may fall victim to supermarket buyers' strict demands for specific margins of 'life' left on products, as a FareShare worker explained. Even when within expiry-dates, if lacking the temporal margin specified by a contract, that product is rendered 'overs' (as indicated by yellow stickers on products arriving at FareShare, Fig.9), becoming

Figure.8 Donated food, FareShare:'overs' as reason for rejection. Author's own.

surplus for donation. SFR organisations' upscaling infrastructures provide both demand and legitimacy. The stabilisations of such foods in redistribution spaces thus relates both to redistributors' desires and to wasteful supply-chain practices. Stabilising macrostructures involves associating and amassing ever-more actors together, and black-boxing them; : "A black box contains that which no longer needs to be reconsidered" (Callon & Latour, 1981, p.285). Greater (and more variable) supplies demand greater

infrastructure but all of these components can be enrolled into processes of establishing redistributors as powerful actors.

Expanding donation of perishable product requires redistributors to maintain edibility through storage, as demonstrated. For FareShare, this is a matter of strict and centrally-controlled compliance, as shown in the use of refrigeration. For TRJFP, managing food relates more closely to the needs of specific cafés and contesting perceived arbiters of unnecessary waste. Managing foods' specific 'dissipative materiality' (Evans, 2014) entails considerable work, and also risk, to which I now turn.

5.4.2 Foodstuffs b): change

Foods, as I've shown, differ in their capacity to territorialise redistribution assemblages materially and expressively. 'Risk' constitutes a potentially-destabilising material and expressive force. Evans (2014, p.67) points out that food, being "particularly susceptible to rapid spoilage and decay", poses "significant risks (whether real or perceived) with its consumption". Perception and management of risk is a key concern for redistribution organisations, where the eventual consumer is often an unknown (needy) person spatially and temporary further along the redistribution supply chain. While referencing Bennett's (2010) notion of food's "dissipative materiality", Evans here fails to account for the large variability among foodstuffs' *rates* of decay and inherent differences in risk between *types* of food. The example of animal products highlights the importance of refrigeration and other stabilising techniques in the historical context of food system change and regulation (Freidberg, 2009), and the following sections explores challenges and affordances of meat.

Global food waste movements generally serve vegan or vegetarian food (McHenry, 2012), for ideological but also practical reasons: non-animal products lessen the risk of spoilage. Barnard (2016, p.128) cites freegan.info's 'Health and Safety' webpage: "dumpster diving plant-based items…is probably safer than buying animal products from the shelf", which Barnard cautiously backs up by citing declining regulation of meat safety in the USA (DeWall & Klein, 2013). As noted in the previous section however, animal products were perceived by numerous SFR organisations as high-value, but with value comes risks.

Considerable risks ascribed to supply-chains for meat and animal products are suggested by histories of food safety scandals. In the UK these began with salmonella (in eggs) in the late 1980s, followed by listeria (in cooked meats and soft cheeses) and the BSE crisis

affecting the cattle industry (Milne, 2012). Milne's (2012) history of food date-labelling notes the role of science; how the introduction of the use-by labelling regime invoked "new forms of knowledge and expertise…as well as an enhanced role for 'qualified' experts" (Milne, 2012, p.94) viewing food in terms of "microbiological load". These events and discourses prompted significant changes in regulatory and institutional arrangements for managing foods that came to be understood as, and portrayed as, 'high-risk' (p.92). Below I explore expiry-date labels as another mediating technology sharing a genealogy of scandal, regulatory law and scientific expertise.

The redistribution of meat and dairy introduces complications. Donors remain cautious to allow community organisations to intercept meat, which one TRJFP organiser described as suggestive that formal redistribution only yields a portion of available surplus:

> …they're giving us some food, it's great, but actually it's only a tiny bit of what they're wasting…the guy who collects from Morrissons went down there, she'd got 5 chickens and the bags were pierced so he wasn't allowed to have them. I said for goodness' sake, when I go to the butcher and buy a chicken it hasn't got a wrapper on! So what is going on? We can't have it- 'oh, you know, might be contaminated'. I think…it's not law but it's the health and safety guidelines that they're all having to abide by…they don't want any come-back, even though we sign off for everything, from everybody we collect from, we take full responsibility from the moment we pick it up, and they really don't take that on board (Mary)

Mary distinguishes 'law' from 'safety guidelines', expressing these as matter of grounded interpretation rather than food's self-evident appearance, explored below in relation to expiry-dates. The chicken's pierced wrapper prompted conflicted problematisations of meat's situatedness in discourses and material practices related to societal and regulatory management of risk. Campylobacter in chicken has come to dominate contemporary food safety concerns, framed by Jackson (2010) in terms of anxiety. Mary's anxiety is instead directed at the wastage of chicken, as she half-whispered:

> I just cannot believe how much we get from Nando's. It's not just us- we only collect one day a week, and they have people collecting every day- it's just VAST…I don't know…It's frightening. But that's worked really well and every week I do a chicken pie or crumble and that just goes straight away…

The articulation of horror at the scale of chicken wastage by just one restaurant hints at Mary's motivation for doing SFR work. She expresses the affective weight of knowing and seeing daily scales of waste, even as she recognises its value for her in being able to provide tasty chicken crumbles to her customers though a donation relationship that's 'worked well'. Intercepting Nando's surplus chicken successfully may also fuel her

frustration at Morrisons' reluctance to donate whole chickens: Nando's chicken does not arrive as individually-wrapped chickens so she ascribes Morrisons' refusal to actually-existing risks to fear of liability and failure to 'take on board' her acceptance of that liability. Her comparison of the different contexts may make the refusal appear arbitrary. Mary does not, however, acknowledge the supermarket worker's agentic perceptions of relationships between chicken, packaging, contamination and responsibility she bears in relation to her employers.

These material and expressive forces act in dynamic negotiations of meaning (of law, guidelines, damaged packaging) and teleological materialities of nourishment and/or risk: the chicken as potential pie, or poison-bearer. It was the damaged packaging rather than the foodstuff alone that prompted risk-aversion, and below I suggest redistributors' strategies for minimising packaging's destabilising affects. We see here the force of the virtual- the ever-present potential for change and multiplicity that do not determine redistribution relationships but underlie them (Latour & Hermant, 1998).

Fluidity

I have discussed how particular foodstuffs can act in relation to human interlocutors and material environments. They may be valuable agents for feeding people. They may be liabilities whose non-donation destabilises redistribution assemblages, adding to supermarkets' waste figures and limiting stock for redistributors. Increasing meat supplies despite these evental blockages in donation can be considered in terms of network fluidity, which Muller and Schurr (2016, p.222) locate in a "more-than-Latourian ANT". Muller (2014, p.79) notes how ANT's embracing of fluidity recognises actor-networks as "fleeting performances" wherein multiple potential network configurations "might overlap, overturn, contradict or flow into each other to constitute different realities". Latour (1999, p.20) notes that in embracing fluidity or 'choreography' (Cussins, 1996), ANT becomes an analytic of how "by following circulations we can get more than by defining entities, essence or provinces". The chicken's multiple trajectories and ontological statuses in the eyes of donors, redistributors and eventual eaters as it travels do not necessarily destabilise the coherence of redistribution as a whole, but we can see how at the micro level it is composed by a constant flow of interacting material and expressive forces that can enable or constrain foodstuffs' becomings. The spectre of illness and legal proceedings can be seen as just two virtual destabilising forces that may

or may not inhere in a particular food item but that are translated into its journey as food, or as waste.

Meat is just one example of the many physical and visceral forms of food as raw material of redistribution assemblages. Health, gustatory, commensal, safety and other affordances of food can only be made manifest if their positioning in assemblages of edibility are maintained. This is the fragile achievement of myriad factors and movements: food's packaging, handling, regulatory status and, as we now see, its sensory affordances and desirability.

5.4.3 Foodstuffs c): affect

Foodstuffs' affective qualities as object of desire and fundamental biological requirement posit food itself as a particularly potent force in the formation and destabilisation of redistribution assemblages. I noted the way volunteers' preferences (and, given the low income of some, needs) for end-of-day food became animated at the end of the working day, before which food is destined only for paying recipients, an arrangement made explicit by the dismissal of a volunteer for 'stealing' food during work without permission, discussed later. The next section discusses volunteers' decision-making roles.

Clients' preferences and needs were frequently invoked during daily life at FareShare in ways that impact the handling of specific foods, in moments when asking a supervisor whether a certain food should be redistributed or discarded in the absence of clear markers like expiry-dates, such as a box of loose peppers. Problematisations of both waste and hunger converged in such translation moments, when the food's corporeal state was reframed by the invocation of imagined recipients' (assumed) nutritional needs. Such moments also enfolded anxieties about the potentially degrading symbolic and material qualities of redistributed food, requiring strategies to interrogate foods' appropriateness. As a volunteer, for example, I was taught how to test melons' ripeness using the 'thumb test', and how to discriminate redistributable onions from a sack of half-rotting ones. I develop the notion of sensory labour in the following section and Chapter 5b, but certain points are worth noting in regards to foodstuffs' affective role in redistribution assemblages. I now turn to consider the symbolic and material markers of 'wasted' food.

Critical literature on foodbanking, especially in North America, has problematised charitable foods' material and symbolic status as waste, status that may be inverted by

social movements using such food's edibility to demonstrate both solidarity with those who lack it and to critique a system that prioritises its profit-making capacity before its capacity to nourish (e.g. Barnard, 2016). Yet Tarasuk and Eakin (2003, p.1509) observe that:

> In the course of accepting donations of food products that would otherwise be dumped in landfill sites, food banks received some products with little or no nutritional value (e.g., food colouring, condiments), as well as products that were in very poor condition, outdated, or unfamiliar to clients…

My research frequently encountered variation in nutritional and aesthetic qualities of food sent to customers. One CFM described FareShare food as 'cake and cabbages', but in their promotional materials FareShare and TRJFP tend to represent their provision as *meals*, not individual products. Some RJFP cafes post dishes or menus served on a particular day on social media as well as menu boards in the café space, while FareShare's website includes case studies highlighting recipients' descriptions of food as varied, tasty or facilitative of social interaction (FareShare, 2017b).

Such end-product representations sustain an image of redistribution as providing meals and enjoyment rather than the often stressful, chaotic work of keeping that food as food before it reaches eaters. Chapter 6 explores these facilitative qualities in more detail. These points foreground foodstuffs' multiple affects: its mutability into heart-warming meals in outward representations, its risks of causing offence or disgust that necessitate careful sorting practices and, of course, its capacities to fill volunteers' bellies at lunch and enable the eating and gifting encounters explored in Chapter 6.

Other desiring machines: cows, anaerobic digesters

Humans' affective relationships with food are not the only ones evident in redistribution assemblages. Some food could not be distributed to clients or volunteers, because of passed expiry-dates, too-few orders or physical degradation identified during sorting. Food was then sent to other waste-processing entities, including a social enterprise close to FareShare that sends food to livestock, compost or anaerobic digestion (AD) depending on the nature and supply of the food. Food flows between FareShare and the social enterprise suggest two-way mutual benefits but require managing further relationships.

Whereas food must be carefully parsed to remove packaging, onions, oranges or chillis that livestock dislike or might hurt them, AD plants accept food, packaging and all. Machines' teeth chew through packaging before sucking up and digesting the food through microbial alchemy. AD plants were often described as 'hungry': another

assemblage of subsidies, construction and environmental policies had generated oversupply of AD capacity whose constant need for feedstock has positioned it competing for food that redistributors would prefer to feed to people (see Mourad, 2015). Even AD plants have their affective wiles; during a day I spent sorting cow food from compost, the AD plant sent back chestnuts in plastic mesh because the teeth didn't like the mesh. Another day, food was building up in a skip because the plant was oversupplied and refusing further deliveries.

The expression of desire/wish as a driving force of the SFR landscape thus applies not only to redistributors' aims to provide nourishment and pleasure to people, but also to animals and machines that could potentially be fuelled, often in exchange for hard cash. The desire of rodents to share the nourishment of food stored in FareShare warehouses constituted just one more node in a network of affective flows, generating counter-flows of frustrated warehouse manager and called-upon pest controller. The management of food's affective capacity for redistributors' purposes, then, requires significant labour to mediate the spaces, foodstuffs and potential eaters that must be coordinated. It is to this work that I now turn, focussing on the people working to maintain edibility assemblages and the moral, interpretive and affective economies this requires.

5.5 Component 3: people

Here I consider people without whose work redistribution assemblages would collapse. I ask "who manages wastes and what do they become together in specific entanglements of labor, power, and possibility" (Reno, 2015, p.559). I explore sensory, interpretive labour necessary for SFR to succeed, linking Chapter 4's discursive framings to the enrolment of human actors to redistribution assemblages. The previous section highlighted specific trajectories of foodstuffs (and their transformation) alongside imaginings of future eaters, their needs and preferences. Here I focus on those who do the transforming. Redistribution requires considerable work to cohere- while we have acknowledged fridges and food as actants of that work, I embrace a more humanist stance here, recognising that redistribution of wasted foods to humans (and not bins, cows or AD plants) is, by definition, a humanist enterprise. However, human workers can still be viewed in terms of the assemblages that they help to create and maintain.

5.5.1 People a): stabilisation

Evans (2014, p.65) notes that "the distinction between 'food' and 'non-food' is complex and contingent, and dependent on a host of material and gastronomic factors that vary across time and space". Redistribution workers draw on a range of tools in determining food's edibility and suitability that may not be available to the householders in Evans' study (cutting mould off cheese, for instance). First, I discuss the important issue of relying on volunteers.

FareShare and TRJFP rely on unpaid labour. FareShare's development manager described this through the lens of paid-work equivalence, but described voluntarism in terms missing from the tagline 'fighting hunger, tackling food waste':

> '…a very important part of how we run is with help and commitment and the work of volunteers…it's about 5 full-time staff-equivalent in terms of the time given by volunteers to run the warehouse. It'll be more this year and more next year, and it's a really important work experience opportunity, for some people who just want to get closer to the job market, get jobs, but don't want to be in an office or don't feel they would be successful in that kind of setting, but they can do this kind of work.' (Erica)

During chats as we worked, some volunteers expressed preferences for the camaraderie and lowered pressure of volunteering for a charity. This may be especially so for those in recovery from addiction or long-term unemployment, sensitively depicted in documentary film *Wasted/Wanted* (Zakiewicz, 2016). 'This kind of work' could nevertheless be paid. Some volunteers were working towards work-related qualifications, and Erica stressed "important" affective qualities of the work in framing voluntarism as meeting volunteers' needs, as well as FareShare's:

> '…[they] feel like they're helping their communities…that's really important. We've had feedback from some of our charities who've said 'we like your volunteers and they like us'. I think one group said 'we don't feel like we've got to doff a cap to them or anything, like they're doing us this big favour, they're like us and they just bring the food.' So that's great really.'

Some volunteers expressed satisfaction in doing work for disadvantaged others even when precarious themselves (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Numerous commentators of redistribution in the guise of activism express forms of subcultural capital, 'counterpublic' belonging and street-level solidarity, inverting what others may see as 'dirty work' (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999) into symbolic protest and material connection (e.g. Giles 2013, Barnard 2016, Clark 2004). Such affective relations can also be seen as constructed in organisational interests; akin to Callon's (1986) observations of

conservationists' enrolment of fishermen, new volunteers were introduced to the charitable aims of FareShare during inductions. Warehouse manager Graham (interview 14/11/16) noted how he had no idea what FareShare did when first appointed his voluntary role by the Job Centre.

Emotional labour

Volunteers on delivery rounds often described the value they placed on organisations' expressions of gratitude, voicing displeasure at recipients they felt to be rude or "taking the piss", in the words of a volunteer who felt certain recipients did not really need the food. As Callon (1986) notes, translation may fail. Volunteers' sense of helping was indeed a stabilising force in their motivation and role as friendly 'outward' face of FareShare. However, the suspicion alluded to suggests that volunteers may also operate as a surveillance tool, monitoring recipients' compliance. I later return to this point in discussing racialised discourses of deserve.

The frequency of appeals for new volunteers on FareShare's social media suggests the degree of reliance and the constant work required to maintain an unpaid labour force. Lohnes and Wilson (2017, p.4) analyse foodbanks as part of 'global destruction networks' converting "devalued foods…for redistribution and consumption…in a state of permanent austerity, subsidizing insufficient operational budgets with the labor of volunteers and donors who maintain this network in place". I analyse my own observations through the prism of critiques of food charity voluntarism in the following section ('change'). Chapter 6 explores TRJFP's efforts to stabilise redistribution labour through paying wages. Suffice to note here the centrality of unpaid work to maintaining community-based redistribution.

Translation labour

A territorialising function exercised by the communicative skills of experienced redistributors was the capacity to create and maintain networks of re-redistribution as outlets for food excesses. Graham prided himself on having built up the contacts and know-how to shift surplus foods. Taking on others' waste liabilities provides a chance to seek reciprocal favours, as described of a nearby foodbank:

> '…we're very cavalier compared to most depots…going yeah, we'll have it, bring it on…we'll give it a go. When they're stuck, they ring me…and go can you take that for me, and I'll go…I'll do you a favour with that- can you get me any beans or pasta?! So there's a bit of a horse-trading even with head office' (Graham)

Tarasuk and Eakin (2003, p.181) note how "the disposal of foods deemed unfit for distribution…entail[s] work". Seeing this as *translation* work entails considering how unexpected multiplicities may be introduced by the very mechanisms used to stabilise networks. For Graham, this work involved performing qualities of food that de-emphasised its close-to-waste status, ringing 'overflow' clients and personally showing them any available 'freebies' when they arrived, boosting food access for organisations less able to afford the user fees and stoking Graham's personal satisfaction at "obtaining settlement" (Evans, 2014) with potentially-burdensome surpluses. The enrolment of such diverse actants, from member organisations to other redistribution assemblages, raises questions about the extension or boundaries of responsibility, as suggested by the limited oligoptic gaze attempted through monitoring recipients' fridges. These performances highlight the stabilising roles of differently-positioned human intermediaries, which can also introduce destabilising mediations; I now turn to people as agents of change.

5.5.2 People b): change

The specific nature of voluntary work also acts as a potentially destabilising force. At the start of research, FareShare acquired several volunteers for warehousing and distribution work through the much-criticised Work Programme, requiring individuals to volunteer for in order to receive welfare benefits (Williams, 2012). This was sometimes described as "moving people on", as Erica suggested, and some volunteers did secure paid work at FareShare or elsewhere. A manager who had begun as a Work Programme volunteer expressed frustration that skilled volunteers would often frequently get paid jobs quickly, leaving FareShare with perpetual manpower/skill deficit. Reliance on voluntary labour is noted by Alexander and Smaje (2008, p.1295) as "costly in terms of managerial input, inefficient working practices and the sub-optimal deployment of available staff resources". High volunteer turnover, theft and punctuality were all apparent during fieldwork as some of the problems faced by organisations. Tarasuk and Eakin (2005) criticise voluntary labour in charitable food programmes as often unpleasant or physically burdensome, as ironic given the food precarity of many volunteers themselves, and as problematically reflecting abundant supplies of relatively unskilled, unpaid people excluded from job markets. Many of these problems emerged in casual discussions with volunteers, some of whom were unable to 'work' due to poor mental and physical health. This at times made for stressful encounters in the warehouse, a place of near-constant time pressures to fill orders correctly. FareShare does

considerable work to engage, maintain and care for volunteers, but TRJFP organisers explicitly recognised that without paying labour, relying on volunteers who may not turn up might also destabilise planned activities.

Interpretive labour

Earlier I introduced the notion of interpretive labour by humans in sorting edible food from discard-able waste. Specific skills are necessary to achieve successful redistribution in time-pressured environments. Volunteers must be enrolled as intermediaries to get the work done, but the work always requires forms of mediation. As already noted, successful 'ontological choreography' (Cussins, 1996) or assembling requires the coordination of techniques, devices, temperatures and spaces. Human mediation involves significant interpretive and affective labour in discriminating foods that should and should not be redistributed. Network fluidity is again useful here in considering ways that the edibility assemblage is held together despite fluid network relations, which Muller and Schurr (2016, p.223) articulate as such: "the final outcome…needs to be held constant, but the associations that bring it about shift all the time". The expiry-date section draws together analyses of food's materiality, technologies and interpretative labour in the fraught process of making wasted food redistributable. Here, I focus on voluntary labour's enrolment in potentially-fraught process, first considering this in terms of shifting processes to determine who specific food is for, a theme developed in Chapter 6.

As noted, most warehouse volunteers received ad-hoc rewards of undistributed food at the end of the day. Manager Graham expended emotional labour in ensuring this was controlled and prescribed; as mentioned, volunteers taking food for themselves could be dismissed for theft. Graham described this as affecting certain 'high-value' food that may be less affordable for volunteers in poverty, but also popular to paying customers:

> "we've had people stealing meat and actually there's no meat left in the building and that customer wanted to cook a meal for the homeless and now they're having just vegetables- no gravy, no meat, ugh, that's terrible!" (Graham).

Food's value and status thus varied in terms of waste status but also in its designation as food for certain people over the course of the day. Volunteers may be 'needy', and I met those who were vulnerably housed, but their access to wasted food differs significantly from CFMs' clients. Volunteers can help to mitigate FareShare's waste liability similarly to "overflow customers" (Graham's term) but such access is carefully controlled to maintain volunteer discipline: materially through a specific time and place for choosing take-

homes, and expressively through unwritten codes of conduct. This contrasted with TRJFP, where volunteers during a day at the Leeds 'Sharehouse' were able to select foods from newly-delivered interceptions; this may be related to an ethos that ties surplus not to needy people (as in Graham's quote about theft/homelessness) but to environmental burdens that should be available to anyone. Voluntary labour is thus enrolled via the divergent framings of redistribution outlined in Chapter 4, generating distinct material effects on the way food is handled and distributed.

Moral framings of SFR as 'feeding the hungry' or 'saving the planet' may help to enrol volunteers, but the work it requires can be disheartening, especially if donated food is substandard in ways that increase workloads and lower morale. Tarasuk and Eakin's (2005) observations of the potentially-unpleasant nature of waste work invites attention to the daily requirements of sorting food from variable donation sources.

Before they reach storage spaces, donations/interceptions must be sorted to separate inedible foods from useful surplus. The importance of careful packing of surplus donations by donors (i.e. often supermarket workers) became apparent when tasked to sort donations into categories of food that could then be logged and recognised as ready for redistribution. One day, Graham asked myself and a regular volunteer, Ian, to sort an unexpected delivery. Ian sighed- this donor was notorious for sending chaotic and carelessly-packed donations. I encountered similar distinctions at TRJFP, such as witnessing a volunteer washing food containers smeared with yoghurt spilled from another pot inside a mixed bag; he bemoaned this supermarket donor's simply tossing items into bin bags for donation rather than stacking them in trays or boxes as 'better' donors did. We faced the cage piled high with all manner of foods, some obscured by skewed boxes or tipped packing cases, and carefully lifted the top layers off to see what was underneath. Ian recalled egg boxes placed under heavy items and crushed, oozing egg that then congealed over other foods, including flour that had burst in the same pile: "we had to throw the lot". A considerable proportion of the delivery we sorted had to be composted or, if packaged, sent for anaerobic digestion, due to visibly damaged packaging or seriously degrading produce. At FareShare, abject items whose physical degradation and unsuitability for redistribution cast them as immediate waste thus had to be separated in physical and representational space, sometimes shut up in a cage on the forecourt bearing a printed label reading 'Danger: WASTE. Do not eat' (Fig.18).

Redistribution workers, often unpaid, thus frequently have to handle the 'disturbing' beyond-surplus foods that Evans' (2014) householders felt happy to consign to the bin; the experience highlighted the importance of material practices such as careful containment and conveyance from the point of donation. Such processes impose financial and temporal costs for businesses and redistributors, and has been subject of discussions around tax incentives for donors that redistributors could use towards handling costs, as with the French food waste law (Anderson, 2015). However, redistribution networks look set to continue relying on voluntary labour. Framing this as charitable or environmental help may not sustain motivations to do work that can be frustrating as well as satisfying.

5.5.3 People c): affect

I have argued the centrality of volunteers to maintaining SFR and edibility assemblages, often enrolled through appeals to the work's 'ethical' nature. FareShare staff and RFJP organisers also often described their career motivations in ethical terms. The production of desire/wish to participate towards goals of social and environmental justice is thus a vital ingredient in holding together human assemblages of redistribution. Desire or disgust towards foods drives some to dismissal, some to frustration.

Affective ties and breaches bringing people together or preventing their assemblage around redistribution are many and merit discussion. I have mentioned sensory/interpretive labour, the moral incentive and SFR premised on representations of foodstuffs wasted by commercial assemblages alongside those of others' nutritional needs and unequal access to food. In this section I develop just one example of redistribution assemblages' capacity to multiply affects through mutually-beneficial material and expressive exchanges, maintaining networks of re-redistribution in which food excesses could be managed through the creation of desiring recipients.

Graham often expressed gratitude towards customers who would 'take on' short-dated food, often bypassing the usual tray fees that FareShare charge through a recognition of mutual benefit:

> ...now I have overflow customers in place through the week, and it's on a this is free extras basis, cos they're helping us keep that difficult chain moving, so yeah, it works very well (Graham)

Thus certain transactions operate more as a gift or barter economy than the re-commodifying tendencies of FareShare's tray fee, with success contingent on knowing the

capacities and needs of recipient organisations. Graham would downplay foodstuffs'
short-dated status and framed such 'freebies' as nutritious food for organisations' clients:

> "you know the story- why I liked Joy so much? When I started doing the veg she was
> going 'can we have more food' and I'm like 'yeah we've got all this veg', and she's
> like 'but…they don't want veg, they don't like it', and I'm like 'well make them
> fucking eat it! Tell 'em how to eat it…how to cook it, give them veg, go on, take it',
> and then about a year later Joy's like 'Graham have you got any fruit and veg', and I
> said 'you're having a laugh aren't you, I've just filled your car with all this high-value
> product', and she said 'yeah but they want fruit and veg these days', and…that's
> music to my ears, there were 60 families that she supports over that year, they've
> done that transformation from 'takes too long, dunno how to cook it, don't want it',
> to 'where's the bleeding fruit and veg'? So you know you've made a real impact
> there in terms of their nutrition…that's one of my little personal passions within the
> FareShare business model…(Graham)

Even though excesses of produce worried him less (because it could be composted free-
of-charge), his "passion" as self-declared "veg-o-phile" was nourished by his previous role
co-ordinating the interception of surplus produce from the market through FareShare's
partnership with Fairfield, the social enterprise mentioned earlier. FareShare's unique
location on a wholesale produce market therefore not only allowed it to redistribute
greater quantities of fresh produce than other depots but, as in the case of Joy's foodbank,
demanded outlets for fast-degrading produce that might not be seen as 'high-value
product' or desirable to client members. Graham's charisma and skills in 'selling' produce
close to or 'on the turn' thus effected changes in CFMs' own practices and engagements
with their clients.

Before considering expiry-dates as components of redistribution assemblages, I recall my
analysis of how fridges and foodstuffs act affectively to bring about emergent properties
of SFR assemblages. Fridges (and their absence) enable or prevent distribution of specific
foods, including meat, while particular foods in varying states prompt relations of
desire/disgust that configure redistributed food and redistribution labour in certain
ways. I considered such nonhuman actors first to avoid the anthropocentrism that
assemblage and network theories aim to temper. However, as a human researcher who
eats, my sense of shared subjectivity with people working and eating this food, and
ethical concerns over human wastage and human inequalities sometimes prompt me to
question the value of lending such space to more-than-human actors who tend to be left
out of such ethical debates. Before moving on, then, I note Mol's theorisation of the
subjectivity of eating an apple (Mol, 2008, p.30, emphasis original). After
chewing/swallowing she states:

"I have become (made out of) apple; while the apple is (a part of) me.
Transubstantiation. What about that for a model to think with?"

While I have described volunteers as individual entities, I thus note the blurring of boundaries between the food/person categories I have reproduced, a blurring that happens every time we eat, or feel desire, hunger and disgust at the distinct visceral engagements produced in food/waste spaces.

5.6 Component 4: expiry-dates

Expiry-dates constitute potent vectors of food/waste transitions. As actant at play in the ontological politics of knowing and handling food for redistribution, I show how expiry-dates' potency may be highlighted or downplayed depending on values held by redistribution actors. Correspondence between expiry-dates and food's edibility, as I will demonstrate, has proven a contentious matter. I will reaffirm the role of compliance concerns by organisations in stabilising/destabilising donor-recipient relations, affecting how organisations' aims and principles are actualised or challenged. Expiry-dates prove useful nodes for exploring the micro-politics of redistribution work and the macro-structures of regulation and food system management whose history and politics bears upon contemporary multi-scalar assemblages of everyday redistribution.

5.6.1 Expiry-dates a): stabilisation

Milne (2012) theorises the development of the expiry-date label in a history of shifting national and European governance of food standards, whereby regulation has often followed 'food scares', scandals and scientific knowledge-production.

Expiry-dates can be viewed in terms of flat/sharp keyings of organisations' articulations to corporate and legal entities (Mooney & Hunt, 2009). Divergent approaches to expiry-dates reflect organisations' distinct assemblings of expressive and material components: packaging-as-text, volunteer tasks, storage practices and the kinds of food they pass on. FareShare's strict compliance with both best-before and use-by dates, documented in its Food Safety Manual, is rooted in it having been co-founded by a supermarket and having developed protocol to manage brand assets, liability and risk through managing products' control rights (Midgley 2012). However, in studies of food waste social movements, activists frequently retool the eating of past-date foods as a visceral or vocalised critique of the food system that has "ex-commodified" them (Barnard, 2016). Barnard's freegan.info participants display and consume ex-commodities as part of public-facing 'trash tours', which attempt to expose the concealed relations producing fetishised foods.

America's date-labelling system has long been under-legislated and unstandardised such that expiry-dates on foods often do not correspond to microbiological safety (Broad-Leib et al., 2013). However, Barnard argues that dates instil fear in consumers who throw out food whose conservative expiry-date means that "producers, processors, distributors and retailers all make more money" (2016, p.127) when the consumer replaces the tossed product. His participants described expiry-dates as "irrelevant…eating safely meant cultivating knowledge that freegans claimed had been lost". He cites one activist: "if…all you know is the expiration date, then after the expiration date you'll throw it away. If you know how a yoghurt works, you know it could be good two months after. You just taste it" (p.128). This engagement with food's agency ("how it works"), and the knowledge/relationships required to determine its edibility, resemble TRFJP's efforts to teach expiry-dates as just one way of determining whether a food should be eaten or discarded, developed in Chapter 5b.

Callon (1986, p.6) theorised 'translation' as the process by which "the identity of actors, the possibility of interaction and the margins of manoeuvre are negotiated and delimited". This helps to trace the ontological politics of food safety in relation to expiry-dates' production, what they mean to different actors, and how those existences and meanings translate into actual practice. Disregarding them may stabilise an 'activist' assemblage premised on sensory autonomy and scepticism towards regulation. Upholding them may stabilise a 'charitable' assemblage premised on compliance with corporate standards and regulatory obeyance. To explore this, I analyse a controversy around expiry-dates that occurred during fieldwork.

Before discussing this controversy, I first contextualise the expiry-date historically. Britain's relationship with the EU has resulted in a legally-binding, standardised and regulated system of date-labelling. As mentioned, Milne (2012) details interactions of historical contingencies such as epidemiological scandals with the development of microbiological sciences and regulatory regimes in the assembling of contemporary date-labelling systems. Milne paints distinct trajectories of the best-before date (rooted in housewives' campaigns for indicators of freshness) and the use-by date (rooted in determinations of certain foods' risk factors for contamination and illness).

The affordances of best-before

The use-by/best-before distinction has been a focus of food waste campaigns targeting consumer knowledge (Quested & Luzecka, 2014), based on research suggesting that poor

knowledge of the difference may be a cause of unnecessary food waste (EU Committee, 2014). The distinction has been exploited by Approved Food, which sells largely non-perishable foodstuffs often approaching or past best-before dates, hence food entering the surplus supply chain, but still legal to sell. Part of their advertising strategy is educating people about differences between expiry-dates. A video clip on its website (Approved Food, n.d.) explains that foods that could make you ill would have a use-by date and that best-before simply indicates "premium quality". East of England Co-op (n.d.) recently made headlines by trialling sales of past-best-before foods.

As mentioned, FareShare does not redistribute food past even the best-before date (unless an extension notice for the latter has been issued by manufacturers). The form I was given to fill in with details about newly-arrived stock did not distinguish between the two dates, so each food enters the inventory management software attached to a single date (see fig.19). The software automatically flashes up soon-to-'expire' foods so that staff can try to redistribute it quickly, including 'best-before' foods that organisations like TRJFP and Approved Foods would willingly sell or feed to people. These examples suggest the potency of expiry dates both to bring foods into the surplus supply chain and to mediate varied onward journeys, in coordination with various other 'requalification' decisions and processes.

Prior to the controversy outlined below, TRJFP cafes tended to disregard expiry-dates, particularly because cooking food into meals rendered labels irrelevant, a kind of expressive/material dissolution that organisers felt converted arbitrary and over-cautious legal inscriptions into nourishment, care, and value.

It thus managed expiry-dates' authority differently, but this did open space for debates over food's edibility. For example, while interviewing TRJFP café director Mary, a volunteer came to ask her if she could make a pasta dish rather than scrambled eggs, because most eggs in stock weren't "in date", mentioning salmonella risks and "officials round your neck". Mary assured her that it's just a best-before date, that the eggs will be fine and she could try floating them in water, but the volunteer replied that she'd rather not "risk it". Afterwardss, Mary mentioned that the volunteer had worked in catering and her hygiene training had made her overly cautious. The volunteer's interests in cooking, bound up with a sense of expertise, proved a hindrance to Mary's interests in what she saw as challenging institutional knowledge commonly held to inhere in bureaucratic devices such as the expiry-date. She claimed intergenerational knowledge of determining

food safety through sensory engagement with food- smelling and touching it. She recalled her childhood when eggs were kept in a crock and didn't come in a date-labelled box. She quoted Tristram Stuart mentioning an article claiming that even if milk tastes 'off' it may not necessarily be harmful (Racing Horse Productions, 2016).

We see here contrasting de/territorialisations of the expiry-date, with such discussions and their material outcomes demonstrating expiry-dates' capacity for re-qualculation, which Midgley defines in her analysis of translation processes in SFR (2013, p.1876)as "a process in which entities are detached from other contexts, reworked, displayed, related, manipulated, transformed and summed in a single space". I develop this point in the following section by examining detachment/deliberate ignorance of expiry-dates as a strategy used by both organisations but with potentially controversial consequences given differences between use-by and best-before.

Bureaucracies of compliance

We have seen how obeying strict compliance guidelines allows FareShare to defend itself against claims of providing "second-class" food (FareShare 2017c). Such compliance is also a vital part of maintaining donor-recipient relationships. I have presented FareShare's 'flatter' key of framing SFR, one of 'working with' corporate actors, in contrast to TRJFP's 'sharper' stance to corporations framed as profit-driven producers of systemic food waste.

From my first day as a FareShare volunteer I was made aware of safety protocol, from briefings to advice about the importance of reputational PR; not tweeting pictures of branded product that might upset donors, for example. Alexander and Smaje (2008, p.1291) suggest that the "stringent conditions" accompanying branded products in their onward trajectories "raises interesting questions about how and where waste diversion is accounted for, plus the nature both of the object being exchanged and the exchange itself". Midgley (2013, p.1886-7) builds on this point, arguing that throughout the redistribution chain "surplus food is present in economic processes, so too are values such as assets (brand integrity), liabilities (food safety) and obligations (waste disposal), all of which must be managed". Warshawsky's (2010) critique of the influence on foodbanks of corporate ideology/practice are also relevant here. Daily tasks as a volunteer included not just facilitating food flows but evidencing traceability. Necessary paperwork includes recording details about arriving donations e.g. van number, temperature, and donor name; logging food before it is stored and entered onto the

inventory software, and copies of client orders. The expiry-date is just one of an item's many contextual inscriptions whose translation is employed in managing food throughout its journey. However, while an arrival temperature is only taken once, an item's expiry-date is checked several times throughout its journey and is a key mediator of food's categorisation as 'waste'. Given evidence that many people indeed discard past-date food (Barnard, 2016), expiry-dates' symbolic alignment with 'waste', and the troublesome associations that FareShare's CEO challenged in the aforementioned video, it is unsurprising that FareShare follow a strict approach to expiry-dates. Having foregrounded organisations' distinct approaches to the relationship between expiry-dates and food practices, I turn to how these can be reconfigured.

5.6.2 Expiry-dates b): change

Strict adherence to dates increases the likelihood of costly waste burdens. Given FareShare's rule against redistributing food past any expiry-date, short-dated foods risk increasing the organisation's "waste figures", as manager Paul explained. Linking expiry-dates to weekly temporal rhythms, he reflected on his former role as a CFM, when he visited FareShare on a Friday knowing that staff would want to get rid of excessive stock: "on a Friday they can get to a point where there's food that's going to go out-of-date in our warehouses". Come Monday, this would be recorded as 'waste' rather than 'product redistributed'. FareShare's use of expiry-dates to categorise troublesome excess consequently gives rise to networks of re-redistribution between organisations passing food to others who can make use of it. TRJFP cafés often received excess food from other distributors:

> 'the foodbank here...used to give us a lot of their stuff...they don't pass on out-of-date goods..So there was one time they had loads of outdated tinned tomatoes and baked beans- they gave it to us- it was a SHOCKING amount, but for one reason or another they couldn't get rid of it" (Andrew)

While the 'reason' for such non-use by foodbanks was unclear to Andrew, a foodbank coordinator described this as following Trussell Trust guidelines but that they did offer certain past-date food to volunteers (Pam Moran, interview 03/06/2016).

Packaging as co-actant

The specific materiality of foodstuffs can exacerbate expiry-dates' risk of incurring disposal costs- during one visit to FareShare, TRJFP Wigan drove to the depot to pick up a palletload of near-best-before jam jars whose heavy glass packaging would mean a hefty

AD bill, explained Graham. This suggests the role of expiry dates alongside other food qualities as intermediaries of networks of re-redistribution.

If such networking fails, different routes of disposal available to FareShare entail different kinds of work. Graham noted the difficulty of redistributing the influx of ready-mashed potato and pre-prepared vegetables bearing use-by dates and short shelf-lives. He tasked corporate volunteers with 'de-packaging' such items for composting:

> "...if you've got the labour you can de-pack it and that doesn't cost you nothing, so like British Gas today de-packed a couple of cages of sliced mushrooms" (Graham)

To maximise the redistribution potential of fruit and vegetables, Graham also exploited the fact that whole produce could be logged onto the software system without entering an expiry-date (unlike pre-prepared produce). Feeling through the netting to give a tangerine a slight squeeze, he explained that "it's in its own packaging...it's alive and wants to be eaten". Material affordances like blemishes, softness and colour gradations of produce afforded relevant sensory nodes of sorting food from waste. Foods' suitability for redistribution could be haptically tested without relying on (or in absence of) expiry-date labels, including the melon 'thumb test'. Graham also tasked volunteers with 'de-packaging' items like plastic-wrapped multipacks of oranges to be placed in mixed trays of loose produce. This separated them from their packages and labels not for disposal, but to increase chances of redistribution to CFMs.

Figure.9 Broccoli for redistribution, FareShare 08/ 2016. Author's own.

The actancy of packaging frequently prompted debate in redistribution spaces. While packaging can maintain the integrity and quality of some foods (and bears text vital to upholding compliance), it can also hasten deterioration, as suggested by broccoli that had sweated into wilting at FareShare (Fig.10).

Graham's strategies for downplaying the relevance of expiry-dates for fresh produce suggested the importance of multiple kinds of knowledge at play in everyday redistribution practices at FareShare. While strategies of enrolling less-compliant actors like TRJFP to collect excesses result from a strict compliance policy, other grey areas

were apparent e.g. as we unpacked a late-arriving donation one evening, Dan dug a packet of sausages from a box of chilled food and announced "that's food waste": their use-by date was that day. Graham swept them out of his hands, declaring "they'll be good for one of the lads [volunteers]". Expiry-dates thus fostered end-of-day distribution of food to volunteers. The end result of FareShare redistributing edible food, remained the same, while network relations enabling this were fluid (Muller and Schurr 2016). The example also suggested power differentials in who is able to determine what is food and what is waste; whereby the actancy of the date label can be overridden by human interpretations. I now turn to power relations enacted at a different scale, relating a controversy emerging from TRJFP's more cavalier approach to expiry-dates.

The usually-latent capacity of regulatory bodies to deterritorialise food distribution practices was rendered visible by TRJFPs attempt to undermine expiry-date authority by claiming the value of sensory knowledge in determining food's edibility. In June 2017 regional news sources reported that founder Adam Smith had been summoned to

a hearing by West Yorkshire Trading Standards (WYTSS) (Yorkshire Evening Post, 2017). The summons letter posted on TRJFP's Facebook page stated that officers had "discovered 444 items which were 6,345 days past the use-by date" during a visit to the project's food waste 'anti-supermarket' in Leeds. Following media revelation of the case, donor supermarkets suspended access to wasted food, with Smith posting screenshots of donors' communications on social media (Fig.11).

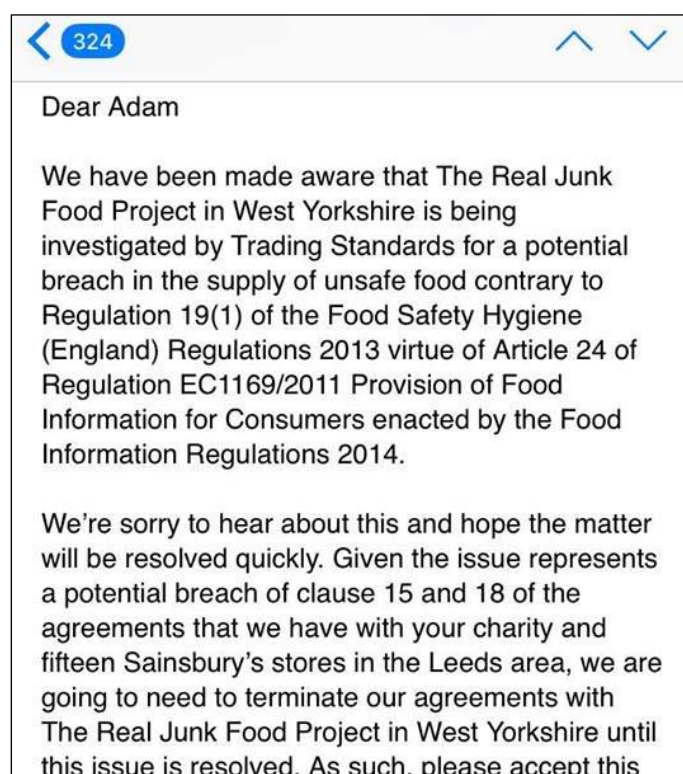Figure.10 Image posted on TRJFP Facebook page 9/9/2017, http://bit.ly/2mso00V

WYTSS told reporters that it could not comment on an ongoing investigation and the 'regulatory voice' has been largely missing from the mainstream debate.

Following the case, Smith sought legal advice and TRJFPs I visited were no longer redistributing past-use-by date food. The governmentality of the date label's shunting of

responsibility over food safety to the consumer (Milne 2012) had turned to a heavier-handed imposition of regulatory authority with material impacts for the flow- or blockage- of food, with expiry-dates emerging as an often-unseen assemblage whose components have the capacity to deterritorialise redistribution assemblages. The date-label may have caused the food to be donated in the first place, its authority then dismissed through claims by TRJFP network actors of not having encountered any resulting sickness. However, the inspector at the warehouse saw such food as a risk and breach of the law. The assemblage failed in its effort to facilitate individual interpretation of food/waste by offering such foods to the public.

FareShare's volunteer training and development of protocol, contrastingly, avoided such risks by maintaining control rights of foods through careful inventory-making and parsimonious disposal practices. It has thus retained its close links to the food industry. The expiry-date, viewed through these processes, had been black-boxed; its contents (regulatory authority) treated indifferently until the inspector's visit that opened up its multiple affects and destabilised food flows through curtailed donations.

The episode enabled counter-discourse through TRJFP's prolific social media presence. Smith launched a change.org petition "demanding a common sense approach for food labelling" (TRJFP, 2017), telling reporters:

> "I was told we were making food available that was past its use-by date….That's the whole point. That's what we've done for four years…We've fed more than one million people worldwide, with food that's past its given use-by date, but not one person has ever been sick. We make food safe for human consumption. It's simple, and it works" (Burns, 2017, n.p.)

His comments echo Barnard's freegan.info participants asserting their interpretive skills in determining edibility over what they saw as regulations that destabilise food availability in the first place. Smith was reported as saying "I probably shouldn't say too much about it as I could be going to court" (Burns, 2017). However, TRJFP's central Facebook page was dominated by discussions of expiry dates. They posted a photograph of packaged, past-use-by pre-cut broccoli (see Fig.12).

This attracted 256 comments largely expressing willingness to eat the broccoli, alongside various problematisations of food waste and self-representations as good, knowing consumers (Evans 2014). These included cooking advice for masking deteriorating appearances such as "chop off the brown bits", shopping for loose (and un-dated) produce at greengrocers, admonitions of pre-prepared vegetables, declarations of good health despite eating past-date food (or feeding it to others), and recollections of wartime parents'

Figure.11 TRJFP Facebook post, 22/6/2017

thriftiness. While the odd comment mentioned food safety or an appreciation of regulatory bodies' protective role, far more declaimed expiry dates as "arbitrary", "irrelevant" and certainly arbiters of unnecessary waste, with representations of the distinctions between different kinds of expiry that frequently departed from the history and rationales documented by Milne (2012).

The WYTSS case was frequently framed as a faceless state trampling on community endeavour, with the comment thread referencing capitalism, corporate greed and the perils of packaging. Participants exemplify Milne's (2012) 'responsible' citizens endowed with knowledge, food waste providing a prism through which concerns about food regulation have overtaken earlier public concerns over freshness or contamination. Some commenters described limits of their aesthetic flexibility e.g. describing yellowing
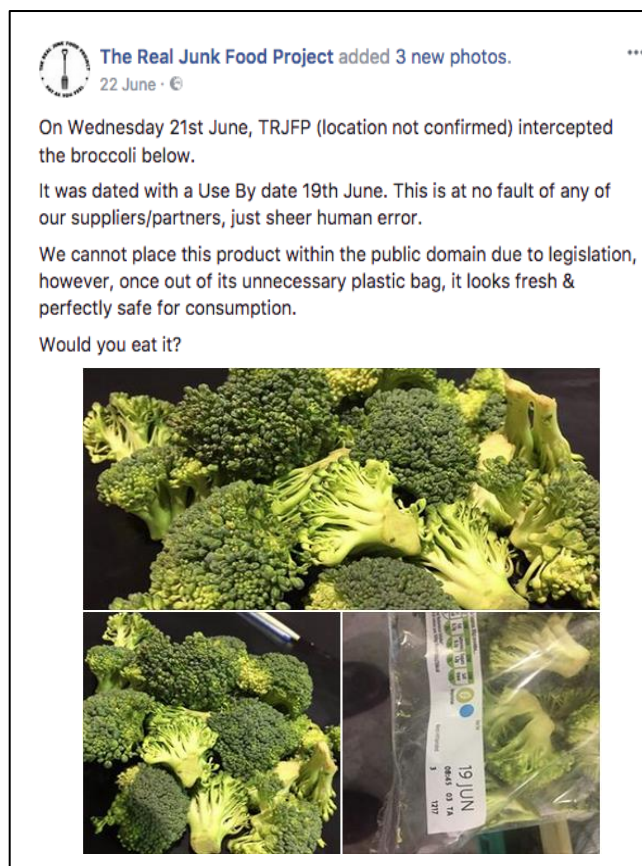
broccoli as "the flowers opening up…when it goes brown/black/furry is the time to compost it", plus recommendations to 'eat the stalk' or to feed brown bits to pets. Food qualities, mediated by a photograph on an internet forum, were thus pitted against the expiry-date whose presence had underwritten Smith's ongoing investigation and material changes that were impressed upon the project through the enforced withdrawal of past-use-by date food.

While the online debates reveal skills and knowledge claims of TRJFP supporters in disregarding expiry-dates' authority, the regulatory power imbued in the inspector's visit and actions forced changes in practice reveal the governmentality and biopolitics of food safety compliance. Foucault's theories of power as dispersed in the conduct and knowledge of citizens can be glimpsed in the impassioned Facebook conversations (Crampton & Elden, 2007). The inspection and legal followings (and Smith's reluctance to divulge all details) suggest spatial and temporal limitations of forms of legislation rooted in biopolitical concerns for preventing epidemic and scandal through the translation of scientific knowledge into immutable mobiles (Latour & Woolgar, 1986) that carry legal meanings into marketised systems for the conveyance of food. The controversy thus echoes Midgley's argument that "surplus food products reflect qualities and values that go beyond the materiality of the goods" (2013, p.1875). She argues that attending to the interweaving of these qualities in different temporal and spatial moments sheds light on the "(re)framing of economic, environmental and social relations ascribed to food as it makes its transition to the category of surplus, and how this impacts on its management and use" (ibid.). TRFJPs' countering their potentially reputation-damaging summons by premising the edibility of legally-expired food was an attempt to 'unweave' legal relations embedded in the industrial food system (Edwards & Mercer, 2012) from foods' aesthetic, sensory and nutritional affordances that they tried to foreground. TRJFP attempted to distance themselves from an identity as the typical food business that 'Trading' Standards generally target, stressing their transparency: "we've never hid what we do" (Burns 2017). A café manager described the summons as "a bit ridiculous. We don't trade. It's pay-as-you-feel. Some people don't pay anything" (Yorkshire Evening Post, 2017). In stressing that the project feeds people who may not be able to pay, the project attempted to recast its legitimacy, despite previously distinguishing itself from food charity.

5.6.3 Expiry-dates c): affect

To draw together the examples raised about how expiry-dates act in tandem with other assemblage components to hold together and/or break apart relationships of donation and redistribution, I draw on Goodchild's (1996) observation that an integrative understanding of Deleuzian desire posits differences as related through ideas/thought, feelings/emotion, bodies and entities' emergence and reproduction (their ontology). Understanding the very nature of what expiry-dates *are* requires sensitivity to their multiple strands of historical emergence, including how social anxieties and public pressures coalesced around the emergence of the best-before (freshness) and the use-by (safety) date. Ideas about their meaning and relevance diverge in relation to organisations' stances towards donor and regulatory compliance, itself emerging from distinct histories and ideological framings of the causes and solutions for food waste. While emotive framings of corporate greed and social need have undergirded the development of redistribution assemblages, translations of expiry-dates by FareShare recirculated representations of in-date food as dignified and professional in response to criticisms about surplus food being viewed as a solution to hunger. Contrastingly, TRJFP highlighted the correspondence of the expiry-date to food itself, casting it as part of a complex of arbitrary wilful waste on the part of supermarkets rather than the growth of regulatory intervention into food business in response to citizen demands (Milne 2012). Emotions often fly high in debates around what constitutes and codes edibility, a matter further explored in Chapter 5b. Expiry-dates emerge as both physical entities and symbolic nodes in the contestation of control over how food travels once it is de-commodified. Midgley's (2013) use of qualculation mirrors the idea of affect in analysing how expiry-dates can be physically and symbolically detached from the food whose property and control rights can be very differently 'read' in re-assembling food relationships in redistribution spaces. Expiry-dates as multi-faceted bodies connecting foods, packaging, people and bureaucracies, act as ontological forces mediating how food is categorised, treated and moved into and out of redistribution assemblages.

5.7 Conclusion

I considered fridges, foodstuffs, people and expiry-dates as stabilising and altering redistribution assemblages through affective relations of exteriority that can be made, remade and broken. The components have travelled throughout the chapter and are impossible to separate, co-constitutive as they are through practice and process.

Theorisation of connection and change in ANT and AT helped me to tease out mechanisms of such processes, such as FareShare's oligoptic efforts to maintain control over redistributed food even as it relinquishes control. Exploring these diverse components flattens the field of explanation so that the human and nonhuman are considered more symmetrically (Robbins & Marks, 2010, p.183); food, fridges and volunteers are figured as agentic driving forces of change. This vies with stabilisation efforts through the marshalling of infrastructure, the Foucauldian disciplining of kitchen and storage spaces in the interests of maintaining SFR assemblages. Following Latour (2005, p.128), the actors "don't just sit there": for an assemblage to cohere, each component plays its role, transforming redistribution even at it maintains it. I summarise the three syntheses through which I have analysed the four components: stabilisation, change, and affect, laying the ground for a later discussion.

In stabilising SFR assemblages, differently-scaled physical refrigeration spaces ease rotational flows of food and enable SFR expansion, stabilising food materially and bureaucratically through the monitoring forms, probes and reports necessary to maintain donor compliance. Fridges stabilise while facilitating fluidity, again suggesting the co-constitution of stability/change. Building on Chapter 4's theorisation of divergent representational orientations of FareShare and TRJFP, this chapter has demonstrated distinct performative uses of infrastructure in upholding reputational and compliance assemblages, such as Lindsay Boswell's filmed performance of fresh, properly-stored, varied-choice food. Meat was noted as a powerful affective component for both organisations, introducing specific affordances and challenges. Physical infrastructures are thus enrolled in legitimating representations. TRJFP's focus on cooking allow its fridges to function more as simply preserving ingredients. At times it was necessary to enrol other actors into the assemblage to stabilise potentially-burdensome excesses or ensure compliance: FareShare's fridge operating as node in re-redistribution networks, or extending infrastructural discipline into recipients' homes. The production and management of excessive food flows has been a key observation.

These points raise questions around whose interests/needs are prioritised in SFR assemblages. People are vital in maintaining SFR stability: the affective, disciplining, interpretive, sub-cultural labour of volunteers and activists expressing different motivations, and the translation work of staff in enabling re-redistribution flows. Social media proves an important platform for both organisations to express qualities of their

spaces, food, needs and offerings. These findings have un-black-boxed stabilising SFR infrastructures and connected them to overlapping but distinct organisational repertoires of FareShare and TRJFP. They blur organisational boundaries, however, in revealing the enrolment of diverse actors.

As noted, change is latent in stabilising processes; as Muller and Schurr (2016) suggest, the interplay of stability and fluidity is perhaps the most interesting outcome of engaging ANT alongside AT. Machines' capacity to breakdown required experts and volunteers to navigate variously-stabilised boundaries between storage zones, and the need to alter distribution pathways when fridges or AD plants break down flows. Fresh food's propensity to rot was discussed in terms of meat's regulatory history and changing discourses of risk (Milne, 2012), resulting in struggles between donors and recipients over the interpretation of food safety, organisational rules, and labels'/packaging's authority and integrity. I described the controversy whereby TRJFP's questioning of the correspondence between expiry-dates and edibility led to controversy that threatened food flows but made space for counter-discourses. Oligoptic power of regulatory authorities and corporate donors at times was actualised amidst ordinarily everyday, fleeting performances of sensory labour to distinguish food/waste, concretely affecting the viability of TRJFP's more experimental approach to SFR. Each component affects change at different speeds and scales, but new materialist approaches lent space for considering embodied, affective experiences of disgust or abjection in determining food/waste that are developed in Chapter 5b.

The concept of affect/desire draws attention to bodies' capacities to affect and be affected (Anderson, 2018). Adding to Chapter 4's demonstration of powerful co-representations of corporate greed, social need and ecological consciousness in stimulating and justifying SFR, I have explored SFR practices in terms of anxiety, care, multi-species appetite and desire/disgust towards food for oneself and for others. Sensory engagements between spaces, people and foods mediate food/waste distinctions, highlighting blurred distinctions e.g. Mol's transubstantiation of the eating/eaten body. SFR spaces operate affective economies where diverse actors' needs and interests coalesce, and can conflict.

In conclusion, redistribution spaces both reflect and disrupt urban socio-natural metabolisms of more-than-human labour whose cycles of accumulation and expulsion (Giles, 2013) reveal underlying dynamics of valuing food and people. Politics can be viewed as operating in the 'metabolic assemblages' (Robbins & Marks, 2010), linking

Marx's notion that labour transforms the labourer in reciprocal but uneven exchanges. Chapter 5b draws more specifically on tools of political ecology to explore the ethical and political implications of more-than-human interactions of school-based SFR.

Chapter 5b: Sites of learning: exploring political ecologies and visceral pedagogies of surplus food redistribution

Having explored the material dynamics of SFR spatial practices, this chapter explores the thesis' aim to question the role of community organisations in responding to systemic problems of food insecurity and food wastage by highlighting ambiguous implications of TRJFP's redistribution of wasted food in schools. Its pedagogical practices raise questions around a two-fold concern. First, do locally-grounded charitable and activist responses to food inequalities risk depoliticising or deflecting structural causes and solutions? Secondly, SFR in schools raises questions about children's responsibilities over their own food choices. How does the summoning and cultivation of childrens' embodied and sensory capacities to know food differently affect, on the one hand, their health and food access and, on the other, their responsibilisation for systemic issues lying beyond their control? Through the framework of 'political ecology of the body' (PEB) (Hayes-Conroy, 2015), and specifically the notion of 'visceral access', binary notions assumed by these questions will be challenged: 'charity v activist' frames of wasted food redistribution, and 'agency v structure' binaries assumed by the question of whether food waste pedagogies empower or responsibilise young people. I recognise limitations of my analysis of FFS, based not on participant-observation but on interviews with school/TRJFP programme organisers. First, I revisit literature specifically considering the political implications of food provision and pedagogies in schools.

Hayes-Conroy's (2015, p.659) PEB model links political ecological thinking to theories of the visceral, described as "the domain of experience in which bodies live, feel, sense, exert, rest, emit, ingest, relate and change". The political salience of bodies' capacity to be affected is exemplified by Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy (2013). Adding to broader critiques of 'alternative' food practices/networks (e.g. Guthman, 2008), they challenge the equalising assumptions of bodies and food access made by school garden/cooking programme educators representing health as a "constant given" and food identities as "fixed" (p.87). Considering food access viscerally, they argue that different students'

emotive/affective motivation towards foods is part of food access. Attending to structural (e.g. race/class disparities), material and discursive dimensions of food access, PEB renders food-body relationalities as intimate-yet-political.

Relating back to discourses of blame, Warshawsky (2015, p.31) argues that "food waste education at the individual or household level has its limits, as it elides the structural issues which produce food insecurity and food waste". Biltekoff (2016) explores nutritional education in schools in terms of frame contests by which educators use rhetoric to present incommensurate views of, in her example, preservatives, given divergent beliefs, affiliations and missions embodied in food industry bodies' ("Real Facts") vs activists' ("Real Food") curricular materials. Linking to the framing of problems explored in Chapter 4, her paper delineates ontological politics at play in the very definition and presentation of what 'food' is, and what its political status is/should be.

5.8 School-based redistribution

Having introduced issues of interpretive labour around food quality and safety in Chapter 5a, this chapter explores SFR pedagogies in TRJFP's Fuel For School (FFS) programme, to consider how it (de)politicises/directs responsibility for food wastage in relation to multiple vectors of children's food access. TRJFP's founding aim was to protest food waste's environmental hazards by demonstrating its extent and needlessness, but it has also, and arguably increasingly, highlighted the network's role in bolstering food access in deprived neighbourhoods. FFS delivers to schools wasted food subsequently redistributed to families through pay-as-you-feel (PAYF) market stalls manned by parents, teachers and/or children. Interviews with organisers revealed how it aims to alleviate school hunger (e.g. providing morning toast in classrooms) while raising awareness of food wastage. Organisers lead assemblies and classes to teach children about health, sustainability and entrepreneurship through handling wasted food. The programme also aims to contribute to TRJFP's campaign strategy, "empowering" children to "feel like they have the power to be an activist", as one organiser described. Its aims thus go beyond providing inexpensive foods to families. It hopes to instil changes in children's attitudes and skills around food that it is hoped will help them prevent food waste in their own and others' lives.

5.8.1 School-based redistribution: depoliticising or meeting immediate needs?

The first question to be addressed is whether community-level food assistance depoliticises structural issues of poverty and waste. Heynen's (2009:408) reminder of the under-theorised mundane, "horrifying reality of hunger" situates urban hunger "within the context of political economy, social reproduction, and poverty". Projects attending to this can thus provide not just vital sustenance but a window onto spatial and structural determinants of hunger. TRJFP aducators did express attention to these, as shown below. Most TRJFP organisers differentiated themselves from foodbanks during interviews, highlighting their primary purpose as campaigning against food waste. One characterised FareShare's donor relationships as "so far up Tesco's arses that they'll never campaign to end food waste" (Helen). Yet, Helen recognised cafes' diversity and the greater emphasis of some on addressing local hunger. While the wider network tended to downplay its role in hunger-relief, the FFS programme explicitly addresses in-school hunger as a primary aim. The founding school is in area categorised as in the "bottom 2% of deprivation nationally" (Joe, school staff, interview 25/10/16), confirmed by Index of Multiple Deprivation maps (OpenDataCommunities.org, 2015). Joe described it as a "food desert", with the local supermarket 2.5 miles away. With most parents lacking a car, the £5 cost of taxis and buses to the shops meant less money to spend on healthier foods. The "medium of food", Joe suggested, was a means to engage parents in the school community, including its provision of English lessons, housing and welfare services. With over forty languages spoken by the school's families, he acknowledged multiple forms of deprivation affecting the school's refugee and asylum-seeking families. Joe's analyses reflect sensitivity of school staff to the structural determinants of hunger affecting pupils in their familial and geographical contexts. Staff have, alongside TRJFP, advocated for income-based solutions by participating in national campaigns to address school-related hunger.

However, everyday activities raise questions about the appropriateness of surplus food market stalls in schools, even if situated in broader political discourse. Food deliveries to schools are pre-sorted by volunteers of the café/activist network to ensure no high-risk food (bearing a 'use-by' date or needing refrigeration) is included. Schools receive a mixture of fruits/vegetables, bread/cereal items and 'treats'. While TRJFP has secured enough donors to allow some predictability, and families are able to choose what to take,

supplies are still dependent on available surpluses and can reflect the highly-processed, highly-packaged products one often encountered in redistribution spaces throughout the research. The 'market' is not intended to meet families' full food needs, and schools may use food internally for classroom learning or morning toast. While boosting food access, the stall nevertheless offers a partial and contingent source of food rather than fulfilling the human right to food (Tarasuk & Eakin, 2005).

The PAYF model of accessing food was also mentioned in some interviews to be confusing and even frustrating for some 'shoppers', prompting questions around the nuances of re-marketising food in school settings. Intended as a model that does not require referrals (like foodbanks) and is thus universally-accessible, it nevertheless re-confers exchange-value onto food where the normative mode of paying is with money (rather than 'skills or time', which the organisation also mentions as ways of paying). In line with Barnard and Mourad's (2014) argument that food waste activists' political repertoires may not be apparent to those receiving the food, the market stall could become seen as just another node in diversifying, expanding food aid networks. These points suggest schools' capacity to bolster communities' access to food and other services, but also the latent disciplinarity of this extension of pastoral care. The 'medium of food' provided a means to engage parents in the job-searching, financial literacy and upskilling techniques of austerity Workfare-style contemporary welfare. This requires critical attention to changing responsibilities of government and other institutions in providing welfare services (Trudeau & Veronis, 2009). Little evidence appeared from initial interviews of a coordinated political strategy engaging families, schools and activists, without which Patel (2011) suggests food distribution can remain 'pacifying', leaving structural determinants of hunger/waste largely unchallenged.

How does FareShare's model compare? First, it delivers food to a range of organisations whose varied political work can be seeing as "flying in under the cover" of the charity, as Henderson (2004) argues of the articulations between depoliticised charities and those they serve (explored in Chapter 6). Chapter 4 revealed diversity of FareShare workers' articulations of structural causes of hunger/waste, and motivations to address these. Fundamentally, however, upholding donor relations, expanding infrastructure and regulatory compliance were noted as priorities for the charity as a whole, over campaigning. While staff and volunteers learned about problems including school hunger

and geographical deprivation through engaging with recipients, their key remit remains alleviating need through food provision, not structural change.

We now turn to examine the visceral pedagogies through which wasted food was (re)configured through experiential learning, using the PEB framework to consider such learning on the de/politicisation spectrum outlined in Biltekoff's (2016) analysis of curricular design.

5.8.2 Viscerally learning food

As noted, the 'curation' of schools' food deliveries at TRJFP's warehouses yields some consistency in type/quality and may prompt questioning among children as to why visibly-edible food has been thrown away, and what might be done with it. Pupils' receiving and re-sorting food for their market stall entails visceral engagement with food. By handling and exploring its affective qualities, food's designation as 'waste' can thus be reconfigured. Food thus arrives at the school as ontologically plural, as not simply a commodity or nourishment, but the result of a systemic journey of wastage and recovery, as explained in tailored classes.

Activist-educator Tim designed lessons to challenge 'embodied taboos' around, for example, past-dated food. He described children complaining that surplus food is "just manky bananas", so planned an initial lesson to

> '...remove anything that children would have already thought...like for example the manky banana comment; they think that it's just gonna be out-of-date food.' (Tim, interview 26/10/2016)

Playful tactility prompted disgust reactions:

> 'I take a squishy banana, one that's slightly bruised...and get them to pass it around...it's like a hot potato, like urgh, urgh, and they want to pass it on as quickly as possible' (Tim)

Disgust was then challenged through preparation practices, re-tooling the 'manky' banana by blending it into 'smoothie' for everyone to taste. Such touch-sight-taste reconfigurations provided visceral opportunities to (potentially) counter pre-conceptions. Contrasting effects of food on visual and gustatory receptors provide potential openings/blockages in the holistic assemblage that is motivation to try foods. These learning encounters create shared spaces for children's diverse 'visceral topographies' (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2013) to be re-traced, perhaps challenging visual and haptic food judgements through food practices and tasting.

5.8.3 Fostering 'healthy' connections with food

Handling less-than-perfect foods was thus intended to widen children's affective repertoires with food. Educators aimed to foster bodily habits of engaging with food to be better able to discern, sense, and appreciate food's qualities: as edible, healthy, desirable. Fruits and vegetables were frequently mentioned as suited to sensory learning, suggesting the programme's alignment with dominant curricular concerns around 'healthy' eating. However, foods were re-contextualised as connective actants in food systems where 'health' emerges relationally rather than residing in individuals (Biltekoff, 2016). During an activity where children tried to place food in familiar categories, Nik re-positioned children's surprise at learning cucumbers as fruit within a narrative of food-plants' teleologies:

> 'We talk about…actually what's a fruit for…if you understand [that] then you'll understand why it's very nutritious 'cause the whole point of the fruit is to feed the little seedling and so it's all about making those connections about actually, this is not just something that you put in your mouth and it tastes a certain way, it might grow a bit or whatever else; there's a whole lot more to it…'(Nik, interview 13/10/2017)

Nik thus reframed fruit as more-than-food: as relational "material-semiotic actor" (Haraway, 1988) whose 'job' is to do more than feed humans. Here, multi-sensory engagement implied more than intensified sensory receptivity, by layering cognitive knowledge *about* food with immediate sensation.

5.8.4 Co-creating knowledge?

Biltekoff notes how the 'Real Food' curriculum cast pupils not as passive recipients of knowledge but as co-creators of learning rooted in their broader foodscapes. While Tim acknowledged children's preconceptions, activist-educator Nik framed children's prior food knowledge as lacking: "before I go into the classroom, if you ask someone where food comes from, it comes from a shelf in a shop and before that it becomes a bit of a…dark grey hole". Learner-subject's 'grey holes' suggest blank slates for the inscription of food systems knowledge. This masks somewhat the complexities of children's prior ways of knowing food, perhaps the materiality of past shopping trips, and partially obscures the co-constructive, contestable nature of learning given children's diverse 'visceral topographies'. However, one organiser mentioned parents being invited to food waste assemblies, suggesting attention to children's wider food lives.

5.8.4 Sensing food/waste

Foods' changing qualities as they degrade were instrumentalised to reconfigure assumptions about food-as-waste using visual, olfactory and even auditory cues. Children were encouraged to suggest how they might use each sense to work out if food is "good to eat":

> 'There'll usually be one person who knows about tapping a melon…every sense will have a…relevant application to understanding whether the food is ripe or rotten' (Nik)

Mushrooms' "stink" prompted giggles, prompting Nik to recast disgust reactions through re-framing the mushroom as a "fungal fruit". Yellowing broccoli was re-framed as a "bunch of flowers" opening up. New ways of seeing, handling and describing food were thus presented, aiming to widen children's acceptance of imperfect food as potential nourishment but also ecologically conscious consumption.

5.8.5 Situating food safety

Activist-educators also aimed to teach food safety as a contextual matter of personally interpreting regulatory determinants of waste. Improving expiry-date literacy has been an aim of government research and behaviour-change programmes around food waste (Lyndhurst, 2008). One organiser asked children to discuss their understanding of different expiry-dates:

> 'What it does is create confusion, and that's probably the best word to describe how dates work on food in this country, confusion…' (Tim)

After explaining differences between 'use-by' and 'best-before', children were encouraged to consider expiry-dates in context:

> 'We use the example…if there's two pieces of meat…one's been stored in the fridge, one's been out in the sun- they're both still within the use-by date- can you eat them both?' (Tim)

He reported that most children would reply "yes", suggesting confidence in the expiry-date as a mode for interpreting edibility. He would tell them:

> …'no, you can't, because it hasn't been stored correctly, and actually you don't know how your food's been stored up to the point you get it'…we're really pushing that confidence and use of their senses as much as they can…(Tim)

Contextual re-presentation aimed to destabilise the expiry-date's authority and 'push' different kinds of confidence, by enacting sensorial, emotional and situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988).

Food regulation has often followed crises of public trust in food systems following 'scandals' rooted in intensive production (Milne, 2012), as introduced in the previous chapter. Contra the scientific expertise congealed in expiry-dates, activists' beliefs that such technologies arbitrarily contribute to unnecessary waste prompted other kinds of knowing to take precedence in their pedagogies of knowing food:

> '…[sensory engagement]'s also an alternative way to understand when something's still good to eat- that if you don't want to look at that stupid date then what do you do then?' (Nik)

FFS activist-educators did account for children's diverse prior knowledge. Nik suspected that children knowing precisely what different dates mean was "informed by a family having to do that [eat past-date foods] rather than having made the ethical choice but informed by not really having that much money to spend", while other children expressed "overly strict behaviour around dates". While describing expiry-dates as 'stupid' expresses frustrated belief that they cause unnecessary waste, educators thus recognised the limitations of individualising children's behaviour given its rootedness in their variable foodscapes and the ways thriftiness may well already figure highly in families' strategies to cope with food poverty.

5.9 Charitable food: date-adherence as preserving dignity?

As discussed in Chapter 4, FareShare does not distribute past-date food, reflecting concerns around donor compliance but also about the quality and reputational implications of redistributed food. Following a briefing paper critiquing the "inferior choice, accessibility and (nutritional) quality" of surplus food (Caraher & Furey, 2017:13), the charity communicated via social media that it distributes nutritious, in-date, desirable food. Staff frequently emphasised that it delivered food to organisations cooking meals rather than giving food bags, emphasising provision of commensal, familial, 'proper' food. Redistributing fresh produce was described as a way to provide healthy-yet-compliant food, with loose produce not requiring expiry-dates. This non-requirement lends space for more contextual practice; warehouse manager Graham maximised the opportunities it afforded for removing packaging. He argued that much produce comes in "its own packaging" and can be sorted by its sensory qualities. He combined concern for preserving recipients' dignity by providing fresh, high-quality food with skills to predict temporalities of fresh produce's capacity to degrade:

> '[CFMs] don't want fruit and veg sorted to a low standard…four days later we finally get it to the customer and the next day…they open the cupboard…and go "why have

they given me a bag of mush?" It's gotta be good standards from the start, and it's respect as well. You're feeding people in need- oh, here's some rotten old crap for you…'(Graham)

The inferred 'neediness' of eventual food recipients was invoked in justifying sorting practices requiring volunteers to follow expiry-dates but also their embodied skill in knowing food in its present and predicted future state. Unlike the school programme, the charity's brokerage model (Alexander & Smaje, 2008) does not allow for such close engagement of between redistributors, eventual eaters and the visceral qualities of food, suggesting how the FFS model might foster more intimate learning between providers and recipients (Williams et al., 2016).

5.10 Affective assemblages as politics?

I now consider these multiple positionings of food and children's agency. Teaching food's materiality as contextual and systemic involved visceral contact with food items and cognitive learning about food systems, safety and health. FFS' classroom sessions emerged from interviews as comprising amalgams of images, imaginings, narratives, and tactilities, glued together by the intimate group setting and atmosphere of excitement. This recalls Bennett's conceptualisation of 'vibrant matter' as 'conative bodies', from whose mutually "confederate agency" new sympathies between bodies might arise (Bennett, 2010). Bennett locates political action in the emergence of publics, "groups of bodies with the capacity to affect and be affected", whose experience/articulation of shared harms prompts engagement in "new acts that will restore their power", albeit with unpredictable consequences (2010:101). Politics viewed thus is immanent in the micro-encounter of intimate child-food relating as well as systemic knowledge and policy change. Crafting close encounters for children and food lends space for a processual, more distributed kind of ethics than the charitable ethic of giving/receiving based on a narrow conceptualisation of 'need', recalling a Foucauldian distinction between ethics and morality (Foucault, 1997).

While inferring potential for 'vibrant encounters' to transform children's intimate relationships with food, different children may not experience the same 'participatory' space in the same way (Kraftl, 2013:15). Activist-educators tended to problematise children's/families food choices and behaviours as sites for transformation, hoping that this might galvanise future activism towards eliminating food waste.

Meanwhile, structural limitations upon children's foodscapes persist e.g. neighbourhood deprivation, food access and immigration status. Families' capacities to join/form 'groups of bodies' united against the 'shared harms' of wasted food and hunger require, first and foremost, their acquiring adequate food and other resources to metabolise social reproduction. Bennett's theorisation of the political promise of more-than-human confederacies challenges the instrumentalising of matter (including food) that "feeds human hubris and our earth-destroying fantasies of conquest and consumption" (2010:ix). This injects ecological hope into efforts to nurture more vibrant person-food relationships through SFR. However, it obscures humans' different propensities for hubris, where 'fantasies of consumption' may emerge from experiencing prolonged deprivation. PEB's attention to political-economic structures is here recalled, in recognition of the ever-urgent task of countering welfare retrenchment and systemic inequality. The distinctive political ontology of Bennett and others' materialism is difficult to reconcile with Marxist critique. However, embracing both, we can see all SFR as meeting bodily needs and potentially instigating political action at unexpected sites, but also shedding light on the unevenness of urban development whose transformation might prevent growing reliance on food charity and programmes dependent on unsustainable supplies of surplus food.

5.11 Conclusion

This analysis suggests that activist-educators *and* charity redistributors drew upon both visceral and regulatory techniques for distinguishing food from waste. Haptic, gustatory, olfactory, visual and even auditory engagements with food allowed both activist and charity volunteers to separate food from the beyond-the-pale in an effort to redistribute 'good' food. Wasted food's journey is mediated by complexes of bodies, infrastructures, regulations, practices and discourses that escape the activist/charity binary. The PEB framework acknowledges structural, discursive and material factors not as separate but interacting. Expiry-dates are determined by law and corporate production processes, but learners and educators' knowledge and attitudes towards their relevance vary (as suggested by Mary's exchange with the volunteer over eggs in Chapter 5a). Sensual engagement with food may accompany attention to expiry dates, while embodied practices of cutting, cooking and storing food interact with such cognitive attention and regulatory rendering of responsibility for food management.

This chapter evaluates tensions between ethical possibilities opened up by close engagement with wasted foods and the risks of prioritising individual food choices as a means to address hunger/waste. While TRJFP activists sought to redefine ex-commodified food as vibrant matter through which to kindle new, potentially-transgressive kinds of food-body knowing, FareShare's purpose in handling food was not based on engagement with recipients but arguably to justify a reputation as providing adequate, compliant food. On the other hand, the diverse organisations receiving FareShare food could be using it for radical community work, from feeding unmet needs for food to fostering networks of solidarity at different 'community' scales including national and global campaigns (Henderson, 2004). Food not only *is* connection, but *does* connecting, and both activist and charitable redistribution makes such connections possible. However, FareShare's public-facing emphasis on growing quantities redistributed or people fed suggests its lack of engagement with food's resonant qualities and affordances for critiquing/transforming food systems. FFS, while risking being perceived as another form of charitable food assistance, created collective spaces for reflecting upon food and its systemic transformations and possibilities, a theme developed in later chapters. Food waste pedagogies could potentially go beyond de-fetishising food, towards interrogating human fascinations with food commodities and their consumption (Bennett, 2001) and recognising 'reflexive consciousness' of the ethical food consumer as a classed modality (Guthman, 2003). Ultimately, wasted food redistribution reflects and responds to deep economic imbalances. Redistribution actors' knowledge of injustices affecting the communities they feed, constitute vital grounds for redistribution practices that nourish minded-bodies, public critique and, through reflexive alliance-building, transform food distribution structures.

Chapter Six: Tensions, contradictions and affordances of surplus food spaces

Having established the diversity of UK SFR organisations and their tendency towards growth in terms of public support and visibility, volume of food redistributed and more-than-human infrastructures, this chapter evaluates surplus food's affordances: eating spaces, representational practices and social encounters enabled by SFR. I consider how far surplus food (and eating it) can foster encounter and alliance across lines of social difference. I compare explicitly 'charitable' with 'activist' SFR. Does the latter express/enact more radical and oppositional politics than charitable redistributors? I thus probe tendencies of redistribution processes towards politics of 'containment' or contestation of food insecurity and food waste (Heynen, 2010). In other words, do SFR organisations operate as 'translation mechanisms' and management devices for state retrenchment (Trudeau & Veronis, 2009), or do they contest this?

I consider contradictory tendencies by analysing redistribution spaces' affective atmospheres and generation of discourses around SFR as upholding, or challenging, ideas and practices around the problems of food precarity and waste. Building on the divergent tendencies of SFR organisations developed in Chapter 4, I compare UK SFR models using critiques of food charity (e.g. Poppendieck, 1998) alongside literature theorising SFR as prefigurative or oppositional politics (e.g. Heynen, 2010, Giles, 2013). I also acknowledge organisations' internal heterogeneity. Understanding the networked, processual and contradictory tendencies of redistribution requires acknowledging that such polarities rarely cohere in reality. Redistribution sites are places where images, ideas and encounters circulate. Ethics of Foucauldian discipline, surveillance and othering can sit alongside politics of encounter and commensality. As Henderson notes, "it is not so easy…to catalogue and sort the social and ethical relations that comprise [food banking]" (2004:498). I analyse how organisers recognised tensions between their stated purpose/future goals and the contingencies of daily redistribution work. Exploring what surplus food can, and cannot do, leads to Chapter 7. It draws on research in North America, whose long experience with redistributing surplus food provides a useful comparative context for posing questions about SFR teleologies in the UK.

The chapter compares how organisations configured redistribution practices and spaces for various purposes: feeding certain needy people, protesting environmental damage

and/or providing encounters and experiences of commensality across lines of difference. I discuss two challenges faced by progressive efforts to create inclusive spaces, the affective atmospheres engendered by attempts to blur them/us distinctions and challenges of financial sustainability. I consider alternative framings of the hunger/waste relationship to reconfigure SFR as more inclusive and even emancipatory.

6.1 FareShare and TRJFP: complex articulations

As outlined in Chapter 4, FareShare and TRJFP emerged from distinct histories and offer contrasting representations of the problems they address in superficially similar ways. FareShare offers a "flatter" keying of the waste/hunger problem that "reinforces extant dominant interpretations and practices, usually advanced by power holders" (Mooney and Hunt, 2009, p.471). TRJFP voice critiques of food waste in a "sharp" keying that "offers critical, alternative interpretations and practices usually voiced by challengers" (ibid.). A single frame such as 'surplus food redistribution', and activities it denotes, can thus obscure struggles between "institutionalized power and challenging 'outsiders'" (ibid.). However, I demonstrate below that in practice these two 'keys' can become entwined, in the contradictory positioning of criticising supermarket waste while relying upon it.

Hall's (1996, p.428) notion of articulation expresses multiple fronts of "social antagonisms" where "hegemony is sustained" not exclusively by the State but is "grounded in the relations and institutions of civil society". Rather than differentiated fronts of social struggle becoming subordinated to a common industrial struggle as in the classic Marxist model, these multiple sites: schools, family life, NGOs, identity and so on, become dispersed sites of contestation. Articulation, as Henderson (2004, p.500) observes, "accepts that social and economic forces and relations neither position people in exactly the same way nor guarantee that different groups will come to consciousness of the ways they are positioned in the same way". Articulations imply connections between different elements whose relation is not necessary or inevitable, lending space for considering the diverse and ever-transforming relations within, between and across FareShare and TRJFP as internally-diverse organisations.

6.1.1 Relations with corporate donors

FareShare's position as broker allows it to maintain its strategically 'flatter' key while providing food for organisations that can use it in more radical ways. Manager Paul

expressed awareness of criticisms of FareShare's corporate relationships, as noted in
Chapter 4a):

> '...Real Junk Food...would say 'FareShare is too in bed with the suppliers'. But we're
> the organisation that's in bed with them so they DO trust us...there is a need for at
> least one agency to be...in partnership...with them' (Paul)

He draws upon his experience as a CFM (formerly running a night kitchen for asylum
seekers) to assert his view as 'balanced', arguing that there is space for critical work
alongside a need for an organisation that can maintain donors' demands for compliance
and manage large scales of surplus food. Being 'in bed', he suggests, establishes trust and,
consequently, food that others can benefit from. Some TRJFP organisers acknowledged
discomfort at working 'with' supermarkets in order to access food: the persistent use of
the word 'interception' was an attempt to refute the passivity implied by being 'donated'
food, an arrangement that avoided the drudgery of daily bin-diving and the growing
prevalence of locked bins.

Corporate relationships have been suggested to have a chilling effect on structural
advocacy by foodbanking/SFR organisations (Poppendieck, 1998). I therefore turn to
FareShare interviewees' representations of influences on their political work (or lack
thereof). When asked whether FareShare's national network engaged in campaigning,
development manager Erica replied:

> '...FareShare is...not set up to be a campaigning organisation...there isn't a policy
> team, there isn't an advocacy team, so perhaps it's something for the future but right
> now I don't think there's the capacity to be that kind of organisation as well as
> trying to build our- our aim as a network of 21 depots is to handle and receive 25%
> of the UK's edible surplus in five years' time. We're at 2% at the moment' (Erica)

A commitment to advocacy is framed here as potentially reducing capacity to grow the
"fundamental mission" of 'fighting hunger, tackling food waste'. Chapter 7 demonstrates
how America's longer experience of foodbanking has prompted foodbanks towards
progressive policies around advocacy and practice, beyond distributing food. The UK's
relatively recent expansion of SFR could be one factor preventing such diversification. In
fact, FareShare's national team have persistently advocated government commitments to
financially incentivize corporate donation (Anderson, 2015). Policy-oriented efforts were
thus geared to growing SFR rather than preventing root causes. Henderson's (2004)
observation of a politically-minded US foodbank director's 'dilemma' at wanting to
support a living-wage Bill against the wishes of his Board of Directors reveals the internal
conflicts that can emerge from an institution such as a food bank (in the American

meaning of warehousing, which FareShare resembles). Depoliticisations of 'need' (evident in a stance against campaigning for wage solutions) and public representations of who is deserving of charitable food are, Henderson suggests, entangled with foodbanks' more progressive campaign efforts and the diverse bodies and organisations fed by its food. He argues that "relatively more activist, and even radical, work flies in under cover" of foodbanks (2004:505). While FareShare managers must maintain limited 'socially necessary representations' (ibid: 493) to levy funds and secure corporate donations, those it supplies (and necessarily maintains social and ethical relationships with) might be doing different, radical discursive work.

6.1.2 Relations with recipients

To explore FareShare's articulations, therefore, I consider its relationship with TRJFP as CFM/'overflow customer'. TRJFP are just one of several organisations that FareShare call upon to re-redistribute short-dated and potentially costly-to-dispose excesses. This suits some recipients, but not others. TRJFP organiser Mary had previously accessed food CFM but complained that

> ...we've had a couple of run-ins. [FareShare] has a completely different ethos to TRJFP. I think they just want to gather as much food as they can to say it's rescued and I don't believe that they're redistributing it all. We had three or four deliveries from them, ostensibly in their refrigerated van-...it was just an ordinary van. Yes, they get more meat and fish which was great but Thursday about midday they delivered 240 bags of leaves, knowing that we were closing in two hours, and about 150 tubs of coleslaw. I got really cross and wrote them a letter saying look, I'm really not here to take your waste. If you can't get rid of it, it's your waste, I'm not having it, so...I just think they're much more driven by- well they're paid, to begin with, so I think the people I've had dealings with have always been nice face-to-face but actually not competent when it comes down to the actual distribution (Mary)

A last-minute 'gift' of excess food might be seen as generous or money-saving for cash-strapped CFMs- such as end-of-Friday produce that Graham would stuff into cars of 'overflow' customers, like Joy, to whom he liked to send extra vegetables after hearing that her sermons had convinced her foodbank clients to take and use it. Mary, however, framed it as dumping. Her disappointment at the 'ordinary' van and sense of mismatch between her demand/capacity and what she actually received, had persuaded her of FareShare's 'incompetence'. She also expressed a narrative accusing FareShare of hoarding food, or acquiring more for more's sake, without carefully considering the particular needs of organisations, leading to excess/overflow. Mary's personal experiences of poor service are tooled to make a broader criticism of FareShare's ethical mission and to distinguish it from TRJFP's model and ethos.

TRJFP cafés *as* FareShare CFMs/customers, nevertheless, suggests a degree of symbiotic co-functioning, where TRJFP can do their work while 'under the cover' of FareShare's food supply. As Mary notes, FareShare's provision of sought-after products like meat suggests how FareShare's relationships with retailers allows CFMs to access food they may not be able to acquire, say, bin-diving. Her accusation about the refrigeration nuances this acknowledgement, suggesting a breach in FareShare's claim to be maintaining the cool-chain via the 'trust' relations outlined by Paul. Some TRJFP cafes were using apps like Foodcloud or Neighbourly, but complained about logistical challenges and limited food availability. FareShare food, while costing membership and per-tray fees, therefore bore certain affordances for groups with albeit diverse and even conflicting ethics and aims.

Other research participants saw space for negotiation and strategy in the mismatch between FareShare's mission and the potentially haphazard nature of its daily work and relationships with members. Founder of 'social eating' model/network Super Kitchen, Bella, described how the FareShare-CFM relationship could be shaped to accommodate CFMs' needs. FareShare's Paul had used his previous experience as a CFM coming to pick up food to identify daily rhythms that might yield extra/free food at certain times. Knowledge of warehouse working, also gleaned through chats with staff, allowed him to access more food. Bella recognised the need for such engagement and relationship-building in addressing criticisms of the FareShare model:

> …there are good ways to infiltrate and work with these larger charities…first thing you've got to get them onside, and then you need to find your allies within them that are willing to listen to perhaps some of the negative perceptions that are generated around FareShare, and we have certainly had some bad experiences with them….(Bella, Super Kitchen founder, interview 02/08/16)

She described benefits of acquiring food from FareShare (rather than back-of-store pick-ups): receiving mixed and varied supplies of food rather than "big chunks of stuff you don't want", resulting from sorting practices described in Chapter 5. She argued that as a FareShare customer she was able to specify food that she and her network do and don't want, in contrast with Mary's experience of feeling dumped upon, and Bella felt able to "collectively bargain" for "subsidised" membership. Individual projects sign up to Super Kitchen membership whose fee includes FareShare food deliveries. By approaching FareShare as a collective customer, she drew upon the recognition that FareShare *need* their members: "for them to sustain their charity, they need CMFs that are paying them a bill". She was thus identifying ways to use her organisational articulation with FareShare

to effect change that benefitted her, but that also might drive improvements by reflecting back problems.

Having explored FareShare/TRJFPs' articulations, I now turn to compare their articulations of problems and needs they hoped to solve, requiring defining who surplus food is 'for', and how this at times contradicted with daily realities.

6.2 Meeting what/whose needs?

FareShare's tagline 'fighting hunger, tackling food waste' enfolds its food aid mission. Manager Erica described the criteria for organisations receiving its food as follows:

> ...They need to be working with people who are disadvantaged or in need- in need in the broadest sense, not in the looked-after and legislative sense. They don't necessarily have to be a charity but they do have to have a definite client base that we can see are at a disadvantage in our society or at risk of food poverty and hunger...we try to be flexible with the main purpose being addressing need...(Erica)

She identified the broadness of 'need' and the variety of CFMs "addressing need", whether schools, homeless meal programmes or older people with "income but maybe not access to decent cooked meals", acknowledging ambiguity in determining neediness. Work was undertaken to ensure potential CFMs met such vaguely-defined needs e.g. using proxies such as a school's percentage of parents on benefits.

CFMs might be suspected of 'stealing' food intended for 'needy' clients, as in the case of a foodbank that called to complain of undelivered meat when the driver reported having delivered it. CFMs suspected of selling or giving away food 'in public' might receive a visit from a staff member if delivery volunteers suspected such behaviour. In these cases, there is a specification of certain kinds of need and deservingness. This food was 'for' hungry end-clients, even if providers and/or volunteers are food insecure. The us/them dynamic in the giving/receiving relationship has been widely documented and analysed (e.g. Stein, 1989, Tarasuk, 2001), and often encodes notion of deserving/undeserving poor. Chapter 9 considers how such dynamics of suspicion might reflect racially-inflected discrimination. While FareShare specified the use of food for addressing client needs only, TRJFP conceived of 'need' more universally.

TRJFP organisers often expressed aims of feeding anybody and everybody, asserting itself not as a hunger organisation but as an environmental movement. Table 4 suggests the diversity of purposes expressed by TRJFP organisers.

Table 4. TRJFP cafés' food provision rationales

Rationale	Interview	Quote
Young people socialising, single mums, 'hard up' regulars	Fran, café director, 13/1/17	…we do get a lot of young people coming in that kind of like to hang out in the café, and who come and volunteer, and their mates…a lot of single mums or mums with lots of kids…real diverse mix…We have our regulars that are on the hard up side …and then we have like ad hoc people that drop in- yeah, it really varies.
Welcoming space where wealthier clients can subsidise street homeless or clients with less money	Gina, café director, 07/12/16	…we're trying to create a space where the businessman in a suit feels equally as welcome and comfortable as the homeless guy off the street, and therefore we wanna find a way that that businessman- theoretically with more cash- will pay it forward
Experimental space of encounter and commensality between those normally economically and socially segregated	Helen, café director, 18/01/16	…we could very easily structure our project in a way that makes it financially sustainable and also completely economically segregates the people who come in… I think [it] would be really valuable to have lots of different people from different backgrounds sitting together. I would love people…to just make the leap…to come and get breakfast and a coffee with us, and sit with people who it might actually do the world of good to sit with people who they don't think of as excluded, and to feel part of mainstream society. Whether or not that experiment is gonna work, well it's called an experiment for a reason isn't it.
Inclusive space for e.g. transgender group	Alice, café director, 6/12/16	…we have a transgender group who like to come and use the café, and the bistro as well cos they see it as a very inclusive space. We have, yeah, people from all walks of life coming in, it's hard to specify because it is so varied…
Fostering inclusion for those excluded in other spaces/ways	Nate, café chef, interview 7/12/2016	…so many people come to our café who wouldn't be allowed into other cafés, don't have a safe warm place to go…where they can have access to…even running water, food, hot drinks, to social interaction which is one of the major things that the café provides, a community…there's a lot of people who get so isolated, and just being able to come down to the café and being able to interact with people is central really for any kind of encounter

Table 4 conveys how the network avoided perceptions of creating spaces 'for' certain people. Different cafés aimed to provide 'safe' spaces for groups including those named in Table 4 but also asylum seekers, older people, or people with disabilities. TRJFP's 'experiment' (Helen) aimed for PAYF payments to balance financial contributions of poorer and wealthier customers. Organisers often acknowledged tensions between making money and fostering inclusivity, discussed below.

6.2.1 Food preferences and inclusivity

Inclusive food spaces were acknowledged to be challenging to achieve, affected by various factors including spatial aesthetics and materiality:

> …the food is important but it is secondary to what's actually going on in this space, about it being a safe space, a place that anyone and everyone does feel welcome, feel valued (Gina)

Cafés aimed to offer welcoming spaces requiring no vouchers or criteria for entry, and lacking the surveillance and/or selective entry of other private/institutional spaces. The food offer itself was felt to delimit people's attendance, in terms of familiarity or tailoring to different tastes:

> …a lot of the homeless people would rather go to the homeless sector and pay for meat and two veg rather than coming here for pasta or rice or anything a bit more unusual…(Mary)

> …we're in Yorkshire! So there's a lot of meat and potatoes and stews and shepherd's pie and that kind of stuff…I do try and branch out occasionally, but I always know what dishes are gonna be gone fastest when I cook it! (Nate)

6.2.2 Dining styles and client behaviour

Temporality, atmosphere and dining format/style were also noted as factors affecting TRFJP attendance, especially when cafés offered occasional 'best-before bistros' or 'binner parties', often with set prices and held in the evening, with table service rather than the daytime cafeteria style. These cater to working people who may not be able to attend the café during the day but might also be able to give more money. One organiser compared behavioural issues during daytime and evening services:

> 'if people are abusive or are too loud or inappropriate…we'll gently chat to them and try to include them..I guess the difference with the bistro is we sell it as a restaurant-type experience so we want people to be able to experience that but they need to understand what they're coming into as well. So it's not discriminatory, it's more saying these are two different things we do, and you're welcome to both…We get…not generally people on the streets, mind you we have had one or two walk in who we've sat quietly to one side and allowed them to eat as well…(Alice, café director, interview 6/12/16)

Alice's quote highlights limits of creating inclusive spaces, inviting discussion around tensions between this and generating income. Not only were bistro nights aimed at a different demographic, but the 'restaurant-style' experience promised to paying guests required the sitting 'quietly to one side' of people who might disturb the more rarefied atmosphere. Others reported client behaviour in cafés that disturbed or compromised the safety of others. Gine described a Facebook post by another TRJFP café where

> "there was some violent incident and they're closing the café on weekends now…I've heard from other people that they won't go anymore cos it's not safe- there's been incidents of racism…" (Gina).

The café she mentioned is situated in a particularly deprived area of the city, where I also witnessed racially-charged exchanges and people clearly under the influence of alcohol and drugs. The 'experiment' of using wasted food to invite everyone to the table, therefore, introduced challenges of managing emotional, affective, material-aesthetic and discursive impacts of deprivation, inequality and the kinds of social change that may fuel racist and anti-social discourse.

Gina suggested a need for training in leadership and role-playing, mentioning that "food is secondary". Her RJFP café was set up as a place for migrants to meet others over coffee, with the financial and facilitative bonus of being able to supply it with free surplus food. Staff at the café where violence had broken out cited a lack of support from other third-sector organisations and/or local government, whose withdrawal in a context of economic austerity generated a fallout of hungry and often isolated people. Nate, the café's paid chef, described the difficulty of balancing environmental activism with the "social responsibility" of feeding people lacking money or access to hot food:

> …social support for vulnerable customers…workshops or funding, associated third-party organisations where we could signpost certain vulnerable customers to…collaboration that allows…face-to-face, that's very important 'cause we interact with all of our customers and I think that some organisations don't necessarily have that same kind of relationship, whereas we're trying to confront those problems by proxy, almost, through reducing food waste, but it'd be good to have support for people actually coming into the cafes, being able to offer certain services that a lot of our customers don't really have access to at the moment, especially to do with mental health, a massive thing that we tend to encounter- people who deserve and need help but there isn't the funding there, and organisations there willing to come up to the cafes, or don't have the funding themselves in order to do that…(Nate)

6.2.3 Managing austerity's fallout?

SFR (and food aid forms) thus represent community-based responses to wider problems of welfare reform, long-term unemployment and the way these often interact with poor mental and physical health, social cohesion and the daily fabric of community life. Ethnographic attention to redistribution work demonstrates potential complications of creating spaces of encounter (Williams et al., 2016). Reports of violence, racial abuse and unpleasant atmospheres contradicted ideals of commensality or eating across difference, which Bella described as "rainbows and unicorns". Redistributors intending to pursue an environmental mission found themselves dealing with the "fallout of austerity" (in the

words of a church foodbank founder I met), lacking necessary qualifications, training or external support. This hints at the outsourcing of social problems to community projects as state supports for, say, mental health, goes under-resourced. And, if necessary, the café can simply close its doors.

Alice's discomfort at an unexpected street-homeless attendee at her 'bistro' provides a different learning point than if I had uncovered harmonious and consciousness-raising encounters in such spaces. Rather, these spaces invite heterotopian potential for recognising the exclusion of some people from certain places, while challenging utopian, homogenising notions of food spaces: rather, these are places for the coming-together of the lived perceptions, experiences and modes of habitation of diverse Others (Soja, 1996).

6.2.4 Not just 'for the poor': commensality as social good

Before discussing tensions between inclusivity and making money, I recount Super Kitchen's founder's observations about feeding diversity, following her attempts to create 'social eating' spaces tackling not specifically poverty but 'needs' more broadly. She criticised the notion, implicit in FareShare's tagline, that wasted food should be 'for' certain people:

> '...part of my personal mission is about challenging who is vulnerable...1 in 4 of us have got mental health issues, so how do you on first sight decide whether someone's eligible or not?...you're...recreating this paradigm where:...these poor people, let them eat waste. And what happens is you don't wanna go to one of these cafes cos it's basically just full of people that are like smelly and drunk- you don't wanna take your kids there' (Bella)

Bella was suggesting that if surplus food redistributors specify that it is only for certain people, implied by Erica's albeit-flexible description of eligible organisations, this neglects those with needs that may be hidden or unrelated to income, including depression and isolation, as well as "paying customers" who can sustain the costly work of doing redistribution. Bella's frank reference to the 'smelly'/'drunk' affective atmospheres of spaces accessible to people experiencing destitution posits material realities contradicting 'unicorns and rainbows' imaginaries of encounters across difference that might emerge from creating universal access to surplus food. It also reflects the difference between a café and foodbank, where one may be allowed to linger rather than attend just to pick up a bag of food. Bella's 'social eating' model highlights commensality rather than poverty or waste:

> '...we're not a soup kitchen, we're a super kitchen...we've got to...build this positive, juicy, delicious, welcoming brand where we're not saying you've got to hang around

with the unwashed masses forever, or somehow that this is gonna have every single person represented around the table...' (Bella)

Rather than holding a permanent space, Super Kitchen events tend to happen once a week or so, providing an 'occasion' for a shared meal:

> '...everybody eats together. It squashes people into this social situation, and actually most people- 99.9%, you don't have to scratch the surface very deep to get people to sit and to have conversations. And all that stuff starts to happen around food- it's very democratising, and when there's only a couple of things on the menu, it means that everybody eats the same anyway, so there's always one thing you can talk about, and actually if it's only for a couple of hours a week, the people might not wanna hang around with some of these people all day long but they're happy to do it for a couple of hours a week, and actually it's a nice social activity...' (Bella)

Some of those people may indeed be experiencing food precarity, and the network operates a 'superspoon' pay-it-forward scheme for those less able to pay the set price of a few pounds for the meal. Super Kitchen focuses less on individuals' circumstances in order to generate conversation, conviviality and networks of activity. By *limiting* the opening times and using a limited, weekly delivery of surplus food from FareShare, the project aimed not to maximise quantities of food redistributed, but to provide high-quality and inclusive eating experiences.

6.2.5 Café regulars: normalising wasted food?

Cafés involve working as well as eating together. I interviewed a self-described "loyal customer" at the café whose hours had been cut following the reported violent incident. He occasionally volunteered with washing up or food collections, expressing pride and satisfaction at being able to help out as well as just eat, with such assistance described across the network as a valid way to 'pay-as-you-feel'). He was not unwilling to try new foods from the surplus stream: while he'd avoided the lumpfish caviar served on his first visit, he described the food as:

> ...always presented to quite a high quality... different chefs doing different things...some beautiful little meals, mackerel salad...interesting vegetarian things...(Harry, RJFP customer/volunteer, interview 25/10/16)

Living over a chip shop, he described his typical meal as Pot Noodle, noting that the RJFP café primarily benefits "people on very low incomes, that can't cook. Probably not working, living alone...". Including himself in this category, he challenged the idea that food coming from the waste stream made any difference, with a cogent analysis of waste's systemacity:

> ...just cos it's got a use-by date on it, I don't believe that it's actually unedible at the point when it has to be thrown out...it's...just the old supply and demand and throw

away and it's forcing the shops to have to keep stock and restocking it with fresh stuff. (Harry)

Harry's reflection suggests that surplus food need not be perceived as inferior or 'for' a defined populace. He expressed willingness to eat things past peak-freshness for the opportunity to engage with a café that gave him a sense of purpose and flexible access to memorable, even 'beautiful' meals. TRJFP's success in normalising wasted food as edible and desirable results partly from meals being served in a familiar context, the café.

Before considering charging models, I summarise the chapter so far. Bridging Chapter 4's delineating of divergent representational tendencies and Chapter 5's attention to materiality, I have demonstrated distinct framings of hunger, waste and SFR affecting actors' imaginaries of surplus food's purpose(s), and the kinds of socio-spatial encounters it can engender. TRJFP organisers viewed cafés as inclusive spaces of encounter but recognised potential difficulties of managing behaviour and the fallout of inequality; from environmentally-oriented ambitions, TRJFP organisers often voiced challenges of holding universally-accessible spaces.

Bella's collective bargaining with FareShare highlights the mutual dependency of surplus distributors and recipients, and suggests a mode of advocating for changes from within, while FareShare's provision fuels more radical projects than its own donor commitments allow. Harry's observations suggest molecular advocacy at work: customers challenging individualising notions of food wastage and recognising the avoidability of waste by recognising food's edibility, rather than dismissing it as undignified or only for certain Others. While the café provides a containing device for affects and emotions generated by immiseration, it also act as a cauldron of contesting discourses, relationships and practices that challenge simplistic representations of its eaters as passive, uni-dimensional, un/deserving or neophobic. I now turn to the monetary dimension of creating access to surplus food.

6.3 Charging for food

6.3.1 Donors wanting to 'do good'

Connecting issues of cost to the discussion of SFR containing/contesting its purpose as 'tackling food poverty', Super Kitchen's Bella noted how corporate donors may perceive SFR as a means to achieve 'social responsibility'. As Poppendieck (1998) argued, corporations can share the 'halo effect' of seemingly turning social 'bad(s)'

(hunger/waste) into 'goods'. However, narrow prescriptions of recipients' deservingness ignores significant material and social costs of doing SFR:

> ...they want to see that that food is going for a good cause. And from the business world the way that they define that is whether you've got money or not...what we're doing is creating a two-tiered system again, and what they're doing is in their magnanimous desire to offload this surplus food...they're forgetting that those charities have to generate their own income in order to take that food, cook it, serve it and run their own things. (Bella)

She articulates moral, economic and practical problems of assuming wasted food should be 'for the poor'. The reliance on donated food conflicts with efforts to instil more emancipatory redistribution practices, especially when donors' insistence on surplus food being for people without money conflicts with Bella's aim to "stop delineating people over whether they've got money or not" by eating together.

Framing SFR as "doing good" in the narrow sense of providing free food for 'needy' people, Bella argues, shifts the burden of labour and redistribution costs onto community-level organisations while allowing corporate donors to feel good and benefit financially. The benefits accruing to industrial actors through redistribution have been widely documented e.g. DeLind (1994, p.62) notes that surplus donation "accommodates the agrofood industry's capacity to waste human and ecological resources" with no need to "question the conditions that have contributed to the inequitable distribution of resources in the first place". Through voluntary labour and fundraised/publically-funded resources of charities like FareShare, surplus food is prevented from becoming waste, saving industry money and public criticism (Caraher & Furey, 2017).

Chapter 5a discussed drawbacks of voluntary labour, and I noted how FareShare's Erica framed advocacy as an unaffordable option. Certain financial costs of redistribution have been mentioned, including electricity, fridges, transportation, rent. As infrastructures grow, so do costs. Despite growing evidence of philanthropic support for charitable food redistribution (FareShare, 2018), redistributors have struggled with the question of how to cover such costs (Alexander & Smaje, 2008). One option has been to charge recipients, to which I now turn. I examine charging models, and/or economic experiments in distributing ex-commodified food, and impacts on eaters and workers.

6.3.2 Subscription fees and CFM charging

Midgley (2013) noted falling numbers of small organisations able to afford access to surplus food following FareShare's introduction of the subscription fee (on top of the

charge levied for each tray of food received). This mirrors US practices of 'cost-sharing' (Lohnes & Wilson 2017). However, CFMs subsequently distributing FareShare food also have costs to bear and may need to charge for food. FareShare's (2017a) Food Safety Manual stipulates that organisations must not profit, that CFM charges for food must be to cover costs only. Super Kitchen's Bella recognised this as a vital affordance for CFMs like hers, challenging corporate donors' limited understandings of the costs of redistribution:

> …what they do is they say 'well you're not allowed to charge for it', and it creates this whole raft of problems, cos if we're not allowed to charge for the food, we'll be out of business…it puts the onus on small groups to do…fundraising and try to get income coming in from some other method, cos they're not allowed to charge the customer, and actually what that means is it pushes a load of extra work onto these tiny little projects to try to generate income…(Bella)

Supermarkets' moral prescriptions were, ironically, limiting communities' capacity to use surplus food in ways they may feel to be more just. Bella refused to be saddled with "feeding the hungry", which she insists is a "structural issue". However, her 'bargaining' for access to FareShare food that allowed Super Kitchens, she suggested, to achieve a more sustainable model of distribution (as mentioned, a set price for a community meal with a discrete pay-it-forward/'suspended' option). There are thus two issues to unpick: first, costs for eaters to access food and second, organisational costs and capacities to sustain redistribution work. These are interrelated through decisions about how to share costs across organisation given the unique economic geographies in which different redistribution projects are situated. I first consider TRJFP's PAYF approach to creating food access and then its function in covering running costs.

6.3.3 Pay-As-You-Feel: paying with more-than-money

TRJFP organisers hoped that being able to pay with time and/skills would help to mitigate running costs. One described PAYF as opening up the financial reductionism of pricing and payment, to foster a more inclusive and mutually reciprocal relationship between cafes and diners:

> …the PAYF concept…empowers that conversation…says to people 'you know what, an hour of your time is far more valuable to me than you putting a few pounds in that box'…that really changes the dynamics of the situation because it isn't about…giving people food and not expecting anything in return- it's about telling people that they're valued and…asking them to step up and…almost prove that value…in a very positive way (Garethe, interview 9/11/15)

The attempt to conflate labour and commodity values by presenting PAYF as about volunteering time/skills, not only money, presented communication challenges. Leeds' flagship café bore the muralled: "Food has value and so do you". This ambiguous rendering of 'value' conveys, I suggest, contradictions in how PAYF is presented and interpreted by organisers. PAYF is figured as a way to disperse the notion of value away from monetary equivalence, yet as a vital source of income. The frequent judgement of PAYF's success in monetary terms by organisers contradicted their intentions that it decouple food access from capacity to pay.

The communicative function of "telling people that they're valued" implied reciprocation of that value in terms of labour beneficial to the café (washing up, for example), rather than the potentially infinite ways that people might conceive their own value (as a rights-bearing individual, or as someone lacking a supportive family or preferred education yet caring for family). There is conflation of valuing people, and valuing food, implying an interesting comparability in food and labour's propensity for commodification/fungibility. Having discussed food waste as a function of depleted exchange-values (Barnard, 2016) and controversies around surplus food for surplus people (Tarasuk & Eakin, 2005), invoking 'value' requires specificity. Organisations' interpretations of 'valuable' payment might not match those imagined by/available to diners. The evaluative process usually enabled by monetary payment's fungibility function is black-boxed in PAYF (Callon & Latour, 1981), and organisers struggled with the best way to communicate how what 'you feel' might be convertible into a financial or other contribution. While offering an alternative to set prices, the retention of payment in the diner-café relationship nevertheless separates TRJFP from radical redistribution organisations who insist on redistributing surplus for free to negate or protest capitalist values (Heynen, 2010, Barnard, 2016). The following section considers PAYF as a way to enable food access.

Some organisations described charging practices as a means to balance food access with efforts to foster the normalising kinds of commensality-across-difference articulated above, where food is served 'for everybody' to reduce the stigma of creating a 'two-tier' system. An organiser of a PAYF community café in Philadelphia described the idea thus:

> '…you can order like you're at a restaurant and you can pay what you want, no questions asked, none of that 'oh, do you need extra services, are you hungry, are you homeless, you poor thing, let me help you'. None of that!' (Mariana Chilton)

While creating spaces qualitatively different from a foodbank/soup kitchen model serving categorised 'others' (Stein, 1989), the café-restaurant model creates a 'normal' public eating experience. For café organisers, PAYF aimed to enable this, as flagship tool of the TRJFP network.

PAYF was also considered a way to reconfigure food values. Director/organiser Guy described PAYF as a way to express multiple, systemic costs of food: not just in food's preparation but in the socio-environmental impacts of food's footprint, balanced with enabling access to sustainable, healthy food that some people may be unable to afford:

> '...There's no such thing as free food cos every bit of food has had energy go into it...water...petrol, all kinds of materials, labour, but it would be wrong of us to charge for taking that or redistributing that, which pays into the PAYF model, because not everyone has money so not everyone can afford that service, but everyone as a human being has a right to food and ideally healthy food....' (Guy)

This is somewhat contradictory, stating that food values derive from inputs taken to produce it but that the café aims to meet food values for individuals (their need and right to food). The Leeds chef described how TRJFP's anti-waste goals sat in a challenging dynamic alongside food precarity it found itself addressing:

> '...ultimately we are an environmental activist...charity essentially, but then on top of that it's become kind of a necessity for a lot of the customers who've come in who can't afford to go and buy their own food and don't have access to hot food, you know. So in that sense it's difficult to strike that balance' (Nate)

This calls to mind frequent debates in food systems thinking and advocacy around how to reconcile environmental improvements (which may increase food prices) with affordability (e.g. Fabian Society, 2015). For TRJFP, the problem was reconciling the costs of running a business with its environmental and social goals. The confusion around the values ascribed to surplus food (Midgley, 2013), resulted in communicational challenges, to which I now turn.

Gina's café aimed to create welcoming space for refugees, yet struggled with communicating PAYF and related concepts to a non-English-speaking audience whose cultural ideas about hospitality, the status of waste and the value of food may differ:

> 'You say 'it's free', right, but it's not free, but we still haven't found the right language that explains it appropriately and that I find is a real barrier- even anti-supermarket, PAYF...buzzwordy-type things, food waste...very hard to explain. And also there's a dignity thing, so if you say well it was going to go in the bin, but we're eating it instead, they might not like it. If I take this home with me as well, what am I saying, look at me, I can afford it but I'm not...it's really hard.' (Gina)

Gina articulates the complexity of PAYF and its relationship to food values and waste. It provides a way to charge for wasted food without illegally selling it, so is intrinsically linked to the source of the food. However, explaining food's difference from priced commodities (and encouraging visitors to feel that they can eat without price barriers) might require articulating food-as-waste. Gina feared this might offend people whose dignity is already threatened by the alienating experiences of asylum/refugee status.

Other directors expressed frustration at apparent noncompliance of users who may have misunderstood the subtle messaging around PAYF. One café's table bore a sign saying 'please consider others and only take 5 items (before 2pm)- after that help yourself to what's left'. Organiser Caroline told me this aimed to mediate the behaviour of "two ladies who bring two shopping trolleys and think they can just fill it up…I try to explain but they have very broken English". Othering discourses also emerged on social media discussions at Leeds' Sharehouse/'anti-supermarket', where customers' mutual surveillance often led to accusations of others' 'greed', overly chaotic environments and 'unfair' distribution of food. Organisers' efforts to ensure enough food to go around, given universal access, thus competed with imperatives to avoid wasting food and to generate income. Despite TRJFP's sharper framing of food waste, customers concerns may thus be directed at one another rather than a collective vision of 'food sharing' (Davies et al., 2018). This also demonstrates Barnard and Mourad's (2014) argument that food waste activists' perceptions of their work's critical purpose may not always be communicated and thus shared by people eating the food.

These encounters also hint at PAYF cafes being mistaken for charitable forms of food assistance where, as Horst et al. (2014, p.1506) argue,

> …eating the products forces the receivers to set aside embodied dispositions towards food and norms about how to obtain food. Furthermore, it places them in interactions of charitable giving that may be harmful to the self-esteem of receivers.

By symbolically challenging difference by visibly 'taking it home', Gina worried that she would be denying food to visitors less able to afford it in the shops than her, despite TRJFP's commitment to feeding any-body. Assumptions and judgements about others' needs, in these ways, were not absent and indeed were central to the café's ethic of care, but were subject to more careful inter-relational exploration than the giver/receiver binary underlying Fisher's (2017a) discomfort at being 'mistaken' for a foodbank client.

Cafés attempted to convey messages about PAYF via blackboards, pamphlets and face-to-face discussions. Director/organiser Neil described feeling guilty in his former food service career, asking himself "how can I charge someone £7 for this sandwich? It didn't feel honest, knowing that there was a 2000% mark up on things, I felt bad serving it". Neil also recognised that PAYF might lead to confusion and 'overpayment':

> '…some people are overly generous just, I think it's like a British sensibility where they're very nervous, they don't wanna seem rude, so they're like 'is £10 ok?' and I'm like 'are you sure, you only had a bowl of soup?!'…'but I want to…ok, I'll take some cake to go with me as well then'…some people actively want to donate more because they want the project to be sustainable and for us to be around as long as possible…'

It would be interesting to conduct further research into peoples' willingness to pay (differently) for intercepted/donated food. The cake exemplifies a subtle bargaining, an attempt for the PAYF encounter to balance out at a favourable, comfortable reckoning of mutual value. It also conveys what organisers hoped for: some diners paying more than what they felt the food was worth to support a 'good cause' and, in doing so, balancing out lower financial donations of people less able to pay. The dialogue around the value of £10 is unusual; most cafés used a 'blind' payment system, discussed below.

Other organisers described resistance to the concept, by customers demanding price suggestions. I witnessed varying responses by organisers/volunteers to this. In studies of PAYF pricing, consumers were found to opt out of opportunities to elect prices rather than pay set, low prices, suggested to be related to self-image and identity concerns and feeling bad about paying too little (Gneezy et al., 2012). Literature on "consumer elective pricing" and its relationship to consumers' sense of "shared social responsibility" (Jung et al., 2017, p.187) suggests that psychological and economic explanations for the success of some PAYF experiments e.g. sensitivity to norms of reciprocation, anchors/reference prices, and beliefs about the payment of others, are "poorly understood". The next section considers material devices through which norms of reciprocation and ideas about others' payment were enacted.

Physical infrastuctures of PAYF

Economies include traceable things (Çalişkan & Callon, 2010), and PAYF was communicated by more than exchanges of words. Neil's café was a rare example of money being passed directly to staff. Usually, a box or bucket enabled more discreet payment, where what 'you feel' is left to the payee's determination rather than the

outcome of a human interaction and money changing hands. Other TRJFP organisers thought strategically about how PAYF donations could be physically managed:

'…we have a donations box…it's kind of on the way out and it's right on the counter so I think there's that element of people think they have to walk past the donations box so it'll be noticed if they don't put something in it. One of our directors has recently written up on the blackboard a breakdown of our running costs, cos a lot of people are under the impression that everything's free and we're supported by the council or whatever, so they don't actually realise that it costs us like £170 a week just to run it and open it, and that's not even including staff costs…' (Fran)

The notion of 'shared social responsibility' requires customers' awareness of such costs, usually black-boxed in restaurant prices. Restaurant Lentil As Anything in Australia is where TRJFP's founder first discovered PAYF. It communicates suggested donations to cover specific organisational costs on walls and pamphlets. I didn't witness such communication during my visits to TRJFP, and shortly examine some of the frustrations felt by organisers who felt that clients under-recognised the value of their work/food.

Given evidence of the environmental impacts of 'food rescue' (Phillips et al., 2013), another option for cafes might be to educate clients about environmental 'values' embodied in surplus/redistributed food.

Other organisers suggested that clients should think PAYF in terms of what they could afford and would normally pay:

'…we're gonna follow the model that Saltaire Canteen use…they take your order on the back of an envelope [which] goes into the kitchen as your meal ticket, and when your order is served your envelope is left on your table and when you leave, you put whatever money you want in that envelope and bring it up to the counter…' (Helen)

Helen planned to make written information available in the café to explain:

'how we would like you to think of PAYF…explaining that if you can afford to pay…if you went somewhere that had set prices, what would you consider a fair price for that meal; if you can leave us that, that would be brilliant.'

She suggested that volunteer sign-up forms could go into the payment envelope, because "your giving your skills, your energy and that will be valued as much as cash would be valued".

Paying what one can afford and paying what one 'would normally pay' may be very different prospects, and obscures the ethical rationale by which both FareShare and some TRJFP actors justified SFR: wasted food's immorality framed in terms of people's inability to afford adequate food. Given intimate links between dignity and ability to purchase food (Lambie-Mumford, 2014), asking people to consider what they can afford or consider fair

may reinscribe economic inequities and foster unwillingness to participate in PAYF cafes. However, important work has considered food redistribution that requires people to pay something (e.g. CFCC, 2017) in a subtle shift away from free/charitable food, although UK shifts towards 'food pantry'/social supermarket models building on this recognition remain under-studied (Butler, 2017). Some may also question the rootedness of assumptions about the dignity of monetary payment in an exploitative economic model requiring more fundamental change.

Again, it is worth asking whether redistributing surplus food in a café incurs comparable costs to mainstream cafés. While my research did not explore such quantifications systematically, the question links closely to the fraught question of paying wages as I explore below. Running costs are significant, and may exceed the savings of not having to purchase food, as Chapter 5 noted in discussing geographically-uneven rental costs. Most organisers stressed significant overheads- a rural café that required a two-hour drive to 'intercept' the nearest foodbank's surplus, or a broken-down van eating up the meagre weekly wages of two young café organisers. An interesting point is to consider how clients may perceive surplus food as being of lower financial value than non-surplus. Food displayed in 'food boutiques' often bore discount stickers, suggesting failed earlier attempts by retailers to sell them by the very act of reducing their monetary value.

I now turn to the slippery issue of establishing redistributed surplus' value by exploring organisers' perceptions of changes in PAYF donations over time.

I repeatedly heard problems with the PAYF model. For some, cash contributions had dwindled over time:

> …when we opened in July, August, September we were getting £500 a month-ish but the last two months have been more like £350. But I'm conscious it's winter, the honeymoon period is finished. (Gina)

Gina noted that café opening hours mismatched normal working hours, excluding people who might be able to contribute more cash (some partly balanced thus by holding the 'bistro'-type nights mentioned above). She described the disappointment of counting an £11 total after "a really busy day". Another organiser responded to my query about the most frustrating aspects of the job:

> Feeling undervalued. I've had friends come into the café and seeing them openly just putting in 50p or £1 for soup, a main course, sides, juices, coffee…cakes…then later on…buying food at a pub for 7 or 8 quid. So you'd rather support someone making money than a community project, that's the main frustration…It's not PAYF so you can have a free lunch, it's PAYF so that…some people who don't have anything can

have a cheap lunch, or work for their lunch… (Liam, director/organiser, interview 2/6/2016)

The relativity of peoples' conceptions of value and their capacity to pay was recognised: "if someone's got £3 to last them the week and they leave you 10p, actually in terms of what they consider that meal to be worth that's actually massive, that's meaningful", Helen suggested. The 'meaning' here is part of what is black-boxed by anonymous PAYF donations. She pointed out that cafes in less well-off areas were likely to need other forms of funding than relying on PAYF alone:

> '…TRJFP in [town Y] is slap bang in the middle of three…council estates…averaging in their takings less than £1 per main course…the ladies…are all volunteers…mostly retired and they're aware that if that project is ever going to pay wages, it's going to be through funding bids…' (Helen)

She described how another café in an "area of deprivation" had been awarded extra funding to pay staff wages, which would not be possible from day-to-day PAYF takings, in contrast to Saltaire's café, located in a "very middle-class area…averaging £7-8 per main". As I discovered by looking at cafés daily records, numbers of people fed does not necessarily yield consistent takings. Economic geographies of different projects thus affected their role in addressing food poverty or showcasing the edibility and desirability of wasted food as was the case of Saltaire's "restaurant-grade" chef (Helen).

Paying for labour: 'sustainable business models'?

Discussing running costs, and how to cover them, leads to the question of paying wages to café directors and staff who had been initially volunteering or surviving on benefits. The issue of remuneration is fraught; as suggested by Guy and Mary in earlier quotes, accusations were sometimes levelled at other SFR organisations of paying high wages that compromised their mission. However, several interviews spoke a similar trajectory: initial enthusiasm for redistribution activism (spurred by ideological disgust at discarded food that could be used to meet social needs), later dwindling given daily, hard work of collecting, processing and serving food. Director/organiser Guy defended the network's ethos of anti-institutionalisation yet recognised its vital contributions:

> '…we're trying to put ourselves out of business by addressing the core issues…I think a lot of the major players see poverty as the solution to food waste and have turned it into a sustainable business model, which is never, ever gonna solve the issues… one of the biggest benefits which isn't food waste or feeding people is the social impact of actually bringing people together…' (Guy)

Acknowledging the value of creating collective eating encounters, he nevertheless expressed concerns about his project's threatened sustainability as he and his co-

directors experienced exhaustion and persistently precarious incomes. Having witnessed TRJFP grow rapidly in scale and popularity, he had spied the opportunity for raising more predictable funds through catering events, suggesting a stabilising tendency towards 'sustainable business models' despite a stated ideological distinction from organisations that explicitly frame their work as poverty solution:

> '...if someone comes to us and says we've got this amount of money for 200 meals for our wedding or a work do, we then say to them out of that money we're paying anyone who works for us a living wage for their time, which values our service a bit more: we look a bit more credible and we get to reward the staff that help us, but this comes back to the sustainability thing...we need to generate more money whether that's through funding or corporate sponsorship or...as a way to pay managers, drivers, and people that can help out on a more regular basis...' (Guy)

Several cafes followed this chartered catering route to gain more reliable income, often adding to workloads and requiring a more predictable (paid) labour force than the haphazard 'helping out' that might be generated through PAYF in the café. The contradiction between 'putting ourselves out of business' and developing projects' professionalism through earnings that "value our services" suggests projects feeling torn between the impulse to expand and remunerate their work against their initial impulses towards environmental and social activism predicated on anti-corporatism and eliminating the problem being addressed.

Potential stigma

I close this chapter exploring a darker side of PAYF: how spaces and practices aimed at inclusivity at times reinforced stigmatising representations of people and their behaviour. I preface this by reiterating the genuine diversity and complexity of daily café life, where homeless diners might spend two hours cleaning the space after lunch, where a chef would walk me to the bus after a meal service and tell me how, two months prior, he was bedridden with severe depression. Some director/organisers described personal histories of precarity, poverty and/or crime, working alongside others from more privileged backgrounds who sought ethically rewarding or 'socially responsible' occupations. The independence afforded individual projects and cafes within the network has led to a diversity of spaces and practices. However, the open-ended black-boxing of PAYF transactions, combined with the way cafés became important sources of food and shelter for communities, at times led to stigmatising judgments.

In the methodology's ethics discussion I described the uncomfortable experience of 'policing' food bank clients' access to food as a volunteer, an experience corroborated by

others (Fisher, 2017a, Williams et al, 2016). However, prejudicing discourses were not unique to explicitly 'charitable' spaces, as suggested when I was stationed to guard the 'food boutique' table where food unused by the café was placed, at times out of sight of staff:

> [Director/organiser] tells me to "watch out for the [donation] pot- she's a drug addict" and, pointing outside,…"he's a shoplifter". The former is dressed in a hoodie and cap and has a glazed look. She's with a man in glasses and hat. They order food and sit down, stopping at the table. He asks her if she'd like some juice and she nods. I mention that the boutique table operates PAYF like the café and he says 'I'll put in a donation'. 'Yeah, put in a…' she slurs and sits down. He chooses some eggs and yoghurts that he notes are without gelatine. He puts the yoghurts back: 'they're too sugary- I'm lucky not to be hungry enough to take food I wouldn't normally choose', he says. He goes over to the table and comes back with the eggs, saying he can't take them as she's vegan and doesn't want them in the house. They eventually leave and don't even take the juice with them. (Fieldnotes, TRJFP)

I found this encounter discomforting, firstly for my own surveillance of the couple's appearance and behaviour following the director's 'warning', then for my unjust surprise at not only their politeness but at their discernment. My own verbal reminder that the food was not free in asserting PAYF, I felt, might have put them off taking the juice. I had re-asserted a commodification logic; I had turned the experience into shopping, where I was the owner. Henderson (2004) notices this impulse in his own behaviour as a foodbank volunteer. 'Free' food can both oppress and emancipate depending on the specific ways it is handled and represented. In Henderson's analysis, the use-value of food is returned to those whose exploited (or un-employed) labour doesn't touch the exchange-value (and profit) that food under capitalism generates. PAYF reinstates exchange-values that might indeed 'normalise' surplus food's redistribution by linking it to commodity status and essentially 'selling' food (often acquired by redistributors for free). Organisers' concerns that diners didn't recognise the production costs of redistribution perhaps refused to acknowledge those diners' recognition of the de-valued nature of ex-commodified food, and a sense that it should be shared independently of the commodity logics that wasted it in the first place (Barnard, 2016, Giles, 2013).

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored complexities and contradictions at play in the affordances of SFR. Discourses of theft (of food by volunteers at FareShare and of PAYF donations by café diners) suggest property relations inscribed in the way redistribution weighs heavily on small organisations taking responsibility for managing surplus food, with the human

and material productive resources this requires. Contributions from customers paying-as-they-feel can become linked to these costs and valuations (some fixed, such as rents, others variable, such as the choice to pay wages) rather than primarily being about enabling access by people with varying capacities to pay. The PAYF concept itself requires considerable communicative work and interpretive labour by both providers and eaters, but invites reflection on links between food, value, money and commodification.

The metabolic flows of food and bodies enabled by SFR have the potential to alleviate uneven resource distributions in the different geographies in which RJFP cafes have situated themselves. However, the spatial encounters produced in the process evidence the potential for social differences to be both re-inscribed and "troubled and reworked" (Lawson & Elwood, 2014, p.209). My own experience as a middle-class researcher uncomfortable about being, and being perceived as, a foodbank client during an initial research visit, was mirrored in Gina's discomfort about taking wasted food that she hoped might help refugees and other poor café attendees whose dignity may be harmed by her clarifying its status as waste. Latent imaginaries of them/us were thus apparent in both explicitly charitable food spaces and in universally-accessible redistribution 'activism' spaces.

Sometimes, these imaginaries materialised in accusations by organisers of clients' 'greed' or suspiciousness by virtue of stereotypical categories ascribed to them: 'homeless people only eat 'traditional' food', 'drug users might steal the donation pot', 'non-English speakers don't 'get' the sharing ethos behind the food boutique'. Redistribution spaces did experience actual theft, or violence, or behaviour deemed 'inappropriate'. Interpretations of this varied from individualising narratives of poverty to contextualisations by cafes becoming social care spaces which some interpreted as the fallout of austerity and neighbourhood disinvestment.

Tensions expressed by organisers seeking to balance environmental, social and financial outcomes similarly demonstrate how surplus redistributors have found themselves at the frontline of governing the environmental and social injustices of food wastage, as well as multiple dimensions of social inequality. Chapter 7 develops this analysis, exploring north American experiences of social problems' shunting to community actors, showing how this has the potential to entrench moralistic approaches to managing poverty as well as generate structural critiques and advocacy. My UK research has demonstrated SFR's capacities to shed light on intersectional dimensions of food poverty but also to calcify

perceptions of difference. Henderson's (2004) observations of the intertwining of the emancipatory and the repressive ring true here; while universal eating encounters enabled by cheap surplus food might enable perceptions of others and of inequality to be challenged and reconfigured, the needs of sustaining those spaces, and the people that govern them, may at times conflict with the needs of those who eat there.

Chapter Seven: Lessons from America-improving foodbanking, or eliminating it?

This chapter draws on fieldwork in North America (US and Canada), investigating the institutionalisation of foodbanking (and other forms of SFR) in the two decades since Poppendieck (1998) documented its rapid growth and entrenchment during the 1980s/1990s. Fieldwork explored links between hunger and food waste in US discourse and practice, organisational structures and policy. The focus in Canada was on radical advocacy. Despite America's globally renowned system of charitable food provision, food insecurity has not lowered (Powers, 2016), providing lessons for UK discourses and decisions. I specifically examine how this critique is effecting changes in SFR praxis, drawing on Williams et al.'s (2016, p.2) argument that foodbanks create 'spaces of encounter' that "may both reinforce but also rework and generate new, ethical and political attitudes, beliefs and identities".

I probe comparability with UK conditions, questioning the relevance of changes in foodbanking praxis to potential UK trajectories of SFR. Despite important cross-Atlantic differences, greater attention by redistributors and advocates to tackling structural causes of hunger/waste provides valuable lessons and resonances with extant UK debates, including how to improve the quality and dignity of provision and how to translate food charity work/volunteering into more radical advocacy. Ultimately, however, foodbanking's growth and persistent entrenchment reveals the translation of state governance into the conduct of everyday life by non-state actors such as foodbanks (Trudeau & Veronis, 2009). I consider the extent to which changes to material and discursive practices by foodbankers can achieve radical change that addresses underlying causes.

7.1 Charity to justice

A key concept explored in the chapter is the elaboration of food justice in foodbank transitions and their wider articulations with other social movements and institutions. Rooted in food activism that recognises historical unevenness of food access along class, race, gender and other lines of difference (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011), its application to

foodbanking implies changes in staff, volunteer and client interactions, especially in terms of narratives of foodbank use and political responsibility (Dixon, 2015).

To explore putative transitions from traditional charity to empowerment and justice-oriented models, the chapter considers several themes in turn: foodbanks' advocacy work and reconsideration of metrics of success, shifts towards 'healthy' food procurement, diversifying models of accessing charitable food, community-based organising for structural poverty reduction, and a model of SFR that refuses to view charity as the solution to poverty. I argue that such changes can themselves achieve food justice outcomes, but do not necessarily overcome class, race and other inequities built into SFR provision. I continue to show how foodbanks' continued existence ultimately upholds the contradictory relationship between low-paid or voluntary workers managing the processing and distribution of surplus foods, and the corporate power that benefits from it. 'Better foodbanking' does not negate the influence of corporate actors and barriers to preventative change, paving the way for the Discussion Chapter's exploration of SFR's globalising tendencies. I conclude, however, by engaging political ecological notions of metabolism to demonstrate how organisational flows of food, discourses and policy can reconfigure SFR towards food justice, engaging Dixon's (2015) work on how this can be achieved through transformative engagement with volunteers.

7.1.2 Food justice: the roots and travels of concepts

The concept and practice of food sovereignty emerged from rural peasant struggles and become a global movement advocating "entitlements, structural reforms to markets and property regimes, and class-based, redistributive demands for land, water and resources" (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011, p.115). A powerful emergence from US food scholarship and activism has been 'food justice' (e.g. Winne, 2008, Gottlieb & Joshi, 2010), seen as rooted in class and race struggles in US cities and as such considered more deeply aligned with American socio-historical contexts (Clendenning, Dressler, & Richards, 2016). While both share goals of realising the right to sustainable, healthy and equitable food for marginalized groups, Holt-Giménez & Shattuck (2011, p.115) place food justice in "progressive" efforts to realise alternatives within existing capitalist food systems while food sovereignty represents "radical" efforts to transform food systems through "militant, national and international political advocacy". Clendenning et al. (2016), however, suggest that in the US both approaches are limited by neoliberal structural contexts.

Given Chapter 5's assemblage approach to 'structure', I recognise here the importance of interrogating assumptions underlying concepts like 'neoliberalism', 'capitalism' and 'globalisation' when considering what is exported in ideas and practices like foodbanking. As Miller (2001, p.239) notes, "capitalism itself, as a system of production and distribution, is actively consumed and localized as much as the goods it produces". Nevertheless, America's fraught imbrication of food, class and racial struggles yields important lessons for realising justice in UK food systems, which remain characterised by uneven development. A complimentary approach to food justice/sovereignty approaches is political ecology's interrogation of how "science and politics are mutually implicated" in the shaping of environmental discourse and outcomes (Forsyth, 2003, p.1). As applied in Chapter 5b, political ecological thinking has broadened to problematise reductive notions of bodies, behaviour and feeling in the politics-environment nexus (Guthman, 2012). It shares food justice's attention to the othering of bodies and the raced, classed and gendered dynamics of uneven development. The chapter also connects these dynamics to questions about the governance role of community organisations. As Slocum (2006, p.330) argues, "community food organizations do not connect the dots among white privilege, institutionalized racism, their community food work and the larger food system". First, I consider differences and similarities between US/UK welfare systems.

7.2 Comparability US/UK

First, some caveats. UK critics often draw on North American literature, asking whether SFR perpetuates food poverty (Hawkes & Webster, 2000) and whether community/voluntary sectors are being tasked to perform the Government's social security functions (Caraher & Furey, 2017). Cross-Atlantic connections are being borne out in both discourse and practice alongside growing articulation of concerns that UK food charity is following an American model of institutionalisation (Riches, 2014). A social enterprise providing free meals to "families in food poverty" recently lambasted Walmart's donations to FareShare and Trussell Trust, describing Walmart as "the company that has done more than most to institutionalise food poverty in the USA" (Davison, 2018, n.p.).

Despite such evidence of institutional connections between US and UK SFR, however, cross-Atlantic comparability must be treated with caution (Smith, 2018). Agricultural, welfare, governmental, fiscal and regulatory systems all impose important differences. However, such factors alone or in combination are not, in themselves, determining.

Studies of globalisation suggest how neoliberal governance ideologies and "global 'development' apparatus" (Ferguson, 1994, p.257) can travel and be configured in very different contexts (Kothari, 2005).

7.2.1 A meaner welfare system?

Interviewing two staff at Jewish hunger-relief organisation Mazon in Washington DC, a UK-born legislative assistant asked about foodbanks in the UK: "surely it's very different because you've got the dole?". The intensifying conditionality of UK social security has been analysed as a key cause of rising food charity use (e.g. Perry et al., 2014), paralleling shifts in North America (Dickinson, 2016). However, cross-Atlantic variations in perceptions of the value of public assistance and charity call for wariness over oversimplified international comparisons.

Mazon's Vice-President of Public Policy Josh Protas, argued that there's "less compassion" built into the US welfare system, where an 'able-bodied adult without dependents' is entitled to only three months' access to SNAP (formerly food stamps) in a single three-year period if not working or actively seeking work. Part of 1996 PRWORA welfare reforms, this provision removed the "implicit guarantee that no one need starve…there is no longer a publicly-funded unconditional right to food" (Poppendieck 1998a, p.284). It was underwritten by the principle that "private charity is the American way; it can do the job" previously done by state security (ibid., p.159). As state support dwindled, private charities and their supply of redistributed food grew. Over 20 years following Poppendieck's book, Daponte and Bade (2006, p.668) wrote that "although the availability of cash assistance has narrowed, the availability of food assistance has widened". Rather than simply repeat foodbanking critiques (DeLind, 1994, Warshawsky, 2010, Lindenbaum, 2016), I focus specifically on changes in discourse and practice responding to those critiques.

Food charity affects many more Americans than those accessing public welfare alone. As Lohnes and Wilson (2017) attest, 46.6 million Americans access food charity every month, but only a third of those reliant on food pantries receives SNAP, while another third have never even applied for it (Daponte & Bade, 2006). Understanding the extent and entrenchment of charitable food redistribution in the US involves a complex of factors that provide useful nodes of comparison with the UK experiences. The following section considers these differences: in relationships between food charity and

agribusiness, economics of the hunger/waste problem and the role of affective labour in revaluing ex-commodities, and logistical geographies of food waste management.

7.2.2 Systemic difference: US/UK

Agricultural surpluses and impacts on charities

Certain differences between UK and US food systems complicate comparison. First, the US is a net exporter of food (USDA, n.d.). The growth of food charity is intimately linked to the management of commodity prices for farmers (Poppendieck, 1998a) and continuing today in the form of TEFAP (Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Programme), originally signed by Reagan for the redistribution of agricultural surpluses through the charitable networks. The influx of food in the early 1980s "resulted in a dramatic increase in responsibility for the food pantries…[and] encouraged existing charities to add food distribution to the list of services they already provided to the poor. Word of the available food spread…tremendous demand created long lines at the pantries" (Daponte and Bade, 2006, p.677). On the other hand, the TEFAP programme provided, and continues to provide, "very little support for logistics, infrastructure or additional staffing capacity" needed to process and distribute food surpluses (Lohnes & Wilson, 2017, p.5). The combination of welfare retrenchment, publically-visible hunger and the near-universal appeal of alleviating it (Poppendieck 1998a), and policy instruments to divert agricultural surpluses through charitable networks, have combined to nourish the rapid and expansive growth of American foodbanking. Feeding America is the third-largest charity in the US (Lohnes, n.d., p.14), but its scale is underpinned by low-paid or voluntary labour and the fundraising capacity of community-level organisations.

The UK does not produce the agricultural excess that has also enabled more stable and nutritious supplies of food to be distributed through charitable channels as a result of TEFAP (Daponte & Bade, 2006), although growing awareness of farm-level waste (alongside comparatively low donation levels) is increasing calls for surplus produce to be channelled charitably/commercially (Forsey, 2014). However, Lohnes and Wilson (2017) demonstrate how growing food flows that financially benefit corporate food donors and their wasteful practices induce precarity on charitable distribution systems sharing redistribution costs (similarly to the costs levied by FareShare to CFMs recipients). This invites discussion of whose interests are best served by SFR. Winne (2008, p.175) notes that America's "anti-hunger policies have always been joined at the

hip with attempts to help farmers, promote national security or serve another interest or constituency".

Incentivising donation

A second key difference between US and UK foodbanking is legislation to incentivise SFR. Hawkes and Webster (2000, p.13) note that the US's 1996 Good Samaritan Food Donation Act which "protects donors from liability- if the food product causes harm, for example…encouraged further donations" (see also Van Zuiden, 2011). While the UK's lack of such a law does not appear to constitute a barrier to surplus donation (Downing et al., 2014), FareShare has been lobbying for legislation to financially incentivise charitable food donation, which it argues would implement food waste management according to the food recovery hierarchy (Anderson, 2015). A staff member explained this in terms of costs incurred by businesses by donating rather than disposing of surpluses:

> …we say ok, you're not gonna be able to pay the £500 for those potatoes but if you give them let's call it £100 for every tonne of food that they redistribute, you're covering some of that labour cost and you're giving them a little bit of recompense in order to make sure that the right thing socially and environmentally is done with that food (FareShare staff member, interview 9/11/16)

The UK Food Waste Bill did not pass its second reading, having proposed "incentives for individuals, public sector bodies and private sector companies to implement and encourage observance of the food waste reduction hierarchy" (House of Commons, 2016). However, a recent campaign by *The Grocer* seeks government subsidies to be paid to businesses to reimburse the costs of redistribution to charities rather than other disposal options (Tatum, 2017). Echoing FareShare's argument (Anderson, 2015), little mention is made in the campaign about the potential costs borne by charities for the distribution of wasted food. Lohnes and Wilson (2017) suggest that even with tax incentives for redistribution, charities struggle to bear the costs of managing such flows while addressing persistent demand from hungry citizens. Midgley pointed out the burden on charities of FareShare's subscription fees to an evidence review for Feeding Britain: "small charities were required to find a relatively large amount of money from their resources to be able to receive the food" (Forsey, 2014, p.85).

7.2.3 Globalising models?

The above caveats regarding systemic differences between government, business and charity links enabling SFR in the UK and US nevertheless reveal shifts in UK discourse towards the kind of integration and incentivisation of charitable redistribution that has

occurred in the US. Lohnes and Wilson (2017, p.16) describe this as an "expanding global food banking rollout", evident in the work of international institutions (GFN, 2017). Warshawsky (2015, p.120) argues that this reflects devolution of governance for food waste and food insecurity to private business and philanthropy: "private sector philanthropy is limited by its own profit-motive contradictions, as global corporate wealth is both essential to the growth of charity". I expand this discussion in Chapter 8, arguing that SFR constitutes a translocal assemblage that is enacted by, while shaping, global processes.

However, a key change since Poppendieck (1998a) has been recognition by foodbankers of systemic injustices that some are part-attempting to redress, as discussed below. Such reflection carries on Poppendieck's observation of moral ambiguity among charitable providers over whether they should exist at all.

7.2.4 'Doing ourselves out of business': international cliché?

Throughout fieldwork, individuals involved in both 'sharp' and 'flat' models of SFR repeated variations of 'ultimately, we shouldn't exist'. Chapter 6 showed how TRJFP organisers expressed this sentiment to differentiate themselves from charities like FareShare. However, I identified widespread contradictions between redistributors' convictions that foodbanking is efficacious (both morally and materially) yet ultimately inadequate. A desire to not exist was also expressed by Feeding America (FA) Director of Retail Partnerships, Laura, at the Chicago headquarters (located there, as Lohnes and Wilson (2017) point out, to be closer to key food industry headquarters). Those arguably most representative of foodbanking's institutionalisation thus recognised its shortcomings. Like Erica in Chapter 4, Laura lamented the structural lock-in of inequality and thus the continued need for charity, though acknowledged her views did not necessarily represent Feeding America:

> …I can't believe that collectively as a nation, we can't see that by elevating everyone, giving everyone enough resources…everyone else would benefit…But that's just not how the US is geared. It's a very capitalistic society…unfortunately I think that the charitable arm of food…we're here for the long haul. (Laura)

S/he described a 'national psyche' of growing inequality that would be near-impossible to shift, at least in the short term. Following sections therefore examine how foodbanks are responding to critiques.

7.3 'Better' foodbanking?

Fisher (2017a) suggests that food charities are often ideologically divided: staff and volunteers uphold traditional values of charitable giving while often younger generations express a more progressive politics. Progressive actors have voiced desire to at least transform foodbank delivery, if not the uneven capitalist development driving poverty and hunger. Lohnes and Wilson (2017, p.16) suggest that "as feeding lines continue to grow, many donating money and labor to this network are beginning to question their commitment in light of injustices they perceive in the wider food system". This section explores what has emerged from such reflection. I discuss foodbanks that are transforming their praxis, through reconfiguring metrics of success, structural advocacy, health, and new delivery models. I demonstrates how SFR can provide social benefits that go beyond charitable gifts of food and thus go some way to addressing criticisms of traditional foodbanking.

7.3.1 From scale to effectiveness

This section discusses foodbanks that expand their remit from redistributing food to achieving health outcomes and engaging in political advocacy. It asks how already-existing foodbank infrastructure can be used to foster progressive change.

Chapter 5a described FareShare's growth ambition from redistributing 2 to 25% of UK surplus in five years' time, and its expanding infrastructure to realise this. Yet, my first visit to a US foodbank utterly dwarfed my sense of FareShare's fridge's scale, evident in my blog post about Alameda County Community Food Bank (ACCFB):

> FareShare's 'big fridge' is a tiddler compared to "Big Bertha" at ACCFB. It sits right in the middle of the food warehouse- half fridge, half freezer (whose door opens into the fridge for efficiency's sake)…Quiet, long corridors of three-storied pallets of tinned goods. And an open area where food providers (like CFMs) come to collect orders…The packing area is a separate section…dotted with chest-height cardboard boxes…where apples and oranges were piled, ready for bagging into nets by volunteers… (Spring, 2016a)

Warshawsky notes that foodbanks and their member distributors continued to grow throughout the 1990s "to a point where they have become permanent institutions in emergency food service delivery systems" (Warshawsky, 2010, p.763). It was a permanence of physical space and scale in addition to the stabilising social relations of, for example, fiscal donation incentives. Touring Washington DC's Capitol Area Food Bank (CAFB), my guide joked that "I say we're like the Cost-Co of the non-profits- the spaces look similar"; Fisher (2017a, p.41) notes a foodbank's resemblance to "a highly efficient

food distribution corporation". However, ACCFB's Chief of Partnerships and Strategy, Allison Pratt, expressed ambivalence over celebrating scale alone as evidence of success:

> ...last year we distributed around 30 million pounds of food...We can tell how many pounds of food we put out in the community...that we're serving 1 in 5 Alameda County residents, which is just a shocking statistic, so 20% of Alameda county is getting food through one of our partners, from food that's coming through our warehouse. But where foodbanks haven't been as able to articulate is around the outcomes and the impact. So we're serving all of these people – so what? What difference are we making? (Allison, interview, 07/04/2016)

Allison recognised the extent of need and reliance upon foodbank-provided food, yet acknowledged the dual implications of measuring success by quantity distributed:

> 'If we are distributing less, does that mean we weren't doing our jobs either to find the best price for food or to raise awareness about the problem, or does it mean that the need has gone down, which would be a really good thing?' (Allison)

This quote voices the dilemma posed by 'putting oneself out of business' and the difficulty of knowing whether changes in foodbank capacity and demand are driven by supply-side aspects (securing surplus, 'finding the best price', foodbank programming) or demand-side changes, such as local access to benefits or employment. It suggests that foodbanks have been actively looking beyond success measured by food distributed towards the qualitative implications of their distribution. Nevertheless, they remain positioned as functionaries of macroscale governance shifts towards, for example, emphasis on "quantity versus quality of output" (Trudeau & Veronis, 2009, p.1118). I later explore foodbanks' shift towards healthier food provision, but first consider foodbanks' advocacy for structural poverty solutions.

The very existence of a 'Chief of Partnerships and Strategy' tasked with implementing ACCFB's public policy agenda suggests a shift in foodbanking's role from food provider to strategic governance and advocacy actor. Alison described state-level policy hearings where budget cuts to benefits would be announced by policymakers suggesting that affected families could just "go to their local foodbank". Her fellow foodbank advocates would be jumping up and down at the back of the room saying,

> 'we're maxed out, you know, and we were never meant to be this, the entire solution to the problem of hunger, there's absolutely this very critical role for government, there has to be" (Allison)

Her frustration at foodbanking's perverse success at asserting itself as a hunger solution and thus its retooling as a justification for government cuts reflects another ambiguity between food charities' self-representation to, for example, funders, and the

acknowledgement of individual workers that solutions were more complex (Henderson, 2004). This situation echoes UK emergency food providers' growing concerns at becoming a foil for government cuts, evident in Trussell Trust's shift towards more explicit critique of the welfare reform causing much foodbank use (Spencer, Ogden, & Battarbee, 2015, Williams et al., 2016). Campaigns like End Hunger UK have fostered alliances among food providers and formed political asks (CAP, 2018). US foodbanking, however, reveals some of the contradictions between structural advocacy and ongoing food-provision work. A key difference when comparing US/UK is the federal/state-level structuring of welfare provisioning, but, as I discuss next, some US foodbanks' multi-scalar advocacy suggests how UK advocates could engage with devolved powers beyond a unique focus on state government.

ACCFB is part of Feeding America, which engages in federal-level policy advocacy. FA's Laura described the foci of its policy team:

> '…advocacy, public policy work, lobbying to a certain degree but really its…any bill, or legislation or act that could potentially…have a positive impact on getting poor people either food or getting them vouchers or getting them additional resources that translate into food…' (Laura)

The focus here remains on food, recalling Poppendieck's (1998a) argument that 'hunger' represents the politically neutral and universally appealing face of poverty. Food-targeted benefits like SNAP become an easier target than income-related ones for anti-hunger advocates (see Fisher, 2017a for a critique of complex debates around SNAP). ACCFB's Allison, however, noted post-recession cuts to healthcare, disability and other benefits having vastly increased demands for emergency food. She placed responsibility upon the far greater resources of government as potential bearers of the right to food. As she wryly noted, this right is not recognised in the US: "food is…considered a market commodity". She explicitly linked state-funded income support to a reduced need for charity, and it is worth quoting at length to convey the sophistication of her recognition of local dynamics, and her reflexive acknowledgement of charity's limitations:

> One of our main priorities in our advocacy work this year is to rebuild the Supplemental Security Income [SSI] program; just bringing those recipients' grant amounts up to the federal poverty level would result in more than 20 million meals a year in Alameda County. That's just one programme, getting it up to the poverty level, and at the end of our strategic plan, if we're gonna be doing 29 million meals-worth of food distributed out of our warehouse and that one program gets us 20…if full enrolment in school meal programs gets us 20, it starts to add up and we can really see that public accountability needs to be greater than the ability of private charity models to solve the problem (Allison)

Advocacy, then, has developed in response to the unrelenting persistence of hunger despite charitable entrenchment, with ACCFB's advocacy challenging foodbanks' leveraging as a "combination of neoliberal hunger and waste reduction strategies that depoliticize the root cause of both issues" (Lohnes & Wilson 2017, p.16). FareShare have not been engaged in these kinds of calculations and discussions, although TT has targeted campaigns at specific benefits that would reduce the need for charity (Lemon, 2017).

7.3.2 Healthier foodbanking?

Hinting that the kind of auto-critique discussed above was rare among foodbanks, Allison described how ACCFB's reflections had led to a research collaboration with local healthcare providers. One criticism of food charity has been its provision of unhealthy (or at least inherently unpredictable) food (e.g. Horst et al., 2014), while low income has long been associated with restricted access to healthy food and resulting diet-related problems (Chilton & Booth, 2007, Alexander & Smaje, 2008, Taylor & Loopstra, 2016). One response to this has been foodbanks examining their public health role.

ACCFB sought to ascertain the diabetes impact of including a higher proportion of fresh produce in charitable food provision. Allison argued that foodbanks tend to ask 'how can we demonstrate savings to existing systems', which scholars have explored in terms of neoliberal notions of reducing government expenditure and corporate 'efficiencies' applied to charity (Warshawsky, 2010, Lindenbaum, 2016). However, by viewing nutrition as not only medicine but as "preventative care", Allison argued that foodbanking could help deliver future healthcare savings:

> '...if you compare the cost of a box of healthy food for an entire family over the course of the year to one hospital admission because somebody has a diabetic emergency- you can't even compare it , the difference in price is just astronomical' (Allison)

America's privatised healthcare system implies that such savings might accrue more to insurance firms than to government bodies. However, this reconfiguration of ACCFB's purpose and mission suggested a recognition that simply giving out food is not enough, especially given links between uneven development and health (Chilton & Rose, 2009, Alkon & Agyeman, 2011). Moreover, it was an attempt to turn the ambivalent achievements of 'pounds redistributed' into a transformed role for foodbanking; as purveyor of public health.

A more widespread effort towards healthier provision by foodbanks has been through purchasing models for fresh food. ACCFB's procurement shifts were partly enabled by

being located in California, a producer state. Lohnes and Wilson (2017) note the importance of geography for foodbanks' capacity to process surplus food; as mentioned earlier, a vital difference remains the US being a net food exporter (CIA, 2018) while the UK imports half of its food (Global Food Security Programme, n.d.). Regional surpluses enabled California's association of foodbanks to "broker deals between growers and foodbanks" (Allison). The foodbank pays for shipping and handling of primarily 'cold products' that don't meet market specifications or are in glut. Shipping costs meant that produce was procured as locally as possible:

> 'We get beautiful produce…the broccoli…comes straight from the farm to us and it hasn't been packed on ice as opposed to the stuff we get in the grocery store that's been packed on ice so you notice this like weird wilted area or dark spot, well our broccoli doesn't have any of that. And some of it is just a size difference, so we had like the most beautiful truckload of celery once and it was like this green colour that I'd never…the whole warehouse had this fresh smell, but it was just long, so it didn't fit in the bag or whatever the issue was, it was just long, so it was like, ok, we'll distribute that.' (Allison)

The implication is that the foodbank's shorter supply chain might even yield 'better' food than that acquired through 'normal' shopping, nuancing observations of charitable food as poorer-quality (Kirkpatrick & Tarasuk, 2009). Instead, ACCFB was embracing a purchase model that allowed them to choose, say "low-sodium options…protein items" (Allison). Greater agency over food supplies in response to negative assessments of food charity did, however, required increased fundraising to make up for shortfalls in unhealthy donations and this may be a challenge for UK charitable food providers lacking California's agricultural munificence and the financial wealth afforded US foodbanks (Feeding America, 2017). However, Allison's link of the celery to cosmetic specifications for marketable food recalls the UK's growing awareness of farm-level food waste and the potential for more fresh food to be 'gleaned' (Feedback Global, 2018).

Another foodbank aiming to improve client health through fresh food provision was Philabundance, as its Chief Operating Officer Melanie explained to me (interview, 18/5/16). Following the Affordable Care Act, healthcare agencies were "reaching out to foodbanks" in partnerships effort to impact community food for preventative healthcare. Philabundance hoped to run trials, testing impacts of, say, "less soda and more produce" on diabetes rates of select neighbourhoods "over a couple of years". Foodbanks' 'reach' into communities, and into people's homes through food provision, was here recognised as a chance to make more systemic improvements, albeit premised on the charitable 'second-tier' delivery model.

Lohnes (n.d.) raises questions over such programmes that place health problems like diabetes in 'competition' with hunger as problems to be solved by foodbanks and risk obscuring broader issues of health inequalities through flawed metrics and expert abstractions. UK researchers have raised questions over doctors being positioned as 'gatekeepers' of emergency food referrals (Thompson, 2016), but growing concerns around food insecurity as a public health issue are likely to play in important role in UK developments around the measurement of food insecurity and the role of charity (Smith et al., 2018). Potential changes to NHS organisation and the trade implications of Brexit suggest that, while the US's healthcare and agricultural systems differ significantly, the public-private partnerships described here could well become a more prominent part of service delivery, food access and health.

While nourishing healthier supplies, certain US foodbanks have addressed their public health impact through policies around receiving- or rather refusing- donations (Fisher, 2017a), to which I now turn.

Departing from what Allison described as foodbanks' reputation for simply handing out "old cans", ACCFB had shifted to refusing donations of soda: "[it] was really big when we did it, because foodbanks are often judged in terms of pounds, and soda is heavy!". Fisher (2017a, p.67) notes the difficulty for foodbanks of switching from measuring success in tanglible quantifications of 'pounds' and 'people' towards health and other measures of change where "proving causality is difficult".

Several US foodbanks have instituted policies of refusal to accept unhealthy soda or celebration cake, for example, a challenge given the measurement of their success by the poundage of products redistributed and often combined with active efforts to secure increasing donations (or purchases) of fresh produce (Powers, 2016). Fisher (2017a, p.53) describes the shift to purchasing as foodbanks being "able to better control their distribution stream". UK SFR organisations, at this point, are still focussing on increasing donations, let alone purchasing, although TT retains some capacity to shape donations through appeals to the public in the form of request lists.

Despite some efforts, Fisher (2017a, p.54) notes the overall persistent reliance of US foodbanks on donations of surplus food of "mediocre quality [that] can affect negatively both the dignity of recipients as well as their health...the very structure of the charitable food system lends itself to the distribution of poor-quality foods". Lohnes and Wilson (2017, p.16) suggest that the shift 'towards health' is not necessarily rooted in clients'

needs/preferences, as "health-conscious donors increasingly tie their funding for the purchase of higher quality foods or health education initiatives".

This questioning of who defines 'health' demands critical political ecology's close attention to assumptions of what constitutes 'health', 'quality' and even 'dignity', interrogating inequalities in discursive and material interactions of matter, value and representation (Heynen, 2013b). Defining and measuring 'health' is of course hugely contested terrain, whether in critiques of behaviourist, individualising discourses (Biltekoff, 2014), nutritional reductionism (Yates-Doerr, 2012) or the 'black-boxing' of the body in the 'obesogenic environment' thesis (Guthman, 2012).

7.3.3 Diversifying models of acquisition and delivery

In light of UK discourses around shifting from traditional foodbank models to alternative low-cost provision such as social supermarkets (Butler, 2017), it is worth considering how US foodbanks have developed their infrastructure towards models that respond to criticisms of foodbanking as a 'second-tier' food system (Tarasuk & Eakin, 2005). The 'food desert' has long been a concern of US food access discourse, implying a "community where residents lack access to affordable nutritious food" (Carolan, 2015, p.324) though has been critiqued as denying agency to vulnerable households (Shannon, 2014) and reducing the political-historical specificity of capitalistic manipulation of uneven food access to a vague, depoliticised category (Bedore, 2013). The term has entered UK discourse, noted in a report about poverty in Manchester to indicate "physical distance between fresh fruit and vegetable outlets and residential areas, but also the psychological, financial and physiological distance" (CLES, 2012, p.73). Given contention around the role of food charities in enabling access to healthy, fresh food (Davison, 2018) and Chapter 5's consideration of the growing infrastructures by which surplus food is being diverted into new spaces, it is worth considering US models of redistributing food that challenge the stigmatising, limited access represented by foodbanking.

Diverse provision: community stores, pop-ups, kitchens, farm partnerships

Philabundance has opened a community grocery store in what Melanie described as a 'food desert' within its service area. "Fresh produce is the first thing you see" and shoppers on low-incomes can claim 10% 'carrot cash' back on their spending (interview 18/5/16, see also Philabundance, n.d.). 'Fare and Square' was operating at a loss and subsidised by fundraising, but Melanie acknowledged that all food distribution bears

costs, and was proud to branch away from the traditional charity mould (see Winne, 2008 on community-run grocery stores).

Capitol Area Food Bank (CAFB) had also diversified its programming, running a "monthly pop-up healthy grocery market in schools", including adult learning settings (interview 13/5/2016). They published seasonal availability calendars and recipe cards developed in their onsite kitchen made available in multiple formats and translated for the 30% Spanish-speaking users. Member agencies could use the kitchen for training, peer cooking sessions or other purposes. Fresh produce was "intentionally" the first thing glimpsed when entering the 'agency mart' for recipient organisations to 'shop' for food. Spatial organisation and design as 'choice-editing' reflects foodbanking having come to mirror major retail models (Fisher 2017a).

CAFB was procuring agricultural produce that might otherwise go to waste, but was also an active agent in stimulating local food production. During my tour, staff members told me "we've evolved" to a place where local farmers would "plant specifically for our needs". The foodbank negotiated a lower-than-market price for guaranteed purchases: "that's our niche, we wanna be available to those farmers when they aren't able to sell elsewhere". They also provided volunteers to glean unsold produce. Both approaches positioned the foodbank as a unique purchaser, benefitting farmers. The UK's Gleaning Network has asserted itself into this role in the UK (Downing et al., 2015) and diverts fresh produce to FareShare and other charities. However, the charity-business nexus that might improve food system 'sustainability' by preventing waste looks very different from food justice's visions of diverse communities having access to land and food through small, family-owned farms and direct links between producers and end consumers (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011). On the other hand, it cuts out major retailers and diversifies regional distribution models.

CAFB were also developing IT systems to assign food inventory a health designation as "wellness or non-wellness", though its binary nature was acknowledged to be a crude metric. Peanut butter might be high-salt ('non-wellness') but also high-protein ('wellness'), for example. Yet a critical reading of such efforts suggests how a reductionist metric of health siphons alimentary nutrition from the other multiple social determinants of physical and mental 'wellness' (Guthman, 2012).

CAFB's community garden did demonstrate commitment to values of "community food security" (Powers, 2016). There were teaching facilities and thought given to the kinds of

food that local residents might wish to/be able to, grow, using recycled materials for garden infrastructure that clients should be able to access cheaply if they wished to create their own gardens (assuming access to the space to do so, of course). I wasn't able to ascertain how such programmes are designed; is this a case of 'bringing good food to others' (Guthman, 2008, p.431) where "activism reflects white desires more than those of the communities they putatively serve"? A single-day tour by foodbank staff was not adequate to explore such organisational dynamics, and a later section explores the involvement of foodbank clients in decision-making.

These points can be further explored using the 'keying' framework of Chapter 4. The sharp/flat keying continuum was used to compare SFR organisations' institutional and ideological positionings in relation to broader food system politics. The term 'community' exemplifies 'master frames' that can mask (and co-opt) divergent discourses. Frame analysis therefore unpicks shifts in foodbanking discourse towards 'sharper' keyings of food access in terms of self-sufficiency (e.g. CAFB's demonstration garden), health (e.g. refusing donations of 'heavy' soda) and advocacy (e.g. resisting state cuts to disability benefits). Mooney and Hunt (2009, p.480) describe "value amplification of inclusiveness and collaboration" in the Community Food Security Coalition's definitions of its vision, contesting individualising or top-down, expert-based decision-making. It

> ...punctuates the root cause of individual household food insecurity as systemic, that is, an aspect of the global food system that the flat key in the hunger frame claims can solve the food insecurity problem (Mooney & Hunt, 2009, p.481)

I will return to this point later in considering whether, despite modifications to practice, foodbanking institutions could be said to share this contestation, and what implications this has for their continued existence. The following section suggests the less progressive, degrading and entrenched nature of some charitable food spaces.

Some visits revealed the persistently demeaning realities of receiving food through charity. After visiting a food pantry in Albuquerque, I wrote the following:

> In the waiting pews of the reception side of the former warehouse, a man told me that I'd need to get a chip to get food, and explained how a gang of kids had beaten him up the week before (an open wound on his eyebrow squinted him). There were instructions, regulations and 'Understand nutrition-labels' posters on the walls, a fairly empty toy box at the back of the room and some shelves of old recipe books, religious tracts and novels. There was a suggestion box at a side table filled with information but no pen/paper for people to leave suggestions. The pantry can provide food/clothing once a month. Signs inform people about staying in queue so as not to lose their place [Fig.13]. I visited before mid-month, when peoples' food

stamps are generally still lasting- at the end of the month, Jim told me the queue stretches round the block (Fieldnotes, 13/04/2016)

The receptionist audibly whooped as she closed the door for the day on time. Queues, or fights, usually delay proceedings- people "high on drugs, on heroin or meth, they're tired, they're hungry, they haven't slept, they've been fucked all night, they've been beaten up…", she told me, tears filling her eyes. Emergency food outlets are clearly providing more than food, but

Figure.12 Window sign, Albuqueque food pantry. Author's own

there was a sense of the place being overstretched and under-resourced. It lacked the foodbank's slick facilities, confirming Lohnes and Wilson's (2017) observations about the burden of social care and meeting of basic needs being shunted to community organisations which, especially if located in poorer areas with greater need but fewer donors, struggle daily to meet those needs. Smith et al. (2018) recognise how UK food charities are not necessarily located in places of greatest need, calling for systematic food insecurity monitoring. However, visits like the Albuquerque pantry served as reminders that despite the US's established practice of food insecurity monitoring, food charity persists as a dominant yet inadequate response. These spaces' smells, volunteers' utterances and aesthetic-affective atmospheres gave a brief phenomenological insight into the contradictory ways food charities make certain efforts towards improvement while daily contingencies may not allow these to be made or maintained, evident in the suggestion box with no means to leave suggestions. Shopper choice was one effort towards more dignifying provision.

The emotional burden on Albuquerque pantry volunteers was palpable- relief at not having to turn anyone away that day, and distressing empathy expressed towards those who might bring violence into the space. The irony was that this pantry was known for its 'shopper model' of client choice. After waiting in the pews, clients received a chip allowing them to take a certain number of items according to family size (which must be proved with birth certificates). They receive a trolley and are guided around the shelves in a set order by signs and volunteers wearing stickers. Choice means choice-within-categories, and for many items there was only one option (Fig.14). Fresh food was

minimal. Berg (2008, p.249) argues that the 'more choice' model equals "less stigma, and more power", challenging criticisms such as Tarasuk and Eakin (2005, p.182) who note the "disassociation of food distribution and clients' needs" in a Canadian foodbank. Despite the 'shopper choice' model in

Figure.13 Albuqurque food pantry; client 'shopping' area. Author's own.

Albuquerque, the discrepancy between 'choice' and the persistence of volunteers in 'access-policing' roles recalls my own discomforting experience of such volunteering in the UK, and Fisher's (2017a) comparable experience in Oregon. Some organisations were moving beyond choice towards involvement, however.

The 'client choice' model was mentioned by other foodbank staff as a means to allow clients from diverse cultural backgrounds to choose preferred foods, rather than removing items and having to visit multiple pantries to meet their needs. Allison linked this to ACCFB's 'peer-to-peer' nutrition education programme to engage clients to cook with less-usual produce like princess squash or green papaya. She ascribed such programming to the foodbank's cultivation of "curiosity about the needs and cultural preferences of the communities that we're serving". The foodbank also convenes a "committee of advocates" personally impacted by hunger, including training in speaking

truth to elected officials. In terms of the aforementioned lobbying by foodbanks in addressing income-related policy, Allison noted the power of involving foodbank clients:

> …if we bring people up who are having that lived experience to tell their very personal and poignant stories, that moves people, and it moves people to action, and we actually saw that last year with our SSI work [cash aid for those with disabilities]. People were so moved that bills were introduced that money was put on the table. It works…(Allison)

"Client choice" at the level of food provisioning was thus conceived as more than 'normalising' charitable food access and improving the food offer. Acknowledging client agency was also evident in ACCFB's inclusion of a community organiser on staff, in their user-voice inclusion campaigning and in their recognition of the limited capacity of food charity to 'fix' hunger (Pine & Souza, 2013). Yet my brief encounter in Albuquerque confirmed that for many, the progressive visions of ACCFB do not correspond to daily realities at most food charity outlets.

7.3.4 Summary: 'new' foodbanking?

The need for healthier food provision and 'listening' to client needs was recognised by the three foodbanks I visited. It was also acknowledged as a contested process, a balancing act with the imperative to distribute surpluses received and raise adequate funds. This is the balancing of client and donor needs documented by Lohnes and Wilson (2017) and Fisher (2017a). However, there was clear evidence of shifts in thinking across foodbanking networks, which Melanie described as 'new foodbanking':

> …foodbanks are moving from old system which is fine but it's not winning the war, to how can we actually do something substantial around healthcare or education or workforce development through the community kitchens and get to that longer term substantial impact, with food. [Recent FA conference] had speakers around healthcare and education, nothing specifically to do with food- *around* food but the speakers weren't from food organisations and there was a lot of talk about sustainable, collaborative efforts and what new foodbanking might look like (Melanie)

Such integrative work suggests efforts to address complexities around causes and solutions to poverty, but also reflects an acceptance of foodbanking's permanence in the US welfare landscape. Concluding my discussion of 'better foodbanking', there have clearly been changes in foodbank workers' thinking, practice, fund allocation and programming that attempts to address some of the failings of charitable food systems based on surplus food: unhealthy or inadequate food, undignified modes of accessing it, and help limited to gifts of food that do not address underlying poverty and inequality. Efforts include advocacy for policy solutions, purchasing fresh produce, health, nutrition,

cooking and education programmes, and innovative models of distribution based on greater choice and agency for clients. How far do such improvements go in addressing the problems of institutionalised emergency food redistribution as outlined by Poppendieck (1998a)? Arguably, they reflect modifications in the conduct of everyday life by which NGOs translate state governance (Trudeau & Veronis, 2009) and do not radically challenge the underlying and ongoing replacement of entitlements with contingent charity (Riches, 1986), a question more deeply discussed in Chapter 8.

The next section develops these points, highlighting solutions that go beyond charity.

7.3.5 Structural limits to 'better' foodbanking: advocating radical solutions

Henderson (2004, p.501) describes how foodbanking growth is "compatible with the strategic withdrawal of the state from welfare provision" and relies on "socially necessary representations" of hunger e.g. excluding representations of racial disparity while highlighting its support of women, thus preclude foodbanks' capacity to explain how hunger affects different people according to different vectors of inequality. Rather than pinpointing precise structural causes of food insecurity, foodbanks' "socially necessary representation proposed identities linked more to notions of desert (worth)" (p.505). Henderson notes, however, diverse articulations of individuals and organisations acting under the foodbanking umbrella, where recipient organisations might "offer relatively more situated, critical identities to a differently imagined public than can the Food Bank" (p.506). ACCFB's Allison demonstrated how foodbanks, or at least individual foodbank workers, can indeed critically impact discourses of deserve in poverty-related policy. She highlighted limitations of a recently-introduced earned-income tax credit and minimum wage bill which, if introduced, might affect the 'working poor' but not those with disabilities who "deserve to live in dignity" even when they cannot work. She worried that enactment of such promises often lies too far in the future for foodbankers to feel they can take their foot off the pedal.

Much US anti-hunger advocacy is limited to lobbying to protect federal and state nutrition programmes rather than policy that might challenge low wages and inequality in the first place (Dickinson, 2016). Despite attempts to include those with lived experience of hunger in advocacy efforts, Fisher (2017a, p.202) notes that a "minority of anti-hunger groups are membership organisations that involve their constituents in decision making". Despite ACCFB's incorporation of community organisation, Fisher laments that "few if

any [foodbanks] incorporate poor people" on their boards of directors, implying "few accountability structures to ensure that these groups do indeed represent the interests of the poor" (p.202). He continues to critique, however, the disproportionate presence of board directors with a direct interest in the continuation of a charitable model that allows them to benefit from the financial incentives and moral/reputational functions of foodbanking while being able to quash foodbank support for, say, living wage campaigns (as Henderson similarly attests). Ambiguity and contradiction, however, are not only a feature of US foodbanking discourse. Discussing UK foodbanking, Williams et al. (2016) point out that TT rely upon Tesco for food donations, while the supermarket chain rejects calls to pay a Living Wage (see also Smith, 2018). While TT have become more vocally critical of government policy exacerbating foodbank use (Wells & Caraher, 2014), FareShare's advocacy effort has been focussed on securing more food supplies. Again, we see the influence of the flatter key, with food charities dependent on alliances with dominant food system actors. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, this translates into unwillingness by FareShare to criticise supermarket donors or devote resources to structural advocacy except campaigning for fiscal donation incentives (Tatum, 2017). Operating within neoliberal governance structures (Warshawsky, 2015) and corporate food regimes (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011), foodbanks are limited in their transformational capacity, though as Henderson (2004) shows, fuel organisations that can undertake far more radical work.

The next section considers advocacy efforts not by foodbanks but outside the charity sphere. I consider the role of action research, community organising and campaigning by public health bodies. I suggest that the long-term experience of food insecurity and foodbanking's incapacity to fundamentally reverse this have produced a vocal counter-voice with potential lessons for addressing UK food insecurity at different scales.

Action research: race, gender and hunger
Mariana Chilton's research into intersectional issues of race, gender, housing, income, food and health, bridges quantitative and qualitative action methodologies e.g. showing how families receiving housing subsidies are less likely to raise an underweight child (interview, 17/05/2016). Her attention to phenomenological aspects of food insecurity draws attention to the emotive and mental health dimensions of embodying hunger, as well as the "structural and interpersonal violence" made manifest in such embodiments (Chilton & Booth, 2007). Research is translated into advocacy based not on "speaking on

behalf of" but on "speaking truth to power". Participants from her Witnesses to Hunger programme regularly travel to Congress to testify about their experiences of, for example, welfare conditionalities. Contra the focus of foodbankers' advocacy to defend federal nutrition programmes, she argues that women "want off of Food Stamps…they want freedom". The racial dynamics of "bringing good food to others" is worth bearing in mind here (Guthman, 2008); equally, food justice requires grappling with multi-dimensional determinants of hunger that looks beyond simply adjusting welfare provision. Chapter 8 highlights racially-inflected discourses around poverty, welfare and charity in the UK.

Inter-organisational collaboration for systemic change

Given environment/society distinctions implicit in problematisations of hunger and waste (Midgley, 2013), I was interested in whether SFR organisations were acting to address their interrelatedness. Joining a meeting of Washington DC's 'Food Justice Action Team' (including CAFB representatives) revealed grassroots efforts to grapple with intersectional inequalities of urban space, race and class. One attendee had used Freire's critical pedagogy in developing a recently-held public symposium entitled: 'Presentation of community-based ideas and solutions to food deserts and swamps, food access and markets (after Walmart pulled out)'. Food justice-oriented praxis stood out in how such efforts had been organised and represented. CAFB's presence on this team demonstrated foodbank workers' involvement and potential contribution towards broader critical efforts to address structural determinants of hunger through the political-ecological work of collaboratively changing food systems.

Witnessing collaborations of city government, charitable institutions and radical organisers recalled efforts in the UK to create policy-oriented networks aiming to synchronise work and stimulate influential bodies of advocacy (e.g. Good Food Oxford). Rather than being limited to discussions of poverty/hunger, DC's Action Team were developing links between environmental sustainability, inequality, land, race and other systemic issues. My own experience in Manchester suggests the at-times political complexity and limited representativeness of such collaborative working, whereas DC's meeting struck me for its variety of representation and proactive atmosphere (there may well be complexities I couldn't grasp during a single attendance). In specific ways, the US's long history of hunger-focussed discourse and action has generated sophisticated analyses across diverse groups, recognising that efforts so far have not met with success (Powers, 2016). On the other hand, community organisers in Ontario described

challenges of forming collaborations with foodbanks who distrusted "root cause solutions", though again here I make the methodological point that having interviewed only activists and no foodbank staff in Canada , my perspectives are limited.

7.4 Community organising and campaigning in Canada

This section continues the theme of grassroots direct action as a counter-voice to foodbank discourses. Freedom 90 is a collective of campaigners in the Ontario region who grew from community organising around slashed social assistance rates in the 1990s, highlighting a similar trajectory to the US's limited-term, conditional welfare changes (Dickinson, 2016) despite Canada's relatively more generous welfare system (Taylor, 2016). During a group interview, Freedom 90 co-founder Yvonne described the impetus to form a 'union' around the ageing population of foodbank volunteers. She visited a soup kitchen attended by one of her fellow campaigners and heard the following conversation:

> '…people started saying things like "in the 80s the government dropped the ball and when we went through a recession foodbanks sprung up to deal with the problem, and everyone said it would be a short-term measure, and yet here were are 30, 35 years later and we still feel like we're the ones holding the system together. A lot of us won't stop because we feel if we do no-one's coming in in our place, and we feel exploited". I was like 'whoa, that's pretty powerful.'…' (Yvonne, Freedom 90, interview, 5/5/2016)

Lohnes and Wilson (2017) similarly note the ageing volunteer population in their observation about 'waste workers' questioning their long-term labouring to provide food charity while perceiving broader systemic injustices. The fear of stopping and leaving a vacuum of support and care reflects the risks of institutionalising food charity as an excuse for state withdrawal (Riches, 2002) as well as the emotional weight of feeling like "we're the ones holding the system together". Leveraging the political capital of pensioners, however, carves Freedom 90 a unique space and mission: to do themselves out of a charity job by age 90 (the eldest member has now passed 90).

7.4.1 Educating fellow volunteers

Freedom 90's analysis rejects tax incentives for surplus donation, a target of a national food waste campaign, suggesting international extents of the hunger-waste paradox: "maybe you should be looking at the root of the problem- why are we having excess production?" argued member Gerald. Against foodbankers' qualitative focus on 'better health/quality' in food acquisition, Freedom 90 were challenging quantitative excess that renders food systems unsustainable (Stuart, 2009).

Freedom 90 includes foodbank clients as well as volunteers. Members described challenges trying to raise awareness among fellow foodbank volunteers about, for example, the realities of living in poverty:

> '…people had no idea that this was the amount of money that a great number of the people coming for the meal had to live on. They had no idea. They didn't want to talk about it for more than about a minute and a half…other times I've tried to have conversations, it's like I've…farted' (Marsha)

This sense of isolation challenges optimism around food charities constituting potential "space[s] of 'micro-political' transformation" (Williams et al., 2016, p.14) in the UK's unfurling foodbanking network. Perhaps Marsha's experience stems from the familiarity and unquestioned moral good of food charities that have long been regular features of Ontario's social support fabric. However, Freedom 90 also target regional policymakers around specific income-based demands, using media outlets and campaigns to 'myth-bust' around the role of charity, confronting foodbanking associations:

> '…I get that they're really wanting to make sure there's food in some of these communities for people, they think they're making a difference, but if you have a different voice, if you're saying 'I'm sorry, we're not satisfied, that's not enough, like social justice is not even part of this equation, they wanna shut you down because they're more worried about jeopardising the small amount of donations they're getting, even if it is only feeding 25% of the people, at a tremendous cost…' (Yvonne)

The group described resource and commitment challenges of community organising, such as the costs of campaign materials, meeting space and so on:

> '…The only way you can get a tax-deductible, like a charitable donation, is if indeed the object of your attention is a charity. But charity doesn't include advocacy! So it feels like the odds are stacked against us because as an advocacy group we can't issue a charitable receipt! So people give to charities rather than us because you can give more and it'll cost you unless cos you get a tax credit, therefore we don't have the same number of wealthy people- philanthropists that you might make an appeal to you…' (Marsha)

This comparison with the better-resourced capacity of food charities raises the question of structural barriers to advocacy for systemic solutions, let alone the challenge of contesting deeply-held convictions about charitable values. Marsha's quote expresses the contradictions of wanting to redress the shortcomings of charity without having to present as a charitable structure in order to secure funding. This suggests how governance structures have been created to facilitate charitable work in ways that limit alternative organisational possibilities. With organisations like Freedom 90 lumped with charities, Trudeau & Veronis (2009) note how NGOs' capacity for advocacy has been limited by growing government funding of non-profit activity.

Freedom 90 re-frames hunger and charity in terms of social (in)justice and state responsibility to mobilise fellow volunteers and wider publics (Benford & Snow, 2000). However, bearing significance for my analysis of beyond-charity forms of SFR and their access to food/public support, community activists often find themselves having to define themselves in terms of familiar and bureaucratically-supported models of 'charity'.

7.4.2 Including those in poverty in campaigning

Freedom 90 had built up diverse skills, knowledge and alliances through their campaign and research work, including with Put Food in the Budget (PFIB), a campaign to raise social assistance rates to meet living costs. Organiser Mike Balkwill described the importance of translating lived narratives into political discourse, but insisted that "we don't do the thing where we, the non-poor people, allow some poor person to tell their personal story and stand to the side while we continue our story" (interview, 5/5/2016). His voice does not reflect those with experience of relying on benefits and foodbanks, he said. He recognised that individuals' analyses of their own stories in context develop over time, and may need close support to be ready to participate in media and public campaign contexts. Grounding campaigns in experience required Balkwill to assert the difference between this and foodbanks' 'socially necessary representations' of hunger:

> '...foodbank people get people to say stuff like 'if it weren't for the foodbank I wouldn't be here'...foodbanks are trying to become more than foodbanks and become voluntary social assistance agencies' (Mike Balkwill)

The degree of people's reliance on charity reflects years of charitable entrenchment, a challenge for a group offering a different articulation, whose solution to food insecurity is income not food. Nevertheless, Balkwill noted academic critiques of foodbanking by Riches and Tarasuk, suggesting how research can influence public campaigns.

7.4.3 Structural change is not what they're about

'Better food banks', for Balkwill, avoids the issue: he argued it is a way for foodbanks to disrupt structural advocacy. He recalled a meeting convened between foodbank leaders seeking a 'food security through better foodbank' strategy and fellow PFIB campaigners. PFIB proposed collaborating with the foodbank on their planned participatory action survey of foodbank users' experiences and wishes:

> 'They said no- you're interested in root causes and we're not- we're interested in better food banks. They said it fancier than that but that's what it was...' (Mike Balkwill)

Mike argued that foodbank leaders were denying users' voices in their 'better foodbank' forum. PFIB wanted to raise issues of rules limited foodbank visits and intrusive information-gathering from clients: "they have a database to track you". These issues were not responded to; the foodbank's 'better provision' agenda, he argued, thus silenced user voices.

This example conveys differences between grassroots advocacy and efforts towards better foodbanking. The foodbank's change agenda retains the structural status quo while rhetorically reinforcing its dominance through representations of 'improvements'. This fits an analysis of foodbanking's institutional adherence to corporate food regimes and a 'flatter' keying of food security targeting individual behaviour through discourses of 'health' and 'client choice', while political determinants of inadequate incomes go unchallenged (Mooney & Hunt, 2009). Rather than a sharp/flat continuum, this case suggests a fundamental incompatibility between PFIB and Freedom 90's struggle for structural solutions to poverty (and, less explicitly, waste) versus foodbanking's continued alignment with corporate donation regimes and the management of poverty through gifts of food.

7.4.4 An end to foodbanks?

Balkwill envisaged a post-foodbank future. He quoted Tarasuk's research as showing that the way to prevent foodbank growth is to "give people enough money and housing". The harder job, perhaps, is to reverse actually-existing entrenchment. He compared foodbank leaders' reluctance to commit to ending foodbank use to the Canadian tarsands, describing an encounter with a foodbank leader some 20 years previously:

> ...why don't we start closing 5% of the foodbanks every year until it raises the rates- she said it wouldn't be hard as 15% are already non-functional. But they can't do that. It's like our tar sands- people say we have to leave the oil in the soil and make a moratorium and slowly stop them, and there's a 20 year plan, but we have to stop putting carbon in the air now. So in our small way we're trying to get volunteers inside the foodbanks to say 'this isn't good enough' (Mike Balkwill)

Freedom 90 and similar groups' community organising develop campaigns to raise social assistance but also to progressively tax the rich (PFIB, 2017). This expresses a very different vision of change from 'better foodbanks' and US advocacy for federal nutrition supports (rather than wage solutions or universal welfare), or donation incentivisation.

Balkwill argued against calls for the introduction of a Universal Basic Income as per the Ontario Society of Nutrition Professionals in Public Health's position statement calling for

such a policy in response to foodbanking's inadequacy (OSNPPH, 2015). The means to improve people's incomes exist through current governance and welfare structures/mechanisms; social assistance rates should be raised now. Such a view clashes with the ideological direction of neoliberal and austerity wealth redistribution (Dickinson, 2016), and he had argued these points to Ontario policy-makers for two decades, with little change. Here, then, the hard edges appear where 'better foodbanking' meets 'post-foodbanking', and the challenges of achieving structural solutions that could render foodbanking obsolete (Powers, 2016).

Freedom 90's representation of foodbanking contrasted with my observations of CAFB staff advocating for healthcare subsidies at a Washington DC City Hall budget hearing. As part of the Fair Budget Coalition, the foodbank was thus pushing for structural solutions that, she told me, might result in diminished City funding for the foodbank. Recognising the foodbank's greater command of resources, she was willing to place her own organisation beneath an allied cause. This 'articulation' of foodbank politics goes beyond feeding more radical groups (Henderson, 2004), rather, it suggested the foodbank's understanding and solidarity with structural determinants of hunger and their under-resourcing: housing, domestic violence, health costs and other concerns of the Coalition. This was just one example of progressive foodbank activism belied by a focus on 'better provision' alone. I now turn to consider organisations that were responding to waste, hunger and structural determinants through very different models than foodbanking.

7.5 From charity to job provision: radical redistribution

Building on Chapter 6's observations of Super Kitchen's attempt to create universal 'social eating' spaces, this section argues that SFR models can address root causes of poverty, but may be costlier and require shifts in attitudes around the capacities of people in poverty themselves. I focus on an organisation tackling food waste and food precarity while decoupling them and recognising their distinct causative dynamics and solutions.

DC Central Kitchen (DCCK), in Washington DC, as suggested in Fig.29, retains an identity as a hunger-relief organisation, but the social enterprise operates through multiple strands that weave more broadly into local food systems than offering handouts to individuals.

DCCK's activities centre on its community kitchen. It runs a culinary training programme for people excluded from job markets by addiction, criminal records or homelessness- and it considers poverty as the root of all of these (DCCK, 2016). A core aim is for graduates of the 14-week culinary and personal development course to find employment, and some are employed by DCCK to cook meals for the programme. One cooking strand creates "healthy nutritious" meals from "recovered" (donated) surplus food (and some voluntary labour) for non-profit organisations such as shelters and senior lunch clubs (Amy, Director of Procurement and Sustainability, interview 10/5/2016). The for-profit cooking strand purchases food (as locally as possible to support regional agriculture) to create school lunches (6000 daily) and other catered partner agencies.

7.5.1 Countering stereotypes

Contrary to Henderson's (2004) focus on foodbanks' representative occlusions of multiple identities and vectors of inequality of those it serves, DCCK challenges stereotypes "associated with the individuals and organizations in the business of doing good. Far from being simplistic martyrs, this story's 'heroes'- such as they are- include addicts, egoists, and convicts" (Moore, 2014, p.xii). This somewhat lurid description, one suspects, conveys a degree of surprise that convicts might be heroes that might reflect America's tendency to view these categories as undeserving- of respect, and of help (hence their occlusion in foodbank representation of beneficiaries- Henderson, 2004). However, DCCK's approach highlights diverse lives and identities behind 'hunger'- its impact report describes a recovering addict and an immigrant women on its training programme, for example. Its Board of Directors includes a programme graduate (DCCK, 2016). Its model of training people for work and providing paid employment enacts the message that "we're never gonna feed our way out of hunger. Hunger is never gonna be solved by food" (Amy).

DCCK's practical solutions thus lie beyond gifts of food, tackling causes that affect people of certain backgrounds in certain (often inter-causal) ways. America's racial history and politics is, of course, unique and specific, and DCCK's leadership arguably reflects the dominance of white males in the anti-hunger world (Berg, 2008, Mariana Chilton interview). However, DCCK's advocacy stood out as addressing issues that often garner less support than the bipartisan and occlusive frame of 'hunger' e.g. they had recently supported a campaign encouraging employers to remove requirements for job applicants

to state former incarceration, writing articles about their successful work with former inmates.

Following my visit DCCK were partnering with Feedback Global for a Feeding 5k event:

> '...we do see that as part of our role to look at bigger issues, policy change and action, it's not just feeding people and charity so inevitably it becomes- I don't wanna say political, but an advocacy issue' (Amy).

The reticence to describe the work as political was striking and perhaps indicates discursive limits for organisations whose costlier work relies on donations from large corporations and foundations (as well as some government funding- see DCCK, 2016). The model capitalises upon American ideologies of individuals' capacities to 'pull themselves up by the bootstraps', and fundraiser-friendly imagery of turning unlikely heroes into ambitious, wage-earning workers. When considering work-focussed solutions, it is also crucial to bear in mind critiques of workfare, such as Dickinson's (2016), exposition of narratives of deservingness and work-as-pathway-from-poverty under neoliberal workfare regimes, where welfare is retooled as support for low-paid labour. Amy recognised the tensions in a model that relies upon the persistent existence of social problems:

> '...We'd love to put ourselves out of business- that one day there will not be people living in poverty because they'll have jobs and be self-sufficient and so we won't have to produce these free meals everyday. Food waste in my mind is the same thing- I'd like to have it stopped and not have hundreds of thousands of pounds be available for food recovery because we've stopped it at the source- that's a better system. Are we gonna get there tomorrow? No, so I'm gonna keep doing what I'm doing but at the end of the day that's what we're promoting. It's one of those theoretical up in the air conversations, but that's where you wanna be in the end- helping to tackle the root causes...' (Amy)

Thus, while noting the programme's boldness in speaking out the racial and class dimensions of social suffering, this quote articulates DCCK's purpose as something other than stopping hunger/waste "at the source" and Amy's commitment to carry on in light of the seemingly distant spectre of such running-out-of-business. Job creation remains the model of structural change, which while aiming to foster 'self-sufficiency' perhaps ignores the issues of in-work poverty (especially in catering work- Fabian Society, 2015) and even increasing automation and arguments for a post-wage society (Srnicek & Williams, 2015).

7.5.2 Selective SFR

I now demonstrate how SFR can retain recipient agency in the interests of providing high-quality meals. While DCCK's school meals by law must be prepared from 'purchased' food, community meal-planning is largely directed by available surpluses. These are accessed through gleaning programmes to recover unharvested produce, wholesalers and manufacturers to recover pallets that fail to meet specifications, grocery stores and catering outlets, and individual citizens. The latter makes a different contribution; DCCK will not accept leftover buffet sandwiches. Rather, communities lead 'fresh produce drives' to collect the large quantities of an item required by the kitchen in order to make up their 5000 daily meals (Fig.31's meal planner conveys the need to forward plan). This suggests how scale and predictability can be achieved without reliance on industry leftovers. "We want to put out really dignified, quality meals", Amy insisted, meaning they may refuse "nutritionally inadequate" food:

> '…we don't have space to hold junk and really care about nutrition and healthy meals…we've been around long enough to say no and feel comfy doing so as our biggest priority is having healthy meals and cheap pallets of soda don't further our mission…' (Amy)

Limited storage, transport, processing-capacity and precise ethics thus enable DCCK to resist unwanted dumping of food. While the use of surplus food in free meals versus purchased food for paid-for meals suggests a tiered split, the practice of cooking surplus food into meals by trained staff and careful selection of acceptable donations hints at a qualitative difference between DCCK's work and a food pantry like Albuquerque's where 'clients' 'shop' for ex-commodified and often visibly devalued (dented, limited in range, wilted etc.) tins, loaves and carrots to take home.

7.5.3 Limited use of volunteers

Handling surplus requires significant labour, as Chapter 5 made clear. DCCK engages volunteers to sort and wash food, could not run on volunteers alone: "we need the reliability and training for safety reasons, so they're all full benefits, full-time staff" (Amy). Volunteers work for 3-hour shifts, and the list is oversubscribed. Limiting volunteer hours, and employing workers with longer hours or higher-responsibility jobs such as transportation and delivery, resonates with Bella's (Super Kitchen) suggestion that volunteer exploitation and burn-out might be lessened by an occasional model: rather than daily volunteering, doing so for one or two shifts a week. The priority given to

training and employment through DCCK's social enterprise model contrasts with the reliance on free labour in charitable foodbanking.

Culinary work can still be poorly paid, for graduates who cannot secure the organisation's living-wage work. Volunteers are still needed for the more-involved processing of surplus food for not-profiting 'community meals' catering streams. Despite these caveats, DCCK's model stands out for its dynamic model of addressing hunger more radically, by addressing underlying determinants of poverty and unemployment, particularly interconnections of racism, exclusion and incarceration (Alexander, 2012). DCCK's shaping of agricultural markets through local procurement of 'ugly' produce suggests its relevance to dynamics of food system sustainability and healthier supply-chains.

7.5.4 Radical SFR?

Contrary to his preconceptions of community-level SFR as "apolitical, logistical, and superficial", Fisher (2018, n.p.) describes 'rad food rescue' as SFR practices redistributing "fresh and healthy" food only, distributed through "no-cost grocery programs". Providers explicitly redress shortcomings of charitable foodbanks/pantries, including uneven recipient/volunteer power relations, and volunteers not speaking recipients' languages. The aim, Fisher reports, is not to reduce hunger but to "build health equity". One would need to spend time visiting the organisations hosting DCCK's 'community meals' to understand whether they enact such a social justice-oriented politics of food sharing. Fisher's observations of 'rad food rescue' in Denver perhaps links more closely to the sharp-key work of FNB, which also refuses an identification with charity (but, as Heynen 2010 notes, addressing hunger can be a radical and vital act). DCCK's practices of cooking genuine meals (rather than representing donated surplus in a 'meals' metric) resembles TRJFP's focus on transforming surpluses into cooked meals. They can thus transform potentially-stigmatising surpluses comprising charitable food parcels (Tarasuk & Eakin, 2003), and DCCK's refusal of unsuitable products means they can avoid accusations of passing on food such as highly-processed items that cannot be turned into meals. Davison (2018) represents an organisation pioneering cooked-meal food aid provision in the UK, while FoodCycle's Bromley-by-Bow café trained and paid unemployed residents before it closed (Forsey, 2014). Resonant with TRJFP's transformations of food into meals (Chapter 6), there is thus considerable evidence of UK SFR that nuances critiques of food charity in the form of food parcels alone.

While DCCK's multi-pronged model addresses systemic issues of employment for disadvantaged populations, healthy school food, local farming and eating together, it remains reliant on donated excess food and philanthropic fundraising. Such reliance raises the question of food waste prevention and whether there is such a thing as inevitable/optimal surplus, described as a woefully under-examined issue by Stuart (2009). A Minister for Civil Society is quoted as saying "a resilient food supply chain will always have some surplus" in Forsey (2014, p.94).

I conclude this chapter by bringing these sections into conversation with political ecological insights into urban metabolisms of food, poverty and health-representations to consider DCCK's hybrid positioning between radical and charitable tendencies of SFR, as explored throughout the thesis.

7.6 Conclusion: bridging divides between food charity and food justice

This chapter has discussed a variegated spectrum of political subjectivities, approaches to advocacy/campaigning, and attention in discourse and practice to differences across race, class and other vectors of inequality in North American SFR discourse and practice. It has explored progressive potentials of existing foodbanking infrastructure, organisation and workers to challenge reputations of providing poor-quality and unpredictable surplus food by instilling policies and practices (such as farm purchasing) to procure more healthy and fresh food. Perishable food now constitutes 25-50% of average foodbank inventories (Powers, 2016).

Provision of 'healthy/fresh' food, which can be harder to access by those on low incomes, can go beyond health paternalism and funders' prerogatives, argue Community Food Centres Canada (CFCC, 2017, p.15):

> Not only does distributing healthier food build in a basic attitude of respect and dignity toward its recipients, it affirms a commitment to equity and social justice that hopefully one day will become enshrined in policy.

Such hope must be viewed alongside counter-evidence of depleting generosity and increasingly stringency of welfare/workfare (Dickinson, 2016, Mike Balkwill). Transformations are geographically-circumscribed and still not standard practice (Fisher, 2017a). I have noted epistemic issues around the definition of 'healthy', 'good' food (Guthman, 2008). However, this shifts charitable food away from success measured in bottles of soda recalculated as 'meals' (Powers, 2016). Healthier procurement/food

management requires financial investment in infrastructure and, for some, direct purchasing of agricultural surplus ex-commodified by retailers not because of its inferior quality but, in the case of ACCFB's celery, because it 'won't fit in the bag'. ACCFB's Allison recognised that "produce has a pretty broad cultural appeal" and had cultivated 'curiosity' about the foodbank's diverse needs and preferences when working out how best to redistribute 'unusual' produce.

Alternative SFR models like DCCK create markets for surplus crops, using their voluntary and paid labour force to prepare misshapen or blemished produce whose 'surplus' status is blended or baked into cooked dishes. It has also nourished a politics of refusal- refusing the 'dumping' of undesirable excess foods that do not fit its mission to provide healthy school lunches and other cooked meals. While retaining promotional imageries of 'combatting hunger', DCCK exemplifies a developmental model of poverty reduction through its culinary training programme and insistence that gifting food cannot be the primary solution.

Fundamentally, these shifts hinge on a qualitative shift from traditional charity models towards a food justice perspective. This has been explicitly recognised by anti-hunger advocates Why Hunger, whose 'Closing the Hunger Gap' conferences and reports suggest a growing alliance among foodbanks and anti-hunger advocates recognising systemic shortcomings of foodbanking and seeking structural change as well as improved service provision. This broad transformation from 'charity to justice' (Powers 2016) nevertheless meets continued discouragement from donors, who resist the reflexive drive towards models that may shine a light on their employment or environmental practices (Henderson, 2004, Fisher, 2017a). These dynamics convey the 'contested space' observed by Williams et al. (2016) of UK foodbanks, where volunteers may reconfigure their beliefs and attitudes about poverty and charity in a 'politics of encounter' (Lawson & Elwood, 2014). They link the micro-politics of food quality, unequal bodies and everyday encounters to macro-scale questions of wage regulation, welfare and food systems.

Dixon (2015) highlighted questions of responsibility and knowledge in her analysis of how charity volunteers may become food justice advocates. For example, volunteers may make assumptions about why a person is hungry and attending a foodbank- beliefs about this correspond to specific notions of political responsibility; whether hunger can be solved with charitable gifts of food, or requires structural change. Transforming knowledge requires reflection; Allen (2010) points to the need for collective analysis of

unequal distributions of power and resource in specific places in envisaging food system alternatives. Dixon (2015, p.7) advocates creating 'counterstories' to destabilise narratives of personal responsibility while positioning citizens epistemically to fill in the missing gaps from such narratives, to "identify structural injustices that contribute to food insecurity, especially those structural conditions of poverty and income inequality that disadvantage populations". IFAN's (n.d-b) StoryBank project aims to contribute to myth-busting by supporting food aid users to share diverse narratives that can contribute to UK policy-making processes.

Allison at ACCFB was wielding her position of knowledge and responsibility to defend disability benefits at local budget hearings. CAFB's representative called for city budget allocations towards healthcare, not her own foodbank, knowing that the latter had adequate private funding but that healthcare bears an intimate relationship with food and poverty. These advocates expressed sophisticated analyses of structural causes of poverty and were making concrete steps to embed this in programming. This included allying with other institutions (such as healthcare providers to monitor diabetes impacts of food provision) and arguably sprang from being part of foodbanks that nurtured such critical activity. Nevertheless, foodbanks still receive large donations from corporations that pay inadequate wages and their provision constitutes just a small part of their clients' overall foodscapes. However, Dixon notes that critical documentaries and popular writing have all contributed to the broadening of social justice perspectives among clients and volunteers as well as staff.

These observations recall Smith's description of Stoffweschel/metabolism as the "circulation of matter, value and representations" in the ever-creative reproduction of urban "social nature" (Heynen, 2013b, p.2). This chapter has suggested the capacity for creativity and re-direction of flows of food, discourses and policy in North America. The interplay of material, discursive and structural processes is evident in the way 'health' appeared as a contested concept in different places, serving as a metaphor for some of the complexity in foodbank politics and debates around equitable food access more generally.

What are the implications of these shifts for the UK? Williams et al. (2016, p.15) highlight critical conditions for politics of encounter to transform beliefs and attitude about structural causes of poverty and the role of charity: first, to "acknowledge the agency of foodbank clients and their role in shaping volunteers' perceptions and attitudes" towards

food precarity, acknowledgement that may be obscured by a rigid giver/receiver divide. Fisher's (2017a) observation that 'dignifying' models of 'client choice' or 'shopper-style' food pantry delivery do not necessarily threaten such hierarchies suggest the need for critical thinking around how clients experience food charity, especially where this may be just one of a chain of uncaring welfare encounters (Williams et al., 2016). Another, related, condition is the possibility for diverse affective relations to destabilise role-based hierarchies in what Williams et al. (2016, p.16) describe as "day-to-day improvisations of care". The place I encountered this during fieldwork was not in food charity spaces but in Canada's activist groups, where the distinction between client and non-client was at times invisible, muted by a common goal of creating structural change. A day spent cooking, serving and eating with New Orleans' 'Community Kitchen Collective' ('Commie Kitsch' to adherents) saw such affective boundary-blurring when we served our meal in a downtown park and sat to eat with the largely-homeless crowd who'd come to eat.

Williams et al.'s (2016) final conditions involve creating spaces for dialogue and counter-story generation between clients and volunteers and between volunteers themselves. The theme of participatory programming and involving clients in decision-making clearly links into other points about staff reflexivity, orientation to change (at organisational and wider societal levels) and recognition of diversity. Some foodbanks visited had created client panels or spaces for clients on their boards; it would be useful to conduct research with organisations, exploring how such groups are convened, organised and mobilised.

Comparing Williams et al.'s (2016) conditions for shifting foodbank volunteers towards justice-oriented praxis with my observations and literature of North America, certain similarities suggest the UK's 'leapfrogging' towards foodbanking politics that bely its younger age e.g. EHUK/Food Power campaigns' stimulation of 'food poverty alliances' creating collaborative, advocacy-focused structures aiming to transform narratives around poverty and evolve charity models into 'forces for change' (CFCC, 2017).

While this chapter ends on a hopeful note, the Discussion chapter will consider these possibilities and nascent shifts in light of other considerations: FareShare's growth imperative and corporate funding, a governmental matrix that continues to downward-squeeze incomes and serious issues of UK food system sustainability, safety and ethics. It also considers globalising tendencies of charity models, highlighting significant discursive and material resources behind expanding foodbanking as solution to the hunger-waste paradox.

Chapter Eight: Discussion

This chapter draws together findings in Chapters 4-7 with debates around the ways SFR mediates relationships between food poverty and waste by containing or contesting causative factors. It responds to gaps in understanding identified in the opening chapters, especially in comparing different SFR models and assessing the relevance of their material infrastructures. To recap, the overall aim has been to understand relationships between food waste and food precarity through ethnographic exploration of surplus food redistribution. Research objectives were to critically evaluate SFR organisations' discursive understandings and representations of hunger and food waste, comparing their working models of and networks with particular attention to labour, material and spatial practices. Another objective has been to situate findings in analysis of institutional contexts, patterns of social change and global processes mediating, and mediated by, SFR practices, providing recommendations for policy-makers and practitioners resulting from this analysis.

This chapter links previous observations and analyses of these themes to literature and existing theorisations, forming an overall argument that SFR constitutes distinctive forms, and that ethical debates around its effects must account for this diversity, broadly explored in my thesis as containment v contestation. Viewing these as more-than-human assemblages nuances unilinear critiques of SFR as translating neoliberal governance for managing poverty and waste, viewing it instead as assembled and thus changeable. Comparing diverse SFR spaces reveals innovative experiments towards a politics of distribution that can shift our focus away from 'problems' of hunger and waste and towards just and more ecologically sound modes of coexisting with other beings.

The chapter builds four sections roughly corresponding to the gaps my findings address: providing comparative analysis of SFR models, their more-than-human dynamics, and relevance of this to broader debates about SFR's role in addressing hunger and waste given extant social conditions.

Section 8.1 addresses the objective to compare diverse SFR discourse and practice, unpacking the activist/charity duality in light of findings. Drawing on the framing and assemblage thinking structuring Chapters 4-5, it reviews how redistribution assemblages, as socio-environmental hybrids, are made and (de)stabilised.

Section 8.2 draws on Chapter 5's exploration of SFR's more-than-human labour, spatial and material dynamics, highlighting ontological possibilities for fostering more ecologically resonant human relationships with food, where technology, senses, emotions, bodies and spaces all play a part in moving beyond static conceptualisations of waste and poverty. These do not obviate the need to address existing critiques of SFR, but to look more deeply into what they may obscure.

Section 8.3 links my findings about SFR practices to analyses of NGOs as enactments of state and corporate governance. This considers SFR organisations as translations of institutional dynamics with implications for the conduct of everyday life. Beyond merely critiquing SFR as foil for neo-liberalism, it analyses SFR as sites of experimental governance in distributive politics, asking how they may shape a broader politics of food access and even shape food production.

Section 8.4 considers scales of transformation, demonstrating the ways my study of SFR suggests globalising forms of food governance/contestation and, in light of the questions raised by the previous arguments, what kind of problem and/or solution this might offer.

8.1 Messy realities of SFR in the UK

8.1.1 Definitional issues: implications for the hunger/waste paradox

Chapter 4 argued that outcomes can be shaped by the construction of problems through processes of problematisation (Bacchi, 2012). It explored the social construction of SFR as emergent from discursive alignments of 'hunger' and 'food waste', each bearing contested conceptual trajectories. Definitional disputes present challenges for multi-context comparison but imposing uniform definitions would be "controversial because of the unavoidable implicit values" inhering in distinct extant definitions (Gjerris & Gaiani, 2015, p.57). Rather than seek definitional clarity, which may 'black-box' complexity (Callon & Latour, 1981), I have analysed the value-laden concepts through which SFR is constantly re-negotiated in lived and discursive space (Soja, 1996). Frame theory and social constructivism, especially in relation to social movements, have proved useful in demonstrating how contested values may be masked by the master category 'surplus food redistribution'.

Chapter 4 employed Mooney and Hunt's (2009) development of flat and sharp 'keying' to compare motivations, rationales and intentions of different UK redistributors' framings of hunger, waste and their relevance to redistribution practices. The 'flat' key implies

ideological affinities with a business-as-usual institutional matrix or 'corporate food regime' (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011). The 'sharp' key implies the radical pole of the food regime typology, the operation zone of food movements. These denote a continuum rather than dichotomy, and my findings revealed discursive complexity that prevents any straightforward mapping of FareShare and TRJFP as expressing the flat/sharp key respectively. FareShare staff tended to express a flatter key of food waste (e.g. inevitable by-product of industry), hunger (e.g. legitimate object of charity) and food businesses (e.g. benevolent donors). Most represented their work as pragmatic response to morally untenable inequities resulting from a policy environment that appears intractable (which is not FareShare's job to solve).

TRJFP often employed the language of 'wast*ed*' food, implicating the active role of what it frames, and blames, as an over-profligate food industry. TRJFP frames its receipt of food as 'interception', re-asserting agency intended to distinguish its food handling from charities. Most organisers framed the network as an 'environmental' campaign aiming to eradicate waste by feeding it to anyone who wished to eat it through accessible spaces and modes of payment. While acknowledging that certain TRJFP cafes were consciously addressing food precarity, most expressed awareness of potential comparisons to food charities but differentiated themselves from SFR organisations that "see poverty as the solution to food waste and have turned it into a sustainable business model, which is never ever gonna solve the issues" (Guy).

The different framings of hunger and waste employed by FareShare and TRJFP suggest that the hunger-waste paradox is itself loaded with divergent meanings and that, while Guy acknowledged the understandable moral outrage resulting from the hunger/waste co-presentation, this does not necessarily translate into the assumption that one is the solution to the other. More, their juxtaposition should alert us to systemic contradictions in food systems and contest them.

TRJFP cafés do, however, feed people in varying degrees of need, and the defensive language of environmental activism didn't necessarily succeed in communicating the food's origins and purpose to clients, as Chapter 6 explores. Gina struggled to find dignifying terminology to convey PAYF to her largely refugee clientele, wanting to explain that the food was not 'free' but equally, not 'waste'. The language of 'surplus', in contrast, appeared frequently in daily conversations between organisers and clients, a move that diluted the power of 'wasted' but that met the practical task of enticing visitors to eat and

enjoy the food. Most anxieties around how to frame food occurred over, for example, the food boutique rather than café meals, suggesting the transformational affordances of cooking in dissipating the discursive qualities that 'stick' to visibly-surplus e.g. past-date/mouldy items (Midgley, 2013). Communicating power-laden concepts thus introduces the challenge of framing: how to communicate to others a radical message that may or may not be necessary to achieving goals of preventing waste while feeding people (Barnard & Mourad, 2014).

A frame contest (Biltekoff, 2016) operates in these contrasting ontological presentations of surplus, hunger and redistribution as, on one hand, synergistic and, on the other, as tools to highlight systemic failures. This reflects the multiple meanings hidden by the hunger-waste paradox, where the paradoxical relationship to some reveals the need for resolution by balancing financial scarcity with redistributed excess food and to others, the untenable contradictions of socioeconomic systems characterised by unevenly-distributed resources whose paradoxical co-framing invites systemic critique and radical change.

8.1.2 Variegated scene: unpicking the activist/charity dichotomy

The previous section demonstrates the implausibility of critiquing SFR without attending to multiple organisational 'logics': values, qualities and framings (Midgley, 2013) by which actors rationalise and construct their work. In response to Midgley's call for greater attention to such varying logics surrounding surplus food, and the way tensions are handled by different actors, chapters demonstrated how UK SFR organisations enact a significant distinction between charity-as-containment (Heynen, 2010) and activism-as-contestation (Giles, 2013).

Before discussing this, I acknowledge important similarities between FareShare and TRJFP. Both are responding to actually-existing and tangible problems of excess food going uneaten, and communities palpably lacking resources to fulfil their food needs. Given the "frustrations of uncertain politics" as Poppendieck (1998a, p.291) notes, the urge to respond immediately and locally is understandable. Poppendieck roots the urge to feed the hungry in deeply-embedded, embodied ethical notions of religious morality, family, belonging and justice, concluding that "it makes sense that…providing food for people who lack it is intensely satisfying" (ibid., p.41). Her critique of this motive as assuaging guilt about inequality and diverting attention away from structural determinants, does not resolve the dilemma for people confronted with tangible

precarity alongside accessible surplus, constituting their own realm of possible action. A later section further discusses the viability of efforts to move beyond help-in-charitable-form, towards systemic advocacy and change.

The expansion of US foodbanking (Poppendieck, 1998a) has parallels with the UK, where SFR has expanded "unchecked" as Hawkes and Webster (2000, p.vi) predicted. In the 15 years since, estimates of formal SFR grew from 3115 tonnes (ibid.) to 47000 tonnes in 2015 (WRAP, 2017). In contrast, '420 ton' were 'rescued' by TRJFP in 2017 (Fig.15).
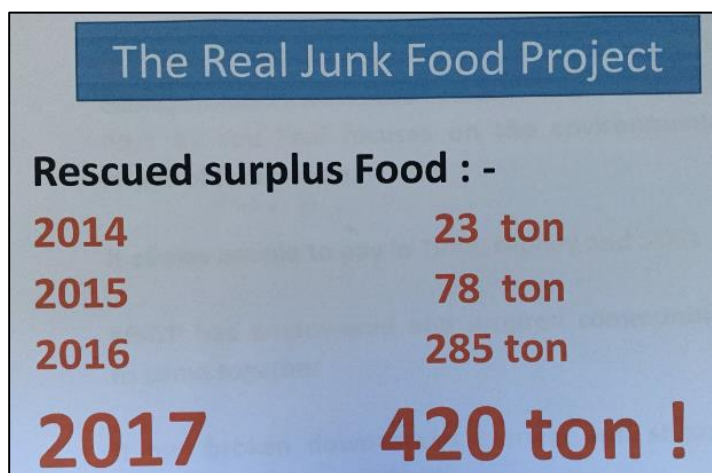

Figure.14 SFR statistics. (RealJunkFoodProject, 2017)

The UK landscape has much changed over the past 20 years. The 'informal' SFR sector, which Hawkes and Webster fail to define but imply is SFR unrepresented by brokerage organisations like FareShare, has expanded and variegated into an array of semi-informal models, including TRJFP. TRJFP's history is of bin-divers wanting to share excesses by cooking meals in a café setting, unlike FareShare's founding as a partnership between a major supermarket and well-established homeless charity. TRJFP's activist identity was expressed by numerous organisers vociferously critical of industry practice as causing waste, while refusing to be identified as a 'hunger charity'. Yet conflict emerged in several interviews around the network's leaning towards educational programming and upscaling infrastructures. One TRJFP organiser attributed this to the arrival of food industry professionals taking logistical and managerial roles. Those expressing radical intentions for their redistribution work sometimes expressed feeling cut-off from the wider network. Internal power dynamics and divergence between projects in different places, shifting over time, thus challenge a conclusion that TRJFP operates an overall politics of contestation (Barnard & Mourad, 2014). Some projects retained an identity of collective of bin-divers sharing food through informal acts of solidarity and supporting a community of activists, while others expressed ambitions to normalise/mainstream eating waste through professionalisation [e.g. catering, consulting].

Organisational structures reflect contestation/containment distinctions. TRJFP's network is structured by loose and negotiable 'rules' and largely online communication channels.

It thus appears closer to anarchistic modes of organising (Maeckelbergh, 2009), while FareShare's manuals, social franchise model and hierarchical structure directed from London lends it a business-like structure that reflects broader shifts towards hybridisation of charities, business and government, discussed in Section 3. While my research covers a single depot, interviews suggested geographical variation in depots' operations. Section 4 explores FareShare's positioning in global foodbanking networks that may beckon increasing standardisation not only across the UK, but internationally, suggesting a broader trend of containment. These points suggest some overlapping of the activist/charity approaches as critiqued by Harvey (Souza, 2010), especially in acting as 're-redistribution' networks for managing excess, to which I now turn.

8.1.3 Relations between organisations

Polarised categories of activist/charity cannot capture fully diversity within organisations, as discussed. Another way of examining Midgley's call for critical attention to 'tensions' around the valuation of surplus food is to examine relationships *between* them. This sheds light on three overlapping issues identified in the chapters that shed light on inter-organisational relationships: networks of re-redistribution, competition/collaboration, and SFR as economic experimentation. I show how focussing on these complexifies debates around supply/demand irregularities and unpredictability.

My research revealed that redistribution organisations are not immune to generating unusable excesses, and differ in capacity to divert these to other waste-hierarchy actors. A key finding, then, was the extent of food exchange between different redistributors, including foodbanks. Such relationships could be formal; some TRJFP cafés were FareShare CFMs, lending a vantage-point for contesting the latter's practice. TRJFP members at times complained of being 'dumped' with unusable product:

> 'I'm really not here to take your waste. If you can't get rid of it, it's your waste, I'm not having it' (Mary)

The quality of food received was often framed in terms of temporal and spatial contexts: a delivery late in the day when the café was not open the next day, or the café lacking adequate storage space led them to question FareShare's competency and ethos. Other re-redistribution relationships were more informal, such as FareShare's warehouse manager calling 'overflow' customers who could collect potential wastage burdens due to contrasting determinations of 'waste' e.g. redistributing past-best-before food. Re-redistribution depends on organisations' models and temporal patterns of distribution as

well as their infrastructural capacity: vans, cars and people with time to drive to FareShare or foodbanks to collect excesses were often essential to such flows. Where food cannot be used by one organisation, due to compliance rules, storage capacity or recipient preferences/limitations, there are often others willing to take the excess, including livestock and AD plants. If a key criticism of foodbanking is the unpredictability of food supplies (Lambie-Mumford, 2014, Power, 2015), these strategies suggest localised ecologies for swapping and moving food between organisations in ways that can reduce waste and stabilise supplies, to a degree. They also suggest that SFR organisations frequently deal with problems of excess (Abbott, 2014) and not only with insufficient supplies. While e.g. Tarasuk, Dachner and Loopstra (2014) argue that redistributed food is insufficient in comparison with the scale of food insecurity (in-part, it is argued, because threatened dignity prevents foodbank use), the question of charities saddled with handling excessive foods points to the need to *prevent* food wastage, given its inadequacy as a poverty solution (Lohnes & Wilson, 2017).

The above reveals the second point, a contradictory dynamic at work: collaborative food exchange alongside competition for donations. Accessing surplus reveals distinct methods for engaging donors. For TRJFP this involves shaming, publically highlighting the constructed nature of harmful social problems (Hacking, 1999). For FareShare, social media allows for thanking donors through publically-visible imagery of 'corporate social responsibility' and a donor-pleasing sense that food system issues can be resolved through such collaboration. As Chapter 5 showed, retail donors can shut off supplies if their compliance or reputational concerns are compromised, suggesting limitations to radical work relying on donations rather than, as is the case for freegan.info and FNB, bin-diving (Giles, 2013, Barnard, 2016). TRJFP exemplify tensions between wanting to uphold an image of safe, competent food handling while seeking to contest waste-generation, although arguably their public visibility provides a stronger platform for advocacy than the more clandestine work of radical redistributors FNB whose political messaging is not always received/understood by those it feeds, and at times results in clashes over the legality of public feeding (Giles, 2013, Barnard & Mourad, 2014). TRJFP café organisers' transitions to more manageable ways of working e.g. permanent storage spaces, arguably compromises its radical propensities (see Section 2).

Lastly, I compare my finding to a growing literature exploring 'food sharing' described by Davies et al. (2017, p.517) as a "multiplicity of already existing diverse practices". They

focus on ICT-mediated food sharing, whose databasing and analysis can *perform* "creative construction" (p.510) of Gibson-Graham's (2008) "new economic becomings". The category 'food sharing' offers potential to examine food waste management from household to international levels, though over-emphasising economic novelty may mask the deep inequalities and systemic risks represented by hunger and waste. The imaginary of 'sharing' suggests SFR as solidarity and sociality. However, it may neglect Midgley's (2013) attention to how property relations congeal in surplus foods, leading to the regulatory disputes and theft accusations described below.

Rather than focussing on SFR organisations as discrete and fixed separate entities, the following section theorises SFR as socio-ecological assemblages that can shape, as well as contain/contest food systems.

8.2 More-than-human SFR assemblages

This section re-engages AT and political ecology as tools for theorising the messy realities outlined above, considering their implications for flows of power and resources. Such theories problematise society-nature dualisms persisting in much food activism, highlighted above in organisations' discursive (re)positionings as addressing 'environmental' problems, framed as distinct from 'social' problems. My motivation to challenge these dichotomies reflect my commitment to researching the interdependencies of social-environmental dynamics in sustainability (Bennett, 2010). Such ontological commitment is helped by e.g. Latour's hybrid conceptualisations of environment-as-social.

PEB and AT provide tools for considering SFR organisations' framing practices alongside their material and structural effects. The notion of assemblage "establishes connections between certain multiplicities" drawn from orders of representation, reality and subjectivity (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p.25). AT's emphasis on connection makes it especially suited to analysing disjunctures and overlappings in the SFR landscape. These theories configure politics as effect of such connections, rather than humans as sole effectors (Bennett, 2010). Non-humans also play an active role. To demonstrate the co-utility of political ecology and assemblage thinking in understanding SFR, I adopt Robbins and Marks' (2010) category of 'metabolic assemblage', which incorporates Marxist critique alongside close analysis of more-than-human processes in tackling hybrid hunger/waste problems. The material dynamics of SFR infrastructures explored in

Chapter 5 suggest how we can regard redistribution spaces as both reflective and disruptive of urban socio-natural metabolisms of more-than-human labour whose cycles of accumulation and expulsion (Giles, 2013) reveal underlying dynamics of valuing food and people. I consider metabolic assemblages of SFR as ways to generate intimate yet public understandings of food's value in shaping more ecological and ethical human-nature relations.

8.2.1 Impacts of SFR: technologies and food types

Little attention has been given to environmental impacts of redistribution (however, Phillips et al. 2013). My attention to SFR materialities grew from curiosity about resources it requires, but also how material practices are shaped by, and shape, discursive trajectories of hunger/waste. While agricultural impacts of food subsequently wasted is implied to outweigh redistribution impacts, this must be set against broader questions of excessive food supplies; is SFR simply redistributing far beyond requirements for food security? This attention sensitised me to observing requirements and propensities of different food types, revealing differences in how food is wasted and how it can be used to meet sometimes contradictory goals of waste reduction, dignity, health, enjoyment, and safety. Each of these goal generates debate around SFR, and can be considered by viewing foodstuffs and infrastructure as agents whose labour produces specific effects. I am aware of my limited capacity to 'see' many of the interactions that produce these effects: the multi-bodied affective interactions underway when someone eats redistributed food, for example (Bennett, 2010). Numerous metabolisms remain unfollowed.

Critical scholars have theorised how capitalist food industries routinely expel excesses to uphold exchange-values (Barnard, 2016). As Midgley (2013) also showed, surplus food bears traces of previous labour-material metabolisms in food commodity production. Chapter 5 described how traces of corporate ownership translate into specific infrastructural-bureaucratic requirements for compliantly managing use-values even after food's exchange-value has been depleted e.g. recording temperatures. The 'othering' of surplus food from market relations (Midgley 2013) is often also inscribed in material traces borne by (and acquired by) surplus food as it travels through redistribution processes. Fresh food presents particular challenges for maintaining use-values. Viewed by research participants as symbolically valuable for upholding desired reputations as providers of 'healthy' food, perishable food also imposes significant energy, resource and

infrastructure costs. This was exemplified by my analysis of refrigeration, which can stabilise food, rendering redistribution assemblages more symbolically and spatially permanent. If AT highlights connections between representational, material and affective processes, this analysis has thus shown how ideas about food, waste and poverty interact with extant food system logics in configuring redistribution assemblages materially. In metabolic assemblages, the greater vitality of fresh food (Bennett, 2010) commands greater labour by volunteers and fridges but helps to stabilise SFR *by* destabilising debates about its unhealthiness and inadequacy (Caraher & Furey, 2017). Whether fresh or not, meat's potential accusations as inherently inefficient and thus wasteful (Garnett & Little, 2015, Buller, 2015), however, point to the need to attend to specific food groups, types, and categorisations in relation to the overall impacts and capacities of SFR.

A further word on traceability. Logging forms, temperature probes and reports punctuating FareShare warehousing processes (and filling filing cabinets) constitute some of the bureaucratic techniques by which donor requirements (and the government regulations they enfold) are filled and redistribution organisations professionalise.

Trudeau & Veronis (2009, p.1120) describe such "neoliberal technologies of audit, contract, and performance monitoring" as part of NGOs' enactment of state restructuring, to which I turn in Section 3.1. Surplus foods also tell stories about food system geographies; their traceability can be (partially) read from packaging or redistributors' research in efforts to educate others about where food comes from (Figure.16 exemplifies one artist's effort).

← previous image   2/37   next image →

Strawberries
Sort: Strawberries 'Elsanta' / Place of production: San Giovanni Lupatoto, Verona, Italy / Cultivation method: Foil green house / Time of harvest: June - October / Transporting distance: 741 km / Means of transportation: Truck Carbon footprint (total) per kg: 0,35 kg / Water requirement (total) per kg: 348 l / Price: 7,96 € / kg
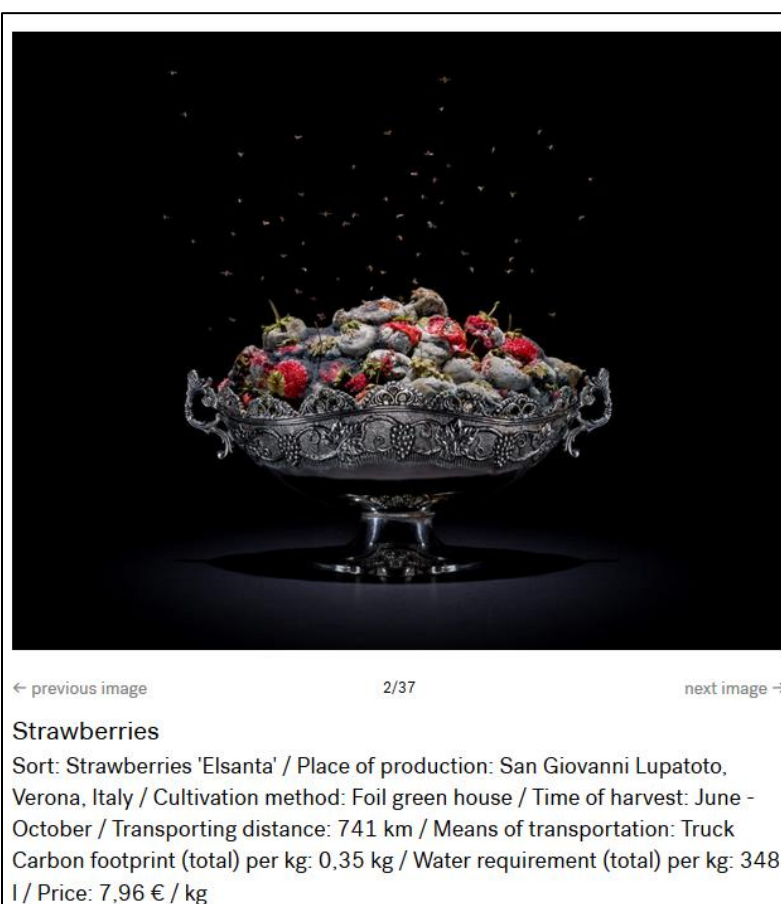
Figure.15 From exhibition depicting systemic/ aesthetic dimensions of wasted food, Pichler (n.d.)

Next, I revisit expiry-dates as other turbulent nodes in SFR's capacities as container or contester of hunger/waste.

8.2.2 Regulatory translations: expiry-dates and distribution of risk

Analysing the handling of fresh meat in redistribution spaces shed particular light on how local SFR spaces and practices articulate what Perkins (2007, p.1159) describes as "extra-local socio-ecological configurations". Specific foods entering SFR spaces can be 'read' by different actors in distinct power/knowledge practices e.g. expressing air-miles vs pleasure for future clients. Use-by dates emerged from constellations of microbiological expertise, food's productivist paradigm, European integration and meat-animal public health 'scares' (Milne, 2012). With animals raised more intensively, risks to their health, and by default human eaters', intensified. Gille (2012, p.30) has also theorised the proliferation of "risk relations" attending globalization. Use-by dates constitute regulatory means by which microbiological agents and trade relations have been stabilised, but whose capacity to generate waste has resulted in its re-problematisation as food waste has risen as a concern (Milne, 2012). This is not to say safety concerns have disappeared, and media scandals (Goodley, 2017) look set to combine with Brexit-related changes (Lang et al., 2017) to reconfigure the constellation once again.

Chapter 5 traced the contested process by which TRJFP attempted to circumvent the date-label's authority, by reframing risk as a systemic matter of overproduction and assymetrical food distribution. Regulatory authority materialised in a food standards inspector, their summons letter and the cutting-off of supermarkets' donations. The expiry-date-assemblage acted as "cables of information" (Latour, 1998, n.p) connecting law, package, inspector: but the oligopticon only sees "a little bit of a whole" (ibid.). What was unseen by the inspector but replicated on social media, was TRJFP's insistence that use-by dates may not guarantee edibility if food is treated in certain ways. The event recalibrated the wider network's approach to regulatory compliance but provided a platform for TRJFP to protest retail changes such as increasing stocking of ready-prepared 'convenient' produce requiring a use-by. While emerging from histories of increasing consumer mobilisation and protection (Milne, 2012), the use-by date's ontological status has been problematised by waste concerns that themselves reflect vast changes in the way food is produced and sold.

Meanwhile, some retailers are capitalising on affordances of the 'best-before' date as a quality marker without legal repercussions for sale (East of England Co-op, n.d.). It is

worth considering how this could be exploited, resurfacing early concerns of consumers over freshness in Milne's (2012) genealogy of expiry-date problematisation. However, such shifts hint at normalising processes underway in eating 'past-date' food, with ramifications for perceptions of surplus food as second-rate. Larger charities nevertheless retain rigid ideas and practices around redistributing such food, reflexively aware of reputational issues around surplus food and arguably linked to an ethics of care around vulnerable peoples' food (Lambie-Mumford, 2014) that nuances critiques of foodbanking as disregarding dignity (Poppendieck, 1998a).

Contentious negotiations over relationships between expiry-dates and waste reveal the ontological politics of determining 'food', where different actors' readings and contextual handlings of different markers of edibility perform food differently, with implications for foodstuffs' trajectories. The troubled governmentality of public expiry-date 'understanding' concerning waste policy-makers (EU Committee, 2014) solidified into oligoptic discipline in TRJFP's case. Awareness campaigns have taken the place of traditional regulatory bodies as austerity has cut the budgets of, for example, the Food Standards Agency (Perrett, 2016). Reduced capacity of regulatory agencies to enact food safety law raises questions about the devolution of public safety to individual decision-making and risk-management (Gille, 2012).

A final point is to consider scales of risk and public perception. Palpable manifestations/events of food system issues (scandal/"listeria hysteria", Milne, 2012) and climate change (weather/"beast from the east", Thorne 2018) often galvanise public opinion around social problems in ways that do not correspond to longer-term risks. Indeed, crises can simply reinforce collective efforts to maintain status quo, according to 'system justification theory' (Feygina, Jost, & Goldsmith, 2010). While the BSE crisis was rooted in intensive, profit-oriented agricultural practice, change occurred not primarily at this level but through increasing consumer awareness and, thus responsibility for systemic risk (Milne, 2012). While redistributors often described meat as a desirable product in pleasing and nourishing clients, some RJFP cafes were attempting to promote vegetarian cooking/eating, often referencing broader discussions about meat-eating and environmental sustainability (Garnett & Little, 2015). TRJFP differed from activists like freegan.info, whose refusal to use animal products reflects both safety and ethical concerns (Barnard, 2016). These are complex discussions, not least due to questions about whether livestock eat virgin crops or wasted food (Mourad, 2015). Yet the links

between temporality, intensity of symptoms and public awareness of risk also applies to the question of food insecurity and the role of charity in addressing short-term manifestations and/or long-term causes.

8.2.3 The labour issue

Here I address two key findings; first around reliance upon volunteers in SFR and secondly, the roles of more-than-human labour.

Nearly all organisations interviewed, in the UK and US, relied upon unpaid labour to do the considerable work of acquiring, logging, sorting and distributing surplus food. Acquisition work was often narrated by TRJFP organisers as the initially-thrilling reclamation of edible food from bins, slowly becoming exhausting, dispiriting work with anti-social timing. The transition to donation relations represented a compromise between easier work and less contentious collection modes (Giles, 2013). Nevertheless, many expressed growing frustration at the financial precarity induced by devoting their lives to daily activism. Managing such concerns resulted in strategies that could be seen as entrenching SFR, such as the contentious rollout of TRJFP's education programme, a way to earn more secure income through schools' subscriptions.

Another perspective expressed was the value of redistribution work and the role of payment in acknowledging this, as well as enabling a more predictable workforce. My research is limited in its exploration of volunteers' experiences but this was clearly an ongoing challenge. Volunteering was mentioned by some as advantageously freeing and expressive of an ethos of anti-capitalist solidarity. Some cafes did not use volunteers, concerned about the time taken to manage them, while others welcomed volunteers excluded from job markets, rewarding them with food and, sometimes, expenses.

Rosol (2012) critiques volunteering in community food projects as a form of outsourcing public services under neoliberal urban restructuring. She distinguishes voluntarism from workfare as a matter of class inequity. Such a dynamic clearly played out in FareShare's workforce, where 'volunteers' recruited via workfare programmes were subject to different workplace discipline than occasional and often middle-class or corporate volunteers who attended one-off or once a week. Accusations and dismissal around food 'theft', for example, suggested FareShare's role in disciplining workplace behaviour through hierarchies of who controls food. The irony that much food ends up being given away free or low-cost to people whose food precarity may well relate to worklessness or

welfare reform was not lost on me. FareShare staff often mentioned "moving people on" as a third goal of its hunger/waste mission, but hints at the need to critique categorisations of who should access surplus food, and how, a matter that was far more blurred in TRJFP spaces, in part through PAYF. The volunteer/recipient hierarchy critiqued in analyses of food charity (Stein, 1989, Fisher, 2017a) is more complex when considering workplace hierarchies in 'middleman' organisations, and in activist spaces that minimise role distinctions (Fisher, 2018). The role of volunteers in surveilling others, such as FareShare drivers concerned about CFM compliance and theft, suggests another complex power dynamic upholding SFR networks through oligoptic processes (Muller & Schurr, 2016).

Chapter 5 showed that fridges, premises and packaging/expiry-dates exemplify hybrid but dynamic metabolisms of redistribution assemblages. Robbins and Mark (2010, p.187) synthesise Marxist notions of metabolism and assemblage in considering humans-non-humans as enacting "reciprocal, reinforcing flows of labour", citing Swyngedouw's argument that such processes reveal circulations of physical components with "social relations of appropriation, production, and exchange". SFR's more-than-human components assist in reinforcing certain relationships- such as compliance rules imposed by corporate donors and/or FareShare's national team, yet provided pivots for challenging such relationships as described in the controversy around use-by dates in RJFP warehouses. In these ways, more-than-human actant-labourers can uphold or reconfigure distinctions between use- and exchange-values in food capitalism in ways that affect food flows but also the capacity of redistribution actors to affect wider material and discursive structures of food production and distribution.

8.2.4 Interpretive skill and teaching vibrancy: multi-bodied sensory engagement, enjoyment.

Another dimension of more-than-human labour discussed in Chapter 5 was interpretive labour. Working in SFR spaces, multiple subjective and contextual modes of handling food and other components mutually determined onward trajectories of specific food items. Such labour holds implications for care enacted by volunteers towards often-unseen eaters, with parallels to Evans' (2014) analysis of food waste transitions as expressions of familial love and affective negotiations between physical infrastructures, provisioning patterns and food. It also yields lessons for broader concerns around the

judgements and regulatory contexts delimiting food's passage to market through cosmetic specification.

Chapter 5a foregrounded multiple techniques for distinguishing food from waste, from haptic probings of melons by FareShare's 'veg-o-phile' warehouse manager, to TRJFP's articulations of the interactions of packaging, storage, regulation and food's own actancy as it rots, explained by FFS educators (5b). As Bennett (2010) has theorised, food can be rendered more or less passive/lively through, for example, processing technologies. She also argues for 'vibrancy' in the way food matter metabolises in animal bodies, producing specific affects and chain-reactions. This prompts reflection on how humans relate to, and value, food in relation to packaging, processing and its capacity to be transformed into something else. Pichler's images (Fig.33) exemplify such visceral probings.

Attention to micro-encounters of the body and its molecular and affective interactions with food reflects feminist scholarship's theorisation of bodies and their differences in geography (Colls, 2012). Bodies and their affects become sites of politics, as in Guthman & DuPuis' (2006) analysis of bodies as object *and* subject of neoliberal transformations. SFR provides an interesting lens for debating bodily and ecological health in terms of excesses and scarcities of food access, nutrients, control, dignity. It can articulate food systemics, such as RJFP organiser Caroline showing her daughter labels on a box of South American grapes and discussing imported water and seasonality. SFR can facilitate and thus reproduce these flows, but focussing on more-than-human agency in the ontological 'flattening' of dichotomies in these theories opens space for reading possibilities for "a more ecological sensibility" (Bennett, 2010, p.10). Chapter 5b provides a PEB analysis of lively encounters with food enabled by its journeying through new redistribution pathways. It argues for attention to sensory, emotional, collective and embodied pedagogies and discourses through which food can be taught/learned in new configurations of value/matter that might equip young people with more resonant relationships with less-than-perfect foods. This was accompanied by intentions to combine such encounters with cooking and food-growing lessons, suggesting a host of practices through which waste-minimisation and enjoyment of food might be viscerally bolstered (Carolan, 2015).

However, hopes for teaching the 'value of' or 'connections with' food risk obscuring structural limitations on children's foodscapes (Brembeck et al., 2013). Critical attention to assumptions underlying such program design should prevent homogenising

approaches that fail to reflexively account for class, gender, race and other grounds for experiencing food differently, in line with wider critiques around the inclusivity and class/race dynamics of 'alternative food' practices (Guthman, 2008). Chapter 5b also raised the question of how educational approaches might serve to individualise responsibility and solutions for food waste in ways that reflect neoliberal prerogatives. This brings me to the second half of the discussion, widening the focus onto SFR as tool for understanding changes in the social contract that yield both warnings and lessons.

8.3 SFR as service-provision: enacting, replacing, shaping the state?

The previous section explored how everyday practices and materialities of SFR relate to debates around health, resource-use and social difference. Here I discuss the idea that SFR organisations "enact state restructuring" (Trudeau & Veronis, 2009, p.1117) by linking my findings to debates around the relative role of states, corporations, communities, NGOs and individuals in managing food access and distribution. I acknowledge that this normative-discrete list neglects the full array of interstitial actors identified above.

8.3.1 Translation (how does SFR transform/reproduce power?)

Scholars have conceptualised US foodbanking as enacting neoliberal governance by "romanticiz[ing] the power of local communities" (Warshawsky, 2015, p.32) and depoliticising food issues. NGOs' uptake of responsibility for social services, he argues, enables the state to devolve political and financial pressures through decentralisation and privatisation. Foucault (2008, p.144) described neoliberalisation as the "individualization of…and…through social policy, instead of collectivization and socialization by and in social policy". NGOs, argue Trudeau and Veronis (2009), constitute 'translation mechanisms' for state welfare restructuring, adopting Rose's (1999, p.48) adaptation of the Latourian notion of translation, where "alignments are forged between the objectives of authorities wishing to govern and the personal projects of those organizations, groups and individuals who are the subjects of government".

The subject of foodbanking as enacting state withdrawal has engendered fierce debate. Opening the black-box of 'the state' means attending to, for example, government devolution in the UK and shifting roles and resources of 'local' government. What has been convincingly demonstrated, however, is how UK foodbanks have become familiar

responses to welfare cuts and the sanctions regime in ways that were intended as 'emergency' responses (Lambie-Mumford & Dowler, 2014, Loopstra et al., 2018). The moral imperative to respond to visible destitution has been enough for food charities to put aside arguments about their role in entrenching "roll-back neoliberalism" (Tickell & Peck, 2002). This argument was discussed by many participants, that communities can, and should, respond to local need in achievable ways. I recall here the TRJFP organiser who described the satisfaction of daily feeding people in contrast to the frustratingly slow work of political advocacy.

Best intentions aside, the daily work of enabling food access reproduces Trudeau and Veronis' dynamic of enacting welfare responsibilities previously undertaken by the state in the form of unconditional cash benefits. While food poverty has likely never been eradicated (Leather, 1996), the growth of SFR has been symbiotic with welfare cut-backs and growing inequality in ways that have forged physical landscapes and that show no sign of slowing. In fact, commitments by central government (Murphy, 2017) and Walmart (FareShare, 2018) to fund growing SFR infrastructure hint at further entrenchment, spatially through the infrastructures described in Chapter 5, and symbolically through ongoing public support for community-based efforts to divert food waste to solve its constructed counterpart, food poverty. Observations from US SFR suggest that "decentralization, privatization and devolution of food waste governance to local institutions may not effectively reduce food waste" (Warshawsky, 2015, p.27), suggesting the need for UK policy-makers to carefully consider funding commitments and risks of entrenching 'successful failures' (Ronson and Caraher, 2016).

As I observed in North America, support for structural advocacy and recognition of charity's shortcomings can co-exist in SFR discourses, which have responded to criticisms in part through counter-practices of emphasising 'better' practice: healthy food provision, dignified distribution models and, while still underdeveloped in FareShare, commitments to systems-focussed advocacy (CFCC, 2017). However, I note that these organisations remain vulnerable, should we start to view them as effective providers of food. Lohnes & Wilson's (2017) analysis of a US foodbank's near collapse reveals the instability of charities expected to process ever-larger quantities of waste while feeding needy populations in a context of austerity funding cuts to the very organisations that have taken on para-statal functions (Warshawsky, 2010).

8.3.2 Racial tensions in narratives of deserve and surveillance

Food assistance in the US has long been linked to racial inequalities, in radical (Heynen, 2009) and regressive (Henderson, 2004) ways. Chapter 6 applied the concept of articulations to the way these categories can overlap in SFR discourse, with foodbanking's "socially necessary representations" of the 'deserving poor' masking the fact that foodbanks can indeed assist radical organisations who nevertheless go unrepresented. Chapter 7 suggested how explicit engagement with the critique of race implicit in 'food justice' (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011) has inspired shifts in SFR practice to address power inequities inherent in charitable models, such as board inclusion of foodbank users. However, narratives of deserve in UK SFR spaces provided a means to consider broader processes of social differentiation and discrimination. If poverty maps onto racial inequalities in the UK as it does in the US (Poppendieck, 1998), it is worth considering how they are expressed and handled in SFR spaces. Given food's long history as tool of social control (Gidwani & Reddy, 2011), it is perhaps unsurprising that charitable food creates spaces for contestation or reaffirmation of narratives of deservingness of food and assistance (Williams et al., 2016).

I refer briefly to an encounter delivering FareShare food to an organisation that the volunteer driver suspected of 'stealing' food, describing the CFM as a "so-called church" and a "black guy" who looked suspicious to him. He described refugees that he suspected were "taking the piss" by accessing charitable food, devaluing his giving up his free time to volunteer. His descriptions of using foodbanks himself suggest a dynamic of 'othering' in a situation of limited access to emergency food, and a more general translation of structural inequalities and austerity into racist or xenophobic resentment (Carastathis, 2015). A staff member noted volunteers' mixed attitudes towards recipients:

> Because you've got different cultures and stuff that we deliver food to, some people are going well, these…other nationalities shouldn't come into our country in the first place and then claim our food... how come they're getting food and I'm not? (Dan)

Chapter 6 also discussed concerns over public safety following alleged racially-motivated incidents at a Leeds TRJFP café. Research took place over a period of increasingly contentious discourse around immigration and the Brexit referendum. Racially or nationally-inflected narratives of poverty causation and 'deserve' around government/nongovernmental social assistance require urgent attention, especially as Brexit changes may well aggravate combinations of rising food prices and pinched incomes for the most vulnerable groups (Lang et al., 2017, Blake, 2017). NGOs' potential

for reproducing racial inequalities (Guthman 2012) in organisational and representational practice requires SFR organisations to reflect on their handling of difference, especially as race and class closely impact food poverty and health outcomes (Slocum, 2006), in a fraught political climate of renewed 'culture wars' (Lewis, 2018).

A Foucauldian reconceptualisation of power suggests that biopolitics can also operate through the work of redistribution organisations' distinct knowledges and techniques in feeding others (Giles, 2013). Lambie-Mumford (2013) has suggested that TT' referral-monitoring system may serve to highlight systemic issues when a person repeatedly seeks food assistance, holding agencies to account. Durrant (2014, p.4) argues that NGOs can affect systemic change through mechanisms of, for example, "normative contestation", challenging "incumbent food regimes". NGOs may pressure food corporations to adopt more 'ethical' supply chain practices (Freidberg, 2004). As my chapters have shown, this can vary within and between organisations. A notion of biopolitics 'from below' (Kraftl, 2015) retains analytical space for recognising the multi-bodied agency of people and things involved in SFR, as well as acknowledging the vital role played by food distribution in the maintenance of bodies and social reproduction in a context of state failure to do so (Heynen, 2010). Rather than critiquing the 'moral imperative' of feeding the hungry and its unintendedly pernicious consequences (Poppendieck 1998a), the next section engages with more hopeful dimensions of SFR.

8.3.3 More-than-food benefits and discursive experiments: towards a politics of distribution?

Much of my work is inspired by critiques of charity as foils for neoliberalism (Warshawsky, 2010), containment of industrial excess (Lindenbaum, 2016) and, more generally, predicated on specific notions of what a 'good' life should constitute while masking the power dynamics of who gets to define and enact this (Escobar, 1995). This section takes a different tack, setting aside the left's adeptness at "opposing neoliberalism" (Ferguson, 2015, p.26) and considering positive learning potentials in SFR for what Ferguson describes as a 'new' politics of distribution, presumably distinguished from an 'old' distribution politics of Keynesian welfare (Smith, 2000).

Chapter 6 drew on Williams et al.'s (2016, p.22) exploration of foodbanks as spaces of encounter that potentially "rework, reinforce and generate new and progressive political sensibilities among…volunteers and clients". Ultimately, foodbanks operate through distinct notions of who food aid is for, accompanied by a complex politics of how such

food should be accessed, and the limits to this (Cloke et al., 2016). Chapter 6 compared FareShare's concerns that surplus food should be used to meet loosely-determined social 'need' to TRJFP's politics of making surplus food accessible to all. TRJFP's approach was expressed in one Twitter post declaring "We ARE NOT part of the food bank process. We DO NOT feed the homeless. We DO NOT feed people on benefits. We DO NOT feed the needy. WE FEED ANYONE/EVERYONE' (RealJunkFoodProject, 2017).

The café as a publically-accessible space and 'normal' means of accessing food created meeting space for diverse groups: transgender, refugee, ELT, mother-baby and campaign groups were among those mentioned or taking place during my visits. One organiser/director aimed to "create a space where more people have the opportunity to meet who otherwise wouldn't in our city" (Gina), borne of conversations over coffee with an asylum seeker and memories of her own family's arrival in Britain as refugees. This is just one of myriad examples of the more-than-food benefits generated by the affordances of SFR. Increased availability of accessible surplus food was described as a key enabler, although complexities of managing redistribution costs through 'accessible' modes of paying for food was also discussed in Chapter 6. Alliances between organisers, volunteers and clients were at times frayed by the attempt of PAYF to decouple food access from set prices. Reconfiguring the value of food and commensal spaces is a constant process of renegotiation, communication and establishing trust. While PAYF achieves a different outcome from FNB' distribution of free food as a refusal to reinscribe capitalist exchange-values, it speaks to debates about creating food access in ways that provide opportunities for reciprocity, unconditional access and diverse ways of expressing food values (by volunteering rather than paying with cash, for example). RJFP thus constitutes a site of experimentation, what Gibson-Graham (2003, p.127) would describe as 'diverse economies'. Volunteering in different SFR spaces offered opportunities for reshaping ideas about food's relationship to waste, through sorting practices, while cooking communally provided space to share diverse practices for preventing waste, for caring for food and other people through making wasted food beautiful, delicious and expressive of, for instance, the different nationalities and regions represented by volunteers. Resonant encounters offer a chance to theorise human/more-than-human urban ecologies beyond a focus on green space towards the way food flows through 'recombinant ecologies' of "biological communities assembled through the dense comings and goings of urban life" (Hinchcliffe & Whatmore, 2006, p.123).

These benefits do not negate the potential for SFR to contain waste and hunger in ways that offer little explicit challenge to systemic/causative issues. Anxiety expressed around PAYF and peoples' differential capacity to pay highlights the persistent importance of having adequate money to access food, which neither organisation was opting to advocate towards. Debates around paying for human labour in redistribution work, however, suggest the possibility for social business models that create jobs through innovative food access models, as in the case of DCCK. Such models, especially when purchasing market-rejected agricultural produce, can create food-systemic change, though tend to rely on extensive fundraising efforts. Interesting scholarship is critiquing assumptions of work as the only route out of poverty, positing universal forms of income distribution to decouple entitlement from income-earning capacity (Bauman, 1998, Ferguson, 2015, Srnicek & Williams, 2015).

Viewed positively, most workers in FareShare and TRJFP expressed interests in providing equitable, healthy food in dignified ways that differ significantly from mainstream food markets. Food was not necessarily framed as a solution to poverty; FareShare has insisted that its function is to relieve organisations of market-price food costs. Equally, food charity is recognised by many staff not as *the* solution to food poverty but as a means to stretch budgets further, given food's relative elasticity (Fabian Society, 2015). In these ways, food charities and activists alike are beginning to form alliances around action 'beyond' the food bank. The final section considers this potential in light of learning from international contexts of SFR growth.

8.4 Translocal assemblages: is SFR globalising?

This section questions whether UK SFR is shaped by globalising influences in the expansion of foodbanking as model of managing hunger and waste. It broadens the tension threading this thesis between forms of containment and contestation, comparing the globalisation of foodbanking to globalising networks of activism/solidarity, considering SFR as translocal assemblage where corporate and critical power can be differently read: if SFR is assembled, it can be changed.

The growth of SFR can be seen in the light of global political ecologies: the international impacts of the financial crisis, climate change, globalised food chains and neoliberal economic ideologies that have seen food price fluctuations and shifts in provisioning politics, especially the prevalence of welfare retrenchment under 'austerity' (Hossain et

al., 2014). 'Translocality' has been conceptualised as a way to link such multiscalar challenges to specific sites (McFarlane, 2009), for example ICT-mediated food sharing as "stretching" spaces in an "emergent translocal world" (Davies et al., 2017, p.511). This section argues for a recursive view of SFR as enacting globalising processes while shaping them.

8.4.1 Globalising charity models

FareShare's attempt to reframe its distribution as 'saving charities money' (FareShare, 2017c) in response to critiques that is offers a depoliticising 'band-aid' (Caraher & Furey, 2017) can be constrasted with its membership of the Global Foodbanking Network (GFN). Headquartered a block from Feeding America, GFN shares the latter's stature as umbrella organisation well-funded by corporate foundations. It expresses a flatter key of the food security frame, evident in the following quote from its CEO: "With infrastructure and technology, we can ensure that every person on earth has access to nutritious food" (Food Tank, 2016). Reinforcing extant institutional practices, food security is framed as a matter of technological efficiency to manage systemic inequalities, rather than greater food sovereignty (Mooney & Hunt, 2009). FareShare is mentioned in GFN's Annual Report (2017) as receiving investment to expand its reach. The infrastructural stabilisation processes analysed in Chapter 5 can thus be seen as part of translocal knowledge transfer and the expansion of 'global destruction networks' that Herod et al. (2014) argue better captures the linear-yet-circular movements of labour, value and wealth accumulation in capitalist waste-making. Rather than 'saving charities money' or 'tackling food poverty', such analysis of food charity's globalising role places it squarely in the service of commodity value-making, reliant on the unpaid and affective labour described above to create:

> ...opportunities to further legitimize the capitalist food regime (by caring for the poor) and increase capital accumulation by large agro-food actors through reduced tax burdens, artificial price points, waste disposal costs, and positive brand impact (Lohnes & Wilson, 2017, p.4)

Such dynamics were not evident in FareShare workers' perceptions of their own work. 'Caring for the poor' underwrote everyday events e.g the accusation of 'theft' of meat by volunteers, framed by Graham as resulting in a vegetable-only meal for the homeless, and in the daily pressure to work fast but to ensure that food was kept in an adequate state for "feeding people in need" (Graham). Affective categorisations of workers, beneficiaries and food took up most discursive space, not concerns about relationships between

surplus food, production systems and corporations. "Don't think about where it's come from, it'll drive you crazy", one staff member advised when I pointed out the distant origin of an unseasonable fruit at FareShare. Avoiding cognitive dissonance perhaps proves a strategy that can prevent redistribution workers from engaging with systemic issues that cannot be as easily solved as a local person's grumbling belly. Certainly, the laments that "we'd like to put ourselves out of business" by the executive I interviewed at Feeding America reveals workers capacity for reflexive admissions of their inadequacy even as their work promotes foodbanking as the solution.

8.4.2 Redistribution as global solidarity

A major question animating this thesis has been how expanding corporate-charity assemblages contrast with models of redistribution aiming to contest dominant food system. My final point frames this in global terms. Scholars have theorised the global reach of networks such as FNB (Giles, 2013). Such scholarship reveals co-constitutive relations between waste/poverty and consumption/wealth. Re-framing the problem as one of wealth shifts the focus from charity to justice, and this was exemplified by Ontario's campaign groups:

> 'What we started to see was a real complicity between governments and foodbank organisations and global foodbanking… them making the message 'we can end hunger by- with charity', and the myth that people that are in this deserve nothing better…it's that two tiered system' (Freedom 90).

The quote demonstrates translocal assemblages of power, where foodbanking institutions' enunciations and their geo-material practices "link rhizomatically as reciprocal presuppositions and mutual connections" (McFarlane, 2009, p.566). Discourses, spaces and practices are configured as recursively reproducing and contesting specific ideas, flows and effects. Viewing corporate power and advocacy power not as hierarchical but overlapping in the way SFR spreads and is experienced and 'read' by different actors can be combined with a distributed notion of agency. If SFR is not solely a 'structural' problem but an 'assemblage' problem, it can be changed- indeed, change is its defining feature. Forces of agency include words, things and arrangements (Bennett, 2010). If a hopeful thread can be drawn from this discussion, it is the myriad encounters between people, food and space that I encountered throughout this research, a scant window into a still-expanding and complexifying landscape. SFR reflects the state's failure to provide citizens adequate food (Hawkes & Webster, 2000). However, it also links systemic issues in ways that provide participants with opportunities to

reflexively act upon assumptions about food. Redistribution labourers make daily decisions about whether food should be redirected to humans. Considering its global systemacity, however, forces us to reflect upon the assumption that food should be for 'bellies, not bins'. If food is produced and circulated for generating profit, its wastage provides visceral channels for asking whether it should necessarily be eaten. Global mal-distribution of calories alongside the constant creation of new ways of processing, packaging and selling food point to fundamental questions about how food and decisions about it should be controlled.

8.5 Conclusion

Mindful of PEB's embracing of simultaneously discursive, material and structural forces, I conclude by highlighting this chapter's discussion of these three dimension. Analysis of framing, keying and problematisation highlighted diverse interpretations of hunger, waste and SFR, their juxtaposition alerting participants to systemic contradictions that nevertheless translate to very different SFR models, explored through the notion of flat v sharp keying, or containment v contestation. Language around food's decommodification matters not only for contesting social problems but for engaging those who may benefit from surplus food and the spaces created around it. Materially, I have highlighted constellations of material infrastructure, regulatory contexts, food types and labour whose assembly constitutes diverse and changing/changeable SFR landscapes. Focussing on these components sheds light on food/waste transitions as constructed and thus contingently articulated to hunger, pointing to the need for their solutions to be considered separately. Ethnographic observations were contextualised in theorisations of food charity as translations of neoliberal governance, highlighting evidence of growing public and state support for the expansion of charitable SFR. However, evidence of globalising corporate-charity redistribution assemblages was set against counter-publics using SFR to generate systemic food system change and address root causes of poverty and exclusion, also acknowledging North America's long experience of critiquing SFR and lessons this yields for critical UK work, including models of advocacy based on participatory inclusion of those with lived experience of receiving charitable food. The conclusion chapter synthesises these arguments against the thesis' overall aims and objectives and key debates around food precarity and waste. It revisits the study's limitations and outlines recommendations.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

"Scarcity that causes the death of individuals not only does not disappear, it must not disappear" (Foucault, 2007)

This research has analysed relationships between food waste and food insecurity by investigating the role of surplus food redistribution in framing and tackling these problems, and wider problems of food system sustainability and justice. My study took an ethnographic approach, comparing two key UK SFR organisations, as well as visits and interviews with 18 North American organisations/individuals articulated to SFR in different ways. This chapter synthesises the thesis' contribution to theory and practice. It summarises findings in relation to research objectives. It then links these to gaps in key areas of literature, identifies key limitations and discusses implications and recommendations for policy and practice. I then outline further research possibilities resulting from this research and conclude with personal reflections and a precis of research implications.

9.1 Meeting objectives

Research objectives were to:

1. Critically evaluate organisations' discursive understandings and representations of hunger and food waste,
2. To compare and evaluate working models of SFR organisations and networks with particular attention to labour, material and spatial practices,
3. To situate findings in analysis of institutional contexts, patterns of social change and global processes mediating, and mediated by, SFR practices.
4. To add a set of recommendations for policy-makers and practitioners resulting from analysis of findings

In answer to objective 1, I found a clear trend of food waste and food insecurity's co-representation in ways that have justified and prompted the growth of SFR. However, using frame theory I identified organisations' distinct framings of how and why food waste and hunger have grown as public problems, and the role of redistribution as solution by FareShare (charity/US-style foodbank), and TRJFP (activist network). Distinct orientations towards the role of food corporations and solutions to waste and poverty must nevertheless be considered in the context of differences *within* as well as *between*

organisations, exemplified by tensions within TRJFP around the implications of engaging with institutions such as schools, discussed further below.

In addressing objective 2 (to compare SFR models), I drew upon assemblage and actor-network thinking and political ecology to argue the importance of analysing material infrastructures, food matter, labour and regulatory artefacts in determining not only food's distinction from waste, but also the stability of redistribution models in terms of reputation, finance and morale. I identified challenges for different kinds of redistribution given problematisations of compliance rules that can protect consumers yet create waste. I affirmed the reliance of SFR upon unpaid labour but broadened the focus from affective labour of charitable volunteering (Poppendieck, 1998a, Lohnes & Wilson, 2017) to consider the interpretive labour required in handling surplus food given its contextualisation in discourses of need. I evaluated pedagogical experiments of SFR in schools to highlight SFR's affordances in creating resonant relationships between people and food. However, this also suggested a tendency of even radically-oriented organisations to emphasise individualising approaches to food waste reduction that may obscure structural determinants of foodways.

Research also highlighted benefits of SFR practices and spaces not directly related to food waste and hunger, namely, the creation of spaces of encounter that vary in their construction as providing food for certain categories of people rather than universally, and that may constitute sites of economic experimentation through provisioning modes that partially decouple use- and exchange-values.

In addressing objective 3 (to situate findings in broader patterns of institutional change), I found clear evidence of globalising mechanisms of American-style SFR as foodbanking i.e. charitable redistribution of corporate surplus. SFR constitutes translocal assemblages not only in flows of food reflecting global metabolisms of food, capital and value, but also in international alliances between charitable foodbanking organisations and activist/campaign networks. SFR organisations' articulations to government, corporations and one another present affordances and blockages in their capacity to contain (depoliticise) or contest (politicise) extant food systems. I now turn to the thesis' contribution to literature and theory.

9.2 Contribution: literature and theory

9.2.1 Critical food charity

My work both confirms and challenges aspects of literature addressing charitable food redistribution. It bolsters literature framing SFR as influenced by/enacting welfare reform and neoliberal governance, intensified under austerity in narratives refuting the existence and nature of food poverty and positing 'uplifting' charity and personal responsibility as solutions (Wells & Caraher, 2014, BBC News, 2017). The research confirmed Williams et al.'s (2016) observation that charitable food spaces enable both contestation and reconfirmation of stereotypes and explanations around poverty and food assistance. In focussing on specifically surplus food, my study differs from the burgeoning literature on 'foodbanks' in the UK sense of outlets for food parcels, most associated with the Trussell Trust who rely predominantly on public donations rather than surplus food. The recent donation by Asda and TT's stated 'partnership' with FareShare (FareShare, 2018) suggests that the two organisations may move closer together and even become integrated in the manner that Feeding America unites SFR and public donations in supplying 'food pantries', or what TT is beginning to call 'food bank centres', along with TT's shift towards centralised warehousing (Smith, 2017). These shifts demand continued research into the changing charitable management of hunger/waste, and the global spread of American-style foodbanking models.

My study thus adds to a nascent body of work exploring the explicit repurposing of wasted food for addressing food poverty (Hawkes & Webster, 2000, Alexander & Smaje, 2008, Midgley, 2013). Formal SFR has thus been growing in the UK for over two decades, despite its rapid expansion in the wake of the financial crisis and welfare reform. This suggests that its logic resides beyond austerity-response alone, rooted in broader concerns around food system sustainability and corporate responsibility (Midgley, 2012). My contribution has been to compare formal and arguably professionalised SFR with redistribution aiming to protest root causes of food waste through universal models of distribution and commensality. These divergent forms introduce challenges for responding to Lambie-Mumford et al.'s (2014, p.71) recommendation of research into whether SFR is "driving food aid provision in particular directions" and "to what extent is its increase promoting an entrenchment of food aid provision?". One complexity has been defining 'food aid', given TRJFP's stated difference from foodbanks but in practice consciously alleviating hunger in certain places, including Fuel For School's commitment to "remove hunger as a barrier to

learning" (FFS, n.d.). This suggests TRJFP's adoption of increasingly-visible discourses around specific problematisations of hunger (children/schools), discussed as a way to secure income and diversify routes for surplus.

Henderson's use of articulations theory enables a more complex interpretation of charitable SFR's tendency towards depoliticisation of hunger/waste (Ronson & Caraher, 2016). For example, FareShare was providing food formally and informally to some TRJFP groups; focussing on networks of distribution and relationships within and between organisations invalidates attempts to draw clear dividing lines between FareShare as charitable containment and TRJFP as radical contestation (Heynen, 2010).

Another complexity was revealed in considering Poppendieck's argument that by its very functioning, SFR allows systemic causes of hunger and waste to be masked and the responsibilities of governments and corporations to be sidelined. Does the growing familiarity of SFR and media representations of its laudability result in the obscuring of radical discourses and intentions of groups like TRJFP? Arguably, different forms of SFR 'appear' synonymous with foodbanks such that their distinct political messaging is missed or ignored. My limited observations at an independent foodbank serving back-of-store donated surplus suggested similarities to TRJFP's Sharehouse anti-supermarkets, with the latter developing systems for equitable sharing and monitoring of recipients. As Barnard and Mourad (2014) show, groups differing in analyses of problems and their solutions do not necessarily reflect this to those they interact with, especially given the superficially similar act of redistributing surplus food, and the bare facts of hunger and its effects on eaters' motivations. These points suggest that indeed SFR is shaping the food aid landscape in multi-scalar ways, and that both formal charities and activist networks need to reflect upon the impressions they publically present about the nature and teleologies of their work.

My findings confirm and further theorise international observations of the variable quality of food supplied from the waste stream, as well as variation in volunteers' quality valuations when handling and distributing food (Tarasuk & Eakin, 2005). Chapter 5's exploration of interpretive labour showed how valuations were sometimes made according to predictions of clients' neediness and knowledge of alternative disposal streams (volunteers, compost etc.), as well as distinct approaches to compliance. American foodbankers are responding to perceptions of providing 'old cans' through health-oriented programming, including alliances with healthcare providers, metrics to classify

inventory and refusals to accept certain foods in ways that challenge measures of success in terms of poundage distributed.

The research period saw growing UK commitments to a 'beyond foodbanking' discourse (Smith, 2017), bolstered by alliances that are explicitly linking UK SFR provision to North America's experience and grappling with the learning of, for example, Community Food Centres Canada (CFCC, 2017, see also Mayfield, 2015) and Why Hunger (Powers, 2016). My work develops these connections theoretically, considering SFR as a translocal assemblage connecting global food markets, ideologies of charitable legitimacy and shifts in the state's role as upholding the right to food. This thesis contributes to growing understanding of 'first world hunger' but suggests how the globalising tendencies of foodbanking (GFN, 2017) collapse easy 'developed/developing' country distinctions in positing food aid as the solution to hunger. Dependent on corporate philanthropy and excess, this begs the question of what happens if such flows diminish following economic/ecological crises. Political relationships between aid, surplus and power have long created dependencies (Stuart, 2009); infrastructures for redistributing corporate excess do little to foster food sovereignty and solidarity economies (Mooney, 2017).

9.2.2 Food waste

The previous section linked my study to broader concerns about connections between waste and hunger in SFR practice. My work blurs distinctions between 'household' and other normative food waste categories. It adopts, for example, Evans' (2014) attention to everyday practices of handling food in relation to negotiations of relations of care and provisioning patterns. In contrast to the complex, unpredictable lives of his participants, SFR practices and spaces in my study have created variably-ordered assemblages for managing surplus, and I extend his acknowledgement of the role of more-than-human agency of bins, fridges and foods themselves. My study has benefitted from practice theory's attention to routinised contexts of behaviour that challenge dominant discourses of 'blaming' consumers as uncaring and profligate (Evans, 2011). Indeed, the ethics of familial care in food provision plays out in SFR spaces, where care is expressed and enacted towards others, although I highlighted important differences between discourses of food for 'needy others' versus 'for all' in Chapter 6.

My work also contrasts with Evans' (2014, p.33) analysis of household labour, where waste emerges as "fallout of everyday life" rather than explicit focus of labour as is the case for food waste activists. As Chapter 6 shows, SFR relies on volunteers but has

yielded debate around the value and financial valuation of such work, linked to TRJFP's at-times fraught engagement of PAYF as partial re-commodification of food values usually black-boxed as price and, with PAYF, black-boxed as personal decision. These issues aside, SFR spaces engender sensory engagements with food and skill development that broaden affordances of surplus food e.g. taking time to remove blemishes or prepare misshapen items. DCCK recognised the value of its popular volunteer programme in enabling such careful work and thus providing markets for food rejected by markets that retain high aesthetic standards for food (Giles, 2016), despite some shifts towards the UK's marketisation of 'wonky' produce (Feedback Global, 2018).

9.2.3 Food poverty

Chapter 1 proposed 'phronesis' as research goal, or cultivating proficiency in understanding and expressing the values and power of social actors to determine future outcomes (Flyvbjerg, 2001). My research sought to identify concepts and tools for collective transitions in addressing food waste and food insecurity. One concept I proposed was food precarity. Decoupling hunger from issues of national 'food in/security' and avoiding the static and stigmatising connotations of 'food poverty', linking food to precarity encapsulates long-term trends of unemployment or insecure work and their "polarizing…impacts on spatial and social structures" (Wacquant, 2014, p.2). I acknowledge Lohnes' mention of the term (Lohnes, n.d.) but recognise risks in adding to an already-crowded conceptual space in which clarity is sought through legislation for universal measuring and monitoring (Smith et al., 2018). In a context of austerity governmentality's ontological supposition that harsh economic measures constitutes "being realistic" (Tellmann, 2015, p.36), it is understandable that advocates seek concrete measures for quantifying and mapping a phenomenon whose existence is still denied and whose solutions are deemed 'not realistic'. However, such processes must also insist on a view of poverty as relational, related to both scarcity and excess and implying the involvement of the non-poor in the reproduction of poverty (Lawson & Elwood, 2014).

With relationality in mind, phronesis must involve critiquing power and values underlying deeply-held convictions about several notions: economy, austerity and scarcity. I now reconsider these in relation to the research problem. Despite having come to appear unitary and self-evident, "the economy" is not a fixed totality "necessarily tied to a national, managed macro-economy" (Tellmann, 2015, p.35). It

frames collectivity while obscuring lived experiences of those subject to its harshest measures, people increasingly recognised as destitute (Fitzpatrick et al., 2016) and 'let die' whether in sub-Saharan Africa or American and British cities (Li, 2009, Heynen, 2009, Gentleman, 2014). Foucault's quote at the start of this chapter bears testament to the rationality of hunger; far from merely individual events or reflecting economic totality, hunger provides a lens to considering the uneven articulations and metabolisms of capital, space and bodies. Seeing scarcity not as natural reality but as malleable social device that sustains specific notions of individual choice and control over resources (Tellmann, 2015) leaves space for alternative visions of austerity, such as commitments to permanently contracted consumption to interrupt patterns of growth and over-exploitation of resources. This is the voluntary simplicity critiqued by Wilk (2018) as the luxury of choosing to be 'poor' reconceived as a different economic culture from the consumerism defining the 'new poor' (Bauman, 1998). Nevertheless, volunteering practices should alert us to relationships between privilege and precarity, where volunteers motivated by 'ethical' disgust at hunger/waste may displace paid labour of other food system workers (Guthman, 2017).

Following these points, I recall my argument that SFR demonstrates economic experimentation that can nuance calls for solutions to poverty predicated on national government and traditional modes of welfare. I foreground two caveats: PFIB's Mike Balkwill argued vociferously against solutions that allow decisions about extant suffering to be stalled in the name of, for example, Universal Basic Income pilots. The power to boost incomes and thus peoples' food security exists now, given the concentrated resources and mechanisms of government who could simply raise benefits and wages. ACCFB's Allison insisted that, "we will be the first ones to say that our role in solving hunger is smaller than the government and the public sector". I also note the risk of 'economic experimentation' being coopted as a tool of neoliberal outsourcing. These caveats aside, SFR offers a living laboratory of reconfiguring concepts like 'value', 'quality' and 'price', handling and framing food not as profit-making commodity but as tool for cohesion, mutual learning and sharing. Debating the value of food, labour and wages, TRJFP exemplified 'collective low-budget organising' (Bialski et al., 2015) that takes seriously the need to transform excessive, resource-intensive, growth-oriented urban economies yet refuse an unequal politics of scarcity for some. My observation of an important distinction between SFR organisations framing surplus as food 'for needy

people' and those creating universal food access reinforces this positive potential for SFR, challenging the accusation of calcifying a 'two-tier system'.

9.2.4 Human/nature relations

I have argued that SFR demonstrates forms of economic experimentation that reconfigure capitalist assumptions of scarcity, value and inequality. I now broaden this to argue that the discursive meeting of waste and hunger troubles human/nature dualisms continuing to separate 'environmental' from 'social' issues.

Gjerris and Gaiani (2015, p.59) suggest that "strong reactions toward food waste could...point to deep-seated experiences of human existence as being closely knitted into the beings and rhythms of nature". Food's wastage causes offence in ways that other forms of waste apparently do not, which they suggest relates to deep histories where "food was sometimes scarce and hunger a sensation that most had felt" (ibid.). Indeed, other food problems such as obesity are theorised to relate to brain/body-food communications hard-wired by evolutionary responses to scarcity (Bellisari, 2008, Brewer & Potenza, 2008). On the other hand, Stuart (2009, p.171) suggests that mass extinctions reveal modern humans' "efficacy as hunters and their disregard for the sustainable use of resources". Even prior to agricultural origins, he suggests, abundance has presented problems for human-environmental balance.

These attempts at 'macro' explanations for wastage present a contradiction: waste as disturbing human-nature inextricability and sensibility in Gjerris and Gaiani's view, versus Stuart's invocation of a deep-rooted human exceptionalism and separation from 'nature'. These present opposing views of human nature, as inherently anti-waste versus wasteful. My work's focus on distinct forms of organising SFR challenges such a naturalising view. To show this, I first invoke critiques of the 'tragedy of the commons' ethos (Hardin, 1968) implicit in Stuart's suggest of humans' 'natural' wastefulness. Ostrom et al.'s (1999) less pessimistic response has been to document human cooperation in 'governing' natural resources. Ostrom's argument that institutional diversity may protect biological diversity lends space for my own analysis of SFR's diversity of practices, spaces and economic experiments. As Giles (2016, p.93) argues, "surpluses may be spent gloriously or catastrophically". My work joins his and others' analyses of waste activists' capacity to simultaneously provide nourishment, contest unjust conditions through organisational praxis and create more-than-food spatial

encounters. This also extends Midgley's (2013) plea for SFR research that attends to different values, framings and qualities ascribed to surplus food.

My attention to affective resonances created between food-human bodies affirms Gjerris and Gaiani's (2015, p.60) argument that policy measures to reduce waste must be combined with "renewed appreciation for the nature that brings forth food and an understanding of its physical limits and ethical importance". Handling food packaging in redistribution spaces prompted conversations about the economic geographies of foods' journeys, while handling foods in classrooms prompted reactions of humour, disgust, desire and familiarity that could be set against cognitive learning about food system limits and possibilities that connect sensory engagements with systemic understandings. Assemblage thinking provided tools for critiquing human/nature dichotomies implicit in constructivist ontologies, where agency is "always a human-nonhuman working group" (Bennett, 2010, p.xvii). The coordination of multiple elements (kitchens, chefs, desire, foodstuffs, vans, social media platforms and so on) required to make redistribution work suggest the untenability of defining SFR as an either/or environmental/social pursuit. Political ecology's PEB model and metaphor of metabolism combine with such 'flat' ontologies to be alert to diverse operations of power, from a child's reaction to mushrooms to their family/neighbourhood's foodscape. Another useful thinking tool might be Caledonian antisyzygy (McIntosh, 2004), the holding in creative tension seemingly paradoxical or contradictory views.

Fostering resonant and mindful relationships between humans and food at the micro-level might contribute to the harder-to-cognise macro-systemic issues of the millions of tonnes of food wasted, and the resources they use. 'Sustainability' is rooted in both indigenous cosmologies (Todd, 2016) and global subjectivities and knowledge that enable the kinds of imaginings of food waste emerging in recent years (IMechE, 2013). Food is hybrid matter, threatening assumed boundaries of bodies, identities, catergorisations (Roe, 2006, Mol, 2008). By becoming more attuned to things (Bennett, 2011), we can attend to food's 'vagabond' metabolisms, vitality that Bennett (2010, p.50) argues is "obscured by our conceptual habit of dividing the world into inorganic matter and organic life". Vibrant encounters with food and people in SFR spaces can inculcate hybrid human-food relations which in turn can build bridges between 'environmental' and 'social' activism.

What the hunger-waste paradox and SFR enable is recognition and efforts towards addressing the co-constitutively 'social', 'economic' and 'environmental' poles of sustainability (Peet & Watts, 1996). And, lest I romanticise 'food connections' in the typical manner of a young, white, disenchanted middle-class student (Guthman, 2017), I hope my focus on the challenges (and compensation) of SFR labour has highlighted that this work, while rewarding for many, often lacks security and is emotionally and physically draining. Research could develop this point by considering SFR through the lens of critical political economy of food work (agricultural, retail, catering etc). Similarly, work might explore further the significance of race, gender, religious, nationality, age, class and other forms of difference in 'valuing food' discourse and practice.

9.3 Limitations

One limitation of research was its occurrence at a time of burgeoning discourse and a rapidly-changing landscape of practice. This presented challenges for keeping up with exponentially-growing literature (Reynolds & et al., 2018), and for deciding when to stop collecting data. The insights of assemblage thinking have helped me accept these limitations; SFR, like any phenomenon, is not fixed and static but ever-evolving so research will always capture a delimited snapshot in time and space.

My involvement and friendships with stakeholders, as well as personal interest and commitment to the subject, has made it hard to obtain critical distance from an orientation to ethnographic immersion. However, this has bolstered my sense of the topic's importance and allowed me at times to witness my own findings and recommendations reaffirmed (and challenged) by others, providing a useful dialogic context and reminder of the relevance of the study. By drawing on multiple theoretical tools, I have been able to view SFR from multiple perspectives and acknowledge both the constructed and changing premises of political and ethical debates.

A key methodological limitation was translating my research design and intentions into a concrete and doable fieldwork plan. A key difficulty was presented by my wish to focus on SFR in Greater Manchester, but finding that TRJFP Manchester was not in a position to enable me to participate in its activities, partly due to their initial struggles to secure a permanent operational venue. Their own busy-ness precluded their willingness to discuss a participatory research project. I still have learning to do about how to formulate and present participatory research proposals to organisations that may be

under stress and/or concerned about implications of being involved in critical research. However, I was able to adapt my research plan and secure new sites for research, reaching a greater breadth of TRJFPs to compare, allowing me to observe diversity within the network. Relatedly, given the comparative attention given to several different TRJFP cafes across the network, I acknowledge that I could have similarly undertaken research with more than one FareShare hub. This may have revealed differences between FareShare hubs' ways of working and articulation. The difficulty of textually distinguishing a national network from its regional members may have resulted in the name 'FareShare' being applied to both without such specification.

One issue I have not been able to deeply address is the potential for racist discourse to be reproduced in SFR spaces. A few conversations alarmed me to perceptual connections between food access and national and/or racial difference. The potential for xenophobic othering of food provision and deserve was noted in the discussion chapter, when a FareShare worker suggested that some volunteers experiencing food precarity themselves express resentment at delivering food to "ethnic minorities". While contrasting with redistributors cherishing their diverse clientele and striving to provide preferred food types, this was a worrying sign of affective austerity politics, engendering not just destitution but resentment towards minorities who often share vulnerability and intersectional forms of discrimination. In the US, efforts were being made towards multilingual service provision and inclusion of minorities as staff and volunteers, including peer-led cooking groups to share cuisines. Gender is another vector of difference I have neglected (Carney, 2014). A recommendation following from this would be for UK food aid workers to harness food's power as "symbol of human injustice" (Gjerris & Gaiani, 2015, p.59) and commit to consciously-inclusive programming and training that provides opportunities for myth-busting and intersectional understandings of poverty, and cultural exchange. "Food gets at the heart of what it means to be human", write Slocum and Saldanha (2013, p.1). Redistributors have opportunities to use surplus food to create community in divisive times, rather than allow it to reify inequalities.

9.4 Implications and recommendations

It would be interesting to conduct further research into peoples' willingness to pay (differently) for intercepted/donated food.

Attending to material infrastructures and their de/stabilisation has highlighted their link to theories of charitable entrenchment and depoliticisation. Poppendieck documented the role of corporate philanthropy in the US' rapid expansion of SFR, such as logistics firms providing trucking. The growing visibility of TRJFP led to its expiry-date sanction and subsequent tightening of compliance, following the cutting-off of supermarkets' donations. These examples show the dependence of SFR on corporate excess and the role of material devices and infrastructures in facilitating food flows. Fisher (2017a, p.70) argued that "capital campaigns can further institutionalize [foodbanks] as a permanent feature of the community's landscape". The UK's foodbanking infrastructure is still small in comparison to North America, but Fisher's recommendation to stop creating infrastructure affirms my argument that material processes generate consequent and often unintended effects. Instead of up-scaling redistribution premises, as have both FareShare and TRJFP, they could focus capital funds on pursuing some of the below recommendations:

9.4.1 Inclusion

SFR organisations should reflect on intersectional vulnerabilities to hunger and include the voices and participation of communities they serve. This could include board participation, peer-led programming and genuine consultation processes, from assessing the suitability of foods served to designing campaigns.

Efforts to reduce stigmatisation by making food accessible to anybody through experimental payment methods can be sustainable. The growth in popularity of social supermarket/pantry models suggests UK efforts to make distribution models more equitable and dignified, but these can still cause exclusion through imposing restrictive entry criteria or choice of location/timing. Suggestions that wealthier people might exploit such resources were countered by Super Kitchen, who advocate occasional models of 'social eating' open to all, while seeking solutions that address root causes of income inequality.

Rolling-out educational programmes around hunger and waste should cultivate "concurrent awareness of the structural, epistemological, and material forces that affect food judgments and behaviors" (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2013, p.88). Education, activism and 'doing good' are not power-free zones (Flowers & Swan, 2012) and may inadvertently pose solutions that are inaccessible or that ignore structural dimensions of, for example, food access (Guthman, 2008). One solution is to ensure all such

programmes involve 'ambassadors' to reflect identities, languages and geographies of beneficiaries. Washington DC's Produce-Plus' entitlement-based scheme to guarantee free farmers market produce used such an ambassadorial scheme in its effort to broaden the geographies of such markets given severe economic disparity across racialised geographical lines.

9.4.2 From charitable kindness to advocacy

Organisations can reflect on their own shortcomings. Allison's (ACCFB) interview demonstrated some US foodbanks' transitions towards acknowledging their limitations and the importance of public sector roles. Nevertheless, the foodbank's promotional material gives the impression that food charity alone can end hunger, while foodbanks continue to expand operations. The contradictions between organisational messaging and individuals' politics has been much-noted (e.g. Henderson, 2004). However, there are examples of foodbanks transforming their provisional models and orientations towards advocacy (CFCC, 2017). Espousing 'social justice' as inspiration must be specific about what this entails (Smith, 2000) and recognise international inequalities in food production as well as distribution (Feedback Global, 2015).

SFR organisations should educate volunteers and public audiences about systemic causes and solutions to hunger and waste. This relates to Poppendieck's (1998a) argument that the energy expended in charitable volunteering could be more effectively spent on structural campaigns. One useful example is Hunger-Free America's website, which not only maps emergency food provision but encourages 'long-term impact' volunteering such as lobbying government officials and ensuring families are accessing state benefits they are entitled to (Hunger-Free America, n.d.). Poppendieck noted the strong lure of charity work's 'feel-good factor', and some participants mentioned their preference for everyday pragmatic action rather than the slow-moving frustrations of campaigns and advocacy. However, PFIB shared examples of direct action and participatory research that made activism fun, especially when rooted in bonds of trust and friendship fostered by long-term commitments to social justice, collaborative organising and genuine involvement of those with lived experience. Dixon's (2015) work on altering narratives towards food justice perspectives among foodbank volunteers is essential in answering Williams et al.'s (2016, p.22) vision of foodbanks that "connect with, and help catalyse, wider food justice campaigns that seek to address deeper inequalities in the food system".

Another means to increase the effectiveness and satisfaction of systemic activism is through fostering alliances. Washington DC revealed the importance of diverse groups working in collaboration, not competition. A sense of operating within a zero-sum game is another effect of austerity rhetoric, challenged by DC Greens' Lauren Schweder-Biel when discussing lobbying city-level government:

> I don't want you to take money from their program- if we're going to address this issue we need a surge in several programs. That's been an effective re-frame and speaks to collaboration. We've decided that we're not all competing.

Alliance-forming has begun apace in the UK, such as IFAN's commitment to stimulating public debate and myth-busting, and End Hunger UK's collective demands in their 'Menu for Change' (CAP, 2018). Beyond special interest groups, however, an important step will be to connect to diverse organisations articulated to food: the UK food sovereignty movement, urban food policy councils and so on. My research suggested that this is not always easy- groups may differ in their analysis of causes and solutions, and one RJFP organiser stepped down after proposing solutions such as creating networks of micro-scale urban agriculture, deemed too radical by those wishing simply to redistribute surpluses. A good place to start is to foster alliances with North American groups who have the benefits of decades of experience in trying to transform systems and perception, and Feedback Global's work is one example of trans-sectoral and international organising.

9.4.3 Normalising 'best-before=edible-after'

SFR organisations showed variation in their linking issues of safety, regulation, packaging and dignity. Experiments by supermarkets and commercial redistributors suggest public reconfigurations around the 'best-before' date, for example, but FareShare does not redistribute such food; making such foods available is linked to the recommendation of universal forms of access to SFR, where 'past-date' food is not funnelled to vulnerable people. Caution is required in teaching 'contextual' approaches to expiry-dates, recognising peoples' different physical and cognitive abilities to 'sense' food qualities.

Another recommendation borrows Soma's critique of the 'food waste hierarchy' (Soma & et al., 2017), suggesting instead the metaphor of bricolage or next-best use in deciding how wasted food be handled. This includes questioning the assumption that all food should be eaten; given excessive calories in some countries' food supplies (Barnard, 2016) and acknowledgement of 'metabolic' food waste (Buller, 2015), should humans

automatically be considered at the top of the pyramid? A pyramid might not be appropriate given vast variations in assemblages of food, waste and hunger in different places and at different scales of analysis. My attention to meat's values and costs would do well to be put in conversation with analyses of the 'opportunity cost' of animal-based diets, argued to exceed food losses in a recent paper (Shepon et al., 2018).

9.5 Further research

A future research agenda may be derived from the limitations and recommendations outlined above. These include:

- Investigating the role of cross-sectoral alliances in addressing food system issues collaboratively and holistically.
- Exploring 'beyond foodbanking' transitions and potential trade-offs between reducing waste and alleviating hunger. For example, if producers/retailers prevent surplus, what could redistribution infrastructures be used for?
- Investigating intersectional vulnerabilities to hunger and the role of food organisations in reproducing or contesting blame narratives along class, gender and race lines.
- Investigating CSR culture and how social problems are negotiated in food corporations whose priority is to grow profits.
- Analyse the relationship between TT and FareShare, especially the incorporation of fresh food redistribution into TT models, the role of corporate philanthropy, and state funding for this.
- Investigate competition over surplus food in a diversifying space, especially the growth of commercial redistribution models as alternative retail models.
- Investigate the normalisation of 'wonky' produce and best-before sales in relation to food prices.
- Following limitations on my own study of FFS in schools, close ethnographic study of food aid in schools is essential given rising levels of child poverty.

Other recommendations include examining SFR models that adopt minimal-infrastructure by removing stages between donor and eventual recipient, such as 'The Bread and Butter Thing' (interview, 12/7/17). How does the involvement of professionals formerly employed by the food industry alter SFR practice, especially

given shifts in UK retail towards online retail without stores (e.g. Ocado) and the very different procurement models of Aldi and Lidl?

9.6 Conclusion

I first quote one of the researcher/activists I was lucky to meet in Philadelphia:

> "You can't do food insecurity work and write your research papers if you are not actively taking action because…hunger is a man-made issue…If you wanna stop it you gotta deal with the politics going on" (Mariana Chilton)

Research can be valuable in stepping outside of 'taking actions' to seek multiple perspectives, being able to compare different forms, rationales and implication of action that others are taking. I have attempted to unpick some of the complex 'politics going on' when hunger is framed alongside waste and SFR proposed as a solution. It is not easy to critique the 'no-brainer' that many people consider SFR to be (Lalor, 2014). I opened this thesis recalling the frustration I felt at finding good food in bins, and wanting to share it. However, the research has given me space to explore those assumptions and motivations in myself and others. Specifically, it seeks phronesis in critically considering what it means to 'do good' when it comes to food.

Waste is also a 'man-made' issue, a politicised one whose solution requires collective praxis around types of diets (e.g. the role of animal products, seasonality, freshness and choice), political ecologies of distribution systems and reckoning with mechanisms by which food is wasted by virtue of its exchange-values, not its use-values. These questions cannot be solved by an approach that simply 'moves the food around', as one TRJFP organiser wryly described his work. However, SFR has stimulated debate around the discursive visibilisation of waste, hunger and what causes them. Those engaged in SFR are experimenting with the material, discursive and structural affordances of wasted food, challenging the assumptions of scarcity that underwrite food's ex-commodification and using their interpretive, sensory and cooking skills to transform food into something that has not just a hunger-prevention function but also commensal and convivial functions. They provide spaces for interrogating questions not only of scarcity and excess, but sufficiency.

Ultimately, I have argued that critiquing SFR as a solution to hunger and/or waste requires attention to the more-than-human labour and material assemblages that create, maintain and can threaten its viability. It requires attending to organisations' troubling of meanings packed into the hunger-waste paradox. This can foster practices

using food to meet humans' universal needs for commensal sociality rather than aimed at patching up holes left by retrenching welfare that leaves disadvantaged communities even more vulnerable and subject to the undignified and insecure mechanisms of charity. But powerful interests underwrite the global expansion of foodbanking, and require powerful, justice-centred counter-narratives. Sufficiency-centred narratives. My sincere thanks to all those I have sorted, cooked, eaten, planned, experimented, debated and dreamed of a more balanced world with. Let's assemble it.

References

Abbott, A. (2014). The Problem of Excess. *Sociological Theory, 32*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/073527511452341

Agamben, G. (2005). *State of Exception*. University of Chicago.

Ahmed, H., Cullinane, C., Keeble, J., Kunz, S., Marcinkiewicz, A., & Ryley, A. (2014). From Food Waste to Fighting Hunger : Exploring FareShare. NatCen. Retrieved from http://www.natcen.ac.uk/our-research/research/exploring-fareshare/

Aitken, R. (2014, December 8). Don't let the Left ruin our crusade, writes food bank pioneer... *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2864820/Don-t-let-Left-ruin-crusade-writes-food-bank-pioneer-ROBIN-AITKEN.html

Aldrich, H. (2014). Stand Up and Be Counted: Why social science should stop using the qualitative/quantitative dichotomy. LSE Blogs. Retrieved September 4, 2015, from http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2014/11/28/stand-up-and-be-counted-social-science-qualitative-quantitative-dichotomy/

Alexander, C., & Reno, J. O. (2014). From Biopower to Energopolitics in England's Modern Waste Technology. *Anthropology Quarterly, 87*(2), 335–358.

Alexander, C., & Smaje, C. (2008). Surplus retail food redistribution: An analysis of a third sector model. *Resources, Conservation and Recycling, 52*(11), 1290–1298. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resconrec.2008.07.009

Alexander, C., Gregson, N., & Gille, Z. (2013). Food Waste. In *The Handbook of Food Research* (pp. 471–485). London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Alexander, M. (2012). *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. The New Press.

Alkon, A. H., & Agyeman, J. (2011). *Cultivating food justice: Race, class, and sustainability*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Allen, P. (2010). Realizing justice in local food systems. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society, 3*(May), 295–308. https://doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsq015

Anderson, B. (2018). Cultural geography II: The force of representations. *Progress in Human Geography,* 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132513516913

Anderson, B., & Harrison, P. (2010). The promise of non-representational theories. In *Taking-place: non-representational theories and geography* (pp. 1–36). Farnham: Ashgate. https://doi.org/10.1063/1.2756072

Anderson, B., Kearnes, M., McFarlane, C., & Swanton, D. (2012). On assemblages and geography. *Dialogues in Human Geography, 2*(2), 171–189. https://doi.org/10.1177/2043820612449261

Anderson, R. (2015). Greater incentives needed to redistribute leftover food, claims FareShare. *Produce Business UK.* Retrieved December 12, 2017, from http://www.producebusinessuk.com/supply/stories/2015/09/29/greater-incentives-needed-to-redistribute-leftover-food-claims-fareshare

APPG (All-Party Parliamentary Group) on Hunger and Food Poverty. (2014). Feeding Britain: A strategy for zero hunger in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. London. Feeding Britain. Retrieved from https://foodpovertyinquiry.files.wordpress.com/2014/12/food-poverty-feeding-britain-final.pdf

APPG on School Food. (2015). Filling The Holiday Gap: Update Report 2015. AAPG Holiday Hunger Task Group. Retrieved from http://www.fillingtheholidaygap.org/APPG_Holiday_Hunger_Report_2015.pdf

Approved Food. (n.d.). Best Before, Use By and Food Dates Explained. Approved Food. Retrieved from http://store.approvedfood.co.uk/page?name=best-before-dates

Aschemann-Witzel, J., de Hooge, I., Amani, P., Bech-Larsen, T., & Oostindjer, M. (2015). Consumer-Related Food Waste: Causes and Potential for Action. *Sustainability, 7*(6), 6457–6477. https://doi.org/10.3390/su7066457

Ashforth, B., & Kreiner, G. (1999). "How Can You Do It ?": Dirty Work and the Challenge of Constructing a Positive Identity. *The Academy of Management Review, 24*(3), 413–434. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/259134

Auto Rental News. (2017). Enterprise UK Partners With Global FoodBanking Network. Auto Rental News. Retrieved February 5, 2018, from http://www.autorentalnews.com/channel/rental-operations/news/story/2017/02/enterprise-uk-partners-with-global-foodbanking-network.aspx

Bacchi, C. (2012). Why Study Problematizations? Making Politics Visible. *Open Journal of Political Science, 2*(1), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2012.21001

Bacchi, C. (2015). The Turn to Problematization: Political Implications of Contrasting Interpretive and Poststructural Adaptations. *Open Journal of Political Science, 5*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2015.51001

Barnard, A. V. (2016). *Freegans: Diving into the wealth of food waste in America.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004

Barnard, A., & Mourad, M. (2014). What's So "Contentious" About Free Food? Tactical Repertoires and Food Waste Activism in the U.S. and France. OxThePunx: unpublished manuscript. Retrieved from https://oxthepunx.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/barnard-mourad-whats-so-contentious-about-free-food-asa-submission.pdf

Battel, F. H. (1996). Environmental and Resource Sociology: Theoretical Issues and Opportunities for Synthesis. *Rural Sociology, 61*(1), 56–76. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1549-0831.1996.tb00610.x

Baum, F., MacDougall, C., & Smith, D. (2006). Participatory action research. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health, 60*, 854–857. https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2004.028662

Bauman, Z. (1998). *Work, consumerism and the new poor.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bazeley, P. (2007). *Qualitative data analysis with NVivo.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bazeley, P. (2009). Analysing Qualitative Data: More than Indentifying Themes. *Malaysian Journal of Qualitative Research, 2*, 6–22.

BBC News. (2017, November 14). Jacob Rees-Mogg: Food banks "rather uplifting." *BBC.* Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-41264965

Bedore, M. (2013). Geographies of capital formation and rescaling: A historical-geographical approach to the food desert problem. *Canadian Geographer, 57*(2), 133–153. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0064.2012.00454.x

Belfrage, C., & Hauf, F. (2017). The Gentle Art of Retroduction: Critical Realism, Cultural Political Economy and Critical Grounded Theory. *Organization Studies, 38*(2), 251–271. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840616663239

Bell, D., & Hollows, J. (2011). From River Cottage to Chicken Run: Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall and the class politics of ethical consumption. *Celebrity Studies, 2*(2), 178–191. https://doi.org/10.1080/19392397.2011.574861

Bellamy Foster, J. (2009). *The Ecological Revolution: Making Peace with the Planet.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Bellisari, A. (2008). Evolutionary origins of obesity. *Obesity Reviews, 9*(2), 165–180. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-789X.2007.00392.x

Benford, R. D. (1997). An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective. *Sociological Inquiry, 67*(4), 409–430. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1997.tb00445.x

Benford, R., & Snow, D. (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology, 26*(1), 611–639.

Bennett, J. (2001). *The Enchantment of Modern Life.* Princeton University Press.

Bennett, J. (2010). *Vibrant Matter: A political ecology of things.* Duke University Press.

Bennett, J. (2011). Powers of the Hoard: Artistry and Agency in a World of Vibrant Matter. The New School. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q607Ni23QjA&t=1218s

Berg, J. (2008). *All you can eat: How hungry is America?* New York: Seven Stories Press.

Berg, J. (2017). *America, We Need to Talk*. New York: Seven Stories Press.

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality*. Penguin Books.

Bialski, P., Derwanz, H., Olaison, L., Otto, B., & Vollmer, H. (2015). "Saving the city": Collective low-budget organizing and urban practice. *Ephemera, 15*(1), 1–5.

Biltekoff, C. (2014). Interrogating Moral and Quantification Discourses in Nutritional Knowledge. *Gastronomica, 14*(3), 17–26.

Biltekoff, C. (2016). The Politics of Food Anti-Politics. *Gastronomica, 16*(4), 44-57

Blair, D., & Sobal, J. (2006). Luxus consumption: Wasting food resources through overeating. Agriculture and Human Values, 23(1), 63–74. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-004-5869-4

Blake, M. (2017). Eating Affordances and Decent Helpings: Working Together to Reduce Food Poverty and Improve Public Health. Final report from Decent Helpings: Developing a Context-sensitive Food-Poverty Toolbox. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/35311700/Eating_Affordances_and_Decent_Helpings_Working_Together_to_Reduce_Food_Poverty_and_Improve_Public_Health

Bloom, J. (2015). Something to shoot for: US sets food waste reduction goal. Wasted Food. http://www.wastedfood.com/2015/09/16/something-to-shoot-for-us-sets-food-waste-reduction-goal/

Blumer, H. (1971). Social Problems as Collective Behavior. *Social Problems, 18*(3), 298–306. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/799797

Blythman, J. (2016, June 19). We shoppers aren't to blame for food waste. Guess who is. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/18/tesco-supermarket-food-waste

Booth, S., & Whelan, J. (2014). Hungry for Change: the food banking industry in Australia. *British Food Journal, 116*(9), 1392–1404. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/09564230910978511

Born, B., & Purcell, M. (2006). Avoiding the Local Trap: Scale and Food Systems in Planning Research. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 26,* 195–207. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X06291389

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to reflexive sociology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Braun, B. (2015). The 2013 antipode RGS-IBG lecture: New materialisms and neoliberal natures. *Antipode, 47*(1), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12121

Brembeck, H., Johansson, B., Bergström, K., Engelbrektsson, P., Hillén, S., Jonsson, L., … Shanahan, H. (2013). Exploring children's foodscapes. *Children's Geographies, 11*(1), 74–88. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2013.743282

Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., & Mayer, M. (2009). Cities for people, not for profit. *City, 13*(2–3), 176–184. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810903020548

Brewer, J. A., & Potenza, M. N. (2008). The neurobiology and genetics of impulse control disorders: Relationships to drug addictions. *Biochemical Pharmacology, 75*(1), 63–75. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bcp.2007.06.043

Bringer, J., Johnston, L., & Brackenridge, C. (2004). Maximizing transparency in a doctoral thesis: the complexities of writing about the use of QSR*NVIVO within a grounded theory study. *Qualitative Research, 4*(2), 247–265. Retrieved from http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1468794104044434

Broad-Leib, E., & et al. (2013). The Dating Game : How Confusing Food Date Labels. NRDC Report. Harvard Food Law and Policy Clinic/Natural Resources Defense Council. Retrieved from https://www.nrdc.org/sites/default/files/dating-game-report.pdf

Bryant, A., Bush, L., & Wilk, R. (2013). The History of Globalization and the Food Supply. In A. Murcott, W. Belasco, & P. Jackson (Eds.), *The Handbook of Food Research.* Bloomsbury.

Bryant, L. (2010). DRG: "Assemblages Against Totalities." Larval Subjects. Retrieved November 20, 2017, from https://larvalsubjects.wordpress.com/2010/09/08/drg-assemblages-against-totalities/

Bryant, R., Kizos, T., & Paniagua, A. (2015). Governing people in depopulated areas. In R. Bryant (Ed.), *The International Handbook of Political Ecology.* Cheltenham: Elgar.

Buller, H. (2015). Waste Provocations: Introductory symposium remarks. Food Matters Symposium. Retrieved February 4, 2016, from https://foodmatterssymposium.wordpress.com/2015/09/17/food-waste-symposium-introductory-remarks/

Burns, A. (2017, July). The Real Junk Project founder faces prosecution over out-of-date produce. *The Big Issue.* Retrieved from https://www.bigissue.com/news/real-junk-food-project-founder-faces-prosecution-date-produce/

Burton, J., & Tam, D. (2015). Towards a Parasitic Ethics. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276415600224

Butler, J. (2015). *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

Butler, P. (2014, December 8). Tory peer says poor people go hungry because they do not know how to cook. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/dec/08/tory-peer-apologises-poor-hungry-do-not-know-cook

Butler, P. (2017, March). Are pantry schemes the new food banks? *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/mar/22/pantry-tackles-chronic-food-insecurity

Cadieux, K. V., & Slocum, R. (2015). What does it mean to do food justice ? Journal of Political Ecology, 22, 1–26.

Çalişkan, K., & Callon, M. (2010). Economization, part 2: A research programme for the study of markets. *Economy and Society, 39*(1), 1–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085140903424519

Callon, M. (1986). Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay. In J. Law (Ed.), *Power, action and belief: a new sociology of knowledge?* London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1984.tb00113.x

Callon, M., & Latour, B. (1981). Unscrewing the big Leviathan: How actors macro-structure reality and how sociologists help them to do so. In K. Knorr & A. Cicourel (Eds.), *Advances in Social Theory and Methodology: Toward an integration of micro and macro-sociologies* (pp. 277–303). London: Routledge.

Campbell, L. (2014, December 16). Real Junk Food Project: The Leeds cafe that has fed 10,000 people, using 20 tonnes of unwanted food – and started a worldwide movement. *The Independent.* Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/real-junk-food-project-the-leeds-cafe-that-has-fed-10000-people-using-20-tonnes-of-unwanted-food-and-9926579.html

CAP. (2018). Step up to the plate: Towards a UK food and poverty strategy. Church Action on Poverty. Retrieved from www.church-poverty.org.uk/foodfuelfinance

Caplan, P. (2016). Big society or broken society ? *Anthropology Today, 32*(1).

Cappellini, B., & Parsons, E. (2012). Practising thrift at dinnertime: mealtime leftovers, sacrifice and family membership. *The Sociological Review, 60*, 121–134. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12041

Caraher, M. (2003). Food protest and the new activism. In S. John & S. Thompson (Eds.), *New activism and the corporate response*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Caraher, M., & Cavicchi, A. (2014). Old crises on new plates or old plates for a new crises? Food banks and food insecurity. *British Food Journal, 116*(9). https://doi.org/10.1108/BFJ-08-2014-0285

Caraher, M., & Coveney, J. (2016*). Food Poverty and Insecurity: International Food Inequalities.* Springer.

Caraher, M., & Furey, S. (2017). Is it appropriate to use surplus food to feed people in hunger? Short-term Band-Aid to more deep-rooted problems of poverty. Food Research Collaboration. Retrieved from http://foodresearch.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Final-Using-food-surplus-hunger-FRC-briefing-paper-24-01-17-.pdf

Carastathis, A. (2015). The politics of austerity and the affective economy of hostility: Racialised gendered violence and crises of belonging in Greece. *Feminist Review,* 109(1), 73–95. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2014.50

Carney, M. (2014). The biopolitics of "food insecurity": towards a critical political ecology of the body in studies of women's transnational migration. *Journal of Political Ecology, 21*, 1–18. Retrieved from http://jpe.library.arizona.edu/volume_21/Carney.pdf

Carolan, M. (2015). Affective sustainable landscapes and care ecologies: getting a real feel for alternative food communities. *Sustainability Science, 10*(2), 317–329. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-014-0280-6

Cassell, J. (1980). Ethical Principles for Conducting Fieldwork. *American Anthropologist, 82*(1), 28–41. https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1980.82.1.02a00020

CCFC. (2017). Beyond the Emergency: How to evolve your food bank into a force for change. Community Food Centres Canada. Retrieved from https://cfccanada.ca/news/food-banks-force-for-change

Chilton, M., & Booth, S. (2007). Hunger of the Body and Hunger of the Mind: African American Women's Perceptions of Food Insecurity, Health and Violence. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior, 39*(3), 116–125. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jneb.2006.11.005

Chilton, M., & Rose, D. (2009). A rights-based approach to food insecurity in the United States*. American Journal of Public Health, 99*(7), 1203–1211. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2007.130229

Chrisafis, A. (2016, 4 February). French law forbids food waste by supermarkets. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/04/french-law-forbids-food-waste-by-supermarkets

CIA. (2018). North America: The United States. CIA. Retrieved January 6, 2018, from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/us.html

Clark, D. (2004). The Raw and the Rotten: Punk Cuisine. *Ethnology, 43*(1), 19–31. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3773853 .

Clendenning, J., Dressler, W. H., & Richards, C. (2016). Food justice or food sovereignty? Understanding the rise of urban food movements in the USA. *Agriculture and Human Values, 33*(1), 165–177. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-015-9625-8

CLES. (2012). Greater Manchester Poverty Commission Evidence Report. Centre for Local Economic Strategies. Retrieved from http://www.manchester.anglican.org/upload/userfiles/file/pdf/Church & Society/GMPC Evidence Report.pdf

Cloke, J. (2013). Empires of waste and the food security meme*. Geography Compass*, 7/9, 622–636. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12068

Cloke, P., Beaumont, J., & Williams, A. (Eds.). (2013). *Working Faith: Faith-based organizations and urban social justice.* Milton Keynes: Paternoster.

Cloke, P., May, J., & Williams, A. (2016). The geographies of food banks in the meantime. *Progress in Human Geography, 41(*6). https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132516655881

Coca-Cola (n.d.) How FareShare redistributes surplus food. Coca-Cola. Retrieved from https://www.coca-cola.co.uk/stories/infographic-how-fareshare-redistributes-surplus-food-to-charities-and-community-groups

Coffey, A. (1999). *The Ethnographic Self: Fieldwork and the Representation of Identity*. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Colls, R. (2012). Feminism, bodily difference and non-representational geographies. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 37*(3), 430–445. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2011.00477.x

Cook, I., et al. (2006). Geographies of food: following. *Progress in Human Geography, 30*(5), 655–666.

Cooper, N., & Dumpleton, S. (2013). Walking the Breadline. Church Action on Poverty/Oxfam. Retrieved from http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/walking-the-breadline-the-scandal-of-food-poverty-in-21st-century-britain-292978

Corbin, J., & Morse, J. M. (2003). Qualitative Inquiry The Unstructured Interactive Interview : *Qualitative Inquiry, 9*(3), 335–354. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800403251757

Coveney, J. (2006). Food, Morals and Meaning: The pleasure and anxiety of eating (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Crampton, J., & Elden, S. (2007). *Space, knowledge and power: Foucault and geography*. Routledge.

Crang, M., & Cook, I. (2007). *Doing ethnographies*. London: SAGE Publications.

Croteau, D. (2005). Which side are you on? The tension between movement scholarship and activism. In C. David, W. Hoynes, & C. Ryan (Eds.), *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movement Scholarship* (pp. 20–40). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

CSR Journal. (2015). Food Wastage In India A Serious Concern. *CSR Journal.* Retrieved from http://thecsrjournal.in/food-wastage-in-india-a-serious-concern/

Cussins, C. (1996). Ontological Choreography : Agency through Objectification in Infertility Clinics. *Social Studies of Science, 26*(3), 575–610. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/285701

Daponte, B., & Bade, S. (2006). How the Private Food Assistance Network Evolved: Interactions between Public and Private Responses to Hunger. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 35*(4), 668–690. https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764006289771

Davies, A., Edwards, F., Marovelli, B., Morrow, O., Rut, M., & Weymes, M. (2017). Creative construction: crafting, negotiating and performing urban food sharing landscapes. *Area, 49*(4), 510–518. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12340

Davison, R. (2018). A Third Sector plan to institutionalise food poverty. Can Cook. Retrieved from http://www.cancook.co.uk/third-sector-plan-instiutionalise-food-poverty/

DCCK. (2016). DC Central Kitchen Impact Report: Fiscal Year 2016. DC Central Kitchen. Retrieved from https://dccentralkitchen.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/DCCK.Annual.Report.2016.pdf

De Renobales, M., Escajedo San-Epifanio, L., & Molina, F. (2015). Social supermarkets: a dignifying took against food insecurity for people at socio-economic risk. In L. Escajedo San-Epifanio & M. De Renobales Scheifler (Eds.), *Envisioning a future without food waste and food poverty: Societal Challenges.* Wageningen Academic Publishers.

de Schutter, O. (2012). Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to food, Mission to Canada addendum. United Nations. Retrieved from http://www.srfood.org/images/stories/pdf/officialreports/20121224_canadafinal_en.pdf

Defra. (2006). Food Industry Sustainability Strategy. Defra. Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/69283/pb11649-fiss2006-060411.pdf

Defra. (2010). Food 2030. Defra. Retrieved from
    http://www.defra.gov.uk/foodfarm/food/strategy/

Defra. (2017). Food Statistics in your pocket 2017- Global and UK supply. Defra. Retrieved
    March 2, 2018, from https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/food-statistics-
    pocketbook-2017/food-statistics-in-your-pocket-2017-global-and-uk-supply

Defra. (2018). A Green Future: Our 25 Year plan to improve the environment. Defra.
    Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/25-year-environment-
    plan

Delanda, M. (2016). *Assemblage Theory.* Edinburgh University Press.

DeLanda, M. (2017). A Comparison of Deleuze's Assemblage Theory and the New Materialist
    Approach. Presentation at Assemblage Thinking Symposium 2017, University of the
    Aegean. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VzJqOX4ASA8&t=3s

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1983). *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Minneapolis:
    University of Minnesota Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/3684887

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (11th
    print). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

DeLind, L. (1994). Celebrating hunger in Michigan: A critique of an emergency food program
    and an alternative for the future. *Agriculture and Human Values, 11*(4), 58–68.
    https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01530417

DeWall, C., & Klein, S. (2013). Risky Meat. Washington DC: Center for Science in the Public
    Interest. Retrieved from
    https://cspinet.org/sites/default/files/attachment/RiskyMeat_CSPI_2013.pdf

Dickinson, M. (2016). Working for food stamps: Economic citizenship and the post-Fordist
    welfare state in New York City. *American Ethnologist, 43*(2), 270–281.
    https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12304

Dixon, B. (2015). Rewriting the call to charity: from food shelf volunteer to food justice
    advocate. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems and Community Development, 5*(2), 71–79.
    Retrieved from https://core.ac.uk/display/51067707

Dolphjin, R., & van der Tuin, I. (2012). *New Materialism: Interviews & Cartographies.
    Michigan.* Open Humanities Press.
    https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/ohp.11515701.0001.001

Doron, N. (2012). Waste not, want not: How fairness concerns can shift attitudes to food
    waste. Fabian Society. Retrieved from https://www.fabians.org.uk/publications/waste-
    not-want-not/

Douglas, F., Sapko, J., Kiezebrink, K., & Kyle, J. (2015). Resourcefulness , Desperation, Shame,
    Gratitude and Powerlessness : Common Themes Emerging from A Study of Food Bank
    Use in Northeast Scotland. *Public Health, 2*(October), 297–317.
    https://doi.org/10.3934/publichealth.2015.3.296

Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and Danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo.* New
    York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1177/003803856700100211

Dovey, K. (2011). Uprooting critical urbanism. *City, 15*(3–4), 347–354.
    https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2011.595109

Dowler, E. a., & O'Connor, D. (2012). Rights-based approaches to addressing food poverty
    and food insecurity in Ireland and UK. *Social Science and Medicine, 74*(1), 44–51.
    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.08.036

Dowler, E., & Lambie-Mumford, H. (2014). Food Aid: Living with Food Insecurity.
    Communities and Culture Network+ Food. Retrieved from
    http://www.communitiesandculture.org/files/2013/01/Living-with-Food-Insecurity-
    CCN-Report.pdf

Downing, E., Kennedy, S., & Fell, M. (2014). Food Banks and Food Poverty. London. House of
    Commons. Retrieved from http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/SN06657/food-
    banks-and-food-poverty

Downing, E., Priestley, S., & Carr, W. (2015). Briefing Paper: Food Waste. House of Commons. https://doi.org/10.13140/2.1.2239.2964

Duboys de Labarre, M., et al. (2016). Creating New Links Between Agriculture and Food Aid: New Perspectives from France. In M. Caraher & J. Coveney (Eds.), *Food Poverty and Insecurity: International Food Inequalities.* Springer.

Durrant, R. (2014). Civil society roles in transition: towards sustainable food? *SLRG Working Paper* (Vol. 02–14). Retrieved from http://www.sustainablelifestyles.ac.uk/slrg-publications/civil-society-roles-transition-towards-sustainable-food

East of England Co-op. (n.d.). The Co-op Guide to Dating. East of England Co-op. Retrieved from https://www.eastofengland.coop/food/ethics-and-sustainability/reducing-waste-at-the-east-of-england-co-op

Edwards, F., & Mercer, D. (2007). Gleaning from Gluttony: an Australian youth subculture confronts the ethics of waste. *Australian Geographer, 38*(3), 279–296. https://doi.org/10.1080/00049180701639174

Edwards, F., & Mercer, D. (2012). Food waste in Australia: The freegan response. *Sociological Review, 60*(SUPPL.2), 174–191. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12044

Ellis-Petersen, M. (2014). Free cheese only comes in mousetraps: exploring foodbank use in the UK. BA dissertation: University of Oxford. Retrieved from http://goodfoodoxford.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Free-cheese-only-comes-in-mousetraps_Madeleine-Ellis-Petersen.pdf

Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World.* Princeton University Press.

Escobar, A. (2007). The "ontological turn" in social theory. A Commentary on "Human geography without scale." *Trans Inst Br Geogr NS, 32*(1), 106–111. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2007.00243.x

EU Committee. (2014). Counting the Cost of Food Waste: EU Food Waste Prevention: 10th Report of Session 2013-14. House of Lords. https://www.parliament.uk/documents/lords-committees/eu-sub-com-d/food-waste-prevention/154.pdf

European Commission. (2013). Setting up a European Retail Action Plan. Communication from the Commission. European Commission. Retrieved from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52013DC0036&from=EN

Evans, D. (2011). Blaming the consumer – once again: the social and material contexts of everyday food waste practices in some English households. *Critical Public Health, 21*(4), 429–440. https://doi.org/10.1080/09581596.2011.608797

Evans, D. (2012). Binning, gifting and recovery: The conduits of disposal in household food consumption. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 30(*6), 1123–1137. https://doi.org/10.1068/d22210

Evans, D. (2014). *Food Waste: Home Consumption, Material Culture and Everyday Life.* London: Bloomsbury.

Evans, D., Campbell, H., & Murcott, A. (2012). A brief pre-history of food waste and the social sciences. *Sociological Review, 60*(SUPPL.2), 5–26. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12035

Evans, N. (1996). What do homeless people eat and can Crisis FareShare help improve their diet? *Nutrition & Food Science, 96*(3), 15–17. https://doi.org/10.1108/00346659610114699

Fabian Society. (2015a). A recipe for inequality: Why our food system is leaving low-income households behind. Fabian Society. https://doi.org/10.1038/4381052a

Fabian Society. (2015b). Hungry for Change: The final report of the Fabian Commission of Food and Poverty. Fabian Society. Retrieved from http://www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Hungry-for-Change-web-27.10.pdf

Falzon, M. (2009). *Multi-Sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis, and Locality in Contemporary Research*. Ashgate: Routledge.

FAO. (2013). Food wastage footprint: Impacts on natural resources. FAO. Retrieved from http://www.fao.org/docrep/018/i3347e/i3347e.pdf

FareShare. (2017a). Food Safety Manual. FareShare.

FareShare. (2017b). The food is something to look forward to: Ivy's story. FareShare. Retrieved December 13, 2017, from http://fareshare.org.uk/fareshare-case-studies/the-food-is-something-to-look-forward-to-ivys-story/

FareShare. (2017c). Why redistributing surplus food to charity is the right thing to do. Vimeo. Retrieved from https://vimeo.com/203811962

FareShare. (2018). Asda, FareShare and The Trussell Trust launch £20 million partnership to tackle food insecurity. FareShare. Retrieved February 8, 2018, from http://fareshare.org.uk/asda-fareshare-and-the-trussell-trust-launch-20-million-partnership-to-tackle-food-insecurity/

FareShare. (n.d.-a). Our history. FareShare. Retrieved from http://www.fareshare.org.uk/our-history/

FareShare. (n.d.-b). Our people. FareShare. Retrieved from http://fareshare.org.uk/what-we-do/our-people/

FareShare. (n.d.-c). Our work with Sainsburys. FareShare. Retrieved from http://fareshare.org.uk/giving-food/who-we-work-with/our-work-with-sainsburys/

Farías, I. (2011). The politics of urban assemblages. *City, 15*(3–4), 365–374. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2011.595110

Feedback Global. (2015). Food Waste in Kenya: Uncovering Food Waste in the Horticultural Export Supply Chain. Feedback Global. Retrieved from https://feedbackglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Food-Waste-in-Kenya_report-by-Feedback.pdf

Feedback Global. (2018). Farmers talk food waste: Supermarkets' role in crop waste on UK farms. Feedback Global. Retrieved from https://feedbackglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Farm_waste_report_.pdf

Feeding America. (2017). A Hunger for a Brighter Tomorrow: Annual Report. Feeding America. Retrieved from http://www.feedingamerica.org/about-us/financials/2017-feeding-america-annual-report.pdf

Feeding Britain. (2015). Feeding Britain Six Months On: A progress report on the work of the All- Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Hunger in the United Kingdom, 1–23. Feeding Britain. Retrieved from https://feedingbritain.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/feeding-britain-six-months-on.pdf

Felix Project. (2017). The Felix Project. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=107&v=oLde8_KKJkA

Ferguson, J. (1994). *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development", Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ferguson, J. (2015). *Give a Man a Fish*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Ferreri, M., Dawson, G., & Vasudevan, A. (2017). Living precariously: property guardianship and the flexible city. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 42*(2), 246–259. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12162

Feygina, I., Jost, J. T., & Goldsmith, R. E. (2010). System justification, the denial of global warming, and the possibility of "system-sanctioned change." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 36*(3), 326–338. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167209351435

FFS (n.d.) About Us. Fuel For School: The Real Junk Food Project. Retrieved from http://fuelforschool.info/about-us/

Field, F. (2018). School Holidays (Meals and Activities) Bill 2017-19. Bill 101. House of Commons. Retrieved from https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/bills/cbill/2017-2019/0101/18101.pdf

Fields, D. (2017). The Productive Base as the Ground of Society and History: Marx's Base-Superstructure Theory. Radical Political Economy [weblog]. Retrieved February 3, 2018, from https://urpe.wordpress.com/2017/12/28/the-productive-base-as-the-ground-of-society-and-history-marxs-base-superstructure-theory/

Filimonau, V., & Gherbin, A. (2018). An exploratory study of food waste management practices in the UK grocery retail sector. *Journal of Cleaner Production, 167*, 1184–1194. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2017.07.229

Fisher, A. (2017a). *Big Hunger: The Unholy Alliance between Corporate America and Anti-Hunger Groups*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Fisher, A. (2017b). The UK Part II: The Rise of Food Banks. Big Hunger [weblog] Retrieved from https://www.bighunger.org/blog-1/2017/12/15/part-ii-the-rise-of-food-banks-in-the-uk

Fisher, A. (2018). Rad Food Rescue. Big Hunger [weblog]. Retrieved February 25, 2018, from https://www.bighunger.org/blog-1/2018/2/17/rad-food-rescue

Fitzpatrick, S., Bramley, G., Blenkinsopp, J., Johnsen, S., Littlewood, M., Netto, G., … Watts, B. (2016). Destitution in the UK. Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Retrieved from http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/destitution.pdf

Flowers, R., & Swan, E. (2012). Pedagogies of doing good: Problematisations, authorities, technologies and teleologies in food activism. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning, 52*(3), 532–572.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making Social Science Matter.* Cambridge University Press.

Food Ethics Council. (2014). Below the breadline : Beyond reach? What should food businesses do to address food poverty? Food Ethics Council. Retrieved from https://www.foodethicscouncil.org/uploads/publications/2014%20Belowthebreadlinebeyondreach.pdf

Food Tank. (2016). Ten Questions with Lisa Moon, President and CEO of The Global FoodBanking Network. Food Tank. Retrieved March 3, 2018, from https://foodtank.com/news/2016/11/ten-questions-with-lisa-moon-president-and-ceo-of-the-global-foodbanking-ne/

Forsey, A. (2014). An Evidence Review for the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Hunger in the United Kingdom. Feeding Britain. Retrieved from https://foodpovertyinquiry.files.wordpress.com/2014/12/food-poverty-appg-evidence-review-final.pdf

Forsyth, T. (2003). *Critical Political Ecology.* London, New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1983). Discourse and Truth: the Problematization of Parrhesia. (J. Pearson, Ed.). Digital Archive: Foucault.info. Retrieved from http://www.foucault.info/documents/parrhesia/index.html

Foucault, M. (1997). The ethics of the concern of the self as a practice of freedom. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth.* Penguin.

Foucault, M. (2007). *Security, territory, population: Lectures at the College de France 1977 - 1978.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, M. (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978–79.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fraser, N. (2013). A Triple Movement? Parsing the Politics of Crisis after Polanyi. *New Left Review, (81)*, 119–132. Retrieved from http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=88821584&site=ehost-live

Freidberg, S. (2004). The ethical complex of corporate food power. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 22*(4), 513–531. https://doi.org/10.1068/d384

Freidberg, S. (2009). *Fresh: A perishable history.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Garnett, T., & Little, D. (2015). Lean, green, mean, obscene…? What is efficiency ? And is it sustainable ? Animal production and consumption reconsidered. Food Research Collaboration Network. Retrieved from http://www.fcrn.org.uk/sites/default/files/fcrn_lmgo.pdf

Garrone, P., Melacini, M., & Perego, A. (2014). Surplus food recovery and donation in Italy: the upstream process. *British Food Journal, 116*(9), 1460–1477. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/09564230910978511

Garthwaite, K. (2016). *Hunger Pains: Life inside foodbank Britain.* Policy Press.

Geertz, C. (1973). *Thick Description: Towards an interpretative theory of culture. In The Interpretation of Cultures*. Basic Books.

Geertz, C. (1983). *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.

Gentilini, U. (2013). Banking on Food : The State of Food Banks in High-income Countries. Brighton. *IDS Working Paper* 415. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2040-0209.2013.00415.x

Gentleman, A. (2014, February 28). Vulnerable man starved to death after benefits were cut. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/feb/28/man-starved-to-death-after-benefits-cut

GFN. (2017). Alleviating Hunger Together: FY2017 Annual Report. The Global Foodbanking Network. Retrieved from https://www.foodbanking.org/wp-content/themes/gfn/_dar_pdf/GFN_2017 Annual Report.pdf

GFN. (n.d.-a). Our Global Reach. The Global Foodbanking Network. Retrieved from https://www.foodbanking.org/what-we-do/our-global-reach/

GFN. (n.d.-b). Why We Exist. The Global Foodbanking Network. Retrieved from https://www.foodbanking.org/why-we-exist/

Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2003). Enabling Ethical Economies: Cooperativism and Class. *Critical Sociology, 29*(2), 123–161. https://doi.org/10.1163/156916303769155788

Gibson-Graham. (2008). Diverse economies : performative practices for " other worlds ." *Progress in Human Geography, 32*(March 2006), 613–632. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132508090821

Gidwani, V., & Reddy, R. N. (2011). The Afterlives of "Waste": Notes from India for a Minor History of Capitalist Surplus. *Antipode, 43*(5), 1625–1658. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2011.00902.x

Giles, D. (2013). "A Mass Conspiracy To Feed People" Globalizing Cities, World-Class Waste, and the Biopolitics of Food Not Bombs. PhD thesis: University of Washington. Retrieved from https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/handle/1773/23390

Giles, D. (2016). The work of waste-making: biopolitical labour and the myth of the global city. In J. P. Marshall & L. . Connor (Eds.), *Environmental change and the world's futures: ecologies, ontologies and mythologies.* Abingdon: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315776552

Gillan, K., & Pickerill, J. (2012). The Difficult and Hopeful Ethics of Research on, and with, Social Movements. *Social Movement Studies, 11*(2), 133–143. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2012.664890

Gille, Z. (2010). Actor networks, modes of production, and waste regimes: Reassembling the macro-social. *Environment and Planning A, 42*(5), 1049–1064. https://doi.org/10.1068/a42122

Gille, Z. (2012). From risk to waste: global food waste regimes. *The Sociological Review, 60*, 27–46. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12036

Gjerris, M., & Gaiani, S. (2013). Household food waste in Nordic countries : Estimations and ethical implications. *Nordic Journal of Applied Ethics, 7(*1), 6-23

Gjerris, M., & Gaiani, S. (2015). Values in the trash: ethical aspects of food waste. In L. Escajedo San-Epifanio & M. De Renobales (Eds.), *Envisioning a future without food waste and food poverty.* Wageningen Academic Publishers.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* New Brunswick: AldineTransaction.

Global Food Security Programme. (n.d.). Research. Global Food Security Programme. Retrieved from https://www.foodsecurity.ac.uk/research/

Gneezy, A., Gneezy, U., Riener, G., & Nelson, L. D. (2012). Pay-what-you-want, identity, and self-signaling in markets. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 109*(19), 7236–7240. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1120893109

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience.* New York: Harper Colophon Books.

Goldberg, R. L. (2013). No such thing as a free lunch: paternalism, poverty and food justice. *Stanford Law and Policy Review, 24*(1). https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2007.54.1.23.

Gonzalez Vaque, L. (2015). Food loss and waste: some short- and medium-term proposals for the European Union. In L. Escajedo San-Epifanio & M. De Renobales Scheifler (Eds.), *Envisioning a future without food waste and food poverty: Societal Challenges.* Wageningen Academic Publishers.

Goodchild, P. (1996). Deleuze and Guattari: an introduction to the politics of desire. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Goodley, S. (2017, November 3). Chicken safety scandal: 2 Sisters factory to resume production. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/nov/03/chicken-safety-scandal-2-sisters-factory-to-resume-production

Goodman, M. K., & Sage, C. (2014). Food Transgressions: Ethics, Governance and Geographies. In M. K. Goodman & C. Sage (Eds*.), Food Transgressions: Making Sense of Contemporary Food Politics* (pp. 1–21). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Gottlieb, R., & Joshi, A. (2010). *Food justice.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Gregson, N., & Crang, M. (2010). Materiality and waste: Inorganic vitality in a networked world. *Environment and Planning A, 42(*5), 1026–1032. https://doi.org/10.1068/a43176

Gregson, N., Metcalfe, A., & Crewe, L. (2007). Moving things along: The conduits and practices of divestment in consumption. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 32*, 187–200. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2007.00253.x

Gustavsson, J., Cederberg, C., Sonesson, U., van Otterdijk, R., & Meybeck, A. (2011). Global food losses and food waste- Extent, causes and prevention. FAO. Retrieved from http://www.fao.org/docrep/014/mb060e/mb060e.pdf

Guthman, J. (2003). Fast food/organic food: Reflexive tastes and the making of 'yuppie chow. *Social & Cultural Geography, 4*(1), 45–58.

Guthman, J. (2007). The polanyian way? Voluntary food labels as neoliberal governance. Antipode, 39, 456–478. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2007.00535.x

Guthman, J. (2008). Bringing good food to others: investigating the subjects of alternative food practice. *Cultural Geographies, 15*(4), 431–447. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474008094315

Guthman, J. (2012). Opening Up the Black Box of the Body in Geographical Obesity Research: Toward a Critical Political Ecology of Fat. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 102*(5), 951–957. https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2012.659635

Guthman, J. (2017). Willing (White) Workers on Organic Farms ? Reflections on Volunteer Farm Labor and the Politics of Precarity. *Gastronomica, 17*(1), 15–19.

Guthman, J., & DuPuis, M. (2006). Embodying neoliberalism: Economy, culture, and the politics of fat. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 24*(3), 427–448. https://doi.org/10.1068/d3904

Hacking, I. (1999). *The Social Construction of What?* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Hall, S. (1982). The rediscovery of "ideology": return of the repressed in media studies. In M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran, & J. Woollacott (Eds.), *Culture, Society and the Media.* London: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1996). Gramsci's relevance for the study of race and ethnicity. In D. Morley & K. Chen (Eds.), *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (pp. 411–440). New York: R.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies, 14*(3), 575. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066

Hardin, G. (1968). The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science, 162*(3859), 1243–1248. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1724745

Harris, S. A. (2016, June 15). Tesco CEO Dave Lewis Says Tackling Food Waste Is 'The Right Thing To Do. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/tesco-ceo-dave-lewis-tackling-food-waste-right-thing-to-do_uk_57614469e4b0681487dc540a

Hawkes, C., & Webster, J. (2000). Too much and too little ? Debates on surplus food redistribution. Sustain. Retrieved from http://oxfordfoodbank.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Sustain-2000-Too-much-and-too-little-Debates-on-surplus-food-redistribution.pdf

Hawkins, G. (2006). The Ethics of Waste: How we relate to rubbish. Sydney: UNSW Press.

Hayes-Conroy, A. & J. (2015). Political ecology of the body: a visceral approach. In R. L. Bryant (Ed*.), The International Handbook of Political Ecology* (pp. 650–672). Cheltenham: Elgar.

Hayes-Conroy, A., & Hayes-Conroy, J. (2008). Taking back taste: feminism, food and visceral politics. Gender, Place & Culture, 15(5), 461–473. https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690802300803

Hayes-Conroy, J., & Hayes-Conroy, A. (2013). Veggies and visceralities: A political ecology of food and feeling. *Emotion, Space and Society, 6*(1), 81–90. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2011.11.003

Henderson, G. (2004). "Free" food, the local production of worth, and the circuit of decommodification: A value theory of the surplus. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 22*(1), 485–512. https://doi.org/10.1068/d379

Herod, A., Pickren, G., Rainnie, A., & McGrath Champ, S. (2014). Global destruction networks, labour and waste. *Journal of Economic Geography, 14*(2), 421–441. https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/lbt015

Herzog, H. (2012). Interview location and its social meaning. In J. Gubrium (Ed.), *The SAGE Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft* (pp. 207–217). SAGE Publications.

Hetherington, K. (2004). Secondhandedness: Consumption, disposal, and absent presence. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 22*(1), 157–173. https://doi.org/10.1068/d315t

Heyes, C. J. (2006). Foucault Goes to Weight Watchers. *Hypatia, 21*(2), 126–149. https://doi.org/10.1353/hyp.2006.0009

Heynen, N. (2006). "But it's Alright, Ma , it's Life, and Life Only": Radicalism as Survival. *Antipode, 38*(5), 916–929.

Heynen, N. (2008). Bringing the body back to life through radical geography of hunger: The Haymarket affair and its aftermath. *Acme, 7*(1995), 32–44.

Heynen, N. (2009). Bending the Bars of Empire from Every Ghetto for Survival: The Black Panther Party's Radical Antihunger Politics of Social Reproduction and Scale. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 99*(2), 406–422. https://doi.org/10.1080/00045600802683767

Heynen, N. (2010). Cooking up Non-violent Civil-disobedient Direct Action for the Hungry: "Food Not Bombs" and the Resurgence of Radical Democracy in the US. *Urban Studies, 47*(6), 1225–1240. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009360223

Heynen, N. (2013a). Marginalia of a revolution: naming popular ethnography through William W. Bunge's Fitzgerald. *Social and Cultural Geography, 14*(April 2015), 744–751. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2012.753467

Heynen, N. (2013b). Urban political ecology I. *Progress in Human Geography, 38*(4), 598–604. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132513500443

Hic, C., Pradhan, P., Rybski, D., & Kropp, J. P. (2016). Food Surplus and Its Climate Burdens. *Environmental Science and Technology, 50*(8), 4269–4277. https://doi.org/10.1021/acs.est.5b05088

Himmelgreen, D., & Romero-Daza, N. (2010). Eliminating "Hunger" in the U.S.: Changes in Policy Regarding the Measurement of Food Security. *Food and Foodways, 18*(1–2), 96–113. https://doi.org/10.1080/07409711003708611

Hinchliffe, S., & Whatmore, S. (2006). Living cities: Towards a politics of conviviality. *Science as Culture, 15*(2), 123–138. https://doi.org/10.1080/09505430600707988

Hitchings, R. (2012). People can talk about their practices. *Area, 44*(1), 61–67. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2011.01060.x

Hogg, D., et al. (2007). Dealing with Food Waste in the UK. Eunomia Research and Consulting for WRAP. WRAP. Retrieved from http://www.wrap.org.uk/sites/files/wrap/Dealing_with_Food_Waste_-_Final_-_2_March_07.pdf

Holt-Giménez, E. (2010). Food Security, Food Justice, or Food Sovereignty? *Institute for Food and Development Policy, 16*(4).

Holt-Giménez, E., & Shattuck, A. (2011). Food crises, food regimes and food movements: rumblings of reform or tides of transformation? *The Journal of Peasant Studies, 38*(1), 109–144. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2010.538578

Holt-Giménez, E., Shattuck, A., Altieri, M., Herren, H., & Gliessman, S. (2012). We Already Grow Enough Food for 10 Billion People … and Still Can't End Hunger. *Journal of Sustainable Agriculture, 36(*August), 595–598. https://doi.org/10.1080/10440046.2012.695331

Horst, van der, H., Pascucci, S., & Bol, W. (2014). The "dark side" of food banks? Exploring emotional responses of food bank receivers in the Netherlands. *British Food Journal, 116*(9), 1506–1520. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/09564230910978511

Hossain, N., Brito, L., Jahan, F., Joshi, A., Nyamu-Musembi, C., Patnaik, B., Sambo, M., Shankland, A., Scott-Villiers, P., Sinha, D., Kalita, D. and Benequista, N. (2014). "Them belly full (but we hungry)": Food rights struggles in Bangladesh, India, Kenya and Mozambique. Brighton: DFID-ESRC research project "Food Riots and Food Rights." Retrieved from http://foodriots.org/publication/view/them-belly-full-but-we-hungry-food-rights-struggles-in-bangladesh-india-kenya-and-mozambique

House of Commons (2016). Food Waste (Reduction) Bill 2015-16. Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Committee. House of Commons. Retrieved from http://services.parliament.uk/bills/2015-16/foodwastereduction.html

House of Commons. (2017). Food Waste in England: Eight Report of Session 2016-17. Retrieved from https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmenvfru/429/429.pdf

Huberman, A. and Miles, M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd edn). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hulme, D., & Toye, J. (2013). *Understanding Poverty and Well-Being: Bridging the Disciplines.* Routledge.

Hunger-Free America. (n.d.). Beyond the Food Drive: Ending Hunger through Citizen Service. Hunger-Free America. Retrieved from https://www.hungervolunteer.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/BeyondtheFoodDrive_FullHandbook.pdf

IFAN. (n.d.). Volunteers across the UK giving "at least £30 million" a year in unpaid work to support foodbanks. Independent Food Aid Network. Retrieved January 24, 2018, from http://www.foodaidnetwork.org.uk/volunteers

IFAN. (n.d.-b). StoryBank Project. Independent Food Aid Network. Retrieved March 10, 2018, from http://www.foodaidnetwork.org.uk/storybank

IMechE. (2013). Global Food - Waste Not, Want Not. Institute of Mechanical Engineers. Retrieved from http://www.imeche.org/docs/default-source/reports/Global_Food_Report.pdf?sfvrsn=0

Jackson, P. (2010). Food stories: consumption in an age of anxiety. *Cultural Geographies*, 17(2), 147–165. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474010363844

Jung, M. H., Nelson, L. D., Gneezy, A., & Gneezy, U. (2017). Signaling Virtue: Charitable Behavior Under Consumer Elective Pricing. *Marketing Science, 36*(2), 187–194. https://doi.org/10.1287/mksc.2016.1018

Katz, C. (1992). All the world is staged: intellectuals and the projects of ethnography. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 10*(5), 495–510. https://doi.org/10.1068/d100495

Kelle, U. (1997). Theory Building in Qualitative Research and Computer Programs for the Management of Textual Data. *Sociological Research Online, 2*(2).

Kelly, R. (2016, June). France ensures leftover food goes to people in need. Why can't we do the same? *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/21/france-leftover-food-waste-law-industry

Kesby, M. (2000). Participatory diagramming: deploying qualitative methods through an action research epistemology. *Area, 32*(4), 423–435. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2000.tb00158.x

Kirkpatrick, S. I., & Tarasuk, V. (2009). Food insecurity and participation in community food programs among low-income Toronto families. *Canadian Journal of Public Health, 100*(2), 135–139. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1368980010000339

Korsmeyer, C., & Sutton, D. (2011). The sensory experience of food. *Food, Culture and Society, 14*(4), 461–475. https://doi.org/10.2752/175174411X13046092851316

Kothari, U. (2005). Authority and expertise: The professionalisation of international development and the ordering of dissent. *Antipode, 37*(3), 425–446. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0066-4812.2005.00505.x

Kraftl, P. (2013). Beyond "voice",beyond "agency", beyond "politics"? Hybrid childhoods and some critical reflections on children's emotional geographies. *Emotion, Space and Society, 9*, 13–23.

Kraftl, P. (2015). Alter-Childhoods: Biopolitics and Childhoods in Alternative Education Spaces. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 105*(1), 219–237. https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2014.962969

Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing.* SAGE Publications.

Lalor, D. (2014). Feeding the Gaps: Food poverty and food surplus redistribution in Oxford. Oxfordshire County Council, Community Action Groups, Abundance Oxford. Retrieved from http://www.goodfoodoxford.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/FeedingTheGaps_TheReport.pdf

Lambie-Mumford, H. (2013). "Every Town Should Have One": Emergency Food Banking in the UK. Journal of Social Policy, 42(1), 73–89. https://doi.org/10.1017/S004727941200075X

Lambie-Mumford, H. (2014). The Right to Food and the Rise of Charitable Emergency Food Provision in the United Kingdom. PhD thesis. University of Sheffield.

Lambie-Mumford, H., & Dowler, E. (2014). Rising use of "food aid" in the United Kingdom. *British Food Journal, 116*(9), 1418–1425. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/09564230910978511

Lambie-Mumford, H., Crossley, D., Jensen, E., Verbeke, M., & Dowler, E. (2014). Household Food Security in the UK: A Review of Food Aid. Food Ethics Council. Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/283071/household-food-security-uk-140219.pdf

Lancione, M. (2017). Urban assemblage thinking: ontology, methodologies and action. Retrieved from https://prezi.com/bb7zdbzi0fug/urban-assemblage-thinking-ontology-methodologies-and-action/?utm_campaign=share&utm_medium=copy

Lancione, M. (ed). (2016). *Rethinking life at the margins: The Assemblage of Contexts, Subjects and Politics.* London: Routledge. Retrieved from http://www.michelelancione.eu/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2016/10/Rethinking-Life-at-the-Margins_Lancione_with-Introduction.pdf

Lang, T. (2009). Reshaping the Food System for Ecological Public Health. *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition, 4*(3–4), 315–335. https://doi.org/10.1080/19320240903321227

Lang, T., Millstone, E., & Marsden, T. (2017). A Food Brexit: time to get real. City University, University of Sussex, Cardiff University. Retrieved from http://www.sussex.ac.uk/spru/newsandevents/2017/publications/food-brexit

Latour, B. (1986). Visualisation and cognition: Drawing things together. In H. Kuklick (Ed.), *Knowledge and Society: Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present* (vol 6, pp. 1–40). Jai Press. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470979587.ch9

Latour, B. (1990). On actor-network theory. A few clarifications plus more than a few complications. *Soziale Welt, 47*, 369–381.

Latour, B. (1998). Thought Experiments in Social Science: from the Social Contract to Virtual Society. Brunel University. Retrieved from http://www.artefaktum.hu/it/Latour.htm

Latour, B. (1999). On Recalling ANT. *The Sociological Review, 46*(S), 15–25. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.46.s.2

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1163/156913308X336453

Latour, B., & Hermant, E. (1998). Retrieved from *Paris ville invisible.* Paris: La Découverte-Les Empêcheurs de penser en rond. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/03098260601082230

Latour, B., & Woolgar, S. (1986). *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts.* Princeton University Press.

Law, J. (2009). Collateral realities. Retrieved from http://heterogeneities.net/publications/Law2009CollateralRealities.pdf

Lawson, V., & Elwood, S. (2014). Encountering Poverty: Space, Class, and Poverty Politics. *Antipode, 46*(1), 209–228. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12030

LCRN. (n.d.). Tesco reveals annual food waste figures. London Community Resource Network. Retrieved February 1, 2018, from http://lcrn.org.uk/tesco-reveals-annual-food-waste-figures/

Leather, S. (1996). *Making Modern Malnutrition.* The Caroline Walker Trust.

Lee, K., & Soma, T. (2016). From "Farm to Table" to "Farm to Dump": Emerging Research on Urban Household Food Waste in the Global South. In C. Levkoe, J. Brady, & C. Anderson (Eds.), *Conversations in Food Studies* (pp. 243–266). Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Lemon, G. (2017). We welcomed changes in the Budget but now is not a time for celebration. The Trussell Trust. Retrieved January 2, 2018, from https://www.trusselltrust.org/2017/12/07/now-not-time-celebration/

Leray, L., Sahakian, M., & Erkman, S. (2016). Understanding household food metabolism: Relating micro-level material flow analysis to consumption practices. *Journal of Cleaner Production,* 125, 44–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2016.03.055

Levine, M. (1978). CBS, "Hunger in America." *Teaching Political Science, (2).* Retrieved from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00922013.1978.11000126?journalCode=vztp20&

Lewell-Buck, E. Food Insecurity Bill 2017-19 (2018). Retrieved from https://services.parliament.uk/bills/2017-19/foodinsecurity.html

Lewis, H. (2018, January 13). Culture wars cross the Atlantic to coarsen British politics. *Financial Times.* Retrieved from https://www.ft.com/content/5ac4d090-f6f9-11e7-a4c9-bbdefa4f210b

Li, T. M. (2009). To Make Live or Let Die? Rural Dispossession and the Protection of Surplus Populations. *Antipode, 41*(s1), 66–93.

Liboiron, M. (2013). Modern Waste as Strategy. *Lo Squaderno: Explorations in Space and Society.* (29), 9–12.

Lindenbaum, J. (2016). Countermovement, Neoliberal Platoon, or Re-Gifting Depot? Understanding Decommodification in US Food Banks. *Antipode, 48*(2), 375–392. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12192

Linebaugh, P. (2008). *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberty and Commons for All.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lister, R., de Schutter, O., & Mould, C. (2013). Freedom from Hunger: Realising the Right to Food in the UK. Just Fair Report, (February), 1–21. Retrieved from http://www.edf.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Freedom-from-Hunger.Just-Fair-Report.FINAL_..pdf

Lohnes, J. (n.d.). Feeding Lines: The geography of humanitarian food networks in West Virginia. PhD proposal: West Virginia University.

Lohnes, J., & Wilson, B. (2017). Bailing out the food banks? Hunger relief, food waste, and crisis in Central Appalachia. *Environment and Planning A*, 0(0), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X17742154

Longhurst, R. (2005). Fat bodies: developing geographical research agendas. Progress in *Human Geography, 29*(2005), 247–259. https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132505ph545oa

Longhurst, R., Ho, E., & Johnston, L. (2008). Using "the body" as an "instrument of research": kimch'i and pavlova. *Area, 40*(2), 208–217.

Loopstra, R., & Lalor, D. (2017). Financial insecurity, food insecurity and disability: The profile of people receiving emergency food assistance from The Trussell Trust Foodbank Network in Britain. The Trussell Trust, University of Oxford, ESRC. Retrieved from https://www.trusselltrust.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2017/07/OU_Report_final_01_08_online2.pdf

Loopstra, R., & Reeves, A. (2015). Austerity, sanctions, and the rise of food banks in the UK. *British Medical Journal, 1775*(April), 6–11. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.h1775

Loopstra, R., & Tarasuk, V. (2014). Food bank usage is a poor indicator of food insecurity: Insights from Canada. *Social Policy and Society, 14*(3), 443–455. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746415000184

Loopstra, R., Fledderjohann, J., Reeves, A., & Stuckler, D. (2018). Impact of Welfare Benefit Sanctioning on Food Insecurity: a Dynamic Cross-Area Study of Food Bank Usage in the UK. *Journal of Social Policy*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279417000915

Lorton, C., Fitzgerald, J., Cole, A., Mcgrath, M., Varney, M., Sarll, R., … Scott, V. (2014). Food Connection Programme – Report on the potential for the redistribution of surplus food from grocery retailer stores to charities. WRAP. Retrieved from http://www.wrap.org.uk/sites/files/wrap/Food Connection Programme Final Published Report.pdf

Lou, L. I. T. (2017). The Material Culture of Green Living in Hong Kong. *Anthropology Now, 9(*1), 70–79. https://doi.org/10.1080/19428200.2017.1291055

LSEG. (n.d.). Company Shop. London Stock Exchange Group. Retrieved June 15, 2017, from https://www.lseg.com/resources/1000-companies-inspire-britain/company-shop

Lyndhurst, B. (2008). Research into consumer behaviour in relation to food dates and portion sizes. WRAP. Retrieved from http://www.wrap.org.uk/sites/files/wrap/Consumer behaviour food dates, portion sizes report july 2008.pdf

Maeckelbergh, M. (2009). *The Will of the Many: How the Alterglobalisation Movement Is Changing the Face of Democracy.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marston, S., & Smith, N. (2001). States, scales and households: Limits to scale thinking? A response to Brenner. *Progress in Human Geography, 25*(4), 615–619. https://doi.org/10.1191/030913201682688968

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative Researching* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

Mason, K. (2015). Participatory Action Research : Coproduction , Governance and Care, *Geography Compass 9*(9), 497–507, https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.122279, 497–507.

Maurer, S., & Sobal, J. (Eds.). (1995). *Eating Agendas: Food and Nutrition as Social Problems.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Maxey, I. (1999). Beyond boundaries: Activism, academic, reflexivity and research. *Area, 31*(3), 199–208. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.1999.tb00084.x

Mayfield, S. (2015). Involving Charitable Food Providers in Advocacy Efforts – Lessons from Canada, 1–21.

Mazzolini, E. (2010). Food, waste and judgement on Mount Everest. *Cultural Critique,* (76), 1–27. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/40925343

McCarthy, K. (2015). Kerry's Food Waste Bill. Retrieved April 3, 2016, from http://www.kerrymccarthymp.org/news/westminster_news/news.aspx?p=1091233

McCarthy, K. (2016). Response from the Minister to my letter of 3rd March about my Food Waste Bill. FaceBook. Retrieved June 6, 2016, from https://www.facebook.com/WhatAWasteSupportTheFoodWasteBill/posts/1041214622621320

McFarlane, C. (2009). Translocal assemblages: Space, power and social movements. *Geoforum, 40*(4), 561–567. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.05.003

McHenry, K. (2012). *Hungry for Peace: How you can help end poverty and war with Food Not Bombs*. Tucson: See Sharp Press.

McIntosh, A. (2004). *Soil and Soul: People versus Corporate Power*. London: Aurum Press.

McMichael, P. (2009). A food regime analysis of the "world food crisis." Agriculture and *Human Values, 26*(April), 281–295. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-009-9218-5

Mena, C., Adenso-Diaz, B., & Yurt, O. (2011). The causes of food waste in the supplier-retailer interface: Evidences from the UK and Spain. *Resources, Conservation and Recycling, 55*(6), 648–658. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resconrec.2010.09.006

Midgley, J. L. (2012). Problematizing the Emergence of Household Food Security in England. *International Journal of the Society of Agriculture and Food, 20*(3), 293–311.

Midgley, J. L. (2013). The logics of surplus food redistribution. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management, 57*(12), 1872–1892. https://doi.org/10.1080/09640568.2013.848192

Miller, D. (2001). The Poverty of Morality. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 1*(2), 225–243.

Mills, J. (2016). Freegans go wild after Tesco fridges break down in heatwave. Metro, 20th July. https://metro.co.uk/2016/07/20/freegans-go-wild-after-tesco-fridges-break-down-in-heatwave-6019496/

Milne, R. (2012). Arbiters of waste: date labels, the consumer and knowing good, safe food. *The Sociological Review, 60,* 84–101. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12039

Mintz, S. W. (1985). Sweetness and Power: The place of sugar in moden history. Penguin.

Mol, A. (2008). I Eat an Apple. On Theorizing Subjectivities. *Subjectivity, 22*(1), 28–37. https://doi.org/10.1057/sub.2008.2

Mooney, P. (2017). Too Big to feed: exploring the impacts of mega-mergers, consolidation and concetration of power in the agri-food sector. IPES Report. https://doi.org/10.1109/CITCON.2016.7742676

Mooney, P., & Hunt, S. (2009). Food Security: The Elaboration of Contested Claims to a Consensus Frame. *Rural Sociology, 74*(4), 469–497. https://doi.org/10.1526/003601109789864053

Moore, A. (2014). *The Food Fighters: DC Central Kitchen's First Twenty-Five Years on the Front Lines of Hunger and Poverty.* Bloomington: iUniverse.

Morse, J. M. (2003). A Review Committee's Guide for Evaluating Qualitative Proposals. *Qualitative Health Research, 13*(6), 833–851. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732303255367

Mourad, M. (2015). Recycling, recovering and preventing "food waste": Competing solutions for food systems sustainability in the United States and France. *Journal of Cleaner Production, 126*, 461–477. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2016.03.084

Muller, M. (2014). A half-hearted romance? A diagnosis and agenda for the relationship between economic geography and actor-network theory (ANT). *Progress in Human Geography, 39*(1), 65–86. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132513518833

Muller, M., & Schurr, C. (2016). Assemblage thinking and actor-network theory: conjunctions, disjunctions, cross-fertilisations. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 41*(3), 217–229. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12117

Murcott, A., Belasco, W., & Jackson, P. (Eds.). (2013). The Handbook of Food Research. London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Murphy, J. (2017, December 21). Gove's £500,000 boost to help feed London's hungry children. *The Evening Standard.* Retrieved from https://www.standard.co.uk/help-a-hungry-child/gove-s-500000-boost-to-help-feed-london-s-hungry-children-a3724986.html

Myers, R. (2011). The Familiar Strange and the Strange Familiar in Anthropology and Beyond. *General Anthropology*. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-3466.2011.00007.x

Nally, D. (2011). The biopolitics of food provisioning. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 36*(1), 37–53. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2010.00413.x

Neighbourly. (2017). Marks and Spencer. Neighbourly. Retrieved January 16, 2017, from https://www.neighbourly.com/MarksandSpencer

Nunn, N., & Gutberlet, J. (2013). Cooperative recycling in São Paulo, Brazil: Towards an emotional consideration of empowerment. Area, 45(4), 452–458. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12052

O'Brien, M. (2008). *A Crisis of Waste? Understanding the Rubbish Society*. Routledge.

OpenDataCommunities.org (2015). Index of Multiple Deprivation. Indices of Deprivation 2015 explorer. Retrieved from http://dclgapps.communities.gov.uk/imd/idmap.html

OSNPPH. (2015). Position Statement on Responses to Food Insecurity. Ontario Society of Nutrition Professionals in Public Health. Retrieved from http://ow.ly/JVAg3058HC8

Osterweil, M. (2013). Rethinking Public Anthropology Through Epistemic Politics and Theoretical Practice. *Cultural Anthropology, 28*(4), 598–620. https://doi.org/10.1111/cuan.12029

Ostrom, E., Burger, J., Field, C. B., Norgaard, R. B., & Policansky, D. (1999). Revisiting the commons: local lessons, global challenges. *Science, 284*(5412), 278–282. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.284.5412.278

Oxford Food Bank. (n.d.). Little brother is growing up fast! Retrieved from http://oxfordfoodbank.org/about-us/news/little-brother-is-growing-up-fast/

Packard, V. (1963). *The Waste Makers.* Middlesex: Penguin.

Papargyropoulou, E., & Al., E. (2014). The food waste hierarchy as a framework for the management of food surplus and food waste. *Journal of Cleaner Production, 76,* 106–115. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2014.04.020

Parfitt, J., Barthel, M., & Macnaughton, S. (2010). Food waste within food supply chains: quantification and potential for change to 2050. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences, 365, 3065–3081. https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2010.0126

Patel, R. (2007). *Stuffed and Starved: The Hidden Battle for the World Food System.* Portobello.

Patel, R. (2011). What the Black Panthers can teach the US food movement. In S. Amin (Ed.), *Food Movements Unite! Strategies to Transform Our Food System.* Food First Books.

Paterson, M. (2009). Haptic geographies: ethnography, haptic knowledges and sensuous dispositions. *Progress in Human Geography, 33*(6), 766–788. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132509103155

Paulson, S., Gezon, L. L., & Watts, M. (2003). Locating the Political in Political Ecology: An Introduction. *Human Organization, 62*(3), 205–217. https://doi.org/10.17730/humo.62.3.e5xcjnd6y8v09n6b

Paynter, R. (1989). The Archaeology of Equality and Inequality. Annual Review of Anthropology, 18(1), 369–399. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.18.100189.002101

Peet, R., & Watts, M. (Eds.). (1996). *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements.* Routledge.

Perkins, H. A. (2007). Ecologies of actor-networks and (non)social labor within the urban political economies of nature. *Geoforum, 38*(6), 1152–1162. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2007.01.007

Perrett, M. (2016). FSA budget cuts: what it means for food safety. *Food Manufacture.* Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2J4MKpv

Perry, J., Williams, M., Sefton, T., & Haddad, M. (2014). Emergency Use Only: Understanding and reducing the use of food banks in the UK. Oxfam. Retrieved from http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/emergency-use-only-understanding-and-reducing-the-use-of-food-banks-in-the-uk-335731

PFIB. (2017). Join Raise the Rates Coalition. Put Food in the Budget. Retrieved from http://www.putfoodinthebudget.ca/join_raise_the_rates_coalition

Philabundance. (n.d.). Fare And Square. Philabundance. Retrieved October 22, 2017, from https://www.philabundance.org/about/fare-and-square-2/

Phillips, C., Hoenigman, R., Higbee, B., & Reed, T. (2013). Understanding the Sustainability of Retail Food Recovery. *PLoS ONE, 8*(10). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0075530

Phillips, J. (2006). Assemblage/Agencement. *Theory, Culture and Society 23*:2-3, 108-109. https://www.academia.edu/17071845/Agencement_Assemblage

Pichler, K. (n.d.). One Third. Retrieved from https://klauspichler.net/project/one-third/

Pine, A. M., & Souza, R. De. (2013). Including the voices of communities in food insecurity research: an empowerment-based agenda for food scholarship. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development, 3*(4), 71–79. https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2013.034.007

Pink, S. (2011). Multimodality, multisensoriality and ethnographic knowing: social semiotics and the phenomenology of perception. *Qualitative Research, 11*(3), 261–276. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794111399835

Pink, S., & Servon, L. J. (2013). Sensory global towns: An experiential approach to the growth of the Slow City movement. *Environment and Planning A, 45*(2), 451–466. https://doi.org/10.1068/a45133

Piven, F., & Cloward, R. (1971). *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (1993 Secon). Vintage Books.

Poppendieck, J. (1995). Hunger in America: Typification and Response. In D. Maurer & J. Sobal (Eds.), *Eating Agendas: Food and Nutrition as Social Problems.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Poppendieck, J. (1998a). *Sweet Charity? Emergency Food and the End of Entitlement*. New York: Viking.

Poppendieck, J. (1998b). Want Amid Plenty: From Hunger to Inequality. *Monthly Labor Review.* Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/213195131?accountid=8058

Porpino, G., Parente, J., & Wansink, B. (2015). Food waste paradox: Antecedents of food disposal in low income households. *International Journal of Consumer Studies, 39*(6), 619–629. https://doi.org/10.1111/ijcs.12207

Power, E. (2015). Food Banks. In K. Albala (Ed.), *SAGE Encyclopedia of Food Issues* (pp. 553–559). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Powers, J. (2016). America's food banks say charity won't eliminate hunger. Why Hunger. Retrieved from https://whyhunger.org/images/publications/Special-Report.pdf

Price-Robertson, R., & Duff, C. (2016). Realism, materialism, and the assemblage: Thinking psychologically with Manuel DeLanda. *Theory and Psychology, 26*(1), 58–76. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354315622570

Purdam, K., Garratt, E., & Esmail, A. (2015). Why food insecurity and food banks have become commonplace in the UK. University of Manchester. Retrieved from http://blog.policy.manchester.ac.uk/posts/2015/02/why-food-insecurity-and-food-banks-have-become-commonplace/

Quested, T., & Luzecka, P. (2014). Household food and drink waste: A people focus. WRAP. Retrieved from http://www.wrap.org.uk/sites/files/wrap/People-focused%20report%20v6_5%20full.pdf

Quested, T., Ingle, R., & Parry, A. (2013b). Household Food and Drink Waste in the United Kingdom 2012. WRAP. Retrieved from http://www.wrap.org.uk/sites/files/wrap/hhfdw-2012-main.pdf.pdf

Quested, T., Marsh, E., Stunell, D., & Parry, A. (2013a). Spaghetti soup: The complex world of food waste behaviours. *Resources, Conservation and Recycling, 79*, 43–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resconrec.2013.04.011

Rabinow, P., & Sullivan, W. (1987). The Interpretive Turn: a second look. In P. Rabinow & W. Sullivan (Eds.), *Interpretive Social Science: A second look.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Racing Horse Productions (2016). EXPIRED? Food Waste in America. Vimeo. Retrieved from https://vimeo.com/154439089

Rademacher, A. (2015). Urban Political Ecology. Annual Review of Anthropology, 44(1), 137–152. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102214-014208

Rathje, W., & Murphy, C. (1992). *Rubbish! The Archeology of Garbage.* New York: HarperCollins.

Rawlings, L. (2017). An exploration of knowledge production through GIS in the context of the UK food desert debate : Constructing the Food Access Radar. BA dissertation: University of Oxford. Retrieved from https://foodgeographies.files.wordpress.com/2017/09/l-rawlings-ug-prize-oxford.pdf

RealJunkFoodProject [Real Junk Food]. (2017). TRJFP #Leeds in numbers #PAYF. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/RealJunkFood/status/927260612245315584

Reece, A. (2013, June 27). Defra cuts WRAP funding. *Resource Media.* Retrieved from http://resource.co/article/UK/Defra_cuts_WRAP_funding-3262

REFRESH. (2016). FUSIONS project ends, food waste findings taken up in EU circular economy strategy. Retrieved October 4, 2017, from http://eu-refresh.org/fusions-project-ends-food-waste-findings-taken-eu-circular-economy-strategy

Reno, J. (2015). Waste and Waste Management. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 44*, 557–572. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102214-014146

Reynolds, C., et al. (2018). Consumption-stage food waste reduction interventions– what works and why. Unpublished Manuscript.

Reynolds, C., Piantadosi, J., & Boland, J. (2015). Rescuing Food from the Organics Waste Stream to Feed the Food Insecure: An Economic and Environmental Assessment of Australian Food Rescue Operations Using Environmentally Extended Waste Input-Output Analysis. *Sustainability, 7*(4), 4707–4726. https://doi.org/10.3390/su7044707

Richards, L. (2005). *Handling Qualitative Data: A practical guide.* London: SAGE Publications.

Riches, G. (1986). *Food banks and the welfare crisis.* Ottowa: Canadian Council on Social Development.

Riches, G. (2002). Food banks and food security: welfare reform, human rights and social policy: lessons from Canada? *Social Policy and Administration*, 36(6), 648–663. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/2G8hisG

Riches, G. (2014, December 8). Food banks don't solve food poverty. The UK must not institutionalise them. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/dec/08/food-banks-poverty-uk-canada-right-to-food

Riches, G. and Silvasti, T. (eds). (2014*). First World Hunger Revisited: Food Charity or the Right to Food?* Palgrave Macmillan.

Robbins, P., & Marks, B. (2010). Assemblage geographies. In S. Smith, R. Pain, S. Marston, & J. P. Jones III (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Social Geographies.* London: SAGE Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857021113

Roberts, W. (2016). The big picture of wasted food. Retrieved July 18, 2017, from http://www.resilience.org/stories/2016-09-08/the-big-picture-of-wasted-food/

Robertson, C. (2015, October 28). SNP MP Mhairi Black grills Tory axeman Ian Duncan Smith about link between welfare cuts and food bank use. *Daily Record.* Retrieved from https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/politics/snp-mp-mhairi-black-grills-6724957

Rocha, C. (2016). Work in Progress: Addressing Food Insecurity in Brazil. In M. Caraher & J. Coveney (Eds.), *Food Poverty and Insecurity: International Food Inequalities*. Springer.

Rocheleau, D. (2015). Roots, rhizomes, networks and territories: reimagining pattern and power in political ecologies. In R. Bryant (Ed.), *The International Handbook of Political Ecology*. Cheltenham: Elgar.

Roe, E. J. (2006). Things becoming food and the embodied, material practices of an organic food consumer. *Sociologia Ruralis,* 46(2), 104–121. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9523.2006.00402.x

Ronson, D., & Caraher, M. (2016). Food Banks: Big Society or Shunting Yards? Successful Failures. In *Food Poverty and Insecurity: International Food Inequalities* (pp. 79–88). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-23859-3

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of Freedom: Reframing political thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosol, M. (2012). Community volunteering as neoliberal strategy? green space production in Berlin. *Antipode, 44*(1), 239–257. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2011.00861.x

Salemdeeb, R., Font Vivanco, D., Al-Tabbaa, A., & zu Ermgassen, E. K. H. J. (2017). A holistic approach to the environmental evaluation of food waste prevention. *Waste Management, 59(*October), 442–450. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wasman.2016.09.042

Salford University. (2014). College Ethics Panel – Notes for Guidance. Retrieved from http://www.pg.salford.ac.uk/page/forms

Schneider, F. (2013). The evolution of food donation with respect to waste prevention. *Waste Management*, 33(3), 755–763. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wasman.2012.10.025

Seibel, W. (1996). Successful failure: an alternative view on organizational coping. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 39(8), 1011–1024. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764296039008006

Sen, A., & Dreze, J. (1989). *Hunger and Public Action.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Shannon, J. (2014). Food deserts. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(2), 248–266. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132513484378

Shaw, S., & Sharpe, L. (2016). Beyond the Food Bank: London Food Poverty Profile 2016. Sustain. Retrieved from https://www.sustainweb.org/secure/BeyondTheFoodBank2016.pdf

Sheffield, H. (2016, September). UK Parliament considers legislation to ban food waste in Britain. *The Independent.* Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/food-waste-ban-government-efra-real-junk-food-project-wrap-inquiry-a7319141.html

Shepon, A., Eshel, G., Noor, E., & Milo, R. (2018). The opportunity cost of animal based diets exceeds all food losses. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 201713820. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1713820115

Silvasti, T., & Karljanainen, J. (2014). Hunger in a Nordic Welfare State. In G. Riches & T. Silvasti (Eds.), *First World Hunger Revisited*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Slocum, R. (2006). Anti-racist practice and the work of community food organizations. *Antipode, 38*, 327–349. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2006.00582.x

Slocum, R., & Saldanha, A. (2013). Introduction. In R. Slocum & A. Saldanha (Eds.), *Geographies of Race and Food: Fields, Bodies,* Markets (pp. 1–25). Ashgate. Retrieved from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.2752/175174415X14180391604440

Smil, V. (2004). Improving Efficiency and Reducing Waste in Our Food System. *Environmental Sciences,* 1(1), 17–26. https://doi.org/10.1076/evms.1.1.17.23766

Smith, D. (2000). Social justice revisited. *Environment and Planning A*, 32(7), 1149–1162. https://doi.org/10.1068/a3258

Smith, D., Thompson, C., Harland, K., Parker, S., & Shelton, N. (2018). Identifying populations and areas at greatest risk of household food insecurity in England. *Applied Geography, 91*(2018), 21–31. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2017.12.022

Smith, L. (2017, July). Looking Beyond the Food Bank: An Interview with Simon Shaw. *Lacuna.* Retrieved from http://lacuna.org.uk/economy/looking-beyond-the-food-bank-an-interview-with-simon-shaw-sustain/

Smith, L. (2018, March). Asda's "Fight Hunger Create Change" partnership: what does it mean for efforts to tackle food poverty in the UK? *Lacuna.* Retrieved from https://lacuna.org.uk/food-and-health/asdas-fight-hunger-create-change-partnership-what-does-it-mean-for-efforts-to-tackle-food-poverty-in-the-uk/

Soja, E. W. (1996). *Thirdspace*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Soma, T. (2017). Gifting, ridding and the "everyday mundane": the role of class and privilege in food waste generation in Indonesia. *Local Environment,* 22(12), 1444–1460. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2017.1357689

Soma, T., et al. (2017). Designing Solutions: Food Waste in Toronto: A Summary of Food Systems Lab Workshop 2. Food Systems Lab. Retrieved from https://foodsystemslab.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Workshop2Summary-web.pdf

Souza, de la, M. (2010). Which right to which city? In defence of political-strategic clarity. *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements*, 2(May), 315–333. Retrieved from http://rrojasdatabank.info/desouza2010.pdf

Spencer, A., Ogden, C. & Battarbee, L. (2015). Understanding Emergency Food Provision in West Cheshire. West Cheshire Food Bank. Retrieved from www.westcheshire.foodbank.org.uk/cheshirehunger

Spiker, M. L., Hiza, H. A. B., Siddiqi, S. M., & Neff, R. A. (2017). Wasted Food, Wasted Nutrients: Nutrient Loss from Wasted Food in the United States and Comparison to Gaps in Dietary Intake. *Journal of the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics.* https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jand.2017.03.015

Spring, C. (2016a). Seeking Sitopia (weblog). Retrieved from https://seekingsitopia.wordpress.com

Spring, C. (2016b). Learning lessons from America's surplus food redistribution infrastructure. Final report for Winston Churchill Memorial Trust. Retrieved from https://www.wcmt.org.uk/fellows/reports/learning-lessons-americas-surplus-food-redistribution-infrastructure

Squire, S. (2002). The Personal and the Political: Writing the Theorist's Body. *Australian Feminist Studies, 17*(February 2015), 55–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/08164640220123452

Srnicek, N. (2007). Assemblage Theory, Complexity and Contentious Politics: The Political Ontology of Gilles Deleuze. MA Thesis: University of Western Ontario.

Srnicek, N., & Williams, A. (2015). *Inventing the Future: Postcapitalism and a World Without Work*. London, New York: Verso.

Star, S. L. (1999). The Ethnography of Infrastructure. *American Behavioral Scientist, 43*(3), 377–391. https://doi.org/0803973233

Stein, M. (1989). Gratitude and Attitude : A Note on Emotional Welfare. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 52*(3), 242–248. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2786719 Accessed:

Stewart, B., Shepherd, C., Bellwood-Howard, I., & Bowman, M. (2013). Counting what matters. Report of the Industry Food Waste Audit Proposal. This is Rubbish. Retrieved from https://www.thisisrubbish.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Counting-What-Matters.pdf

Stott, G., & Widdison, C. (2017). Gin and skinned rabbits. Retrieved November 9, 2017, from https://lacuna.org.uk/economy/gin-skinned-rabbits-rpi-food-poverty/

Stuart, T. (2009). *Waste: Uncovering the Global Food Scandal*. Penguin.

Sustain, Food Research Collaboration, ESRC, The Food Foundation, Oxfam, & University of Oxford. (2016). Time to count the hungry: The case for a standard measure of household food insecurity in the UK. Food Research Collaboration. Retrieved from http://foodresearch.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Food-Pov-Alliance-report-25-04-04-16.pdf

Sustain. (2018). EU decide definition of food waste and set aspirational targets. Sustain. Retrieved March 9, 2018, from https://www.sustainweb.org/news/mar18_eu_food_waste/

Sutton, J. (2016). *Food worth fighting for: From food riots to food banks.* London: Prospect Books.

Swyngedouw, E. (1996). The City As a Hybrid: On Nature, Society and Cyborg Urbanization. *Capitalism Nature Socialism, 7*(2), 65–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/10455759609358679

Taber, K. (1993). Stability and lability in student conceptions: some evidence from a case study. Paper given at: British Educational Research Association Annual Conference, University of Liverpool. Retrieved from http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/154054.htm

Talja, S., Tuominen, K., & Savolainen, R. (2005). "Isms" in information science: constructivism, collectivism and constructionism. *Journal of Documentation, 61*(1), 79–101. https://doi.org/10.1108/00220410510578023

Tannen, D. (1993). *Framing in Discourse.* Oxford University Press.

Tarasuk, V. (2001). A critical examination of community-based responses to household food insecurity in Canada. Health Education & Behavior: The Official Publication of the Society for Public Health Education, 28(August 2001), 487–499. https://doi.org/10.1177/109019810102800408

Tarasuk, V., & Eakin, J. M. (2003). Charitable food assistance as symbolic gesture: An ethnographic study of food banks in Ontario. *Social Science and Medicine, 56*(7), 1505–1515. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(02)00152-1

Tarasuk, V., & Eakin, J. M. (2005). Food assistance through "surplus" food: Insights from an ethnographic study of food bank work. Agriculture and Human Values, 22(2), 177–186. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-004-8277-x

Tarasuk, V., Dachner, N., & Loopstra, R. (2014). Food banks, welfare and food insecurity in Canada. *British Food Journal, 116*(9), 1405–1417. Retrieved from www.emeraldinsight.com/0007-070X.htm

Tatum, M. (2017, November). Waste Not Want Not: How to turn food waste into gold. *The Grocer*. Retrieved from https://www.thegrocer.co.uk/home/topics/waste-not-want-not/waste-not-want-not-how-to-turn-food-waste-into-gold/559639.article

Taylor, A., & Loopstra, R. (2016). Too Poor to Eat: Food insecurity in the UK. Food Foundation. Retrieved from https://foodfoundation.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/FoodInsecurityBriefing-May-2016-FINAL.pdf

Taylor, K. (2016, August 26). How US welfare compares around the globe. BBC News. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-37159686

Taylor-Robinson, D., Rougeaux, E., Harrison, D., Whitehead, M., Barr, B., & Pearce, A. (2013). The rise of food poverty in the UK. *British Medical Journal, 347*(December), 2–3. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.f7157

Tellmann, U. (2015). Austerity and scarcity: About the limits and meanings of liberal economy. *Ephemera, 15*(1), 21–40.

Thompson, C. (2016). An exploration of GPs experieces as emergency food aid gatekeepers. RGS-IBG Annual International Conference 2016.

Thompson, M. (1979a). Rubbish theory: The creation and destruction of value. *Encounter*, June, 12–24.

Thompson, M. (1979b). *Rubbish Theory: The creation and destruction of value*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thorne, P. (2018). Is this week's cold snap a sign of long-term weather trends? RTE. Retrieved from https://www.rte.ie/eile/brainstorm/2018/0226/943852-is-the-beast-from-the-east-a-sign-of-long-term-weather-trends/

Thrift, N. (2004). Intensities of feeling: Towards a spatial politics of affect. *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography, 8*6(1), 57–78. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0435-3684.2004.00154.x

Tickell, A., & Peck, J. (2002). Neoliberalizing Space. Antipode, 34(3), 380–404. https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1111/1467-8330.00247

Tielens, J., & Candel, J. (2014). Reducing food wastage, improving food security. Food and Business Knowledge Platform. Retrieved from http://knowledge4food.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/140702_fbkp_report-foodwastage_DEF.pdf

Tiplady, D. (2016, August). As a nurse, I see my colleagues go to food banks because of low pay – without Corbyn's NHS policies, our profession won't survive. *The Independent.* Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/as-a-nurse-i-see-my-colleagues-go-to-food-banks-because-of-low-pay-without-corbyns-nhs-policies-our-a7209196.html

Todd, Z. (2016). An Indigenous Feminist's Take On The Ontological Turn: "Ontology" Is Just Another Word For Colonialism. *Journal of Historical Sociology, 29*(1), 4–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12124

Tomlinson, I. (2013). Doubling food production to feed the 9 billion: A critical perspective on a key discourse of food security in the UK. *Journal of Rural Studies, 29*, 81–90. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2011.09.001

Toronto Medical Officer of Health. (2015). Cost of the Nutritious Food Basket - Toronto 2015. Toronto Board of Health. Retrieved from http://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2015/hl/bgrd/backgroundfile-84588.pdf

TRJFP (2017). Change the Food Safety & Hygiene regulations 2013 - Re-look at Best Before & Expiry Dates. Online petition. Available at https://www.change.org/p/hilary-benn-change-the-food-safety-hygiene-regulations-2013-re-look-at-best-before-expiry-dates

Trudeau, D., & Veronis, L. (2009). Enacting state restructuring: NGOs as "translation mechanisms." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 27*(6), 1117–1134. https://doi.org/10.1068/d0906

USDA. (2017). Agricultural Statistics 2017. USDA. Retrieved March 1, 2018, from https://www.nass.usda.gov/Publications/Ag_Statistics/2017/Complete Ag Stats 2017.pdf

USDA. (n.d.). Agricultural Trade. USDA. Retrieved February 4, 2018, from https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/ag-and-food-statistics-charting-the-essentials/agricultural-trade/

Van Zuiden, S. H. (2011). The good food fight for good samaritans: The history of alleviating liability and equalizing tax incentives for food donors. *Drake Journal of Agricultural Law, 17*(1), 237–262.

Venn, C. (2006). A Note on Assemblage*. Theory, Culture & Society, 23*(2–3), 107–108.

Vittuari, M., & et al. (2016). Guidelines for a European common policy framework on food waste prevention. FUSIONS. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.18174/392296

Vogel, E., & Mol, A. (2014). Enjoy Your Food: On Losing Weight and Taking Pleasure. From Health Behaviours to Health Practices. *Critical Perspectives, 36*(2), 145–157. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118898345.ch13

Wacquant, L. (1998). Pierre Bourdieu. In R. Stones (Ed.), *Key Sociological Thinkers* (pp. 215–229). Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Wacquant, L. (2009). The body, the ghetto and the penal state. *Qualitative Sociology, 32*(1), 101–129. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-008-9112-2

Wacquant, L. (2014). Marginality, ethnicity and penality in the neo-liberal city: an analytic cartography. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 37*(10), 1687–1711. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.931991

Waitt, G., & Phillips, C. (2016). Food waste and domestic refrigeration: a visceral and material approach. *Social & Cultural Geography, 17*(3), 359–379. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2015.1075580

Waitt, G., Ryan, E., & Farbotko, C. (2014). A Visceral Politics of Sound. *Antipode, 46*(1), 283–300. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12032

Warshawsky, D. (2010). New power relations served here: The growth of food banking in Chicago*. Geoforum, 41*(5), 763–775. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2010.04.008

Warshawsky, D. (2015). The devolution of urban food waste governance: Case study of food rescue in Los Angeles. *Cities, 49*, 26–34. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2015.06.006

Warshawsky, D. (2016). Methodological Challenges in Food Systems Research and the Limits of Local Food System Interventions in Cities. In Critical Perspectives on Food System Interventions 1. Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting.

Watson, M., & Meah, A. (2012). Food, Waste And Safety: Negotiating Conflicting Social Anxieties Into The Practices Of Domestic Provisioning. *Sociological Review, 60*(S.2), 102–120. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12040

Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory.* Basil Blackwell.

Wells, R., & Caraher, M. (2014). UK print media coverage of the food bank phenomenon: from food welfare to food charity? *British Food Journal, 116*(9), 1426–1445. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/09564230910978511

Whatmore, S. (2002). *Hybrid Geographies*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Wiggan, J. (2012). Telling stories of 21st century welfare: The UK Coalition government and the neo-liberal discourse of worklessness and dependency. *Critical Social Policy, 32*(3), 383–405. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018312444413

Wilk, R. (2018). Rethinking the Relationships between Scarcity, Poverty and Hunger– an Anthropological Perspective. In J. Brewer, N. Fromer, F. Jonsson, & F. Trentmann (Eds.), *Scales of Scarcity in the Modern World, 1800-2075.* Routledge.

Williams, A. (2012). Moralising the poor? Faith-based organisations, the Big Society and contemporary workfare policy. In J. Beaumont & P. Cloke (Eds.), *Faith-based organisations and exclusion in European cities.* The Policy Press. https://doi.org/10.1332/175982713X668962

Williams, A., Cloke, P., & Goodwin, M. (2016). Contested space : The contradictory political dynamics of food banking in the UK. *Environment and Planning A, 48*(11), 2291–2316. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X16658292

Williams, Z. (2013, July 4). To Lord Freud, a food bank is an excuse for a free lunch. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/04/lord-freud-food-banks

Winne, M. (2008). *Closing the Food Gap: Resetting the Table in the Land of Plenty*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Wintour, P. (2014, December 8). Food banks: Duncan Smith promises positive response after critical report. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/dec/08/food-banks-iain-duncan-smith-positive-response-critical

Wolcott, H. F. (1999). *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*. Forum: Qualitative Social Research (Vol. 4). AltaMira Press.

Wolf, E. (1982). *Europe and the People Without History*. University of California Press.

WRAP. (2007). Understanding Consumer Food Management Behaviour. WRAP. Retrieved from http://www.wrap.org.uk/downloads/Understanding_consumer_food_management_behaviour_jly_2007.0480a34c.6395.pdf

WRAP. (2016). Quantification of food surplus, waste and related materials in the grocery supply chain. WRAP. Retrieved from http://www.wrap.org.uk/content/quantification-food-surplus-waste-and-related-materials-supply-chain

WRAP. (2017). Estimates of Food Surplus and Waste Arisings in the UK. WRAP. Retrieved from http://www.wrap.org.uk/sites/files/wrap/UK Estimates May 16 (FINAL).pdf

WRAP. (n.d.-a). Courtauld Commitment 2025 Signatories. WRAP. Retrieved January 15, 2018, from http://www.wrap.org.uk/content/courtauld-commitment-2025-signatories

WRAP. (n.d.-b). Running a whole-chain resource efficiency project: Toolkit for fresh produce. Retrieved from http://www.wrap.org.uk/sites/files/wrap/WCRE Toolkit V2.pdf

Yates-Doerr, E. (2012). The opacity of reduction, nutritional black-boxing and the meanings of Nourishment. *Food, Culture and Society,* 15(2), 293–313. https://doi.org/10.2752/175174412x13233545145381

Yeung, H. W. (2003). Practicing New Economic Geographies: A Methodological Examination. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 93(2), 442–462. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8306.9302011

Yorkshire Evening Post. (2017, June 6). "Laughable": Trading Standards investigation into Leeds Real Junk Food Project. *Yorkshire Evening Post*. Retrieved from https://www.yorkshireeveningpost.co.uk/news/laughable-trading-standards-investigation-into-leeds-real-junk-food-project-1-8581511

Zakiewicz, W. (2016). Wasted/wanted. Vimeo. Retrieved from https://vimeo.com/154186616

Ziherl, H., et al. (2015). Eating in and food waste in Bangalore. http://foodconsumption.snis.ch/. Swiss Network for International Studies. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nWlt_DnGqhE

Appendix 1. List of interviews

Name*/Pseudonym	Organisation	Role	Date
Mike	FareShare GM	Warehouse manager	03/11/2015
Dan	FareShare GM	Warehouse manager	17/12/2015
Graham	FareShare GM	Warehouse manager	14/11/2016
Erica	FareShare GM	Development manager	11/02/2016, 07/11/2016
Paul	FareShare GM	General manager	04/11/2015
Staff member*	FareShare National	Food team	09/11/2016
Brian/Lucy	FareShare GM	Gleaning volunteers	4/11/2015
Eleanor	FareShare GM	Fundraiser	4/11/2015
Eileen/Garethe*	TRJFP	Café directors	09/11/2015, 17/01/2017
Helen	TRJFP	Café director	18/01/2016
Min	TRJFP	Volunteer	15/02/2016
Caroline/Liam/Guy	TRJFP	Café directors	1-3/06/2016
Finn/Leah	TRJFP	Café directors	24/06/2016
Mary	TRJFP	Café director	03/08/2016
Harry	TRJFP	Volunteer/diner	25/10/2016
Alice	TRJFP	Café director	06/12/2016
Gina	TRJFP	Café director	07/12/2016
Nate	TRJFP	Chef	07/12/2016
Neil	TRJFP	Café director	
Andrew	TRJFP	Chef	03/08/2016
Tim	TRJFP/Fuel For School	FFS coordinator/ activist-educator	26/10/2016
Rick	TRJFP	Volunteer	25/10/2016
Joe	Fuel For School	School staff	25/10/2016
Nik	TRJFP/Fuel For School	Café director/FFS activist-educator	12/09/2016, 13/10/2017
Fran	TRJFP	Café director	13/01/2017
Conor Walsh*	TRJFP	Project founder	21/03/2016
Kit	FareShare	Former employee	02/08/2016
Bella	Super Kitchen	Founder	02/08/2016
Peter	Bethel Food Bank	Manager	No interview
Kevin	FoodCycle Manchester	Co-ordinator	01/07/2015, 13/12/2016
Stewart	Fairfield Composting	Manager	17/12/2015
Pam Moran*	Real Food Wythenshawe	Co-ordinator	02/03/2016
Rev. Kate Gray*	Dandelion Community, Wythenshawe	Foodbank organiser	02/03/2016
Debbie Ellen*		Independent researcher	12/12/2016
Community Shop/The Bread & Butter Thing		Former employee	12/07/2017
Dan Cluderay*	Approved Foods	Founder	24/03/2017
Mariana Chilton*	Witnesses to Hunger	Researcher	17/05/2016
Jim Knutson*	Adelante Desert Harvest	Program director	14/04/2016

Melanie Cataldi*	Philabundance	Chief Operating Officer	18/05/2016
Leo	Free Farm Stand	Gardener	04/2016
Joel Berg*	Hunger-Free America	CEO	13/05/2016
Judy Goldhaft*	San Francisco Diggers, Planet Drum		05/04/2016
Anon.	FoodRunners, SF	Operations Manager	08/04/2016
Allison Pratt*	ACCFB	Chief of Partnerships and Strategy	07/04/2016
Amy Bachman*	DC Central Kitchen	Director, Procurement and Sustainability	10/05/2016
Josh Protas *(+Amanda Nesher*)	Mazon	Vice-President of Public Policy/ Legal assistant	12/05/2015
Lauren Schweder-Biel*	DC Greens	Co-founder	11/05/2016
Laura	Feeding America	Director, Retail Partnerships	27/04/2016
Doug Rauch*	Trader Joes/Daily Table	Ex-CEO/founder	08/09/2016

Appendix 2. Ethics Approval

Academic Audit and Governance Committee

College of Science and Technology Research Ethics Panel

(CST)

University of
Salford
MANCHESTER

To	**Charlotte Spring (and Dr Mag Adams)**	*MEMORANDUM*
cc:	**Professor Judith Smith, Head of School of CSE**	
From	**Nathalie Audren Howarth**, **College Research Support Officer**	
Date	**27/07/2015**	

Subject: **Approval of your Project by CST**

Project Title: **An ethnographic exploration of surplus food redistribution in the north of England**

REP Reference: **CST 15/35**

Following your responses to the Panel's queries, based on the information you provided, I can confirm that they have no objections on ethical grounds to your project.

If there are any changes to the project and/or its methodology, please inform the Panel as soon as possible.

Regards,

Nathalie Audren Howarth

College Research Support Officer

Appendix 3. Consent Form

University of Salford MANCHESTER

Human Geography

Consent Form for organisations and individuals

Title of Project: Exploring surplus food redistribution in the north of England

Name of Researcher: Charlotte Spring

(Circle as appropriate)

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and what my contribution will be	Yes	No
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions (face to face, via telephone and/or e-mail)	Yes	No
I agree to take part in the interview	Yes	No
I agree to the interview being tape recorded	Yes	No
I agree to digital images being taken during the research exercises	Yes	No
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the research at any time without giving any reason	Yes	No
I agree to the use of quotations from my interviews being included in the final research publication (my identity will be kept anonymous unless I have specified otherwise)	Yes	No

Tick only one of the following:

I would like my name used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised	
I would like my organisations' name and my job title, but not my name, to be used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised	
I do not want my name used in this project	

Finally:

I agree to take part in the above study	Yes	No
I am willing to be contacted about further research on this topic but understand that this forms no obligation on my part to participate in further research	Yes	No

Signatures:

Participant Name:	Signature:
	Signature
Researcher taking consent: Charlotte Spring c.spring@edu.salford.ac.uk / 07804143116	Date

Appendix 4. Information Sheet

Information sheet for participants

PhD exploration: Investigating surplus food redistribution
Before you decide whether you want to take part in this research, it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Please ask/contact me if anything is unclear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of this study?
This research will investigate the phenomenon of high levels of food waste alongside high levels of hunger and food poverty in the UK, focussing on the north of England. The research will explore the relationship between people, food and poverty: particularly how food waste and 'food poverty' are defined, understood and experienced as well as exploring the role of food banks, food surplus redistributors, referring agencies and other organisations in tackling food poverty in Greater Manchester.

The aims of the research are to:
-To understand different kinds of food surplus redistribution activity;
-To understand how people/organisations come to know about/make use of surplus food providers;
-To evaluate the potential for surplus food projects to tackle food waste and poverty.
I would be very grateful if you could help in this important research project.

What am I being asked to do?
The project involves interviewing people who work and volunteer to redistribute (and eat) surplus food. The aim of the interview is to explore your thoughts about food and eating in general as well as your experiences with food surplus projects. It is expected the interview would take up to 1 hour.

What about confidentiality?
As part of the PhD thesis, your own words may be used in text form. Your name will not be used without your explicit permission to do so. Photos will only be published if people are unidentifiable or if they contain no people. All data will be stored in a manner compliant with the Data Protection Act, on a password protected computer, and locked in a secure office. You may request a copy of this data if you are interested and will be able to comment on the interview transcript if you wish to do so.

How will the data be used?
Research will contribute towards my PhD thesis, academic papers and articles. It may also be used for teaching purposes.

Please note that:
You can decide to withdraw from the research at any point. You need not answer questions that you do not wish to. If you withdraw from the study all data will be withdrawn and destroyed.
This research has obtained ethical approval from the University of Salford ethics committee. If you have a complaint about the way in which the researcher has carried out the research you can contact the supervisor of this research, Dr Mags Adams at m.adams@salford.ac.uk

Thank You for your Participation. You may contact me on: c.spring@edu.salford.ac.uk (07804143116)