University of Zurich[UZH]

Surplus food redistribution along the food supply chain in Switzerland; possibilities and challenges

GEO 630 Master's Thesis

Author
Lara Zedi
14-210-538

Supervised by
Dr. Johanna Herrigel

Faculty representative
Prof. Dr. Christian Berndt

30.04.2020
Department of Geography, University of Zurich

Universität Zürich[UZH]

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Supervised by: Dr. Johanna Herrigel

Faculty representative: Prof. Dr. Christian Berndt

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Department of Geography, University of Zurich

Thank you.

The writing of this master thesis did not start with the first written word, but rather far beforehand. I would like to express my deep gratitude to my parents for supporting me throughout my studies and to my team at Migros for enabling me to deal with the theme in depth during my internship. I would like to thank all my interview partners for sharing their time and knowledge with me and all my friends who read my thesis and gave me very valuable feedback. And last but not least, I would like to say thank you to my supervisor Dr. Johanna Herrigel for all the valuable support during the writing of this thesis.

Structured Abstract

Problem statement In the last 20 years, Switzerland has seen a rise of organizations which redistribute surplus food to people affected by poverty. This development seems to be a win-win situation; People affected by poverty receive surplus food which would otherwise have ended up in the waste bin. However, understanding the redistribution of surplus food is much more complex. Questions arise weather surplus food redistribution can be a solution in the fight against food waste and poverty.

Purpose of this master thesis This master thesis offers qualitative data about how surplus food is currently redistributed in Switzerland and aims to understand what its possibilities and limitations are.

Research question How is surplus food redistributed and reallocated along the food supply chain in Switzerland?

Theoretical framework To analyse the complexities inherent in surplus food redistribution the theoretical framework of diverse economy is applied

Methodology Data for the analysis comes from expert interviews with representatives of the main surplus food redistribution organizations, a participatory observation as well as annual reports from the organizations. The data was analysed with the qualitative content analysis after Mayring (2014).

Main findings From a waste prevention perspective, the possibilities of surplus food redistribution are (1) relatively high ecological impacts, (2) relatively small losses within the redistribution and rising (3) professionalism from the side of the organizations. The amount of food for redistribution can still grow in the future through a rise and diversification of food donators. Limitations for the increase of the amount of surplus food are (1) logistical and financial challenges, (2) hygienic regulations and (3) the fact that surplus food donators are becoming more efficient and therefore have less surplus food for the donation. Viewed from only a waste perspective however, this is a desirable development.

From a poverty alleviation perspective, there are still possibilities to redistribute more surplus food to beneficiaries because a high percentage of people affected by poverty do not have access to surplus food. Identified reasons are geographical, temporal as well as emotional obstacles. Beneficiaries who have access receive relatively good quality and quantity, and may experience forms of care and encounter during the collection of surplus food. However, to what extent the rise of food redistribution is a desirable solution depends on the desired landscape of social welfare.

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FSO:	Federal Statistical Office
FOEN:	Federal Office for the Environment
FOAG	Federal Office for Agriculture
FSIO:	Federal Social Insurance Office
GFN:	Global FoodBanking Network
FEBA:	European Food Banks Federation
AR:	Annual Report
IW:	Interview
PO:	Participatory Observation
TDD:	Tischlein Deck Dich
ST:	Schweizer Tafel
TdR:	Tables du Rhône
PA:	Partage
CM:	Caritas Market
CL:	CA-RL

1. INTRODUCTION

Food waste[1] and food insecurity[2] are both a symbol of the inefficiency and inequality found in the current food systems (Midgley, 2014). According to a study from the FAO (2011), a third of all food produced is globally wasted along the food supply chain. A study from Beretta et al. (2013) quantified the amount of food waste in Switzerland and found similar results. At least two thirds are avoidable losses, which means that the food would be edible at the time of disposal (FOEN, 2019). At the same time, 820 Million people in the world are suffering from hunger and approximately two billion people experience moderate or severe food insecurity (FAO et al., 2019). Even though in Switzerland no one suffers from hunger (Cassis and Leuthard, 2018), 7.9% of the Swiss population (approximately 660'000 people) were affected by income poverty in 2018 (FSO, 2020a). Regarding these inefficiencies and inequalities inherent in our current food system, surplus food redistribution appears to be a desirable solution both for the reduction of food waste as well as for the alleviation of poverty.

The food waste hierarchy after Papargyropoulou et al. (2014) defines how surplus food should be used. According to the food waste hierarchy, the prevention of food waste is the most attractive option. The second most attractive option involves the redistribution of surplus food to people affected by food poverty, followed by the option of converting food to animal feed (Papargyropoulou et al., 2014). In order to use the resources provided by to the food waste hierarchy, surplus food is often redistributed to people affected by poverty (Schneider et al., 2015). Different organizations across the globe and in Switzerland have been founded in recent years which redistribute surplus food to people affected by poverty.

In April 2019, the Swiss Federal Office for the Environment (FOEN) officially published the estimated amount of food waste along the food supply chain in Switzerland (FOEN, 2019). The FOEN commissioned several studies which analysed where, why and how much food is wasted along the food supply chain (FOEN, 2019). According to the data currently available from the studies conducted between 2012-2018, approximately 2.6 million tons of food waste is generated annually (FOEN, 2019). One of the studies published by the FOEN about food waste in the food industry sector concluded that the donation of food is the most desirable solution, but worry that market saturation might become an issue (Baier et al., 2016). Another study

1 Food Waste is "food that is produced for human consumption, but then directed to a non-food use or directed to a waste disposal" (Beretta et al., 2013: 765).

2 People are considered as food insecure if they either "lack the financial ability to put food on the table and/or do not always necessarily know how they will manage to provide for their families and themselves the next sufficient, nourishing and culturally acceptable meal for an active healthy life" (Graham and Tiina, 2014: 6).

from Beretta et al. (2013) found that there are still high possibilities to increase food donations. These controversial conclusions show that the possibilities and limitations of surplus food redistribution for the reduction of food waste and the alleviation of poverty in Switzerland have not yet been well elaborated.

On a political level, Switzerland has adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and committed to implementing the SDGs nationally and internationally (Swiss Confederation, 2018). The number one goal of the SDG sets the target to end poverty "in all its forms everywhere" and goal 12.3 aims to halve per capita global food waste along the food supply chain (SDG, 2015). In March 2019, the Swiss parliament commissioned the federal council to elaborate a plan of action for the reduction of Food Waste in Switzerland, containing current and new voluntary measurement (Chevalley, 2018). In 2024 the current measurements should be evaluated and then it will be decided, if more adaptions are necessary (Chevalley, 2018). If Switzerland wants to reach the SDG goal to halve per capita food waste, the implementation of measurements is indispensable. Up to the current date, the plan of action has not yet been published and therefore it is not clear which measurements it will contain. However, it will be important to understand which measurements are already taken and how effective they are. As surplus food redistribution has already been considered in the current studies of the FOEN, it will also be important to analyse in what ways food redistribution can contribute to the reduction of food waste and to the alleviation of poverty.

This master thesis contributes to this research gap and aims to analyse the organizational landscape of surplus food redistribution in Switzerland and critically researches the possibilities and limitations of food redistribution both from a waste reduction perspective as well as from a poverty alleviation perspective. The focus of this master thesis lies on the redistribution of surplus food, which would have gone to waste otherwise. Currently, there is little knowledge about surplus food redistribution in Switzerland. The school of social work in Geneva is working on a research project about food banking in Switzerland called "*Indigence en pays d'opulence? Approche anthropologique de l'aide alimentaire en Suisse*" (Indigence in the land of plenty? Anthropological approach to food aid in Switzerland). The research project was submitted in October 2018 for funding by the Swiss National Science Foundation and lasts until 2022 . Results from their first published study will be discussed in the literature review.

This master thesis is structured as follows; In the first subchapter of the literature review in chapter two, the most important terms are defined and conceptualized. This is important, because different terms are used in studies about this topic wherefore it is important to understand how the terms are conceptualized in this research in the beginning. The following subchapters of the literature review are categorized into three categories; Some research focuses on the role of food redistribution organizations for the reduction of food waste (1), others on the effects on people affected by poverty (2) and a small number of researchers have conceptualized food banks as spaces of care and encounter (3). In these first two subchapters, the current state of knowledge in Switzerland is discussed. The literature review then leads to the research questions in chapter three. Afterwards, the theoretical framework of diverse economies is presented and discussed. In the methodological chapter, the research process and relevant qualitative research methods are outlined. Chapter six presents the results which are structured within the diverse economies framework and with inputs from the literature review. The first subchapter discusses the diverse economies of surplus food in general and then focuses on the diverse economies of the main surplus food redistribution organizations in Switzerland. The next subchapter then presents the scale and geographical spread and the last subchapter outlines how these organizations provide spaces of care and encounter as well as what their interrelationship is. These results are important to better understand the possibilities and limitations of surplus food redistribution in Switzerland. In the synthesis, the results are then compared with the existing literature, aiming to answer the research questions.

2. Literature Review

In recent years, renewed attention has been paid to the question of surplus food redistribution as an option both to meet food waste reduction targets as well as to relieve food poverty (Garrone et al., 2014). Most literature about food redistribution has set its focus on food banking. Different terms and concepts are used in literature, wherefore the first subchapter conceptualizes surplus food redistribution organizations. It is important to understand from the beginning what is meant by the different terms used throughout the thesis. Some scholars have analysed food redistribution activities according to the possibilities to reduce food waste while other scholars have set their focus on their impact on food security. Additionally, there is an important amount of literature, mainly with an anti-neoliberal approach, which criticizes food banks for undermining the right to food. Within the field of welfare research, geographers have highlighted the importance to consider the diverse ways in which welfare spaces such as food banks can create spaces of care and encounter. The following part of the literature review is structured according to these three main perspectives identified in current literature. The first of these subchapters discusses existing literature which analyses the impact of surplus food redistribution on the reduction of food waste. It examines current literature as well as the state of knowledge about food waste and surplus food redistribution in Switzerland. In the second subchapter, literature which takes a food security perspective on food banks is discussed. Besides the studies from Ossipow and Cuénod (2019), there is only very little knowledge about the impact of surplus food redistribution from a food security perspective in Switzerland. This is why poverty in Switzerland is outlined in general in order to be able to better understand how surplus food redistribution can help people affected by poverty. The third section takes the argument from Cloke et al. (2017) and discusses literature in which food banks are conceptualized as spaces of care and encounter.

2.1 Conceptualization of food banks and social supermarkets

A large variety of different forms of food redistribution organizations already exist, such as food banks, food rescue programs, soup kitchens, food pantries, etc. Researchers have used different terms such as food aid, food charity or food banks, however, there is no clear definition on what is exactly understood by these terms. Additionally, there is no found term in literature which describes both food banks as well as social supermarkets. Social supermarkets sell among other things surplus food, however, they do not donate it, wherefore

the term surplus food donation would not be correct when looking at both concepts. Besides the term surplus food, all terms are therefore defined according to my own conceptualizations.

- **Food donation** is the free provision of food to anybody or to people affected by poverty. Food donation includes food sponsoring or other food donation activities. Organizations like Carton du Coeur or Colis du Coeur which donate food to people affected by poverty are also considered as food donation organizations.
- **Surplus food** is food which cannot be sold anymore due to various reasons and which is designated for the waste stream (Garrone et al., 2014: 8).
- **Surplus food donation** is the donation of surplus food with restricted access to people affected by poverty. Beneficiaries might pay a symbolic price of 1 Swiss Franc for the food. Because the price is symbolic, it this transaction is still considered as being a donation.
- **Surplus food redistribution** is the donation or sale of surplus food. The difference to surplus food donation is that food can also be sold to people affected by poverty like in the case of social supermarkets. I call it redistribution despite the fact that surplus food can also be sold. As the social supermarkets have restricted access and sell it only to people affected by poverty, it is understood as a form of redistribution.
- **Surplus food reallocation** is the donation, redistribution or resale of surplus food. Initiatives which resell, process or share surplus food are considered as surplus food reallocation organizations.

In this master thesis, the main surplus food redistribution organizations in Switzerland are analysed. The organizations Schweizer Tafel, Tischlein Deck Dich, Caritas Market Partage, Tables du Rhône and CA-RL are defined as being the main organizations. This definition remains a bit vague because a clear line cannot be drawn between small and main organizations. The organizations are categorized as main organizations if they provide an annual report and if they redistribute a relatively important amount of surplus food in their region of activity. Nonetheless, I do take local and smaller organizations into consideration in order to have a complete overview, the focus however is laid on the main organizations. Organizations like Carton du Coeur or Colis du Coeur which prepare and donate food packages to people affected by poverty will not be analysed as they do not set their focus on the donation of surplus food. In the following part of this subchapter, I will conceptualize food

banks and social supermarkets, which in this master thesis are called surplus food redistribution organizations, in more detail.

2.1.1 Food Banks

Food banking is not a well-defined concept in present literature (Hanssen et al., 2014). The term food bank can refer to two different types of service: (1) the redistribution of surplus food to charities that provide cooked and/or uncooked meals to food insecure people, or (2) a service that provides surplus food directly to clients (Hanssen et al., 2014). However, the organization and the strategies used by food banks differ considerably between different food banks (Gentilini, 2013).

Food banks have formed international networks in order to unite and share knowledge. At a global level it is the "Global FoodBanking Network" (Global FoodBanking Network, 2020) and on a European level the FEBA (European Food Banks Federation) (FEBA, 2020). In Switzerland, Partage is the only food bank which is a member of the FEBA (FEBA, 2020).

Historically, the first food bank was founded in the USA in 1967 (FEBA, 2020). In Europe, the first food bank was set up in 1984 in France, following the example of the USA (FEBA, 2020). Since then, different countries in Europe have seen a rise in food banking. In Germany for example, the number of food banks have risen from "seven in the year 1994 up to 900 in the year 2011" (Selke, 2011: 16). A similar development can be observed in the UK, where the number of food banks has increased from "132 food banks in 2010-11 up to 424 in 2015-16" (Lambie-Mumford, 2017: 11).

In Switzerland, different food banks exist such as the Schweizer Tafel, Tischlein Deck Dich, Tables du Rhône, Partage and CA-RL. They all have slightly different approaches and concepts which will be discussed in more detail in the chapter results.

2.1.2 Social Supermarkets

As it is the case for food banking, there does not exist a harmonized definition of the term 'social supermarket' as there are diverse models of social supermarkets (Schneider et al., 2015: 49) Different researchers have analysed and discussed the concepts of social supermarkets (Holweg et al., 2010; Holweg, C. and Lienbacher, E., 2016; Saxena and Tornaghi, 2018; Schneider et al., 2015).

Some main characteristics of social supermarkets are that they follow a non-profit business model and sell surplus food for a discount of up to 75% to low income consumers (Holweg and Lienbacher, 2011; Saxena and Tornaghi, 2018). Their merchandise consists of surplus products which for various reasons (e.g. close to expiration date, mislabelled, damaged packaging or overproduction) are given for free by food producers, processors or retailers (Holweg et al., 2010). The target group of social supermarkets is restricted to people living at risk of poverty and the access is controlled on the basis of an access card (Holweg and Lienbacher, 2011). Besides selling the products, social supermarkets may also provide social support such as training, a café area for social interaction or cooking classes (Saxena and Tornaghi, 2018: 9). The services within a social supermarket are "provided by volunteers as well as employees" who are part of work integration programs (Holweg et al., 2010: 51). In contrast to other food aid programs, social supermarkets "give people the choice between different products" which should help them to preserve their dignity (Schneider et al., 2015). Historically, the first social supermarkets in Europe emerged in the late 1980s in France and rapidly expanded within Europe (Holweg, C. and Lienbacher, E., 2016). Between the years 2006-2009 many new stores were opened, which according to Holweg and Lienbacher (2016) reflects the impact of the global financial crisis in Europe and the increased need of people to receive affordable food.

Within the scope of the FUSIONS[3] project, Schneider et al. (2015: 4) conducted a social supermarkets feasibility study with the aim "to facilitate the expansion of the social supermarket concept into new areas or countries by analysing the experience in several member states, identifying different models and good practices". In this study, the term "social supermarkets" was defined as "an organization which sells food- at least a part of which is sourced from surplus food – to poorer people at a reduced price" (Schneider et al., 2015: 12). Schneider et al. (2015: 10) argue that "the model of the social supermarket has strong potential to complement the portfolio of existing food aid programs and provides another mechanism to prevent food surplus becoming waste" and to "meet the needs of the increasing number of poor people".

In Switzerland, the Caritas Markets comes closest to the above discussed concept of social supermarkets (Caritas, 2019). Currently, there are 21 Caritas Markets, which sell food for a

[3] FUSIONS (Food Use for Social Innovation by Optimizing Waste Prevention Strategies) was a project (running from 2012-2016) with the aim to achieve a resource efficient Europe by reducing food waste (Fusions, 2016).

low price to people affected by poverty (Caritas, 2019). The concepts and strategies that the Caritas Market follows will be discussed in more detail in the chapter results.

2.2 Surplus food donation from a waste prevention perspective

From a food waste prevention perspective, the donation of surplus food appears to be a desirable solution. Schneider (2013: 762) argues that "the donation of edible food to social welfare services is a well-established food waste prevention measure." There is, however, limited knowledge about the role of food banks as a measure to prevent food waste (Hanssen et al. 2014: 19). Different studies have concluded that the amount of donated food is small compared to the total amount of wasted food. A study about food rescue in Los Angeles found that in "comparison to the scope of the food waste problem, food rescue is small in impact", as only approximately 3% of the total amount of food waste was rescued (Warshawsky, 2015: 32). Another study about food banks in the Nordic countries however found that food banks are a "small, but important actor in food waste prevention" (Hanssen et al., 2014: 51). Alexander and Smaje (2008) tracked the distribution of surplus food from retailers to charities via FareShare in the UK. They concluded that the surplus food donation contributed to the "goals of waste minimization and alleviation of food poverty" (Alexander and Smaje, 2008: 1297). Nevertheless, they also found that "around 40% of food donated by retailers for human consumption returns uneaten to the waste stream" (Alexander and Smaje, 2008: 1297). Another difficulty to reduce food waste through surplus food donation is that not every product can be donated due to "legal registrations or logistical barriers" (Schneider, 2013: 762).

2.2.1 Food waste and surplus food redistribution along the food supply chain in Switzerland

In the last years, many studies about food waste have analysed where, why and how much food waste occurs along the food supply chain in Switzerland. Research about surplus food redistribution from a waste prevention perspective in Switzerland is mainly concerned with the amount of redistributed food. In the following subchapter, the problems of food waste as well as current knowledge about surplus food redistribution from a waste prevention perspective in Switzerland are discussed. Literature about environmental impacts of food waste as well as reasons why food becomes surplus is also reviewed. Additionally, the hygienic regulations and the current political discussions are presented. This knowledge is important

in order to estimate the possibilities and limitations of surplus food redistribution from a waste prevention perspective.

2.2.1.1 NUMBERS ABOUT SURPLUS FOOD REDISTRIBUTION IN SWITZERLAND

The FOEN (Federal Office for the Environment) has been collecting data on food waste since 2013 and published the results and studies on their webpage (FOEN, 2019). Table 1 provides an overview while summarizing the amount of food waste per sector and illustrating how much would be avoidable and how much is donated. It is expected that in total, two thirds of the total amount are avoidable losses (FOEN, 2019). If not indicated differently, the numbers are taken out of the general summary which the FOEN provides on the webpage (FOEN, 2019). The economic costs are estimated with an average of how much a kilogram of food costs in this sector which is also provided by the FOEN (FOEN, 2019). The price per kg in the industrial sector is based my own estimation, as no data about the economic costs were found in the study about food waste in the industrial sector from Baier et al. (2016).

Sector	Amount of FW in tons	Avoidable FW	Redistributed	Amount redistributed in tons	Price per kg	Estimated economic loss
Agriculture	225'000	90%	-		3.00.-	600'000'000.-
Food Industry	950'000	75%	1%	9'500	4.00.-	3'800'000'000.-
Retail	100'000	95%	5%	<5'000	6.50.-	500'000'000.-
Gastronomy	290'000	68%	0.5%	<1'450	5.50.-	1'000'000'000.-
Household	1'000'000	78%[4]	-		5.00.-	5'000'000'000.-
Total	2'565'000	66%	0.7%[5]	15'950[6] / 10'227[7]	-	10'900'000'000.-

TABLE 1: OVERVIEW: FOOD WASTE AND FOOD REDISTRIBUTION IN SWITZERLAND (OWN ILLUSTRATION, SOURCE IF NOT INDICATED DIFFERENTLY: (FOEN 2019)

In the food industry sector, around 0.6% (9'500 tons) of surplus food is sold at a reduced price as declassified goods or donated (Baier et al., 2016). In the retail sector, less than 5% is donated (< 5'000t) and in the gastronomy sector less than 1% (<1450t) (FOEN, 2014). The percentage was calculated with the total amount of food wasted. There are no numbers about the amount of food donated in the agricultural sector. With these percentage calculations,

[4] Beretta and Hellweg (2019: 42) estimate that 778'000 tons in the household are avoidable losses.
[5] Based on own calculation. (How it is calculated can be read in chapter 7.1.1)
[6] Estimation of FOEN (2019).
[7] Estimation of Beretta and Hellweg (2019).

the FOEN estimates that approximately 15’950 tons of food are donated in Switzerland (FOEN, 2019). Beretta and Hellweg (2019) used another measurement method and estimated the amount of donated food according to the numbers captured by the organizations (Tischlein Deck Dich, Schweizer Tafel, Caritas, Partage and Tables du Rhône) and added 1’000t as an estimation of how much local organizations donate. They came up with a total amount of 10’227 tons of food which was donated in Switzerland in the year 2018 (Beretta and Hellweg, 2019).

2.2.1.2 Environmental impacts of Food Waste

According to Schneider (2013: 759), the donation of surplus food is “a sustainable act par excellence” because it has social, economic as well as environmental impacts. Beretta et al. (2017) have analysed the environmental impacts of food waste in Switzerland, which helps to better understand the environmental impacts of surplus food redistribution. The environmental impact of a ton of food waste varies greatly depending on the products and where in the value chain it is wasted. Beretta et al. (2017) have quantified the impacts of food waste on climate change and biodiversity loss by distinguishing the various stages of the food value chain and by analysing 33 food categories (Beretta et al., 2017).

In the analysis of the 33 food categories, Beretta et al. (2017) found that the impact of food waste on climate change is highest for fresh vegetables because of the large percentage thrown away in this category (Beretta et al., 2017). Considering the effect of food waste on climate change per kilogram, beef has the worst impacts (Beretta et al., 2017). The worst impacts on biodiversity are mainly caused by wasted cocoa, coffee and by beef (Beretta et al., 2017). In sum, food categories with the greatest environmental impact (climate and biodiversity) per kilogram of food waste are meat, coffee and cocoa beans, butter, eggs, oils and fats, fish and cheese products imported by air (Beretta et al., 2017).

Along the food value chain, food waste has the largest environmental impacts at the end of the food value chain (households and food services) (Beretta et al., 2017). Almost 60% of the total climate impacts of food waste are caused at these stages because of the large quantities lost and the higher accumulated impacts per kilogram at the end of the food value chain (Beretta et al., 2017).

2.2.1.3 Reasons for food to become surplus

Food can become surplus due to different reasons such as “wrong size, colour or shape, overproduction, low prices on the market, small blemishes and exaggerated attitudes with respect to freshness” (Schneider, 2013). The guideline for surplus food donation in Switzerland contains a list with reasons for surplus food which is suitable for donation (FOAG et al., 2015: 32):

- Regular food products with a best-before date too short for regular logistics
- Overstocks from seasonal assortments or promotions
- Articles from a delisted assortment or overstocks
- Products with slight defects in appearance, shape, colour or texture
- Products with packaging defects or incorrect labelling
- Products with slight damage to the packaging without quality degradation

2.2.1.4 Hygienic regulations influencing surplus food redistribution

Food donations are subject to the Swiss food legislation and must be of impeccable quality and hygiene (FOAG et al., 2015). The food products must not lead to any risks in terms of food safety, nor mislead the end user and consumer (FOAG et al., 2015). In the context of the Green Economy Action Plan (Aktionsplan Grüne Wirtschaft) a stakeholder dialogue was organized, in which different actors of the whole food supply chain worked on solutions against food waste (FOAG et al., 2015). Within this dialog, a food donation working group was created (FOAG et al., 2015). The two main points discussed in this working group was a lack of cooperation along the food supply chain and insecurities about declaration and consumer information. Subsequently, to overcome the insecurities about legal requirements, a guideline was developed, providing information about the legal regulations and about which quality standards the different food categories should meet in order to be donated (FOAG et al., 2015).

Food which has passed the “used-by” date cannot be donated anymore and food with a “best-before” date can still be donated until six days after that date (BLW et al., 2015). Exceptions for products with a “best before” date can be made if the producer provides a written information on how long the product can still be consumed after the date. Unpacked daily products without declaration such as patisserie or meat from the open counter are not allowed for donation (BLW et al., 2015: 30ff).

2.2.1.5 Current political discussions

In some developed countries "governments have recognized the potential of donation and foster related activities by funding infrastructure, software or personnel resources" (Booth, 2014). Some countries like France, Italy or the Czech Republic have introduced a law which obligates supermarkets to donate their surplus food to charities (Munz, 2019).

Switzerland has, with the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals, committed to halving food waste by 2030 in Switzerland (Swiss Confederation, 2018). In March 2019, the Swiss parliament commissioned the federal council to elaborate a plan of action for the reduction of Food Waste in Switzerland, containing current and new voluntary measurements (Chevalley, 2018). In 2024 the current measurements should be evaluated and then it will be decided if more adaptions are necessary (Chevalley, 2018).

A motion concerning the donation of surplus food was submitted by Martina Munz in March 2019 calling for the donation of surplus food at closing time to certified organizations or individuals upon request (Munz, 2019). The motion was approved by the council of states in March 2020 (Munz, 2019). The Federal Council is now instructed to amend the food law as follows: "The Federal Council may issue special provisions for the donation of food to certified organizations or persons, in order to prevent food losses. Health protection must be guaranteed at all times" (Munz, 2019).

2.3 Surplus food donation from a food security perspective

Different scholars have studied the impacts of food banks from a food security perspective. A person is considered to be food insecure if she or he "lack the financial ability to put food on the table and/or do not always necessarily know how they will manage to provide for their families and themselves the next sufficient, nourishing and culturally acceptable meal for an active healthy life" (Graham and Tiina, 2014: 6). A person is therefore not only food insecure if she or he does not have enough healthy food, but also if she or he cannot procure food in a culturally acceptable way. Different researchers have analysed to what extent food banks can provide food security for people affected by poverty. Some studies focused on the amount and quality of food donated, others on the emotional effect food banking has on beneficiaries. A large number of researchers from different countries, mainly with an anti-neoliberal background, criticize the general food and welfare system and argue that food banks undermine food security of people affected by poverty because they help to maintain the current structures and inequalities. The following subchapters of the literature review aim to

discuss the different arguments and results of studies which have analysed food banks from a food security perspective.

2.3.1 Quality and quantity of donated food

A systematic literature review from Bazerghi et al. (2016: 732) analysed 35 publications from the USA and Canada with the aim to consolidate "knowledge about the function and efficacy of food banks to address food insecurity". Results from this review showed that the analysed food banks were not able to "ameliorate short-, or long-term food insecurity", nor were they able to meet nutritional requirements of those in need" (Bazerghi et al., 2016: 738). One main reason for that is that sourcing enough food of high nutritional quality is a challenge for food banks (Bazerghi et al., 2016). Nevertheless, regarding the quality of donated food, not every study comes to the same result. Riches and Silvasti (2014: 9) argue that donated food is "often not nutritionally balanced or otherwise adequate". Results from a study about FoodShare in New Zealand however found that the food bank "prioritized gaining nutritious, fresh foods from donors and distributed fresh fruit and vegetables to the wider community", enhancing the health and well-being of the food bank users (Mirosa et al., 2016: 3054).

Schneider (2013: 762) concluded in a study about food donation in Austria that "hunger cannot be solved by the donation of food and other products because a lot of different mechanisms regulate the difference between poverty and prosperity". Also Riches and Silvasti (2014: 192) argue that if food banks are analysed from a food security perspective, food banks "are not part of the long term answer to hunger".

2.3.2 Access, cultural acceptability and emotions of food bank beneficiaries

Besides the quality and quantity of food, another criterion for the provision of food security is the extent to which people affected by poverty seek food assistance and what their feelings towards seeking assistance are (Graham and Tiina, 2014). A study from Riches and Tarasuk (2014: 48) found that only "20-30 per cent of people experiencing food insecurity report seeking food assistance". Access barriers for food insecure families might be "limited operating hours, long line-ups, lack of information", shame to procure food at food banks or that they do not address the needs of recipients (Riches and Tarasuk, 2014: 48). Different studies have focused on the experiences of beneficiaries which receive food from food banks and therefore analyse to what extent food banks may provide a culturally acceptable way to

procure food (Cloke et al., 2017; Douglas et al., 2015; van der Horst et al., 2014). Douglas et al. (2015: 307) conducted interviews with recipients of food banks in Scotland and found that "feelings of shame and desperation were evident". Expressions of shame co-existed with "equally apparent themes of gratitude and powerlessness", gratitude for the food they received, but as well a sense of powerlessness, because the recipients did not like all of the food they received (Douglas et al., 2015: 307). Research about the effects of food banks on receiver's emotions in the Netherlands found that many interviewees felt ashamed when they went to the food bank for the first time (van der Horst et al., 2014). Even though recipients are getting used to visiting the food bank, some are still ashamed to receive the food through food banks (van der Horst et al., 2014). The research of Cloke et al. (2017: 713) came across examples of foodbank users who "travel significant distances in order to avoid being recognized by anyone in their own community". People who depend on food aid lose "part of their freedom of choice, because they have to accept charity food in spite of their actual needs and preferences" (Riches and Silvasti, 2014: 9).

2.3.3 Critiques on the current food-, and welfare system & the role of food banks

Different researchers, mainly from an anti-neoliberal scholarship, criticize the structures and inequalities in the current food and welfare system and argue that food banks help to maintain the current state of food insecurity. Food is a human right and "support should be provided as a matter of right, rather than charity, in order to ensure human dignity" (Ziegler et al., 2011). All governments which have ratified the right to food have to "respect, protect and fulfil" the right to food for the whole population and are under international law to ensure food security (Riches and Silvasti, 2014: 10). This means that "seeking fundamental solutions requires a shifting from the provision of food relief to more structural efforts which overcome the poverty and inequality that underpins food insecurity" (Booth, 2014: 16). Food donation is seen as to be nothing more than a gift and not a "right or entitlement that can be claimed by a hungry person or a family in need of food" (Riches and Silvasti, 2014: 192). Food banks therefore enable the government to shift responsibility to ensure the human right to food onto food charities (Lambie-Mumford, 2017; Riches and Silvasti, 2014). Booth (2014: 28) argues that the "expansion and entrenchment of charitable food banks should serve as an early warning system of inadequate social policies and the failure of government to meet its

right to food obligations" because a leading reason for the demand of food aid is "the deepening inequality and poverty" (Silvasti and Karjalainen, 2014: 85).

The argument that deepening inequality and poverty leads to more people in need for food banks and that surplus food redistribution cannot ensure the right to food is sustained by study results from Switzerland as well as from other countries such as Germany, Australia, UK, Canada and the US (Lambie-Mumford, 2017; Ossipow and Cuénod, 2019; Poppendieck, 2014; Riches and Tarasuk, 2014; Rohrmann, 2011; Selke, 2011). In the following part, the results from the different countries are presented.

The study from Ossipow and Cuénod (2019: 2) has analysed to what extent food banks in Switzerland come "under fire" from a research network that defends a right to food. Based on the analysis of Partage and the Schweizer Tafel, they show that the organizations cannot grant a right to food because beneficiaries cannot choose their food diet and in winter often do not receive enough vitamins. Ossipow and Cuénod (2019: 22) argue that the organizations are not doing enough to fight against "the root causes of poverty" and instead contribute to the disengagement of the state though some of their functions.

In Germany, Rohrmann (2011) identified a direct link between cuts in the social welfare system and the rise of food banks. In a period of deregulation and social cuts after the reunification in Germany, the first food banks were founded between 1993-1994 in Berlin, Munich and Hamburg (Rohrmann, 2011). The introduction of the Hartz-IV-legislation in 2005 led again to a cut in the social welfare system and the number of food banks in Germany rose exponentially (Rohrmann, 2011). While in the beginning homeless people mainly made use of the food banks, the composition of the receiving population enlarged to include long-term unemployed people, families with kids and single parents who have all been directing themselves towards food banks (Rohrmann, 2011). Rohrmann (2011) criticizes the involvement of companies such as McKinsey because while they helped to structure the food banks and supported them, they are, on the other hand co-responsible for unemployment and the reduction of the welfare state. Selke (2011) argues that Germany society is getting used to food banks which prevents a sustainable fight against poverty. Therefore, he sees food banks as an indicator for a growing amount of poor people and not as a solution (Selke, 2011).

In Australia, Booth and Whelan (2014: 1396) found that "a major driver of the expansion of food banks are vigorous government welfare policy reforms and inadequate levels of social assistance". Neoliberal approaches which were designed to "keep welfare benefits low in an

effort to push people off welfare into employment are driving vulnerable people deeper into poverty" (Booth, 2014: 23). The rising number of people living in poverty has therefore driven the demand for food banks in Australia (Booth and Whelan, 2014).

In the UK, Lambie-Mumford (2017: 115) has identified a correlation between the growth in numbers of people visiting food banks since 2010 and "an extensive program of reform to welfare policy", opening a discussion about how and to what extent the welfare reform led to an increased need for food assistance. After the economic crash, services that formed part of the welfare state were cut (Lambie-Mumford, 2017).

In Canada, Riches and Tarasuk, (2014: 45) found that "the arrival of food banking was a consequence of the deep recession of 1980-1982 and Canada's failing social safety net", and that the growth of food charity paralleled neoliberal policies. Since the mid-1990s, the Canadian State has "retreated from its redistributive roles and responsibilities", mainly with "cuts to two of Canada's most income security programs" (Riches and Tarasuk, 2014: 42).

In the US, impoverished families heavily rely on food assistance as cash assistance is very low compared to other OECD nations (Poppendieck, 2014: 177). However, despite public food assistance, food insecurity is still high (Poppendieck, 2014). In 2011 "one in six Americans lived in households classified as food insecure" (Poppendieck, 2014: 179). Historically, with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 "food assistance and all programs of aid for impoverished Americans were reduced" (Poppendieck, 2014: 183). As a result, charitable food assistance such as soup kitchens grew and rapidly expanded with the invention of food banks (Poppendieck, 2014: 383). The relationship between public and charitable food assistance is nowadays very complex (Poppendieck, 2014). Poppendieck (2014: 187) argues that to end hunger would "require higher wages, adequate benefits and full employment". She illustrates this argument with the example of Wal-Mart, which supports food assistance with food and cash on the one side, but on the other side pays employees so little that many of them qualify for food assistance (Poppendieck, 2014).

2.3.4 Poverty in Switzerland

According to Switzerland's country report in 2018 about the Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDG), no one suffers from hunger in Switzerland, whereby obesity poses a problem in the population (Cassis and Leuthard, 2018). In the reporting of the SDG goal 2 (*End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture*),

Switzerland reported about food security in general and did not monitor household food insecurity. However, one further goal formulated in this report is to combat malnutrition (Cassis and Leuthard, 2018). Most people affected by poverty face a constant financial pressure and oftentimes reduce costs in areas such as food in order to prevent going into debt (Schuwey and Knöpfel, 2014: 121). In a food secure and wealthy country such as Switzerland, food insecurity is therefore not a problem of food supply, but a problem of people's financial inability to acquire adequate, nutritious food. Therefore, I argue that it is more accurate to analyse surplus food redistribution in Switzerland from a poverty alleviation perspective instead of a food security perspective.

2.3.4.1 Definition of poverty and statistical poverty indicators in Switzerland

The description of poverty is extremely complex and depends largely on the definition of poverty used (BFS, 2018). In Switzerland a consistent definition of poverty does not exist nor does a defined poverty line (SKOS, 2015). Poverty can be defined and understood in different ways. The Swiss Conference for Social Welfare (SKOS) defines poverty as follows:

"Poverty as a relative phenomenon refers to undersupply in important areas of life such as housing, nutrition, health, education, work and social contacts. Neediness exists when a household cannot provide the necessary resources for the standard of living itself, or if the household income after deduction of social security contributions and taxes is below the social subsistence level." (SKOS, 2015: 1)

Oftentimes, poverty is also a question of personal opinion, wherefore the subjective perception of the considered person has to be taken into account (Schuwey and Knöpfel, 2014). In order to grasp the complexity of poverty, it is important to consider both subjective as well as objective indicators (SKOS, 2015).

In Switzerland, the poverty measurement at a national level is carried out by the Federal Statistical Office (FSO) (SKOS, 2015). Since 1999 the FSO has published the poverty statistics annually for people in the working age and since 2012 it has included the whole population (Schuwey and Knöpfel, 2014). Statistical indicators are one way of examining poverty in Switzerland and allow statements about the situation in Switzerland for the entire population and for specific population groups (FSIO et al., 2019). Statistical data are based on different approaches and measurement methods, which is why the poverty figures may differ one from another (FSIO et al., 2019). The data always has to be used in its specific context and they hardly allow conclusions to be drawn about individual disadvantaged groups (FSIO et al.,

2019). However, the combination of different statistics contributes to a deeper understanding of the causes and consequences of poverty in Switzerland (FSIO et al., 2019). Table 2 gives an overview over the statistics in 2018 which are then further on discussed in the subchapters.

Statistical Indicator	Situation in Switzerland in 2018
SHS- economic social assistance rate	• 3.2% of the Swiss population • 272'738 people
SILC- affected by monetary poverty	• 7.9% of the Swiss population • 660'000 people
SILC- at risk of poverty	• 13.9% of the Swiss population • 1.24 million people
HABE- average Swiss household	• 6.4% is spent for food and non-alcoholic drinks
HABE- household with less than 4'900 Swiss Francs income	• 12.3% is spent for food and non-alcoholic drinks,

TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF POVERTY INDICATORS AND STATISTICS IN SWITZERLAND (OWN ILLUSTRATION, DATA BASED ON STATISTICS FROM THE FSO, 2020)

2.3.4.1.1 SHS – WELFARE RECIPIENTS

The SHS[8] provides information on the number of welfare recipients in Switzerland (FSIO et al., 2019). It examines the type of needs-based social benefits received, the duration of benefits received and the family structure of beneficiaries at national, cantonal and regional level (FSIO et al., 2019). In 2018, 9.5% of the population received benefits from social assistance in the broader sense, including supplementary benefits to OASI/DI[9], economic social assistance and other benefits such as family support (FSO, 2020b). The social assistance rate in the broader sense rose from 661'532 recipients (8.9%) in 2006 to 801'793 (9.5%) in 2018 (FSO, 2020b). The economic social assistance rate was at 3.2% in 2018 and remained quite stable in the last years. However, the number of recipients rose from 245'156 in 2006 up to 272'738 (+27'582) in 2018 (FSO, 2020b). The economic social assistance rate only remained stable because the population grew at the same time (FSO, 2020b).

The payment amount for the basic needs (excluding payment for housing and health insurance) has been decreasing in the last 20 years (SKOS, 2019). Furthermore, proposals to reduce the payments for basic needs are under discussion in various cantons (SKOS, 2019). The SKOS warns that a reduction of basic needs leads to drastic restrictions an can cause issues such as health problems due to unhealthy food (SKOS, 2019). If the basic needs were to be

[8] SHS (**S**ozial**h**ilfeempfänger**s**tatistik) means social welfare recipients statistics.
[9] OASI: Old-Age Insurance System (German: AHV) and DI: Disability Insurance (German: IV)

reduced by 8%, the daily budget for food and drinks for a family of four would fall to seven francs per person, and if it were to be reduced by 30%, it would be as low as five francs (SKOS, 2019).

2.3.4.1.2 SILC – Income and living conditions in Switzerland

The SILC indicator (**S**tatistics on **I**ncome and **L**iving **C**onditions) aims at studying poverty, social exclusion and living conditions on the basis of indicators that are comparable at the European level (FSO, 2020a). The SILC indicator in Switzerland is based on a sample of 7'000 households with 17'000 people (Schuwey and Knöpfel, 2014). People in households with an income (excluding wealth) below 60% of the median income are statistically considered at risk of poverty (Schuwey and Knöpfel, 2014). In the year 2018, 13.9% of the Swiss population (1.24 million people) were at risk of poverty (FSO, 2019). Poverty is thus seen as a form of inequality: Whether a person is considered to be at risk of poverty depends not only their own economic situation (or that of their household), but also on the country-specific level of prosperity (FSO, 2019). Since this indicator can be calculated in the same way everywhere regardless of country-specific factors such as social legislation, it is suitable for international comparisons (FSO, 2019).

A person is considered as monetarily poor if the available household income (excluding wealth) lies below the statistical poverty line (FSO, 2019). In 2018 the poverty line for a single person was at 2'293 Swiss Francs and for two adults with two kids below 14 years at 3968 Swiss Francs FSO, 2019). The measurement of poverty in Switzerland is thus based on a minimum subsistence level, which according to the definition should allow a minimal participation in social life (SKOS, 2015). In 2018, 7.9% of the Swiss population (660'000 people) were affected by monetary poverty (living below the poverty line defined by the SKOS) (SKOS, 2015). The poverty rate fell from 9.3% to 5.9% between the years 2007 and 2013 and has been rising again since 2014 from 6.7% up to 7.9% in 2018 (FSO, 2019).

2.3.4.1.3 HABE – Household budget evaluation

The HABE (Household Budget Evaluation) collects data on the income and expenditures of Swiss households and provides information on the economic situation of the population (FSIO et al., 2019). Since 2000, households have been surveyed on income and expense items such as insurance, housing, food, taxes, mobility, health and leisure (FSIO et al., 2019). The results

provide information on earned income and wealth as well as on the various household expenditures (FSIO et al., 2019).

Results from the most recent published survey from 2015-2017 show that an average Swiss household spends 6.4% of its income for food and non-alcoholic drinks (FSO, 2020c). In a household with less than 4'900 Swiss Francs income, an average household spends 12.3% for food and non-alcoholic drinks, whereas a household with more than 13'600 only spends 4.3% for that same category (FSO, 2020c). This tendency can be explained with the Engel's law, which states that "the proportion of income spent on food declines as income rises" (Houthakker, 1957: 532). Even though this data does not allow to understand how exactly people with low income are affected by food insecurity, it nonetheless shows that people with low income spend a higher percentage of their income on food.

2.4 Spaces of care and encounter

Within the field of welfare research, geographers have highlighted the importance of considering the diverse ways in which welfare spaces such as food banks can create spaces of care and encounter (Cloke et al., 2017; 2004; Williams et al., 2016). Geographers emphasize that it is needed "to consider the diverse ways in which welfare spaces are constructed, experienced, negotiated and contested on the ground" (Williams et al., 2016: 2293). They argue that food banks deserve more conceptual and theoretical attention, because critical discourses about food banks often neglect the complexities inherent in food banking (Cloke et al., 2017). Grasping the complexities inherent in food banking requires a deconstruction of any simplistic understanding of food banks as an "embodiment of the neoliberal shadow state" or as an indicator of poverty (Cloke et al., 2017: 704). Building on the notion of reading for difference from Gibson-Graham (2006), Cloke et al. (2017: 704) trace alternative ways of understanding food banking and conceptualize food banks as "spaces of care" and as "spaces of encounter". Caring spaces can serve as spaces of encounter, in which volunteers and beneficiaries with a wide range of ideological and religious backgrounds come together, and who otherwise might not meet or interact (Cloke et al., 2017: 709). However, Cloke et al. (2017) are aware that food banking cannot be regarded as a long-term solution and call their research the 'geographies of food banks in the meantime'. They adopt the phrase 'in the meantime' to "present an understanding of the role of social action in the austere conditions of the here and now, whilst at the same time working towards an anti-

capitalist sea change to bring about more structural change" (Cloke et al., 2017: 707). In the following subchapters, the main arguments for conceptualizing food banks as spaces of care or encounter are presented.

2.4.1 Spaces of Care

Cloke et al. (2017: 704) conceptualize food banks as "spaces of care" which introduce values "other than those of neoliberal capitalism as a response to the austere conditions" in the welfare state. A focus on geographies of care "opens up alternative possibilities for conceptualizing food banks as institutional, relational and performative places of practical and emotional work involving practices and cultures of listening and responding to the needs of people in crisis" (Cloke et al., 2017: 713). With a focus on this perspective of food banks, Cloke et al. (2017: 705) reflect on the possibilities of food banks as "sites for the incubation of social practices, values, and subjectivities that both deviate from, but also challenge, their capitalist counterparts".

Lambie-Mumford (2017: 103) found in her research that emergency food provision projects are multi-sided in the ways they care: "as interpersonal exchanges of care, as projects providing safe spaces and as part of a wider welfare network" (Lambie-Mumford, 2017: 103). She argues that in absence of an evaluation of the impact of food donation organizations, it becomes important to understand what the organizations aim to achieve, how they exactly they aim to help, and to whom (Lambie-Mumford, 2017). In her research, all emergency food projects were seen as "providing places of safety" (Lambie-Mumford, 2017: 103). Additionally, the provision of food may also form a "gateway" to other welfare support (Lambie-Mumford, 2017: 103).

2.4.2 Spaces of encounter

Williams et al. (2016: 2293) conceptualize food banks as possible "spaces of encounter", where individuals of different backgrounds meet and interact. In these possible spaces of encounter, "predominantly middle-class volunteers come into contact with 'poor others'" (Lawson and Elwood, 2014, cited in Williams et al., 2016).

Different geographers have studied how shared spaces provide opportunities for encounter (Lawson and Elwood, 2014; Valentine, 2008; Williams et al., 2016). However, "the importance of contact in mediating difference has a longer tradition in the discipline of psychology"

(Valentine, 2008: 323). The social psychologist Gordon Allport developed the "contact hypothesis" in which he argues that encounter between different social groups is a prerequisite to foster social integration and to reduce injustice (Salzborn, 2014: 194).

Lawson and Elwood (2014: 209) explored, "where, when and how middle-class actors engage with "poor others"" and how these encounters may "reproduce or disrupt dominant discourses about poverty". The aim of their study was to explore how class difference is "troubled and reworked" through zones of encounter (Lawson and Elwood, 2014: 209).

Williams et al. (2016: 2301) try to grasp how "meaningful contacts" in food banks in the UK do or do not emerge. They argue that spaces of encounter in food banks can on the one side "reconfigure ethical and political sensibilities towards more progressive ends" as well as on the other side continue "to operate within a set of highly restrictive, and stigmatizing, welfare technologies " (Williams et al., 2016: 2301).

Another study from Marovelli (2019) analysed how food sharing initiatives in the UK provide spaces of encounter through social eating. She argues that, "sitting together at the same table eating the same food" increases trust and fosters social relationships between participants (Marovelli, 2019: 200).

3. Research Questions

As has been shown in the introduction and the literature review, there is a research gap in the understanding of the organizational landscape of surplus food redistribution in Switzerland as well as the possibilities and limitations of the reduction of food waste and for the alleviation of poverty. In the current studies published by the FOEN (2019), the possibilities and limitations of surplus food redistribution to further increase is unclear. Additionally, studies which analyse the possibilities and limitations both from a waste prevention perspective as well as from a food security perspective are very rare in current literature. This research aims to contribute to this research gap and asks the following research questions:

How is surplus food redistributed and reallocated along the food supply chain in Switzerland?

- Which surplus food reallocation and redistribution organizations are involved and how so? What are the different approaches and practices?
- What are the possibilities and where do the limitations of food redistribution in Switzerland lie, both for the reduction of food waste as well as for the alleviation of poverty?
- What is the scale and the geographical spread of surplus food redistribution?
- How do surplus food redistribution activities provide spaces of care and encounter?
- What is the interrelationship between the different surplus food redistribution organizations?

One objective of this research is to provide an overview of the existing food reallocation and redistribution activities in Switzerland. In order to grasp the complexities and diversity inherent in these activities, the diverse economies framework is applied. During the research, I found that it is important to open up to all existing food reallocation activities in order to have a more complete overview of the existing diversity. The first question is answered in chapter 6.1 with the template of the diverse economies framework which in this thesis is called the diverse surplus food economy. The focus of this research however is laid on the main surplus food redistribution organizations in Switzerland and their diverse economies are analysed in more detail in chapter 6.2.

Another aim of this master thesis is to analyse the overall possibilities and the limitations of surplus food redistribution for the reduction of food waste and for the alleviation of poverty. In order to understand this, the amount of redistributed food and the geographical spread of the organizations is assessed in chapter 6.3. Additionally, it is analysed how the organizations provide spaces of care and encounter in chapter 6.4. With these research questions, the suggestions of Cloke et al. (2017) are followed to ask questions about the scale, geographical spread and diversity of existing organizations as well as to trace alternative understandings of food banks as spaces of care and encounter. The last research question about the interrelationship between the organizations is answered in chapter 6.5.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Most existing literature place food banks and the reallocation of surplus food as beyond market mechanisms and relations. This understanding has been challenged by Midgley (2014: 1872) who argues that "practices are never independent of their market attachment". In order to grasp the complexities inherent in the surplus food donation organizations, the diverse economies approach after Gibson-Graham is be applied (Gibson-Graham, 2006). The following chapter discusses the theory, analyses the different categories from the diverse economy in more detail and shows how the approach has been used in research about food. The diverse economies approach has mainly been used in research about community economies, wherefore literature about food is up to the current date rare.

4.1 DIVERSE ECONOMIES

The aim of the diverse economies approach is to represent and document the variety of economic activities that contribute to social well-being worldwide and emphasize their real or potential consequences (Gibson-Graham, 2008).

Gibson-Graham published their first book *"The End of Capitalism As We Knew It"* in 1996, when economic alternatives seemed to be absent or not even wanted (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 1). Alternative economic narratives were displaced by the hegemonic capitalist narrative (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Today however, Gibson-Graham (2008: 2) argue that this has changed with the rise of different "projects of economic autonomy". Additionally, academics are becoming more involved in scholar activism and they are increasingly conscious of the role their work plays (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Gibson-Graham (2008: 2) argue that diverse economies research is a "performative ontological project" with the aim to bring new economic worlds into being by making alternative and hidden economic practices the focus of research. This way, hidden economic practices are becoming more "real and credible as objects of policy and activism" (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 1). In the understanding of diverse economies, the world can be changed by changing our understandings (Gibson-Graham, 2008).

As a technique of thinking, Gibson and Graham offer the approach of "reading for difference" (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 11). With this technique of thinking, marginalized narratives within the hegemonic economical discourses can be identified (Gibson-Graham, 2008). The identification of marginalized narratives and alternative economies does not "automatically

produce new ways forward, but it can generate new possibilities and different strategies" (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 11). The effect of reading for difference is that it recognizes the "already diverse economic landscape" which exists in all geographical regions and highlight the possibilities they have to create other possible worlds (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 12). However, Gibson and Graham do not want to perform "difference per se" (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 6). Their "political and strategic concern is to build community economies" wherefore the "ontological ground" has to be reframed (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 18).

A criticism of the diverse economies framework is that it does not "take into account the scale of the activities" (Cameron, 2012: 8). Another challenge the diverse economies framework has been facing is that people, despite accepting that alternative economic activities exist, do not believe in the possibilities of alterative economic activities (Gibson-Graham, 2008).

The framework of the diverse economy approach represents the economy as an iceberg (see figure 1); above the waterline are economic activities which are visible in mainstream economy and below are economic activities, places and people that contribute to our well-being, but which do not appear in mainstream economic literature (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013). Some people think that capitalism is interchangeable with the term economy (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013). The iceberg acknowledges the economic diversity and contrary to what is usually constituted as the economy (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013).

FIGURE 1: THE ECONOMY AS AN ICEBERG (GIBSON-GRAHAM, 2006: 70).

To reframe the economy through an iceberg is a chaotic step "towards sorting out a more systematic way" (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 12). The diverse economy offers a template (see table 3) to reframe the economy in a more systematic way, grouping practices of diverse economies into different categories such as enterprise, property, labour, transactions and finance (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Reframing the economy is an "open-ended work in progress" (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 4). Each column is divided into cells that relate to the 'iceberg economy'. The first row refer to economic activities which are usually above the waterline (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013). The middle row refers to activities that are similar to the mainstream activities but involve alternative elements (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013). The third row relates to those economic activities which are usually under the waterline (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013). Nonetheless, this table does not aim to "categorize people into classes according to their economic involvement", as people or economic activities may participate in different activities across the diverse economy (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 13). Table 3 can be used as a diverse economy identifier to distinguish between different kind of enterprise, labour, property, transactions or finance (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013). However, one should take into account that the table is "susceptible to a number of different readings" (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 4). The goal of the table with a performative reading is to make the diverse economic activities visible and to "bring them into being" (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 4). In the following part of the chapter, the different categories of the template are discussed in more details.

ENTERPRISE	LABOR	PROPERTY	TRANSACTIONS	FINANCE
CAPITALIST Family firm Private unincorporated firm Public company Multinational	**WAGE** Salaried Unionized Non-union Part-time Contingent	**PRIVATE** Individually owned Collectively owned	**MARKET** Free Naturally protected Artificially protected Monopolized Regulated Niche	**MAINSTREAM MARKET** Private banks Insurance firms Financial services Derivatives
ALTERNATIVE CAPITALIST State owned Environmentally responsible Socially responsible Non-profit	**ALTERNATIVE PAID** Self-employed Co-operative Indentured Reciprocal labor In-kind Work for welfare	**ALTERNATIVE PRIVATE** State-owned Customary (clan) land Community land trusts Indigenous knowledge	**ALTERNATIVE MARKET** Fair and direct trade Alternative currencies Underground market Barter Co-operative exchange Community supported agriculture, fishing etc.	**ALTERNATIVE MARKET** State banks Cooperative banks Credit unions Govt. sponsored lending Community-based financial institutions Micro-finance Loan sharks
NON-CAPITALIST Worker cooperatives Sole proprietorships Community enterprise Feudal enterprise Slave enterprise	**UNPAID** Housework Family care Volunteer Neighbourhood work Self-provisioning Slave labor	**OPEN ACCESS** Atmosphere Water Open ocean Ecosystem services Outer Space	**NON-MARKET** Household sharing Gift giving State allocations/appropriations Hunting, fishing Gleaning, gathering Sacrifice Theft, piracy, poaching	**NON-MARKET** Sweat equity Rotating credit funds Family lending Donations Interest-free loans Community supported business

TABLE 3: DIVERSE ECONOMIES TEMPLATE (GIBSON-GRAHAM, 2014: 150)

4.1.1 ENTERPRISE

The enterprise category contains non-capitalist and capitalist enterprises which have different types of ownership and "produce, appropriate and distribute surplus in different ways" (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 4). In a family-run capitalist firm for example, "worker's and family member's surplus is appropriated by the family owners and distributed to all the activities that support production" (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 66). The term of surplus is used in a "Marxian view", distinguishing between what is necessary for reproduction and analysing how surplus is redistributed (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 66). There are many forms of enterprises in which "surplus of producers is appropriated by nonproducers" as it is for example the case in many "feudal agricultural establishments in many parts of the 'developing' world" (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 67). In a worker cooperative enterprise however, "producers set their own wage and appropriate and distribute a communal surplus" (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 67). The diverse economy template "distinguishes a wide range of different kinds of enterprises" (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 72). But there are also differences within the categories of the diverse economy template. Not all capitalist firms, for example, "are driven to distribute their surplus only toward expansion or to shareholders and managers" (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 67). More and more capitalist firms contain "alternative" traits and "market themselves as 'green' or 'socially responsible'." (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 67).

4.1.2 LABOUR

People are participating in diverse labour activities "to secure their overall well-being" (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 38). These labour activities can be wage-, alternative paid-, or unpaid labour (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013).

Paid labour can take different forms depending on the "power relation" which structures the employment relation (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 64). On the one side, there are for example highly paid professionals "who are able to exert power in the workplace and exact compensation for their labour" which far exceeds the amount needed for a good standard of living (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 64).

Unpaid labour is "the most prevalent form of labour in the world" and is conducted "in the household, the family and the neighbourhood, or the wider community" (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 62). Other forms of unpaid labour include subsistence work or modern day slave labour such as "sex slavery and people-trafficking all over the globe" (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 62).

In between paid and unpaid labour, Gibson-Graham (2006: 64) have identified other forms of labour which they call “alternative paid” labour (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 64). People for example may work for “payments in kind”. Welfare recipients for example “must sometimes perform labour in the community sector in return for their welfare checks” (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 64).

4.1.3 Property

Property normally refers to “all the things we own and use in order to survive well” (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 125). When thinking of property, we “inevitably think of private property” which gives us a sense of security, but private property can also mean exclusion (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 125). Private property “designates who has rights of access and use and who can derive benefit from the property” (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 125). Private property is seen as “one of the foundations of modern economies” with the argument that “land and other resources are best placed in the hands of private owners who will look after them and use them productively” (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 126). However, the importance which is given to private property in the mainstream economies “overshadows other forms of property that are also essential to our well-being” (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 126). “There are diverse property ownership forms that coexist and interact in our economies” as can be seen in the diverse economy template (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 147.)

4.1.4 Transaction

A diversity of transaction forms exist, which Gibson-Graham (2006) categorized as market, alternative-market and non-market transactions.

Market transactions, from a mainstream view, involve the exchange of equivalents in a so called free market space which works according to the law of supply and demand (Gibson-Graham, 2006). However, the transactions are regulated “within context specific power relations rather than abstract and universal logics“ (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 62). Even within the formal market transactions there is a „variety of socially, naturally, and governmentally constructed contexts for commodity exchange” (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 62).

In alternative market transactions, the exchange of goods and services is “socially negotiated and agreed upon” (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 62). A vast number of alternative market transactions “take place in the informal and underground markets in which goods and services

are traded according to very local and personalized agreements" (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 62). An example for alternative transaction are fair trade products, "where producers and consumers agree on price levels that will sustain certain livelihood" (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 62).

Nonmarket transactions are perhaps the most prevalent forms of exchange which sustain us all (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 62). In nonmarket transactions there are no "rules of commensurability and there may be no formal calculation of how much is shared, taken, given away, stolen, or allocated" (Gibson-Graham, 2006: 62).

With each of the transactions, a "type of encounter" is being fostered (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 110). More direct transactions allow for "encounter and care for people and places that are helping us to survive well" (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 111). However, it is not always easy to consider and understand the needs of others in our transactions because long supply chains are "disconnecting us from humans and the environment" that is providing us the goods (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 111).

4.1.5 FINANCE

The term finance "variously refers to money, savings, investment" and the like and "is associated with institutions like banks, insurances companies or stock markets" (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 159). As it is the case with other aspects of the diverse economy, there is much more to finance than "the banks, brokerages or insurance companies" (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 177). "A diversity of public-sector and community based organizations" as well as "families, neighbours community organizations" are involved in the work of "underwriting a better future" (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 177).

Next to categorizing the different practices, the diverse economies approach also asks the question of what the "interrelationships between these practices" are (Gibson-Graham, 2014: 151). "Mainstream economic discourse theorizes strong connections between certain practices while ignoring others" and "draws on a select set of motivations said to animate economic change" such as individual self-interest, competition or efficiency (Gibson-Graham 2014: 151). Here, the diverse economy also takes other motivations and social relations into account such as trust, care or sharing (Gibson-Graham, 2014: 151).

4.2 DIVERSE ECONOMY LITERATURE AND FOOD REDISTRIBUTION

In the chapter about transaction in the book *Take Back The Economy* from (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 122) the authors discuss the example of food banks and consider them as "one of the most rapidly expanding areas of people-to-people connection". They classify the transaction as a form of gleaning, which "deals with waste in innovative and equitable ways" (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013: 122). Food banks however are not the focus of their research and therefore were not further researched by Gibson-Graham or other scholars applying a diverse economies approach. Within the diverse economies research project, Gibson- Graham are interested in supporting and building community economies (Gibson-Graham, 2008). This is why the focus of most studies applying a diverse economies approach are community economies. Few studies with a diverse economies perspective focus on a sector such as food. The study from Cloke et al. (2017) about food banks pick up some elements of the diverse economy framework. The authors of the study aim to trace alternative ways of reading and understanding food banks and use Gibson-Graham's technique of 'reading for difference' (Cloke et al., 2017: 704). They also argue that food banks introduce "values other than those of neoliberal capitalism as a response to the austere conditions of the here and now" (Cloke et al., 2017: 704). With this argument, they question the interrelationship between the different economic activities, adding values other than those used in the mainstream economic discourse (Cloke et al., 2017).

An example of a scholar who applied the diverse economies approach to food studies is Jenny Cameron (2012). She looked at initiatives both in her own backyard in Newcastle as well as in other parts of Australia and collected these within the template of the diverse economies framework (see table 4). However, she was aware "that the rows do not necessarily line up", because enterprises can be active in different parts of the diverse food economy (Cameron, 2012: 5). Even though her focus was on local initiatives, she argues that the diverse food economy "is not just a local economy" (Cameron, 2012). With the diverse economies template, she analysed how people work together to develop innovative ways of producing and sharing food and how different groups are connected in the food economy (Cameron, 2012). Cameron (2012) categorized the food redistribution organization 'Oz Harvest food rescue' in the third row (see table 4). Oz Harvest is a food bank which donates surplus food to more than 1300 charities in Australia (OzHarvest, 2020). The other economic activities she

found are not directly linked to surplus redistribution, nevertheless it is interesting to see the diversity of activities she observed and how she categorized them.

ENTERPRISES	TRANSACTIONS	LABOR	PROPERTY	FINANCE
CAPITALIST ▪ Nationally based retailers (e.g. Coles, Woolworth, IGA, Franklins) ▪ International retailers (e.g. ALDI) ▪ Local retailers (e.g. restaurants and coffee shops)	**MARKET** ▪ Food from major supermarkets ▪ Food from local retailers	**WAGE** ▪ Workers at national and international retailers ▪ Workers at local retailers ▪ CSA (Beanstalk) worker ▪ Community garden workers	**PRIVATE** ▪ Retail spaces ▪ Backyard food growing areas	**MAINSTREAM MARKET** ▪ Loans from mainstream banks
ALTERNATIVE CAPITALIST ▪ Small family-run food businesses ▪ State/Council owned businesses (e.g. Lake Macquarie Worm Farm)	**ALTERNATIVE MARKET** ▪ Food sourced directly from farmers (e.g. farmers' markets, CSA) ▪ Saturday morning sales of community garden seedlings ▪ Sales of community garden herbs to restaurants and coffee shops ▪ Fair trade produce	**ALTERNATIVE PAID** ▪ In-kind payments for Beanstalk "volunteers" ▪ In-kind payments for community garden workers ▪ Self-employed workers (e.g. farmers, sole operator food outlets)	**ALTERNATIVE PRIVATE** ▪ Land used for community gardens from Council, churches, schools, bowls clubs, RSL clubs ▪ Premises for CSA and community kitchens on peppercorn leases or donated arrangements from orgs, institutions ▪ Showgrounds for Farmers' Markets	**ALTERNATIVE MARKET** ▪ Loans from cooperative banks and credit unions ▪ Slow money lending
NON-CAPITALIST ▪ Self-employed farm businesses ▪ Self-employed food operators ▪ CSA (The Beanstalk Organic Food) ▪ Community gardens ▪ Community kitchens (e.g. Kumera Kitchen) ▪ OzHarvest Food Rescue	**NON-MARKET** ▪ Food from backyard production and community gardens for home use or gifted to neighbours and friends ▪ Donations of food to community kitchens or OzHarvest Food Rescue ▪ Donations of waste from restaurants and coffee shops for community garden composting	**UNPAID** ▪ Community garden volunteers ▪ Community Kitchen volunteers ▪ Self-provisioning workers (e.g. back-yard producers, allotment community garden producers, dumpster divers)	**OPEN ACCESS** ▪ Gleaning and scrumping from overhanging trees and trees in public parks ▪ Open community garden produce ▪ Dumpsters for diving ▪ Hunter River fishing ▪ Open access meals from community kitchens	**NON-MARKET** ▪ Family and friend lending ▪ Donations and gifts ▪ Sweat equity

TABLE 4: THE DIVERSE FOOD LANDSCAPE OF NEWCASTLE (CAMERON, 2012: 6)

5. METHODOLOGY

In the following chapter, the research design is presented. The methods used for the data collection and analysis will be discussed in the two main subchapters. Additionally, below each presentation of the method, the application of these methods as well as the research process in general, is critically reflected.

5.1 DATA COLLECTION

The data for the content analysis comes from three different sources which were identified through a purposeful sampling. The goal of purposeful sampling strategies is to select "information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the questions under study" (Patton, 2002: 46). In this case, I chose the main organizations which have annual reports and redistribute a relatively large amount of surplus food. The first source of data are expert interviews with representatives of the main surplus food redistribution organizations in Switzerland. The expert interviews were conducted with representatives which made themselves available. The position of the expert in the organization was not regarded as a sampling criteria. Table 5 lists the different interview partners. Additionally, a participatory observation at a redistribution site from Tischlein Deck Dich was conducted during the redistribution of surplus food to the beneficiaries. The third source of information comes from the annual reports and the information the organization are providing on their webpage. In the following section, I discuss these three sources and the methods used for data collection in more detail and critically reflect on the research during these different steps.

5.1.1 EXPERT INTERVIEWS

Usually, expert interviews are semi-structured interviews. In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined questions which allows for exploration of important issues during the interview (Clifford et al., 2016). Semi-structured Interviews are "conversational and informal in tone" and allow the interview partner to give an open response (Clifford et al., 2016: 145). It allows talking to people in a "self-conscious, orderly and partially structured way" (Clifford et al., 2016: 144). While semi-structured interviews are defined based on the method used, expert interviews describe the specific target group of interviewees and the special research interest in expert knowledge (Helfferich, 2014). Expert interviews are therefore defined by the specific selection and status of the interviewee

(Helfferich, 2014). Experts are mediators of knowledge that can pass on information gained from experience (Helfferich, 2014). There is a lengthy discussion about who can be considered as an expert (Helfferich, 2014). It is generally assumed that expert knowledge is independent of the expert itself and that an identical person with the same position and education would provide the same information (Helfferich, 2014).

For the semi-structured interview, it is important to have a guideline which structures the interview, but which still keeps a certain openness (Helfferich, 2009). A guideline for an expert interview reduces narrative demands and asks questions more specifically (Helfferich, 2014). The emphasis of the guideline is to have a structured sequence of questions that can be answered concretely (Helfferich, 2014). The stronger structuring and focus, as well as the careful examination of the answerability of the questions with a pre-test in advance, underlines the professional character of the interview (Helfferich, 2014). The preparation of the interview guideline for an expert interview requires important preparatory work (Helfferich, 2014). It is a taboo to ask for information which is easily accessible from other sources as expert time is valuable and these type of questions might be interpreted as a lack of respect (Helfferich, 2014).

The interview guideline was written with the SPSS principle after Helfferich (2009). SPSS stands for the German words “sammeln, prüfen, sortieren, subsumieren”, meaning “collect, check, sort, subsume”. These four steps were therefore important in the process of writing the interview guidelines:

Collect: I first wrote down all the questions I was interested in and which I thought would be important in order to answer my research questions.

Check: A lot of information can be found on the webpage of the different organizations or in the annual reports. I checked which questions I was already able to answer with the information I found in the annual reports and on the webpage in order to avoid asking question which had easily accessible answers. In addition, I revised the form of the questions to invite the interviewee to talk openly about a certain issue. In this process, I was deleting and rewriting many of my previously written questions.

Sort: In the process of sorting I put the questions into an order which made sense with regard to their content and which gave a red thread into the guideline.

Subsume: I bundled the questions together and for each category I set the question that was able to generate the greatest narrative impulse at the top of the category. I then had further

questions to ask in the same category or questions to go deeper into one question. After the first Interview, I revised the interview guideline and adapted some of the questions slightly and used this as the pre-test suggested by Helfferich (2014). The interview guidelines can be found in the appendix (chapter 10.1 and 10.2). The interview guideline for the Caritas Market and the surplus food redistribution organizations are a little bit different because not all questions worked for both types of concept.

Overview of the interviews from this master thesis

Table 5 shows the interviews I have conducted with the representatives of the different organizations and how they are designated in the analysis. I consider my interview partners as experts because they have gained valuable experience through their work in the organizations, which cannot be found in the annual reports or on their webpage. Good research must respect ethical standards such as the integrity of interviewed persons (Kaspar and Müller-Böker, 2006). This is why I have anonymized the names of the interviewees.

Organization	**Designation in the analysis**	**Date**	**Place**
Caritas Market	Interviewee 1 (IW, 1)	29.10.2019	Sempach
Tischlein Deck Dich	Interviewee 2 (IW, 2)	08.11.2019	Winterthur
Tables du Rhône	Interviewee 3 (IW, 3)	21.11.2019	Monthey
Schweizer Tafel	Interviewee 4 (IW, 4)	04.12.2019	Kerzers
Food Care	Interviewee 5 (IW, 5)	05.12.2019	via phone
Partage	Interviewee 6 (IW, 6)	10.12.2019	Geneva
CA-RL	Interviewee 7 (IW, 7)	10.03.2020	Lausanne
CA-RL	Interviewee 8 (IW, 8)	10.03.2020	Lausanne

Table 5: Overview of interview partners (own illustration)

For this research, I contacted the main surplus food redistribution organizations per mail with the proposal attached. Fortunately, all organizations answered positively and made themselves available for an interview. At the Caritas Market, Partage, Tables du Rhône, CA-RL and Tischlein Deck Dich, the interview partners showed me around the food storage and I

could see, how exactly they organize the logistics. I conducted the interviews in German or French, depending on the language of the organization.

While critically reflecting on the process of conducting the interviews and mainly during the process of transcription, I realized that when I did not read the questions from the guideline, I sometimes asked questions which already suggested the answer. It would therefore have been better to stick more to the questions in the interview guideline.

5.1.2 Participatory Observation

The second source of data are the results from a participatory observation. This qualitative method is almost always used alongside with other methods such as interviews (Mack et al., 2005). Data gained through participant observation can facilitate the understanding of data gathered through other methods such as interviews (Mack et al., 2005). This method can help researchers to "uncover factors important for a thorough understanding of the research problem" (Mack et al., 2005: 13). Participant observation takes place in community settings, in which researchers take "careful, objective notes about what they see" (Mack et al., 2005: 13). Field notes should include an "account of events, how people behaved and reacted, what was said in conversation, where people were positioned in relationship to one another, their comings and goings, physical gestures, your subjective responses to what you observed, and all other details and observations necessary to make the story of the participant observation experience complete" (Mack et al., 2005: 21).

One main difficulty of participant observation is to clearly distinguish between objective-, and subjective observation (Mack et al., 2005). A disadvantage of this method is the difficulty of documenting the data, as it is "hard to write down everything that is important while being in the act of participating and observing" (Mack et al., 2005: 13). It is therefore important to memorize the observed and to write down everything as soon as possible (Mack et al., 2005).

For the participatory observation, I helped out at a redistribution site in Baar during an evening of redistribution. Before the delivery started, I talked to people in charge and saw the food storage of the regional platform from central Switzerland. Observations from this delivery are designated as PO (participatory observation) in the analysis.

I was hoping to receive a deeper insight into the emotions of the beneficiaries. One participatory observation however was not enough for that. It would be interesting to work on a regular basis at a delivery point in order to have a better insight.

5.1.3 Annual reports

The third source of data are the annual reports of the organizations. Not all organizations have every annual reports since their beginning anymore, some have them only for the current year, while others have almost all of them since their beginning. Table 6 shows which annual reports were available and how they are designated in the analysis.

Organization	Available years of annual reports	Designation in the analysis
Tischlein Deck Dich	2002- 2018	AR TDD, [*year]*
Schweizer Tafel	2006- 2018	AR ST, [*year]*
Tables du Rhône	2006- 2018	AR TdR, [*year]*
Partage	2012-2018	AR PA, [*year]*
Caritas Market	2018	AR CM, [*year]*
CA-RL	2014- 2018	AR CL, [*year]*

Table 6: Analysed annual reports (own illustrations)

Using the annual reports as a data basis has advantages but also brings disadvantages. A lot of knowledge about the organizations and numbers are presented in the annual reports. Analysing these reports over the different years give interesting insights in the DNA of the organization. On the other hand, the information are also biased because the organization might want to presents itself in the annual reports from the best side to have a good image. This must be taken in consideration when looking at the data which was sources from the annual reports.

5.2 Data Analysis

After the transcription of the interviews, I applied the qualitative content analysis after Philipp Mayring (2014). In the following chapter, I discuss the methods used and how I applied the qualitative content analysis to this research.

5.2.1 TRANSCRIPTION

Numerous different transcription systems exist, with some being more or less complex than others (Kuckartz and Rädiker, 2014). The main difference between the transcription systems is in the way how different text characteristics such as for example the emphasis, the volume or pauses are taken into account in the transcription (Kuckartz and Rädiker, 2014). The transcription system is chosen after the analysis method used (Kuckartz and Rädiker, 2014). A dominant theme in a lot of literature surrounding transcription is how data is constructed through the process of transcription and that transcribed data should therefore not be treated as simply given (Hammersley, 2010).

With the consent of the interviewees, I recorded the interview and transcribed it afterwards. I could not record the interview with Partage, because it was connected with a visit of the food storage area. Moreover, I could not record the visits of the food storage area in the other organizations either because it was too noisy. In these cases, I took notes which I used for the analysis further on. At CA-RL, another person showed me around the food storage area, where I also took notes. I transcribed the Swiss German interviews into German and adapted the sentence structure. Because I was interested in the content and not necessarily in the way of speaking, I do not consider this process as a loss of data. Nevertheless, one must be aware that the data and language style is to a certain extent constructed.

5.2.2 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

The qualitative content analysis is an evaluation method that processes texts which arise from data collection, for example, transcripts of interviews or observation protocols (Mayring and Fenzl, 2014). One advantage of this method is that a large quantity of material can be handled (Mayring and Fenzl, 2014). Content analysis may suggest that this type of text analysis is only about content (Mayring and Fenzl, 2014). However, the analysis contains interpretative traits and does not only consist in counting manifest textual components (Mayring and Fenzl, 2014). The category system is a central point of this method, which is used to process the data material (Mayring and Fenzl, 2014). The data is coded based on predefined categories in order to reduce any free interpretation (Mayring, 2014: 40). The qualitative content analysis has developed procedures of inductive category development. The main idea of this procedure is to formulate a “criterion of definition”, which is derived from the research question and from

the theoretical background (Mayring, 2000: 4). The material is worked through by following the criterion and categories are deduced step by step, revised and eventually reduced to main categories (Mayring, 2000). A central quality criteria is the inter-, and intra- coder reliability (Mayring and Fenzl, 2014). This means the material should be coded the same regardless of the person doing the coding (inter-coder reliability) or the temporal moment of coding (intra-coder reliability) (Mayring and Fenzl, 2014). The aim cannot be to have a complete inter-, and intra- coder reliability as the interpretative elements require a certain amount of leeway (Mayring and Fenzl, 2014).

I coded the transcript, the protocol of the participatory observation as well as the annual reports in the coding software MAXQDA2020. I first inductively derived categories from the research questions and the research interests. I then also structured the interview guidelines after these categories. During the coding process, I deductively derived more categories and revised the data that I had already categorized. Regarding the language, I only translated the content to English at the very end when I was using the data for the results. It has been challenging to translate in the most accurate possible, especially when I translated data from French to English, as both are second languages to me.

5.3 Data Quality

Occasionally, the claim is made that important quality criteria from quantitative research such as reliability, validity and objectivity should also be fulfilled for qualitative research (Flick, 2014). However, the problem arises as to what extent quality criteria used in quantitative research can deal with the characteristics of qualitative research (Flick, 2014). The application of the corresponding criteria of quantitative research to qualitative research is rather rejected, since quantitative and qualitative research is too different for that (Flick, 2014).

One strategy for the improvement of data quality focuses on the transparency of procedures (Flick, 2014). This strategy requires a precise and as complete as possible research documentation in which it is recorded in detail why each method was selected and which decisions were made in the research process (Flick, 2014).

For this master thesis, I followed this strategy and documented the research procedure and the methods used as precisely and completely as possible. In the chapter results, I specify further data uncertainties directly when I present the data.

6. RESULTS

In the following chapter, the results of the research are presented. The first subchapter 6.1 shows the diverse surplus economy in Switzerland. I then present the diverse economies of the main surplus food donation organizations in Switzerland in chapter 6.2. Chapter 6.3 then talks about the scale and geographical spread and illustrates how much surplus food the organizations distribute and how the amount has evolved in the last years. With the help of two maps, I aim to illustrate the geographical spread of the organizations. Chapter 6.4 presents the diverse ways in which the organizations care for people and how spaces of encounter are created. The last chapter 6.5 discusses the interrelationships between the organizations and how they work together.

6.1 THE DIVERSE SURPLUS FOOD ECONOMIES IN SWITZERLAND

Different enterprises reallocate surplus food along the food supply chain in Switzerland. In this master thesis, the diverse economy of surplus food reallocation is represented in the diverse economies template after Gibson and Graham (see chapter 4). The economic impacts of food waste have been presented in chapter 2.2.1.1 in table 1. It is estimated that 2/3 of wasted food are avoidable losses (FOEN, 2019), wherefore a lot of money could be saved reducing food waste or economic value could be generated recovering and reallocating it (see chapter 2.2.1.1). I argue that a market has been established which I call the "diverse surplus food economy" (see table 7). However, table 7 is not meant to be a complete inventory of the diverse surplus food economy, but rather aims to illustrate the existing diversity.

Enterprise	**Transaction**	**Labour**	**Property**	**Finance**
Capitalist	**Market**	**Wage**	**Private**	**Mainstream Market**
- Store - App Company - Restaurant	- *Purchase of basic goods which are hardly ever surplus at a regular price* - Sale on an app, in a store or in a restaurant	- Paid employees	- Surplus food owned by the enterprise - Locked dumpsters	- Sale of surplus products - Commission on direct sale through an App

	- Subscription system and direct delivery			
Alternative Capitalist	**Alternative Market**	**Alternative Paid**	**Alternative Private**	**Alternative Market**
- Social supermarket	- *Purchase of surplus food at a reduced price* - Reduced price at social supermarket - Symbolic payment	- People from work Integration programs - Civil servants - Corporate volunteers - Apprentices	- Restricted access to surplus food	Symbolic 1.- payment by the beneficiaries
Non-Capitalist	**Non-Market**	**Unpaid**	**Open Access**	**Non-Market**
- Association - Cooperative - Foundation	- *Non-monetary support; Knowledge sponsoring* - Food donation	- Volunteers	- Public fridges - Public cooking and/or redistribution - Unlocked dumpster	- Monetary donation from companies or public funding - Funding from fundraising activities

TABLE 7: THE DIVERSE SURPLUS FOOD ECONOMY (OWN ILLUSTRATION)

6.1.1 CATEGORIZATION

It must be considered that many surplus food reallocation activities cannot be simply categorized within one row as their diverse economy relate to different activities of the 'iceberg economy' (see chapter 4). Gibson-Graham (2008: 4) argue that the table is "susceptible to a number of different readings" and Jenny Cameron (2012) says that enterprises can be active in different rows of the diverse food economy (see chapter 4). This is also the case for this categorization, as it is not always evident where to categorize a certain activity. To make the categorization more transparent, I discuss the categorization in more detail in the following section.

6.1.1.1 ENTERPRISE

I have categorized enterprises which sell surplus food products as capitalist, because they make profit with the sale of the products *(Capitalist*). The categorization is however not completely evident, and I could also have categorized them as alternative capitalist because they can be considered as environmentally and socially responsible (*Alternative Capitalist)*. I categorized the form of a social supermarket as alternative capitalist. In the Non-Capitalist category, I have classified the different possible forms of organizational structure of the surplus food reallocation organizations, because they do not aim to make any profit (*Non-Capitalist*).

6.1.1.2 TRANSACTION

The transaction can be seen from two different sides. On the one side, there is a transaction between the surplus food reallocation organizations and the enterprises, from which they receive surplus food, and on the other side, there is a transaction from the surplus food reallocation organization to their customers or beneficiaries. In table 7 I have marked the first transaction side (surplus food enterprise to reallocation enterprise) with italic letters. Surplus food can be bought on the market for a regular price *(Market*), at a reduced price (Alternative Market) or can be donated by companies having surplus food (*Non-Market*). The surplus food can then be sold on an app, in a store or restaurant or with a subscription system with direct home delivery (*Market*). Surplus food can also be sold at a discount or for a symbolic payment in a surplus food redistribution organization (*Alternative-Market*) or given for free (*Non-Market*). Not only is food donated to the surplus food redistribution organizations but also knowledge as well.

6.1.1.3 LABOUR

Employees receive their wage from the surplus food reallocation enterprise (*wage*). Workers who are alternatively paid are people from work integration programs, apprentices, civil servants or corporate volunteers (*Alternative Paid*). There is a wide range of diverse work integration programs, of which most workers get paid by the institutions offering work integration or by the enterprise itself. Civil workers receive an EO[10] compensation and the institutions which employ civil servants have to pay a fee to the state (ZIVI, 2020). Corporate volunteers are paid by their company during hours of voluntary work. Apprentices receive a

[10] The EO (**E**rwerbsersatz**o**rdnung) compensates the loss of earnings.

corresponding apprentice's wage. Volunteers working for the surplus food redistribution enterprises do not get paid (*unpaid*).

6.1.1.4 Property

Gibson-Graham have analysed property depending on who owns the enterprise or who owns the goods (See table 3). I decided only to analyse who owns the surplus food because ownership is not always evident. Surplus food which is bought belongs to the enterprise which can decide how and to whom they want to resell it (Private). Many supermarkets lock their dumpster, wherefore surplus food designated to the waste stream is still owned by the enterprise (*Private*). Surplus food which is restricted to people affected by poverty is categorized as *alternative private*. Public fridges, public cooking and public redistribution offering surplus food have *open access.* Dumpsters which are not locked are also categorized as open access.

6.1.1.5 Finance

Gibson-Graham (2014) have set their focus in the financing column to the diverse finance institutions (see template 2). I have set the focus on how the organizations earn money or how they receive monetary donation. Surplus food reallocation organizations which resell surplus food products are able to finance their activity with the profit of their sales or through a commission in the case of Too Good To Go (*Mainstream Market*). Some surplus food redistribution organizations ask for a symbolic payment to the beneficiaries *(Alternative Market)*. Surplus food redistribution organizations receive most of the money from donation. They can come from private donors or from public funding (*Non-Market*).

6.1.2 Surplus food reallocation activities

In the following subchapters, I present examples of enterprises which mainly operate in one of the three different rows of the diverse surplus food economy. However, the list does not claim that all existing initiatives are included, but rather aim to give an overview about the existing diversity. Most of these initiatives were found on the homepage foodwaste.ch, which lists a huge variety of different surplus food reallocation organizations (foodwaste.ch, 2020a).

6.1.2.1 First row of the diverse surplus food economies

Table 8 presents enterprises which mainly operate in the first row and which mainly refer to activities above the waterline of the 'iceberg economy' (see chapter 4). I briefly describe their main activities below the template.

Source / type of food	Transaction	Enterprise
Surplus food from restaurants, bakeries or supermarkets	Sale through an App	• Too Good To Go
Surplus bakery products	Direct resale in the store	• Ässbar • Backwarenoutlet
	Processed and sold	• Bread Beer
Surplus fruits and vegetables	Processed or directly sold in a store or on a market.	• Gmüesgarte • Ygmachts & So • Pure Taste • Frischer Fritz
	Delivery with a subscription system	• Grassrooted • Ugly fruits
	Processed and sold in a restaurant	• Mein Küchenchef • Heinrich • Strunk
Whey	Processed and sold	• Wood and Field

Table 8: Examples of the first row of the surplus food economy (own illustration)

The company Too Good To Go sells surplus food mainly from restaurants, bakeries and supermarkets for a third of the price on their App as a "magic bag", because at the moment of purchase, the customer does not know yet what food he will receive (Too Good To Go 2020). Customers can directly collect the surplus food at the store before their closing hours, where they receive the surplus food which could not be sold anymore (Too Good To Go 2020). Too Good To Go finances itself with a commission for each surprise package a user buys (Too Good To Go, 2020).

The Ässbar and the Backwarenoutlet recover surplus food at bakeries and sell it in their own store at a discounted price (ÄssBar, 2020; BackwarenOutlet, 2020). The Backwarenoutlet hire people who are experiencing difficulty finding a job (BackwarenOutlet, 2020). The Bread Beer processes surplus bread into beer (Bread Beer, 2020).

The Gmüesgarte sells surplus fruits and vegetables from farmers (unprocessed or processed as salad, smoothie or soup), which could not be sold to the mainstream market because the products did not meet the quality standards (Gmüesgarte, 2020). Ygmachts & So is a project from an organic farm which upcycles surplus fruits and vegetables to products such as chutneys or pesto and sells these goods on the market (Ygmachts & So, 2020). Pure Taste ferments surplus vegetables and sells it in an online shop or in different partner shops (Pure Taste, 2020). Frischer Fritz has an own shop where surplus food is directly sold or processed and sold. The enterprise also offers a subscription system. Grassrooted and Ugly Fruits have launched a vegetable subscription system, where subscribers receive a box of surplus fruits & vegetables which is directly delivered to their home. The restaurants «Mein Küchenchef», «zum guten Heinrich» or «Strunk» cook with surplus fruits and vegetables (Mein Küchenchef, 2020; Strunk, 2020; Zum guten Heinrich, 2020).

The enterprise Wood and Field process whey, a surplus in milk production, into healthy drinks (Wood & Field, 2020).

6.1.2.2 Second row of the diverse surplus food economy

Enterprises which operate primarily in the second row sell surplus food but also involve aspects of the alternative and/or nonmarket economy.

Source / type of food	Transaction	Enterprise
Mainly industrial	Direct sale with restricted access	• Caritas Market
Surplus fruits and vegetables	Processed or directly sold in a store or on a market	• Die Sammlerei • Gartengold • Frütile

Table 9: Examples of the second row of the surplus food economies (own illustration)

The Caritas Market can be situated in the second row of the diverse economies table as food is so heavily subsidized that it does not cover the costs (*Transaction*) and because access to the market is restricted to people affected by poverty. The diverse economies of the Caritas Market are discussed in more detail in chapter 6.2.6.

The enterprises “die Sammlerei”, “Gartengold” and “Frütile” can be categorized in the second row, because they sell products but contain aspects from the second and third row of the iceberg economy. The volunteers of the enterprise “Die Sammlerei” harvest fruits and

vegetables which would not have been used otherwise, process them into long lasting products and sell them in local stores (Die Sammlerei, 2020). Gartengold produces apple juice out of surplus apples from private gardens and meadows, which would otherwise have remained unused. The apples are picked by people who have a handicap. After the harvest, the apples are processed into juice and sold in the onlineshop of Gartengold (Gartengold, 2020). Frütile is an association which makes jam out of surplus fruits and aims to sensitize consumers to the problem of food waste. Frütile offers disadvantaged people the opportunity for social and cultural integration in the production process and sells the jam at the weekly market in Fribourg. The team of Frütile works voluntarily (Frütile, 2020).

6.1.2.3 Third row of the diverse surplus food economies

Enterprises which operate primarily in the third row of the diverse surplus food economy are initiatives which redistribute surplus food to people affected by poverty or to any person in order to fight food waste and to bring awareness to the public to this issue.

Source / type of food	Transaction	Enterprise
Mainly Industrial	Direct donation with restricted access	• Tischlein Deck Dich • CA-RL
Mainly retailers or gastronomy	Direct donation with restricted access	• Schweizer Tafel • Tables du Rhône / Rottutisch • Partage • Food Care • Aufgetischt statt weggeworfen • Au P'tit Plus • Reschteglück Pfarrer Sieber • Organization of Helène Vuille
Mainly retail or gastronomy	Public access	• Delikatrestessen • Foodsharing • Food Save Luzern • RestEssBar • Madame Frigo • Dumster diving
Agriculture	Donation or processing	• Erntenetzwerk OGG Bern
Mainly surplus fruits and vegetables	Cooking and sharing surplus	• Essen für Alle • Voorigs • Food save Events

Table 10: Examples of the third row of the diverse surplus food economies (own illustration)

The diverse economy of the main surplus food redistribution organizations (Tischlein Deck Dich, Schweizer Tafel, Partage, Tables du Rhône, CA-Rl and the Caritas Market) will be presented in more detail in chapter 6.2. The enterprises Food Care, Aufgetischt statt weggeworfen, Au P'tit Plus and the organization from Helene Vuille are local and relatively small initiatives which collect surplus food mainly from supermarkets, the industrial or the gastronomy sectors and redistribute it to people affected by poverty.

The organizations with public access to surplus food all have similar concepts. Volunteers of the enterprises "Delikatrestessen", "Food Save Luzern" and the "RestEssBar" collect surplus food from retailers, bakeries, and markets and bring it to a public fridge, to which everybody has access (Delikatrestessen, 2020; Food Save Luzern, 2020; RestEssBar, 2020). Volunteers of the organization Foodsharing collect surplus food from small markets, bakeries or restaurants and share it in a public fridge, keep it for own consumption or share it with friends or families. Cooked food from restaurants is not allowed to be in public fridges, wherefore this type of surplus food is used for private consumption (foodsharing, 2020). Dumpster diving is similar to the concept of food sharing with the difference that food is not provided by the retailers and is taken legally or illegally out of the dumpster. Madame Frigo provides public fridges, where people can bring and collect their own surplus food (Madame Frigo, 2020).

Volunteers of the Erntenetzwerk OGG Bern help harvest the fields and orchards of producers who have surplus fruits or vegetables that they cannot sell. The harvested goods are donated to charitable organizations or preserved by processing (Erntenetzwerk, 2020).

Other initiatives cook and share meals with surplus food. Volunteers from "Essen für Alle" cook free meals every last Sunday of the month (Essen für Alle, 2020). The volunteers of the initiative "Voorigs" cook and eat together every week (Voorigs, 2020). Products from the region, which could not be sold on the same day, are received free of charge and used (Voorigs, 2020). Additionally, different food save events are organized by foodwaste.ch or other groups with the aim to sensitize the population to the issue of food waste (foodwaste.ch, 2020b).

6.1.3 Interrelationship between the enterprises and surplus food donation organizations

The previous subchapters have presented the diversity inherent in surplus food reallocation activities. Regarding the interrelationship of these organizations, one question might come up whether there is a competition between the enterprises of the diverse surplus food economy.

The interviewees were of the opinion that enterprises which are active in the gastronomy and bakery sector do not target them. In restaurants and take-aways, it is very difficult for the surplus food redistribution organizations to be active, because they would need to redistribute the daily products on the same day which poses high logistical challenges. Enterprises which reallocate surplus bread are neither seen as competitors because there is far too much surplus bread:

"We have way too much bread, from the industry, from the bakeries and every solution concerning bread is perfect!" (IW, 2: 34, own translation)

One field where competition may arise is the retail sector with the enterprise Too Good To Go. According to one interviewee, this activity might affect them in the future regarding fruits and vegetables in the retail sector (IW, 4: 65). The organization however did not agree on a communication yet, wherefore it is the personal opinion of the interviewee (IW, 4: 65).

6.2 THE DIVERSE ECONOMIES OF THE MAIN SURPLUS FOOD REDISTRIBUTION ORGANIZATIONS

In this chapter, the diverse economies of the main surplus food distribution organizations in Switzerland are presented. The categories were made after the classification from Gibson-Graham (2006) and the reflections that were provided in the previous chapter 6.1. Nonetheless, one must take into consideration that a categorization cannot exclude some overlap between the categories. Organizations, for example, may not receive any public funding, but they may have work forces such as for example civil workers or employees from work integration programs who are paid by a public institution, or in the case of corporate volunteering, by a company. The descriptions below the templates aim to make these overlaps more evident.

6.2.1 TISCHLEIN DECK DICH

Enterprise	Transaction	Labour	Property	Finance
Capitalist	**Market**	**Wage**	**Private**	**Mainstream Market**
		24 employees → 20 full time equivalent		
Alternative Capitalist	**Alternative Market**	**Alternative Paid**	**Alternative Private**	**Alternative Market**

		- 100- 120 employees from work integration programs - 12-14 civil workers - 1 apprentice - Volunteers from cooperative volunteering	Access restricted to people affected by poverty.	Symbolic 1 CHF payment. (The symbolic 1.- payment accounted for 5% of total income in 2018.)
Non-Capitalist	**Non-Market**	**Unpaid**	**Open Access**	**Non-Market**
Association	Food donation	Approximately 3'000 volunteers		Monetary Donation

TABLE 11: DIVERSE ECONOMY OF TISCHLEIN DECK DICH (OWN ILLUSTRATION)

6.2.1.1 ENTERPRISE

Non-Capitalist: Tischlein Deck Dich is an association which collects surplus food and distributes it directly to people affected by poverty. Currently, Tischlein Deck Dich has 132 redistribution sites where people with an access card directly receive food. The goal and vision of Tischlein Deck Dich is to collect as much food as possible and redistribute it to people in need (AR 2008: 3). Tischlein Deck Dich defines how they aim to fulfil their tasks with three terms: "responsible, solidary, entrepreneurial" (AR 2018: 2, own translation).

History: Tischlein Deck Dich was founded in 1999 (AR, 2010: 5), which makes it the oldest surplus food donation organization of Switzerland. The association was initiated by Anja Hübner, the wife of the former director of Howeg/Prodega AG (AR, 2010: 5). She wanted to do something against the senseless waste of food and was inspired by the German Table (AR, 2014: 4). Her Idea to redistribute this surplus food was well received by the management of Howeg/Prodega (today Transgourmet, belonging to Coop) (AR, 2016: 15) which granted initial financing for the first two years (AR, 2010: 5). Beat Curti, the former boss and main shareholder of the Bon-Apétit group was also convinced by the idea and encouraged her to act (AR, 2016:14). He was a co-founder, supported the project financially and was president of the association until 2014 (AR, 2014).

Logistics: The logistics of Tischlein Deck Dich works on a (1) national, (2) regional and (3) local level (IW 2: 20). If a food donator offers more than 800kg or more than three pallets, it is handled nationally with an external transport company because the delivery van of Tischlein

Deck Dich can transport a maximum of 950kg or three pallets (1) (IW 2: 20). The food is brought to the central food storage area in Winterthur and from there it is delivered to the platforms (IW 2:20).

If the offer is less than 800kg but still an important amount (2), the transport is organized regionally with a delivery van (IW 2: 20). After the delivery, the van is empty and can pick-up medium sized offers and bring them back to the regional platform (IW 2: 20).

For small amounts (3), the manager of the platform organizes the logistics locally (IW 2: 20). The platform might collect food from local bakeries, butchers, cheese shops or supermarkets and bring it to the redistribution sites (IW 2: 20). If an individual wants to donate food, she or he can also bring it directly to a redistribution site during the opening times (IW 2: 20).

6.2.1.2 TRANSACTION

Non-Market: Tischlein Deck Dich receives surplus food donation and does not buy any extra food. The association is mainly anchored in the food production industry as Tischlein Deck Dich has good storage capacities (IW 2: 6). Therefore, the enterprise receives most of their food donation from the industrial sector.

In the retail sector, Tischlein Deck Dich can only save a small amount of food as supermarkets mainly belong to the area of competence of the Schweizer Tafel. However, most fruits and vegetables now comes from Coop distribution centres (IW 2: 18). The supermarket chain Coop has various distribution centres in Switzerland which are responsible for supplying products to Coop branches in the region and for taking back waste and the food that they no longer need (IW 2: 18). In some of these distribution centres, Tischlein Deck Dich takes the pushed back fruits and vegetables which are still good, but have been pushed to the back, and brings them to the redistribution sites (IW 2: 18). In the distribution centre in Chur for example, Tischlein Deck Dich can save up to 12-18 tons of food per month which otherwise would have ended up in a biogas plant (IW 2: 18).

A part of the surplus food that Tischlein Deck Dich redistributes comes from the agricultural sector. An example is the vegetable producer Rathgeb, who donates fresh organic vegetables which cannot be sold due to the high marketing standards (AR, 2014: 13).

Additionally, Tischlein Deck Dich has already organized events, where they collected food in supermarkets from customers, who were asked to buy some additional food for donation (AR, 2009: 14). On a regional level, there is, for example, the initiative “Zuger für Zuger” where

people are asked to buy some additional food for people in need, which is then redistributed at the redistribution sites from Tischlein Deck Dich (PO: 11).

Type of food redistributed: Tischlein Deck Dich differentiates between different types of products: dry goods (room temperature), fresh goods (fridge temperature), fruit and vegetables and frozen goods (IW 2: 10). Around 45% of the distributed food are dry goods, 32% are fresh goods, 18% are fruits and vegetables and 4.5% are frozen goods (AR, 2012:18). The tendency of fresh goods such as cheese, yoghurt and fruits and vegetables are rising (IW 2: 8). The offer of fruits and vegetables has for a long time been seasonal, but now fruits and vegetables can be offered throughout the whole year (IW 2: 8). This is partly because Tischlein Deck Dich can save more food from the agricultural and industrial sector and because they have started to collect food from distribution centers (IW 2: 8). About half of the basket received by the beneficiaries consists of fruits and vegetables, bread, cheese and yoghurts (AR, 2014:10). Another main part of products are sweet beverages such as cold brewed coffee, iced tea, Gatorade and dry goods such as Dar Vidas, canned food, chocolate and chips (PO: 15/ IW: 14). Generally, dry goods from the industrial sector contain a lot of sugar (IW:14). The offering also varies seasonally. After Eastern and Christmas, for example, Tischlein Deck Dich receives a lot of chocolate. Tischlein Deck Dich has a huge surplus offer of bread (PO: 15/ IW: 34). Products which are well-liked by the beneficiaries are fresh products and fruits & vegetables (IW 2: 14 / AR, 2016: 8).

6.2.1.3 LABOUR

Wage:

The employees who work in the main office or in the platforms are responsible for the operative management and execution.

Alternative Paid:

Work Integration:

- Tischlein Deck dich offers people from the work integration program structure in everyday life, valuable experience and thus the chance for a possible re-entry into the labour market.

Apprenticeship:

- In the region Tessin, Tischlein Deck Dich has trained a logistics apprentice who now works as deputy platform manager (IW 2: 54).

Corporate Volunteering:

- In Corporate Volunteering, companies offer their personal resources for charities (AR, 2010: 4).

Unpaid: Volunteers work mainly in the redistribution sites (AR, 2010: 4). Depending on the size of the redistribution site, there are between 10-20 volunteers working during the distribution (AR, 2004: 7). Besides the work at the redistribution sites, there are many possibilities for volunteers to engage themselves for Tischlein Deck Dich. Volunteers may work as office assistance, as drivers, as translators, as ambassadors of Tischlein Deck Dich, as public-relations assistants or directly in the food storage facilities (AR, 2013: 7ff). Tischlein Deck Dich conducted a survey of all members in the German speaking part of Switzerland and found that 82 percent of the association members are women. The average age of the volunteers is 60.5 years and half of the volunteers are retired. Tischlein Deck Dich has enough volunteers and does not face big challenges in finding new people who want to support Tischlein Deck Dich on a voluntary basis (AR, 2013: 7).

6.2.1.4 Property

Alternative private: People with an access card from Tischlein Deck Dich are allowed to receive food from a redistribution site (IW: 40). On an access card, the number of beneficiaries is defined according to the size of the family. One card can therefore be for several beneficiaries (IW 2: 40). The access cards are currently issued by approximately 1400 social welfare offices (IW 2: 38). Tischlein Deck Dich defines the quotas and how many access cards a social welfare office can issue, based on the previous year's figures (IW 2:40). Tischlein Deck Dich is intended for temporary food aid, wherefore the card is renewed every year by the social welfare offices (AR, 2005: 8 / AR, 2016: 10). If too many beneficiaries come to a redistribution site and there is a regular shortage of goods, then there is a hold placed on the supply of access cards and no more cards can be issued (PO: 5). Throughout the history of Tischlein Deck Dich, there have been several times when the organization did not have enough food and had to temporally stop the distribution of access cards or reduce the contingent (AR, 2004: 8 / 2007: 10 / 2008). However, Tischlein Deck Dich realised that only around ¾ of the issued cards are used by the beneficiaries (IW 2:38). The goal is that every beneficiary, whatever redistribution site she or he goes to, receives approximately 4kg of food per person (IW 2:42).

Most redistribution sites are open in the afternoon and during the week (Tischlein deck dich, 2020). The redistribution site in Baar set its opening hours on purpose once a week from 17.00-18.00 so that also working poor have the possibility to pick up food (PO: 3).

6.2.1.5 Finance

Alternative Market: Beneficiaries pay a symbolic price of 1 Swiss Franc for the surplus food they receive. In the beginning of redistribution, each beneficiary takes a number to determine the receiving order. The beneficiaries can then choose the products they want. The volunteers decide in the beginning what the different limits are per food item so that there is enough food for all the beneficiaries.

Non-Market: Tischlein Deck Dich receives most of their monetary donation from foundations (38%) and companies (20%) (AR, TDD: 22). A smaller amount comes from private donations (10%) and from public funding like the lottery fund (2%) (AR, TDD: 22). From the work integration programs, Tischlein Deck Dich has received 5% of the total operating income in 2018 (AR, TDD: 22). The other income comes from church donations, donations from associations, from legacies or from benefits in kind (AR, TDD: 22).

6.2.2 Schweizer Tafel

Enterprise	**Transaction**	**Labour**	**Property**	**Finance**
Capitalist	**Market**	**Wage**	**Private**	**Mainstream Market**
		14 employees (AR ST, 2018: 27).		
Alternative Capitalist	**Alternative Market**	**Alternative Paid**	**Alternative Private**	**Alternative Market**
		- Work integration - Civil servants	Redistribution to charities	
Non-Capitalist	**Non-Market**	**Unpaid**	**Open Access**	**Non-Market**
Foundation	Food Donation	Volunteers		Monetary Donation

Table 12: Diverse Economy of the Schweizer Tafel (own illustration)

ENTERPRISE

The Schweizer Tafel is organized as a foundation and is active in 12 different regions with its head office in Kerzers (AR ST, 2018: 25). The foundation was initiated by Yvonne Kurzmeyer in the year 2000 (AR ST, 2006: 6). Yvonne Kurzmeyer was inspired by a reportage about the City Harvest from New York and the work of the German Table (AR ST, 2013: 4). In December 2001, the first table was opened in Bern and supplied 12 Institutions (AR ST, 2001: 11) The Schweizer Tafel quickly expanded in Switzerland and covered almost all regions in Switzerland after the first years of existence. The claim of the Schweizer Tafel has changed as follows during its existence (AR ST, 2008: 11):

2001: Lebensmittelspenden für Menschen in Not (Food donation to people in need)

2008: Essen– verteilen statt wegwerfen (Food – to distribute instead of wasting)

2018: Essen verteilen – Armut lindern (Distributing food – alleviating poverty) (AR ST, 2018: 6).

The aim of the last change of the claim was to make the core task of the foundation to alleviate poverty more evident (AR, 2018: 6). A survey about the perception of the Schweizer Tafel in the Swiss population showed that the project is more related to food waste reduction than to the alleviation of poverty.

Logistics: The different regions have a small food supply area for products with long shelf lives in order to supplement the offerings (IW, 4: 8). In each region, the Schweizer Tafel operates Monday through Friday and collects surplus food of good quality from food donators, mainly supermarkets, and distributes the products the same day to different social institutions (IW, 4: 71). On Saturday, the Schweizer Tafel does not redistribute surplus food because many institutions are closed, wherefore the demand is not sufficient (IW, 4: 81). Currently, 37 refrigerated vans are used to redistribute food (AR ST, 2018: 25). The organization for the food redistribution is rather complex (IW, 4: 71). Each region has a certain number of vans to which specific routes are assigned (IW, 4: 71). In the case of the region of Bern, Solothurn and Friboug this comes out to around 2000 contacts a month (IW, 4: 71). In order to handle these logistics, the Schweizer Tafel needs regular and standardised processes, wherefore the driving routes of each week are the same (IW, 4: 71). The driver knows the size and demand of the institution and distributes the food according to this information (IW, 4: 14). The Schweizer Tafel has signed a contract with the food donators, which defines the quality of the products, so that

the organization can redistribute the goods promptly and does not have to dispose any food by themselves (IW, 4:20). In the future, the Schweizer Tafel aims to follow the concept of driving to the distribution centres instead of going to each branch, in order to be more efficient and to react to the development that supermarkets have less surplus food for donation (IW, 4: 20).

6.2.2.1 MARKET

Non-Market: The Schweizer Tafel receives all surplus food for free and does not buy any additional food for redistribution (IW, 4: 29). The focus of the Schweizer Tafel for food collection is the retail sector. The principal food donators are the main supermarkets in Switzerland such as Coop (207 branches), Migros (187 branches), Aldi (51 branches), Lidl (51 branches) and Manor (10 branches) (AR, 2017: 18). Additionally, the different regions get supplied by regional food donators.

From the agricultural sector, the Schweizer Tafel only receives a small amount of food even though vitamins are requested by the institutions (IW, 4: 39). According to the interviewee, one challenge might be that those in agriculture do not want to give their products away for free as they fear that it would be a competition to their sale (IW, 39). Another challenge for the Schweizer Tafel to be able to take these types of products is that the amount is often too much for the limited size of the regional food caches (IW, 33).

Food from the industrial sector is also limited as the food chaches in the different regions are not big enough for huge quantities.

Regionally, food has also been collected in supermarkets through the local initiative “one purchase more”, where consumers are asked to buy something extra which is then donated to the Schweizer Tafel (AR, 2014: 14).

The Schweizer Tafel can never know exactly, which products they will receive from the supermarkets (IW, 4: 18). However, they can tell the institution that they receive up to 80-90% of fruits, vegetables and bread (IW 4, 18). A survey from the Schweizer Tafel showed that the quality of the products is by a majority of institutions rated as good up to very good (AR ST, 2011: 11). In general, the offer of surplus food is bigger than the demand of the institutions. However, this tendency does not apply to all types of products. For expensive products such as coffee, oil, chocolate or meat, the demand is higher than the offer (IW, 4: 26 ff.). On the other side, there is a huge surplus offer of bread which the Schweizer Tafel, by far, cannot redistribute (IW, 4: 65).

6.2.2.2 PROPERTY

Alternative Private: The Schweizer Tafel redistributes surplus food to social Institutions, which need to fulfil certain criteria (IW 4, 16). The institution must serve a social purpose and should not be overfinanced. The Schweizer Tafel checks the annual financial statement in the beginning of the collaboration. If the institution also has to generate donations and relies on volunteer work, it fits well into the schema. Among the institutions, there are also many refugee centres, where refugees only receive a small amount of money to make their living. In the Region Bern/Fribourg/Solothurn, 30 refugee centres receive food from the Schweizer Tafel which corresponds to 1500- 2000 refugees weekly (AR ST, 2015: 5).

The institutions do not have to pay for the food. However, in 2014 the Schweizer Tafel started the "action 12x20" where the institutions were asked to contribute 20 Swiss Francs per month on a voluntary basis (AR ST, 2014: 11).

6.2.2.3 LABOUR

Paid: The employees of the Schweizer Tafel work in the main office in Kerzers and in the different regions (AR ST, 2018: 28).

Alternative Paid: For each delivery van, a driver and somebody to help carry items are needed (AR, 2008: 7). The alternatively paid drivers are civil servants, people from unemployment and reintegration programs (AR ST, 2008: 7).

Unpaid: Voluntary drivers are retired people or people who would like to become socially involved on a regular basis (AR ST, 2008: 7). Each region is organized a bit differently concerning voluntary work (IW, 4: 56). In the region of Bern/Fribourg/Solothurn for example, not many volunteers are working as drivers, because the coordination with volunteers is much more complicated (IW, 4: 56). The head of the foundation is the foundation board which works on a voluntary basis (AR, 2018: 28).

6.2.2.4 FINANCE

Non-market: The Schweizer Tafel receives monetary donations from companies, foundations, retailers, individual donors, the Benefactors' Association Schweizer Tafel (Gönnerverein Schweizer Tafel) and from special activities such as the soup day or from golf tournaments (AR ST, 2007: 8).

Main donors to the Schweizer Tafel are the Ernst Göhner Stiftung, Coop, Migros, Schindler and Credit Suisse (Schweizer Tafel, 2020a). Coop and Credit Suisse have supported the

Schweizer Tafel since 2011, Migros has donated food since the beginning, but has only started financially supporting the foundation since 2013 (Schweizer Tafel, 2020a).

Different companies also support the Schweizer Tafel by offering services offering or product subsidies (Schweizer Tafel, 2020a). The consulting company McKinsey, for example, supported the Schweizer Tafel since the beginning with free consultations (AR ST, 2007: 4).

The Benefactors' Association collects money for the Schweizer Tafel with which it finances over one-sixth of the organization's total financial requirements (Schweizer Tafel, 2020b). The Benefactors' Association helps, for example, to organize the Schweizer Tafel's national fundraising campaign, called Soup Day (Schweizer Tafel, 2020b). On the Soup Day in 2019, more than 160'000 Swiss Francs were collected (Schweizer Tafel, 2020b).

6.2.3 PARTAGE

Enterprise	**Transaction**	**Labour**	**Property**	**Finance**
Capitalist	**Market**	**Wage**	**Private**	**Mainstream Market**
	Food purchase for redistribution	10 employees→ 7 full time equivalent (Partage, 2020).		
Alternative Capitalist	**Alternative Market**	**Alternative Paid**	**Alternative Private**	**Alternative Market**
		- 37 associates from solidarity work programs - 12 from work integration programs - 11 civil servants - Volunteers from Corporate Volunteering (Partage, 2020).	Redistribution to charities	
Non-Capitalist	**Non-Market**	**Unpaid**	**Open Access**	**Non-Market**
Foundation	Food Donation	- 655 volunteers (Partage, 2020).		Monetary Donation

TABLE 13: DIVERSE ECONOMY OF PARTAGE (OWN ILLUSTRATION)

6.2.3.1 ENTERPRISE

Non-capitalist: Partage is the food bank of the canton Geneva. The foundation collects surplus food from different companies in Geneva and distributes it to charities and social services by

a delivery van or by electric bicycles. Partage closely collaborates with the organization les Colis du Coeur, which directly distributes food to people in need once a week (IW, 6: 26). Partage has the mission to fight food waste, to help people in precarious situations and to reintegrate people into everyday work life (AR, 2018: 11).

History: Partage was founded as an association in the year 2005 by different social institutions in Geneva (2014: 4). In April 2016, the legal status of Partage was transformed from an association to a foundation in order to perpetuate its financing and ensure the longevity of the mission (AR PA, 2016: 6-7).

Logistics: Partage collects food from Monday to Saturday. The products are brought to the food storage area in the city center, from where it is sorted, stored and redistributed to the institutions, according to what they have ordered (AR PA, 2012: 4). Colis du Coeur is placed in the same building as Partage, which facilitates the exchange of the goods (AR PA, 2015: 6). The goods are transported either with a delivery van or an electric tricycle (AR PA, 2012:4).

6.2.3.2 TRANSACTION

Market:

Food purchase for redistribution: Partage buys part of the food they redistribute, mainly eggs and milk (IW, 6: 15). Compared to the total amount of food redistributed, 6% is purchased food (AR, 2018: 14).

Non-market:

Partage receives most of the surplus food from supermarkets in the region of Geneva. Main donors are Migros (32%), Coop (8%), Manor (8%) and other suppliers such as Denner or Globus (AR PA, 2018: 14). The fact that Migros donates more than Coop and other retailers has historical reasons(IW, 6: 30).

An important amount of food which Partage redistributes comes from Samedi du Partage, a collection day where consumers in the supermarkets are asked to buy some extra food for donation. Samedi du Partage is organized twice a year (AR PA, 2018: 13). In 2018, the organization and around 1100 volunteers collected 308 tons of food, which represents 28% of total food redistributed in 2018 (AR PA, 2018: 13).

In the agricultural sector, Partage collaborates with *la maraîchere de Genève* (IW, 6: 13), a cooperative which brings together vegetable producers of Geneva and ensures their

marketing (UMDG, 2020). However, Partage only receives a small amount of surplus food from the agricultural sector (IW, 6: 13).

Since 2012, Partage also receives food from the gastronomic sector. Partage receives non-consumed meals from school restaurants, company cafeterias and the kitchens of the University Hospital (HUG) (AR PA, 2012: 2). The meals are checked, then prepared for fast redistribution to social institutions or they are frozen and stored in situ (AR, 2012: 5).

In 2018, Partage received in the year 2018 around 61% fruits and vegetables, 16% bakery products, 6% meat, 5% dairy and 11% other types of food (AR PA, 2018: 14). The demand of food from Colis du Coeur and the institutions is rising (IW, 6: 24), but Partage is receiving less and less food from supermarkets as they are better managing their food stock (AR PA, 2015: 3). As a consequence, Partage needs to buy more food in order to meet the demand of the institutions (AR PA, 2015: 3). Additionally, Partage wants to focus more on further processing of fresh products (AR PA, 2018: 5). In winter, the organization has already been producing soup out of surplus vegetables for many years or they have prepared frozen vegetable packets (AR PA, 2018: 13). Other revalorization projects are currently in planning.

Fruits and vegetables are still the category which is most donated and of which Partage still has enough. In comparison with other food donation organizations, Partage receives a relatively big surplus of coffee from coffee roasters, which are located in the canton of Geneva (IW, 6: 20). Required products which Partage never has enough of are meat, milk and eggs (IW, 6: 15).

6.2.3.3 LABOUR

Alternative Paid:

Work integration: The solidarity work programs are dedicated for unemployed people who experience difficulties finding a new job. They work in logistics, administration, cooking, transport and the like (AR PA, 2018: 11). They get paid up to 80% by the Cantonal Employment Office (AR PA, 2018: 11) and receive a minimum wage (IW, 6: 39). Partage offers individualized training sessions in areas such as informatics, accounting, handling of fruit and vegetables, the cold chain or driving (AR PA, 2018: 11). In 2018, three associates from the solidarity work program found jobs on the regular market, three people were in the process of obtaining a CFC (federal certificate of competence) or an FCA (federal attestation of competence) and one person had obtained a diploma in accounting (AR, 2018: 11).

Corporate volunteering: Volunteers from corporate volunteering help to sort food products collected during Samedi du Partage (AR, 2018: 11).

Unpaid:

Volunteers: Partage can count on volunteers which work on a regular basis or ad hoc on Samedi du Partage (AR PA, 2018: 11).

6.2.3.4 Property

The institutions that Partage supplies are defined by the management according to certain criteria. The access criteria set by Colis du Coeur, where people can directly receive food, is income below the minimum subsistence level and domiciled in the canton of Geneva (Colis du Coeur, 2020). The duration of the assistance through Colis du Coeur varies and may be renewable if the situation remains fragile and precarious (Colis du Coeur, 2020). Food distribution is carried out every Tuesday from 8.30 am to 6.30 pm in the distribution center of Colis du Coeur, which is in the same building as Partage with its food storage area (Colis du Coeur, 2020).

6.2.3.5 Finance

Partage relies on three different sources of financing. It receives around 53% from private donations, 28% from the work integration programs and 13% from municipal and cantonal subsidies (AR PA, 2018: 5). Partage receives the food storage area and the office for free from the canton of Geneva (Partage, 2019). 85% of the money is used for the food redistribution and the logistics, 7% for the purchase of food and 8% for administration, communication and fundraising (Partage, 2019).

6.2.4 Tables du Rhône

Enterprise	Transaction	Labour	Property	Finance
Capitalist	**Market**	**Wage**	**Private**	**Mainstream Market**
		2 employees → 1.1 full time equivalent (AR TdR, 2013).		
Alternative Capitalist	**Alternative Market**	**Alternative Paid**	**Alternative Private**	**Alternative Market**
			Redistribution to charities and people affected by poverty	Symbolic 1.- payment by the beneficiaries

Non-Capitalist	Non-Market	Unpaid	Open Access	Non-Market
Association	Food Donation	- Approximately 300 volunteers (AR TdR, 2018).		Monetary Donation

TABLE 14: DIVERSE ECONOMY OF TABLE DU RHÔNE (OWN ILLUSTRATION)

6.2.4.1 ENTERPRISE

Tables du Rhône is an association which functions every working day to collect surplus food of good quality from the retail sector and distributes it to people affected by poverty and to charitable institutions.

History: Tables du Rhône was founded in 2005 and started its activity in 2006 (Tables du Rhône, 2019). The claim of the organization is “PARTAGER plutôt que GASPILLER» which means «sharing instead of wasting». The organization started in the French speaking region of the canton of Valais and “Le Chablais Vaudoise” and expanded in the year 2013 to the German speaking part of Valais where it was named Rottu Tisch (AR TdR, 2013).
Logistics: The organization collects the food in the morning and distribute it in the afternoon to redistribution sites and social institutions. The organization has a small storage area in Monthey for products with longer durability, however most products never reach this backstock as they are redistributed the same day.

6.2.4.2 TRANSACTION

Non-Market: Tables du Rhône currently collects food from 72 suppliers, with Coop (23 branches) and Migros (22 branches) as their main partners. As the organization mainly gets surplus food from supermarkets, they have little products with long shelf lives in the stock. These industrial products mainly come from Tischlein Deck Dich or from wholesalers who do not manage to sell the products on time. However, in the canton of Valais there are no big food industries who can donate surplus food with long durability (IW 3, 17). Tables du Rhône also receives food from some farmers in the region, mainly carrots and potatoes (IW 3, 23).
Tables du Rhône collects food from supermarkets wherefore most products are seasonal and very close to the expiration date. In spring for example, Tables du Rhône receives a lot of asparagus, and in summer numerous amounts of strawberries (IW 3, 10). Lettuce and bread are products which they cannot completely distribute because they have an oversupply (IW

3, 10). Around 80% of the year they have too much lettuce and need to give the oversupply to farmers for animal feeding (IW 3, 10).

Products which are popular among food receivers are products with a long shelf life such as rice or pasta. Meat is also well-liked, even though the organization does not receive a lot of meat. Pork is harder to distribute for religious reasons (IW 3, 8).

6.2.4.3 LABOUR

Wage: The coordinator (70%) and the secretary (40%) are employed in the office of Tables du Rhône (AR TdR, 2013).

Unpaid: The «philosophy» of the organization is based on volunteer aid (AR TdR 2011, 15). Around 60 volunteers operate in the delivery vans (AR TdR, 2018). The work of the drivers accounts for 60% of the total volunteer work, around 30% of volunteer work happens in the distribution centres and 10% in the administration (AR, 2018). Most volunteers are retired people since the work takes place during office hours (IW, 3: 21). Besides the retirees, there are refugees and people with handicaps working as volunteers (IW, 3: 21). Volunteer work is also regarded as a form of social integration (IW, 3: 21).

6.2.4.4 PROPERTY

Alternative Private: In order to obtain food from Tables du Rhône beneficiaries need to have an access card which is issued by social services (IW, 3: 25). Only people who receive social assistance are able to get the card (IW, 3: 25). Every three months, this card has to be re-signed by the social service office (IW, 3: 25). On an access card, the number of beneficiaries is defined according to the size of the family (IW, 3: 25). Only about 20% of the people who are in social aid have an access card (AR TdR, 2010: 6). Experience from Tables du Rhône shows that for many receivers it is hard to come for the first time (AR TdR 2013, 16).

The institutions receive food from Tables du Rhône if they themselves rely on private donations and mainly work with volunteers. One exception is the cantonal refugee centre. Refugees who received a negative decision and cannot settle in Switzerland receive very little money from the state, wherefore Tables du Rhône provides them with food.

6.2.4.5 FINANCE

Alternative Market: The symbolic 1.- payment accounted for 5.2 % of total income in 2018 (AR TdR, 2018: 13).

Non-Market: Tables du Rhône receives monetary donation from companies, foundations, the lottery fund and from the Schweizer Tafel and Tischlein Deck Dich (AR TdR, 2018: 13). The Schweizer Tafel and Tischlein Deck Dich each support the association Tables du Rhône with 20'000 Swiss Francs (AR TdR, 2018: 13). The lottery fund has supported Rhône / Rottu Tisch with the purchase of their vehicles (AR TdR, 2006: 4; AR, TdR 2018: 14). A small amount comes from the 1 CHF contribution of the beneficiaries. The community of Monthey provides the storage facility with a cold room and an office for free (IW, 3: 5).

6.2.5 CA-RL

Enterprise	Transaction	Labour	Property	Finance
Capitalist	**Market**	**Wage**	**Private**	**Mainstream Market**
	Food purchase from regular market	1 person from Caritas Vaud in charge		
Alternative Capitalist	**Alternative Market**	**Alternative Paid**	**Alternative Private**	**Alternative Market**
		- Work integration - JAD - corporate volunteers	Redistribution to charities and people affected by poverty	Symbolic 1.- payment by the beneficiaries
Non-Capitalist	**Non-Market**	**Unpaid**	**Open Access**	**Non-Market**
Food bank managed by Caritas Vaud	Food Donation	- Volunteers		Monetary Donation from the city of Lausanne

TABLE 15: DIVERSE ECONOMY OF CA-RL (OWN ILLUSTRATION)

6.2.5.1 ENTERPRISE

Non-Capitalist: The food bank CA-RL ("**C**entrale **A**limentaire **R**égion **L**ausannoise") is active in the city of Lausanne and some communities around it. It is managed by Caritas Vaud and distributes surplus food to their 30 member institutions for free. The member institutions are placed in Lausanne and can order food according to the amount they need (IW, 7: 52). Basic products are provided by CA-RL and other products like fruits and vegetables are provided according to how much surplus food CA-RL was able to collect (IW, 7: 52).

History: CA-RL was initiated by the social institutions in Lausanne in 2000 and officially started to redistribute surplus food in 2001.

Logistics: Food is collected by the "atelier Transports & Logistique" from Caritas Vaud and stocked in their warehouse in Lausanne for further sorting and redistribution (AR CA, 2018: 5).

6.2.5.2 TRANSACTION

Market: CA-RL has an annual budget to buy food because they cannot offer everything the member organizations order from surplus food collection (IW, 7: 34). A basic food product which they rarely receive for free is milk, wherefore most of their budget is designated to the purchase of milk (IW, 7: 34). Additionally, they buy food products like salt, sugar, flour, oil, rice, pasta or tuna cans which they almost never receive for free and which they ask for at the collection day "Samedi du Partage" (IW, 7: 34).

Non-Market: The focus of CA-RL is the Industrial sector because they have a partnership with the Caritas Market, from which they receive surplus food sourced from the food industry (IW, 7: 19). They get most of their fruits and vegetables directly from the producers (IW, 7: 19). CA-RL used to receive surplus food from the retailers Aldi and Lidl, but now they have reduced this amount because the Schweizer Tafel is also collecting from these retailers (IW, 7: 25). Another main source of food is the collection day "Samedi du Partage" which they have organized for the first time in 2018 after the model from Partage in Geneva (IW, 7: 19).

Food offer and demand: Products which they receive in excess are bread and mostly unhealthy products from the food industry. Sometimes they have to say that they cannot take all the industrial products, for example ketchup, mayonnaise or other types of sauces which is not always well understood by the donators (IW: 8).

6.2.5.3 LABOUR

Alternative Paid: People from the work integration program (service de employ SDE) work at CA-RL (IW, 7: 16).

Additionaly, the CA-RL also offers work integration and apprenticeship programs (JAD) for **J**eunes **a**dultes en **d**ifficulté (young adults in difficulty) (IW, 7: 16).

Unpaid: Volunteers are mainly involved for the collection, sorting and distribution of products at "Samedi du Partage" (IW: 8).

6.2.5.4 PROPERTY

Alternative Private: In order for institutions to receive food from CA-RL, they need to be a member institution and must be located in Lausanne (IW, 7: 40). If a social institution wants

to become member and receive food, they have to apply for membership (IW 8). In the case where CA-RL has too many products which they cannot redistribute to their member institutions, they redistribute it to other social institutions in the canton of Lausanne and as a way to prevent themselves from being overrun with products which they cannot redistribute (IW, 7: 40).

6.2.5.5 Finance

CA-RL is completely subsidised by the city of Lausanne. People from the work integration program are paid by the Cantonal Employment Service.

6.2.6 Caritas Market

Enterprise	Transaction	Labour	Property	Finance
Capitalist	**Market**	**Wage**	**Private**	**Mainstream Market**
	Purchase from regular market	- 62 employees → 42.3 full-time equivalent (AR CM, 2018: 2).		Income from sale in the market
Alternative Capitalist	**Alternative Market**	**Alternative Paid**	**Alternative Private**	**Alternative Market**
Social Supermarket	Purchase for a lower price than on the regular market	- 30 people in the work integration programs - 16 apprentices - 10 civil servants	Access to the market restricted to people affected by poverty	
Non-Capitalist	**Non-Market**	**Unpaid**	**Open Access**	**Non-Market**
Cooperative	Food Donation	- Approximately 250 volunteers (AR CM, 2018: 8).		Monetary Donation

TABLE 16: DIVERSE ECONOMY OF THE CARITAS MARKET (OWN ILLUSTRATION)

6.2.6.1 Enterprise

Alternative Capitalist: The Caritas Market is a social supermarket which is organized as a cooperative, with 11 Caritas organizations in Switzerland as cooperative members (AR CM, 2018: 2). People with an access card can buy products for daily use at a low price in the Caritas Market. The main goal of the Caritas Markets is to fight poverty (IW 1: 4). This mission of the Caritas Market is based on three pillars: Besides the offerings of a wide range of essential products for people affected by poverty (1), the Caritas Market also offers part-time jobs and

re-entry options for people who have been unemployed long-term (2). They function as a social meeting place, which is also important (3): Customers can stay in the market for a free coffee or tea, have a chat with each other and with the market staff (AR CM, 2018: 3).

History: The first Caritas Market was established in 1992 by the Caritas Association Basel (IW 1: 6). The idea was that people affected by poverty should be better supported and the Caritas Market was a possibility to do so (IW, 1: 6). They started small and made products, which they got cheaply or for free available to people affected by poverty at a very low price (IW, 1: 6). Since the beginning, the philosophy was that every product should have a price (IW, 1: 6). The supermarket system was chosen to reduce stress and stigmatization of the poor, as it gives people a free choice of what they need (IW, 1: 6). Additionally, people affected by poverty learn to deal with the budget they have (IW, 1: 6). That is why the Caritas Market has never offered any product for free (IW, 1: 6).

The concept has been slightly revised since the beginning (AR CM: 2018: 8). Everywhere the Caritas Market opens a new market or where they rebuild one, they try to integrate a small café. While in the beginning, a main criterion for the choice of the market location was low costs, today it has become more important that the market is in a central location and that it looks attractive for the customers (IW, 1: 58).

Logistics: The central warehouse from the Caritas Market is placed in Sempach (CH) and has space for around 1500 pallets (IW, 1: 32). The ordering system works like a regular supermarket, where the markets receive what they order directly from the central food stock (IW, 1: 30). For transportation, the Caritas Market has a special agreement with a transport operator which brings the order from the central food stock to the markets (IW, 1: 30).

6.2.6.2 TRANSACTIONS

Market: The Caritas Market buys some of their products on the regular market.

Alternative Market: The Caritas Market buys most of their food at a reduced price (IW, 1: 16). An example of product sponsoring is the discount store Denner, which provides the Caritas Market with their products at strongly discounted prices (AR CM, 2018:6).

Non-Market: Approximately 15% of the total amount of goods are food donations, which corresponds to a turnover of 1.9 million Swiss Francs (IW, 1: 16). Mostly, these products have

a short shelfs life as the Caritas Market receives food products with a best-before date that is too soon for regular logistics (IW, 1: 16).

The Caritas Market only receives a small amount of surplus food from the agricultural sector, because oftentimes the quantity is not sufficient enough to make it logistically and financially worthwhile to pick it up (IW, 1: 26). If a farmer offers a large quantity of fruit or vegetables, the Caritas will gladly take it (IW 1: 26). At the time of the interview, the Caritas Market had received an offer to pick up 300kg of surplus pumpkin, which was an amount that was logistically and financially interesting (IW, 1: 26). Oftentimes the problem with goods from the agricultural sector is that the products are no longer suitable to sell in a market and that is also because other retailers did not take it (IW, 1: 28). Once the Caritas Market took pears from a local farmer, which had been rejected by the retailer (IW, 1: 28). After three days they were already rotten and they had to dispose of them themselves (IW, 1: 28).

The Caritas Market has also an important offering of second-class fruits and vegetables, which do not meet the commercial standards of the retailers (IW, 1: 66). For example, they offer second class broccoli which do not look perfect but which are qualitatively faultless (IW, 1: 66).

6.2.6.3 Access

Alternative Private: The Caritas Market is exclusively for people who receive (a) social welfare, (b) AHV/IV supplementary payments, (c) health insurance premium reductions, (d) scholarships or for people which do not receive any public support but whose income is demonstrably at the subsistence minimum (AR CM, 2018: 4). In order to make a purchase in the Caritas Market, beneficiaries need to have a personal Caritas Market card with a picture on it (IW, 1: 47). The cards are issued by the Caritas itself or by a social welfare office (IW, 1: 43). Approximately 120’000 Caritas cards are in circulation (IW, 1: 49). In the past, it was also possible to shop in the Caritas Market with the card from Tischlein Deck Dich (IW, 1: 47). However, this is no longer possible because the Tischlein Deck Dich card is not personalized (IW, 1: 47).

The amount of food which can be purchased by a beneficiary is limited for basic food items such as milk (IW, 1: 14). This way, the Caritas Market can try to prevent people from buying a lot of basic food and then reselling it (IW, 1: 14). Besides the basic food, there is no limit on how much a beneficiary can buy (IW 1: 14).

6.2.6.4 LABOUR

Paid: The employees work in the markets as store managers, or in the cooperative as part of logistics and administration (AR CM, 2018: 2). Of the 16 employees in the cooperative, 3 work in 3 logistics and 5.7 in administration positions (AR CM, 2018: 2).

Alternative paid:

Work integration:

- The goal of the work integration program is to offer a stable daily work structure for people who cannot find a job anymore and are dependent on social welfare (IW, 1: 53). Every single person that the Caritas Market can lead back to the first labour market is a success (IW, 3: 53)
- Apprentices: The Caritas Market offers EBA[11] apprenticeship positions for logistics and sales (IW, 3: 53). Here, the Caritas Markets aims to create even more apprenticeship opportunities for young people who have a difficult time finding an apprenticeship position (IW, 3: 53).

Civil Servants:

- Civil servants work in the markets or in the central warehouse (IW, 3: 53).

Unpaid: Volunteers work in the markets or for the cooperative in the food storage area. They as well as civil servants are important, because they "bring a breath of fresh air in" for the people from the work integration program (IW, 3: 53).

6.2.6.5 FINANCE

Market: The sale of products accounted for 85% of the income in 2018 (AR CM: 2018: 14).

Non-Market: The Caritas Market relies on money and product sponsoring. The profit from sales alone would not allow the markets to cover their costs (IW, 1: 55). The cooperative for example receives money from three different foundations specifically for fruits and vegetables, with which the Caritas Market is able to finance a third of all the expenses for fruits and vegetables (IW, 1: 60). Fruits and vegetables are the best-selling products and are equivalent for around 20% of total sales (IW, 1: 16).

[11] *Eidgenössisches Berufsattestat (Federal professional certificate). This is a two-year basic professional training (apprenticeship, vocational training) which leads to a nationally recognized qualification. It is mainly aimed at people with difficulties at school. It is possible to continue after the EBA to get a EFZ (Berufsberatung.ch, 2020)*

6.3 SCALE AND GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD OF SURPLUS FOOD REDISTRIBUTION ORGANIZATIONS

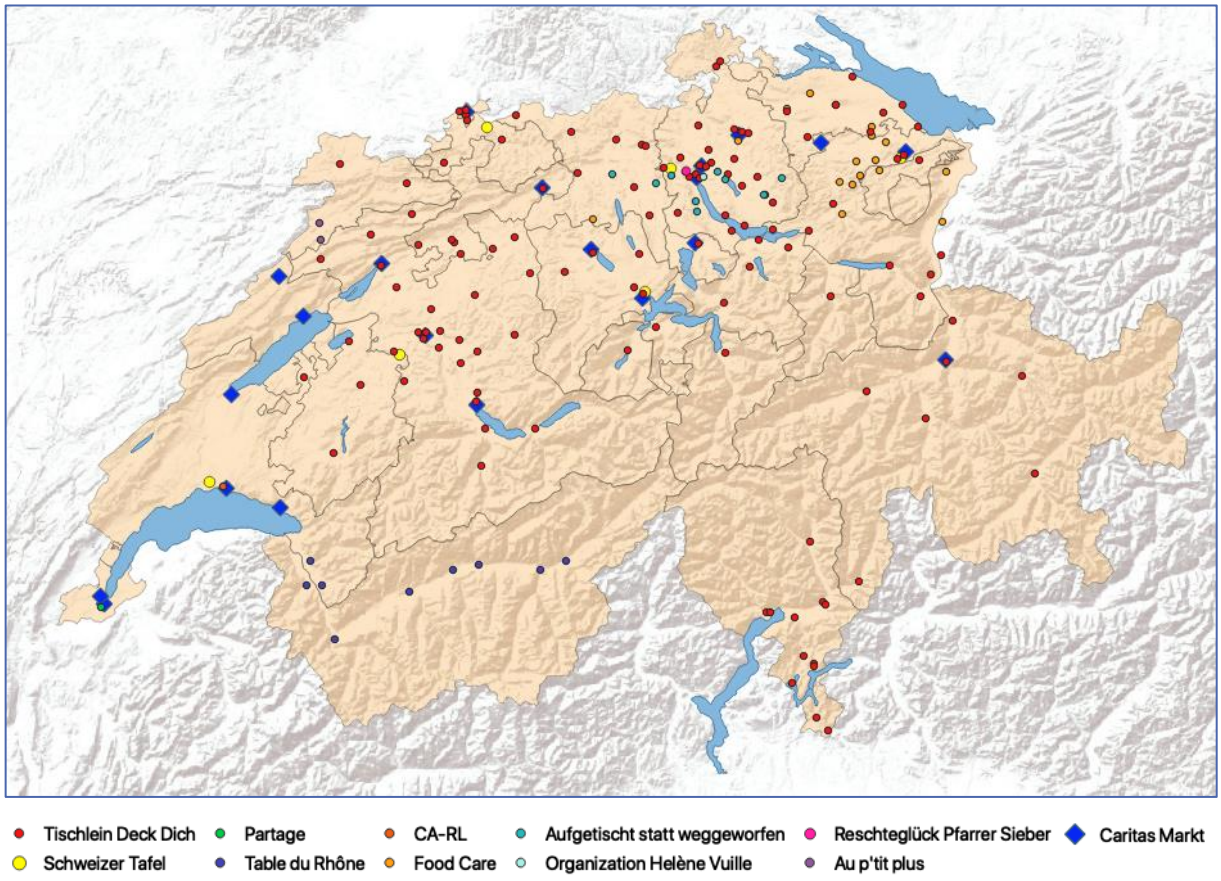
In the following subchapter, the geographical spread and the amount of surplus food redistributed by the different organizations will be demonstrated. It is important to understand the current situation of geographical spread and the scale in order to evaluate the possibilities and limitations of surplus food redistribution in Switzerland.

6.3.1 GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD OF SURPLUS FOOD REDISTRIBUTION ORGANIZATIONS

Map 1 illustrates the geographical spread of surplus food redistribution organizations in Switzerland in 2018. The regions of the Schweizer Tafel are represented with a yellow dot at the distribution centre, however it must be taken into consideration that they redistribute in the region around this dot. What can be seen in this map is that most redistribution sites and Caritas Markets are located in the main cities of Zürich, Basel, Bern Lausanne, Geneva, Lucerne and St. Gallen. The French speaking part generally has fewer direct distribution sites but more organizations which redistribute to social institutions, like Partage, CA-RL and the Schweizer Tafel. In the French speaking part, there are social institutions like Carton du Coeur or Colis du Coeur which distribute food directly to people affected by poverty (Cartons du Coeurs, 2020; Colis du Coeur, 2020) and therefore function similarly to the direct redistribution sites from Tischlein Deck Dich, Tables du Rhône, Aufgetischt statt weggworfen, Food Care or Au p'tit plus. There are only a small number of redistribution sites in the mountain regions as for example in the canton of Graubünden and Wallis. Tables du Rhône has their redistribution sites in the Rhone Valley but not in the mountain regions. An explanation by Tables du Rhône is that people affected by poverty generally do not continue to live in small villages, but instead move into the cities in the main valley because there are more social services and other offers and because people affected by poverty can live in more anonymity in cities in the main valleys than in small towns (IW, 3: 41). Peripheral regions are also a challenge for the Schweizer Tafel as the following interview extract shows:

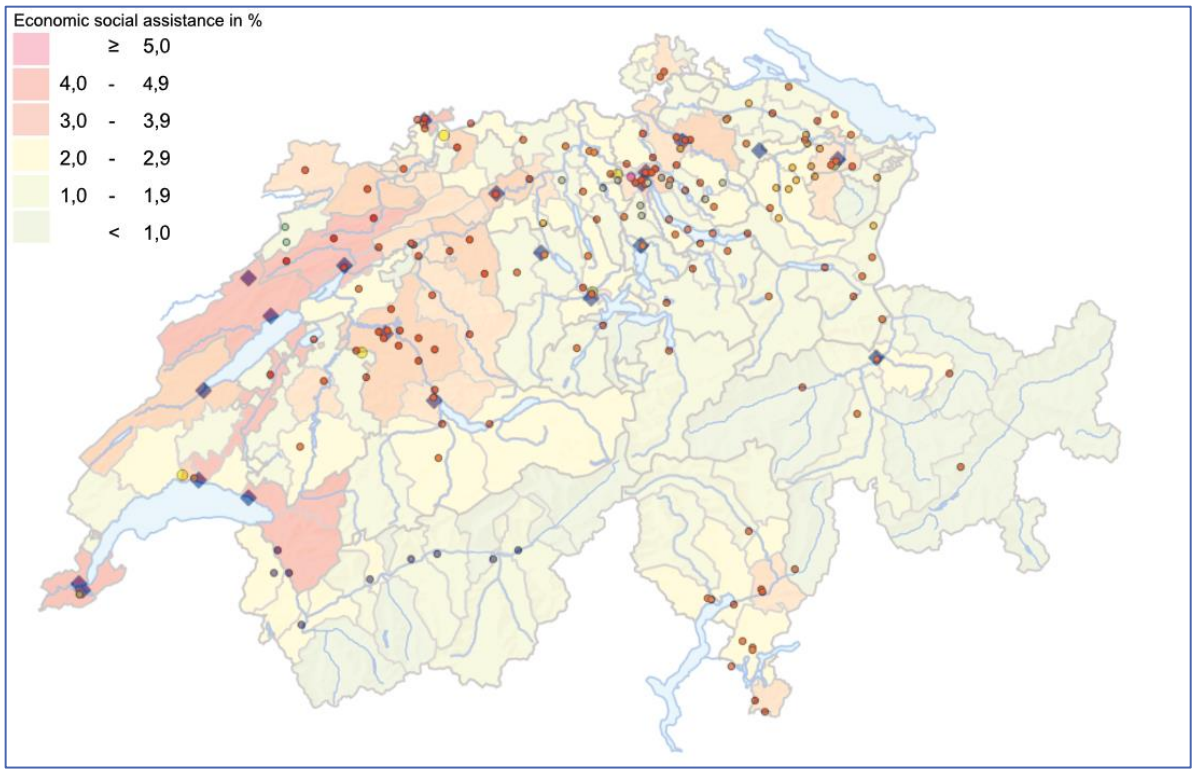
"In the Bernese Jura there is an institution which is just behind the hilltop Tramont, it's only worth it to drive there because there is a large refugee home, but it's about 20km away from Biel, plus the climb and everything. And then there was another request 20km even further

back in the Bernese Jura, and then I had to say no, this is not possible without enough food boxes to have a good reason to drive the car up there" (IW, 4: 48. own translation).



MAP 1: GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD OF SURPLUS FOOD REDISTRIBUTION ORGANIZATIONS IN SWITZERLAND IN 2018
(OWN ILLUSTRATION, DATA BASED ON ANNUAL REPORTS AND INFORMATION PROVIDED ON THE WEBPAGES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS)

Regarding access, it is also interesting to see where the redistribution sites and organizations are in relation to the percentage of people who receive economic social assistance (See chapter 2.3.4.1.1). Map 2 shows the locations of the redistribution sites and organizations overlaid onto the pre-existing map "economic social assistance" from the Federal Statistical Office (FSO, 2018). The canton with the highest percentage of economic social assistance is the canton of Neuenburg with 7.2% of the population in need of economic social assistance (FSO, 2018). The cities with the highest percentage of people in need of economic assistance are La Chaux-de Fond (11.4%) and Biel (11.0%) (FSO, 2018). In La Chaux-de Fond there is a Caritas Market and in Biel there is both a Caritas Market and a redistribution site from Tischlein Deck Dich. In the canton of Neuchâtel however, there are relatively few organizations present (see map 2).



MAP 2: SURPLUS FOOD REDISTRIBUTION AND ECONOMIC SOCIAL ASSISTANCE RATE IN SWITZERLAND
(OWN ILLUSTRATION. SWISS MAP ADAPTED FROM THE MAP ECONOMIC SOCIAL ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY THE FEDERAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (2018).

6.3.2 AMOUNT AND EVOLUTION OF SURPLUS FOOD REDISTRIBUTION IN SWITZERLAND

The following subchapter discusses the amount and evolution of surplus food donated in Switzerland. All numbers are taken from the annual reports from the organizations or the information provided on their webpages.

There are various data uncertainties in quantifying the amount of food donated by the different organizations, which is why the numbers cannot be compared one-to-one.

One uncertainty is that the organizations do not use the same measurement methods. Some organizations like Partage (IW, 6: 41), Carl (IW, 7: 52) or Tischlein Deck dich (IW, 2: 30) weigh the food they donate, while other organizations like the Schweizer Tafel[12] (AR ST, 2006: 9) or Tables du Rhône (IW, 3: 47) have a weight reference value for their distribution boxes. Food Care calculates the amount of food redistributed by referencing of how much a delivery van can transport and they estimate that they deliver 20 tons per week (IW, 6: 38). The amount of food which is donated to the Caritas Market is an estimation based on a conversion from Swiss Francs to kilograms (IW, 1: 34).

[12] The number from the Schweizer Tafel provided in the annual report is rounded up, wherefore I took the number from (Beretta and Hellweg, 2019: 37)

Another data uncertainty is double calculation which cannot be excluded as organizations also exchange surplus products. Additionally, also non-food items may be calculated because the distinction between food and non-food is not always clear in the numbers. From the organizations Partage and CA-RL, which also buy food for redistribution or collect them through “Samedi du Partage”, the amount of bought food and food from “Samedi du partage” was subtracted because the goal of this chapter is to show how much surplus food is redistributed.

Despite these data uncertainties, this chapter aims to give an overview of how much the organizations redistribute and how the amount of redistributed food has evolved in the last few years. For this purpose, the quality of the data is considered as being sufficient. What must be taken into account however is that with the calculation method of food care, the amount might effectively be much lower than indicated.

6.3.2.1 Amount of food redistributed per organization

Figure 1 illustrates the amount of surplus food which the different organizations in Switzerland redistributed in 2018. In total, 12’326 tons of surplus food was redistributed. The numbers from Tables du Rhône are already calculated in the statistics of Tischlein Deck Dich and the Schweizer Tafel (Beretta and Hellweg, 2019: 37). The before mentioned data uncertainties must also be considered. However, this graph shows that the Schweizer Tafel and Tischlein Deck Dich are the two big players in Switzerland when it comes to surplus food redistribution in Switzerland. Nevertheless, regional and local organizations also redistribute an important amount of surplus food.

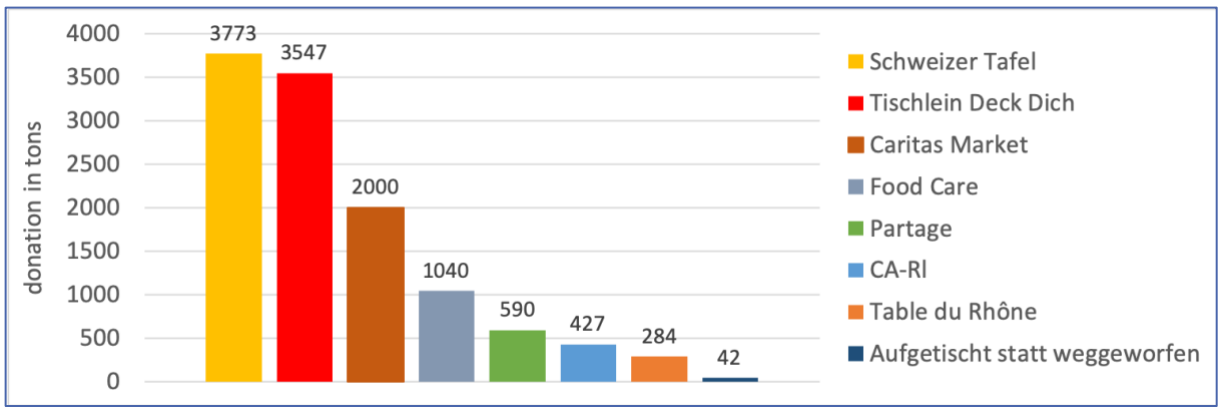


Figure 2: Amount of food redistributed per organization in 2018 (own illustration)

6.3.2.2 Evolution of surplus food donation in Switzerland

The amount of food donated and the number of people served with that food has been constantly growing since the foundation of these different organizations. Figure 3 shows the evolution of food donation in the past years. Not all organizations have numbers from their beginning or from the last few years. Caritas Market and Food Care are excluded in this graph as it would have distorted the evolution of the total amount too much because their numbers were only available for one year.

An important growth in the amount of donated food can be seen between the years 2004 and 2008. In the years 2009 and 2010, there was a general stagnation with a new growth in 2011. The Schweizer Tafel has had a stagnation in the last years, which is due to organizational reasons. The Schweizer Tafel is working on becoming more stable now before starting something new (IW, 4: 47). The decrease of 80 tons for Tischlein Deck Dich in 2010 was explained in the annual report by the fact that the assortment that year contained more fruit and vegetables, and fewer drinks and canned products than in the previous years (AR: 2010: 24). The general increase in food donation is mainly because of the growth of Schweizer Tafel and Tischlein Deck Dich and because more organizations are now active or record the amount of food they donate.

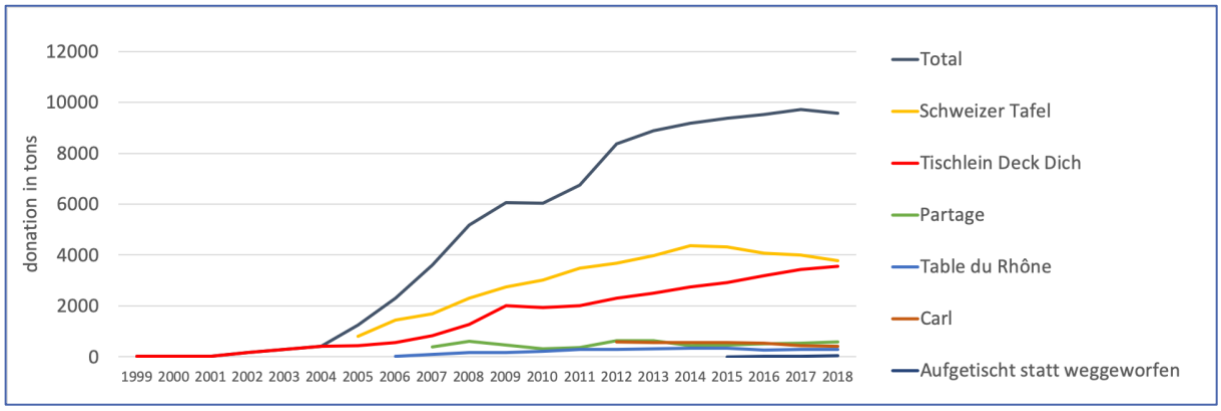


Figure 3: Evolution of food donation in Switzerland (own illustration)

The increase of surplus food may suggest that there has been either more surplus food or more people affected by poverty.

While considering the amount of surplus food in supermarkets however, the contrary is the case. Organizations which collect surplus food at supermarkets remark that there is a decrease in the amount of surplus food in supermarkets and that as a consequence they have to go to

more supermarkets in order to have the same amount of surplus food (IW, 3: 19; IW, 6: 24; IW, 4: 22; IW,1; 72; AR TDD, 2016: 15, AR TdR, 2017: 4).

The correlation between the increase of surplus food redistribution and the evolution of people in need of surplus food is more difficult to evaluate. Generally, the percentage of people who receive economic social assistance has been stable, however there are more people living in Switzerland, wherefore the number of recipients has increased (See chapter 2.3.4). The number of beneficiaries and institutions which receive surplus food from the organizations has increased as the numbers in the annual reports show. Partage explains the increase by a general precariousness growing throughout the canton of Geneva and the increased request for first aid kits in favour of newly arrived migrants (AR PA: 2016: 6). CA-RL does not observe an increase in the demand of their member institutions, but a general increase of social institutions in place (IW, 7: 38). Tables du Rhône wrote in the annual report that it is difficult to assess whether more people need support or whether the organizations has simply become better known (AR TdR, 2016: 18). Tables du Rhône estimates that they cover around 20% of the people who are receiving economic social assistance (AR TdR, 2010: 6).

6.4 Spaces of care and encounter

Direct transaction allows for encounters between people from different social backgrounds and can open up spaces of care (see chapter 2.4). Cloke et al. (2017) underline how food banks can open up possibilities for creating spaces of care and encounter (see chapter 2.4). The surplus food donation organizations have different types of transactions through which spaces of care and encounter are created. However, spaces of care are not only created through transaction, but also through labour. Work integration is an important part in all the organizations which have been discussed in more detail in the diverse economies of the organizations (see chapter 4.2)

Surplus food donation organizations are concerned about social cohesion and want to improve the situation with their activities. CA-RL is convinced that food is the heart of social inclusion and that it is a useful tool for solidarity and cohesion (AR CA-RL, 2014: 24). Partage also sees itself as a key player in the fight against precariousness and exclusion (AR PA, 2014: 4). They argue that their activities contribute to maintaining a strong social cohesion which is regarded to be “more necessary than ever” (AR PA, 2014: 4). There is no clear line between spaces of care and spaces of encounter, wherefore this chapter discusses both spaces of care

and spaces of encounter at redistribution sites, as well as in the Caritas Markets. Additionally, perspectives and emotions of surplus food receivers are presented on the basis of quotes from the annual reports.

6.4.1.1 Spaces of care and encounter at the redistribution sites

The direct redistribution of food itself can create spaces of care and encounter, as beneficiaries have the opportunity to see other people and are able to talk to someone (IW, 3: 35). For many beneficiaries it is one of the few opportunities in everyday life to meet other people and to improve their language skills (TDD, 2014: 11). Some volunteers know many beneficiaries personally and engage in conversations with them during the food redistribution (TDD, 2014: 11).

At some redistribution sites, other spaces of care have been created in addition to the direct redistribution of food. At the redistribution site Winterthur Grüze for example, volunteers organize a clothing and toy exchange one Friday per month (IW, 2: 44). At the redistribution site in Lugano, volunteers have set up a play corner for the children who accompany their parents (AR TDD, 2014: 10). Before Christmas, some redistribution sites offer a Christmas present (IW, 2:44). However, nothing is mandatory and how spaces of care are created depends on the volunteers at the redistribution sites (IW, 2: 44).

The creation of spaces of care and encounter may become more difficult to manage if more people come. When Tables du Rhône was smaller, they carefully took care of the reception of the beneficiaries and offered a coffee or croissant (IW, 3: 15). Today they do not offer this anymore because it became too difficult to deal with the large number of people (IW, 3: 15). Nevertheless, Tables du Rhône says that the organization has fully met its objective if people affected by poverty can find some dignity and human kindness while receiving products that allow the beneficiary to improve his or her daily life and health (AR TdR, 2012: 3).

An area where spaces of encounter are particularly created is volunteering in general and corporate volunteering. Tischlein Deck Dich offers companies the opportunity to engage in corporate volunteering. In this social engagement, the corporate volunteers experience first-hand what it means to be poor in a rich country like Switzerland (AR TDD, 2010: 4). A representative of a company was quoted in an annual report as follows: “The work at the drop-off point is very enriching. Our people come back home happy after food distribution” (AR TDD, 2010: 4). A volunteer said that he was confronted with another world and that the mission expanded his horizon (AR TDD, 2010: 4).

An interviewee also experienced the creation of spaces of encounter:

"It is clear that we are in contact with a population with which we otherwise have almost no contact, who live a little on the fringes of society" (IW, 3: 35. own translation).

Spaces of care and encounter in the Caritas Markets

For the Caritas Market, the social aspect is becoming more and more important (IW, 1: 64). This is also why the Caritas Market has started to build cafés in the market where people can meet (IW, 1: 56). These cafés have become real meeting points where discussions take place between volunteers and customers on the same level (IW, 1: 64).

Lambie-Mumford (2017: 103) argues that the provision of food may also form a "gateway" to other welfare support (see chapter 2.4.1). This is especially the case with the Caritas Market which aims to be a space where people can seek for support and assistance if they wish so:

We have the opportunity to address many people and we want to do rather low-threshold counselling, we do not approach people every day or give advice, but simply if someone comes regularly and you see that the person's health is getting worse and worse or that they are mentally worse, they are approached by the employees which can help them and give further advice where they can get help. And that's the low-threshold thing we want, we do not want to patronize them, but we do want to show them where we can help them. (IW, 1:56, own translation)

The perspective from beneficiaries

For people affected by poverty, it is often difficult to eat healthy food because fruits and vegetables are rather expensive (AR TdR, 2013: 3). Quotes from beneficiaries taken from annual reports from Tischlein Deck Dich show that they can use the money that they save through the donation of food for something else or that they receive food which they could not buy otherwise:

- *"At Tischlein deck dich I always discover products, which I do not know myself and couldn't buy because they are too expensive for me"* (AR TDD, 2012: 6, own translation).
- *"For us as a family, the products of Tischlein are an enormous relief for the budget. It always has good and fresh food"* (AR TDD, 2012: 6. own translation).

- "*The food I receive from Tischlein Deck Dich gives me and my monthly budget some air. It allows me and my children to have some spare money for basic needs like for example winter boots*" (AR TDD, 2012: 6. own translation).
- *"Tischlein Deck Dich covers almost half of the weekly food requirements of my family"* (AR TDD, 2012: 7. own translation).

Nevertheless, the reception of surplus food can also be associated with shame. Tischlein Deck Dich found that about 30% of all access cards are never used out of shame (AR TDD, 2016: 4). In an annual report of Tischlein Deck Dich, a social deacon said that many locals feel uncomfortable about having to go to the redistribution sites (AR TDD, 2016: 12).

6.5 Interrelationships between the surplus food redistribution organizations

The diverse economies approach does not only aim to document the different economical activities, but also asks the question of what the interrelationships between these practices are (Gibson-Graham, 2014: 151). The surplus food redistribution organizations do not just work in their own structures but cooperate with each other, share surplus food and knowledge. Nevertheless, also competition between the surplus food redistribution organizations is an issue:

But like organizations are, you take it for yourself first, because you want to do something good for yourself and you want to be able to represent yourself from the best side. That's the way it is, even between us… unfortunately (IW, 1: 66, own translation).

Closer collaboration between all the organizations has only started in the last year. In the year 2019, all main organizations came together for the first time to talk at one table (IW, 7: 56). The following subchapters document how the different organizations are currently working together or have worked with each other in the past.

6.5.1 Exchange of surplus food

The organizations exchange surplus food between each other if they cannot redistribute it themselves (AR PA, 2014: 6). From the beginning, the collaboration and exchange of surplus food between the organizations was considered as being important as the following extract of the annual report from Tischlein Deck Dich (AR TDD, 2003: 6, own translation) shows:

"There is an important exchange of food between Tischlein Deck dich, the Schweizer Tafeln and Caritas. Food that cannot all be distributed through our redistribution sites due to very short expiration dates or because it is intended for canteen kitchens due to the size are shared with our partners."

Food Bridge: Since autumn 2016, the surplus food database food bridge has existed, which was launched by the Schweizer Tafel (AR ST, 2018: 11). The aim of the database is to facilitate surplus food donation from the food industry (AR ST, 2015: 11). Food companies can upload information about their surplus products and the food redistribution organizations are directly notified. They can then "order" how much they want, and the transport is directly organized (IW, 4: 35). Food Bridge is designed for pallets and not for small quantities (IW, 4: 37). Surplus food donators from production and industrial sectors offered 195 tons in 2017, of which the redistribution organizations took 163 tons (AR ST, 2017: 11). A year later in 2018, the offer on Food Bridge increased by 20% (AR ST, 2018: 11).

Generally, the food redistribution organizations consider the database Food Bridge to be useful. For Partage and Tables du Rhône however, the transport route tends to be too far, wherefore it is not worthwhile for them to order (IW, 6: 9, IW, 3: 19). Another downside of Food Bridge is that most offered surplus food products are beverages, sauces or other unhealthy food industry products (IW, 1: 24). Up to now, Food Bridge can therefore only cover a small part of surplus products that beneficiaries require (IW, 7: 28).

6.5.2 Other forms of collaboration

The organizations do not only exchange surplus food, but have or have had other forms of collaboration as well, which are presented in the following chapter.

Caritas Market – Tischlein Deck Dich

The opening hours of the Caritas Market are longer on Tuesday, so that the beneficiaries which go to the redistribution site of Tischlein Deck Dich in Baar can afterwards go to the Caritas Market and buy the products that they did not receive from Tischlein Deck Dich (PO: 13).

Regarding access cards for beneficiaries, it was possible for a certain time to buy food in the Caritas Market with the access card from Tischlein Deck Dich (IW, 1: 47). Now this is not possible anymore and beneficiaries need to apply for the cards separately (IW, 1: 47).

Tischlein Deck Dich- Schweizer Tafel

The two main surplus food donation organizations have signed a letter of intent in 2014 with the aim to use the strengths of both organizations in a targeted manner (AR ST, 2014: 10). The letter outlines the cooperation, especially with regard to logistics and the exchange of goods (AR ST, 2013: 10). The closer collaboration was noticeable in an increase in the volume of surplus food exchanged (AR ST, 2015: 12).

CA-RL – Partage

The organization CA-RL has organized the food collection day "Samedi du Partage" after the model of Partage where they could profit from the experience of Partage (AR CA, 2017: 18).

6.5.2.1 JOINT PROJECTS

The organizations have had or still have joint projects. The following subchapter presents different projects which have been initiated or supported by other organizations.

Condividere

In 2006, the Schweizer Tafel and Tischlein Deck dich have jointly launched the project condividere with a platform in the canton Ticino. The Schweizer Tafeln distributed surplus food to social institutions and Tischlein Deck Dich started opening redistribution sites. Tischlein deck dich and the Schweizer Tafel were running the project together until the Schweizer Tafel withdrew from the joint project in 2010 because the cost/benefit ratio no longer justified their activity (AR ST, 2010: 9).

Food bank Geneva

In 2005, the Schweizer Tafel launched the Geneva Food bank as a pilot project with the already operating Banque Alimentaire Genevoise (Food Bank of Geneva) (AR ST, 2006: 10). In 2008, the operation was stopped and Partage continued to be active in this region (AR ST, 2008: 9).

Tables du Rhône

Tischlein Deck Dich and the Schweizer Tafel are partners of the association Tables du Rhône and each provide one board member (AR TDD, 2010: 10). In 2014, a new contract was signed to simplify the relations (AR TdR, 2014: 2).

Au P’tit Plus

The Schweizer Tafel is represented in the Jura region by the association “Le P’tit Plus” in. The association collects and distributes food in the region according to a contractual agreement and according to the guidelines of the Schweizer Tafel (AR ST, 2015: 14).

7. SYNTHESIS

The research question about the possibilities of surplus food redistribution for the alleviation of poverty and the reduction of food waste is very complex to answer and will be discussed in the following chapter with the help of pre-existing literature and the results from this research. The first subchapter 7.1 discusses the possibilities of surplus food redistribution from a waste prevention perspective and the second subchapter 7.2 from a poverty alleviation perspective.

7.1 POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS FOR THE REDUCTION OF FOOD WASTE

Figure 3 illustrates the evolution of surplus food donation in Switzerland and shows that the growth curve has flattened out in recent years. It is difficult to estimate how the amount of surplus food redistribution will evolve in the future. Nevertheless, I will present the current situation and discuss the further possibilities and limitations as well as how the organizations are adapting to these developments.

7.1.1 CURRENT SITUATION OF SURPLUS FOOD REDISTRIBUTION IN SWITZERLAND

Studies which analysed the possibilities of food redistribution from a waste prevention perspective found that a relatively small amount of food is redistributed compared to the total amount of food waste, and that an important amount of redistributed food goes into the waste stream (see chapter 2.2). Numbers which show the current situation in Switzerland have been discusses in chapter 2.2.1.1. I argue that the calculation method from the Federal Office of the Environment (FOEN, 2019) which calculates the amount redistributed with an estimated percentage is not accurate because it calculates the percentage based on the total amount of wasted food. Depending on the sector however, a certain percentage of wasted food is not avoidable and would therefore not be edible for redistribution anymore. The study from Beretta and Hellweg (2019) about surplus food redistribution in Switzerland came up with a total amount of 10’227 tons which was redistributed in Switzerland in 2018 (see chapter 2.2.1.1). In this master thesis, I came up with a total amount of 12’837 tons of redistributed food in 2018. The main difference from the number from Beretta and Hellweg (2019) is that the redistributed amount from the Caritas Market and from other food redistribution organizations are higher in my results than what Beretta and Hellweg (2019) estimated. For

Partage, I calculated with a different number because I subtracted the amount of food redistributed at Samedi du Partage and from purchased food.

Despite the small difference to the number from Beretta and Hellweg (2019), the ratio to the total amount of food waste remains very small. It is estimated that 2'600'000 tons of food is wasted annually in Switzerland of which at least 2/3 would be edible at the time of disposal (see chapter 2.2.1.1). Calculating with 2/3 of the total amount of wasted food, only 0.7% of edible surplus food is redistributed. Only focusing on the industrial and retail sector, where it is estimated that a total of 1'050'000 tons are lost out of which 807'500 tons would be avoidable (see chapter 2.2.1.1), 1.6% are redistributed. This shows that also in Switzerland the amount of surplus food redistributed has a small impact compared to the total avoidable losses. This remains also the case if the percentage is only calculated with the retail-, and industrial sector, where most of surplus food is donated.

7.1.2 Possibilities

As it has already been said, it is very difficult to give a clear answer to the question about the possibilities and limitations of surplus food redistribution from a waste prevention perspective. Nevertheless, I discuss arguments which speak for the redistribution of surplus food from a waste prevention perspective. These arguments are that the beneficial ecological impacts are relatively high (7.1.2.1), and the waste created during redistribution is relatively low (7.1.2.2). Additionally, further possibilities have been identified within the diversification of food sources and closer collaboration between the organizations.

7.1.2.1 Relatively high environmental impacts

Regarding the environmental impacts, food redistribution has relatively important impacts because most of the redistributed food comes from the retail or industrial sector, where the environmental impacts are higher than in the beginning of the food value chain (Beretta and Hellweg, 2019, see chapter 2.2.1.2). Nevertheless, redistribution with the delivery vans also has negative environmental impacts, which reduces the actual positive impacts. A further study about the effective environmental impacts would be helpful to better understand the environmental impacts of surplus food redistribution.

7.1.2.2 High efficiency and low food waste rate within the redistribution

Tischlein Deck Dich calculated the numbers for how much they had to throw away themselves. In 2018, they had to dispose of 5% of the surplus food collected (AR TDD, 2018: 18). The organizations which collect surplus food in the retail sector have a contract which defines the quality of surplus food, so that they do not have to dispose food themselves. One interviewee said it very clearly: *"I've always said we do not want to do the canton's waste disposal"* (IW, 3: 31). Comparing to the results of the study from Alexander and Smaje (2008: 1297) which found that 40% of food donated by the retailers returns to the waste stream, I argue that the numbers are much lower in Switzerland because of the contract with the retailers and the numbers Tischlein Deck Dich raise. However, no data exists about how much food still goes into the waste stream, once donated to the institutions and beneficiaries.

Diversification of food source

Most food is currently sourced from the retail and industrial sectors. In this regard, the results also correspond with the outcomes from the studies which were commissioned by the FOEN (see chapter 2.2.1.1). However, the study results from the agricultural sector, which say that 0% (FOEN, 2019) is donated, may be misleading. Some organizations do receive a small amount of surplus food from the agricultural sector. Nevertheless, there are still important possibilities for the diversification of surplus food sourcing within the agricultural sector. One interviewee thinks that surplus food donation from the agricultural sector will grow in the future because the quality of surplus food is high (IW, 4: 43). What will be important to increase the amount are good contacts and clear information about their activity (IW, 4: 43).

Collaboration and higher professionalism

The organizations are more and more professional and are able to manage and redistribute more surplus food (IW, 7: 56). Additionally, the organizations have started to collaborate more with each other (IW, 7: 56). Food Bridge is one example of collaboration (see chapter 6.5.1). I argue however that there are still possibilities to better use the synergies between the organizations for the exchange of knowledge and to also take political position on a national level. In political discussions about the reduction of social welfare assistance, the surplus food organizations can come together to take a position and function like advocates for people affected by poverty.

7.1.3 LIMITATIONS

Besides the existing possibilities, there are also limitations which make it difficult to increase the amount of food for redistribution. Identified limitations are that supermarkets have less surplus food and that a portion of surplus food cannot be redistributed due to logistical and financial challenges as well as hygienic regulations.

LOGISTICAL AND FINANCIAL CHALLENGES

Increasing the quantity of redistributed food also implies high logistical and financial challenges. The transport of surplus food is expensive and the organizations need to be in a stable place of finances. How exactly the organizations are financed is analysed in chapter 6.2. Here, I present some examples to illustrate what logistical challenges the organizations have to deal with.

In central Switzerland for example, an additional delivery van would currently be necessary to increase the redistribution (PO: 6). Another challenge in regards to the increase of the amount of surplus food for the Schweizer Tafel for example is that they do not only have to find new retail branches, but also institutions to take the food each day of the week (IW, 4: 71). Experiences show that it works better when the collection at a retail branch is more than just one day of the week, because when the collection does not happen on a regular basis, the branch may forget to prepare the food correctly for the Schweizer Tafel (IW, 4: 71). Additionally, the organizations do not redistribute food on the weekend, because the demand from the institutions is not sufficient and because it is harder to find volunteers working on the weekend (IW, 4: 81). The supermarkets on the other hand may have even more surplus food on Saturdays because they are closed on Sunday.

HYGIENIC LIMITATIONS

Not every type of surplus food can be redistributed due to hygienical reasons (see chapter 2.2.1.4). Daily products which the supermarkets sell until the closing hour must be redistributed the same day, which the organizations cannot manage (IW, 4: 67). Additionally, the organizations only source surplus food from professional donators in order to assure that the hygienic regulations have been met. If, for example, there are mainly surplus sausages from a large event, the organizations cannot redistribute them because they cannot be sure that, for example, the sausages have been kept at the appropriate temperature the whole time (IW 4, 79).

One possible strategy to overcome this limitation is to rethink the expiration dates. One interviewee argues that there is a range of products which the organizations cannot redistribute because of the "use by" date, but which would still be edible (IW, 4: 77). According to the interviewee, more qualitatively good surplus food could be redistributed if specialists would define product categories, which are still edible after the "use by" date (IW, 4: 77).

MORE AWARENESS FROM THE SIDE OF FOOD DONATORS

The organizations have noticed that the amount of surplus food from the retail sector has decreased in the last years, because the supermarkets are more aware of ecological topics and have better ways to manage their food stocks. From a waste prevention perspective, this is a desired development. However, the organizations have to respond to this development. As a consequence, the organizations have to drive to more supermarket branches (IW, 3: 39; IW, 4: 24) or need to buy more food in order to meet the demand of the institutions (AR PA: 2015: 3). One interviewee estimates that twice as much food could still be collected from supermarkets within the next 5-10 years, if more branches are approached (IW, 4: 69). Partage has set a focus on the further processing of fresh products and collects more food with "Samedi du Partage" (see chapter 6.2.3.2).

7.2 POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS FOR THE ALLEVIATION OF POVERTY

Literature with a focus on the food security perspective has analysed the quantity and quality of donated food (see chapter 2.3.1) and asked questions about access and cultural acceptance of surplus food donation (see chapter 2.3.2). In this synthesis, I aim to present how the current situation regarding these topics looks like. I analyse it from a poverty alleviation perspective, because in Switzerland it is rather a poverty alleviation-, than a food security question (see chapter 2.3.4). Regarding the possibilities and limitation from a poverty alleviation perspective, it is not possible to categorize arguments according to their possibilities or limitations, because this classification depends to a certain extent on the social welfare system we want to have in our society. If there are still possibilities to increase the amount of surplus food and to reach more beneficiaries, it does not necessarily mean that it is a possibility seen from a poverty alleviation perspective. This is why the possibilities and challenges from a poverty alleviations perspective are balanced in each subchapter.

In the literature review I have also shown that there is a large number of researchers who criticize that surplus food donation undermines the right to food and enables further cuts in

the social welfare system (See chapter 2.3.3). I cannot completely discuss whether this might also be the case in Switzerland based on the results from this study. Nonetheless, I aim to present some arguments in chapter 7.2.3 which may open up a further discussion about the current development of the social welfare system and surplus food redistribution organizations in Switzerland.

Through the conceptualization of surplus food redistribution as spaces of care and encounter, the question also arises how organizations may help to alleviate poverty besides the provision of food. This question will be discussed in more detail in the subchapter 7.2.4.

7.2.1 Quality and quantity of donated food

The organizations aim to offer good and healthy food to people affected by poverty. Tischlein Deck Dich for example was able to increase the amount of surplus fruits and vegetables in the last few years and now offers fruit and vegetables throughout the whole year (IW 2:8). However, the organization is aware that a lot of surplus food from the food industry does not enable the beneficiaries to eat a balanced diet with the donated goods alone:

"In our mission statement we say that we save food from destruction and distribute it to people affected by poverty in Switzerland. This sentence says nothing about healthy food. If we would add this to our mission statement, our mission would be much more difficult. (IW, 2: 14, own translation).

The Caritas Market has a special focus on providing healthy food for people affected by poverty and have made the offer more attractive in the recent years (IW 1: 10). Fruit and vegetables are the most popular products in the Caritas Market (IW 1: 39).

The numbers of the household budget evaluation (HABE) show that people with little income spend more money on food and non-alcoholic drinks than people with higher income. A household with income below 4'900 Swiss Francs spends on average 12.3% on food and non-alcoholic drinks (See chapter 2.3.4.1.3). This shows that people affected by poverty spend an important percentage of their available money on food and that the donation of surplus food can help the beneficiaries have more leeway in their monthly budget. Tischlein Deck Dich aims to redistribute 4 kilograms of surplus food for each person at every redistribution site (IW, 2: 42). A beneficiary from an annual report of Tischlein Deck Dich said in a quote that the donated

food covers almost half of the weekly food requirement for their family (see chapter 6.4.1.1). There is however no clear data about how much less the beneficiaries need to spend on food to cover the costs for a balanced diet.

The results show that for the surplus food donation organizations, there are still possibilities to increase the amount and quality of surplus food for the beneficiaries. However, increasing the amount would also imply that the beneficiaries become more dependent on surplus food donation. What will for sure be important for the organizations is that they do not only focus on the increase of surplus food, but also on the quality of surplus food.

7.2.2 Access to surplus food

Tables du Rhône has noticed that only about 20% of the people who are in social aid have an access card (AR TDD, 2010: 6). These results are similar to what Riches and Tarasuk (2014: 48) found that only "20-30 per cent of people experiencing food insecurity report seeking food assistance" (see chapter 2.3.2). Additionally, Tischlein Deck Dich has realised that only around ¾ of the issued cards are used by the beneficiaries (IW 2: 38) (see chapter 6.2.1.4). Reasons why not every person affected by poverty may make use of surplus food redistribution can be geographic, temporal and emotional obstacles. These obstacles are current limitations for the redistribution of surplus food but also show where possibilities to increase the number of beneficiaries lie.

Geographical obstacles

Map 1 illustrates that most redistribution sites and Caritas Markets are placed in the Swiss Plateau and in the larger valley areas. This means that people affected by poverty living in peripheral regions have less access to surplus food. For the Schweizer Tafel it is also not ecologically and economically reasonable to drive to peripheral regions (IW, 4: 48). Map 2 shows that the number of surplus food redistribution sites does not necessarily correlate with the social welfare quota in the districts. The district with the highest percentage of social welfare recipients for example has the least number of redistribution sites (see chapter 6.3.1).

Temporal obstacles

Food distribution at direct redistribution sites are during the week and mostly during working hours, because in these times volunteers are more available (see chapter 6.2.1.4). This means

that for the working poor it is harder to have access to surplus food donation because they need to work during the time of surplus food donation.

EMOTIONAL OBSTACLES

Results from studies conducted in different countries found that shame to procure food at a food bank is an issue for many beneficiaries (see chapter 2.3.2). Even though the emotions of food bank beneficiaries have not been a focus of this research, it can be said that this is also an obstacle for beneficiaries in Switzerland. Experience from Tables du Rhône shows that it is hard for many receivers to come to a surplus food redistribution site for the first time (AR TdR, 2013: 16). During the participatory observation it was observed that there were people who seemed to be very thankful and who were talking to other people in the waiting room, but that there were also people who did not seem to feel very comfortable being there. For a better understanding about the emotions of food bank beneficiaries it would be necessary to conduct interviews with surplus food receivers from different redistribution sites. Nevertheless, the argument from different studies, that people feel ashamed having to eat what the society does not want anymore, has to be taken into account when analysing the possibilities of surplus food redistribution for the alleviation of poverty.

7.2.3 SURPLUS FOOD REDISTRIBUTION AND CUTS IN THE SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEM

One main critique from researchers criticizing food banking and the current food system is that food banking is an indicator of poverty (see chapter 2.3.3). In Switzerland, basic needs have been reduced in the last 20 years, in which the country has seen a rise of food redistribution activities. This tendency supports the argument that deepening inequality and poverty leads to more people in need of food banks. However, I argue that this correlation does not equal causality and that food banks cannot just be seen as an indicator of poverty. Regarding the history of the different organizations, the main reason for the foundation has been an outrage at the vast quantities of wasted food and that the founders wanted to use surplus food to support people in need instead of seeing it going to waste. Therefore, the argument could also be turned around saying that the increase of food redistribution activities is a consequence of the awareness about the large amount of wasted food.

Another argument is that food banks enable the government to shift responsibility towards charities to ensure the human right to food (see chapter 2.3.3). In the context of the recent welfare support reductions the question of whether charities in general are taking over tasks

that are actually within the scope of the of public welfare system also arise in Switzerland (Bettina Fredrich and Benjamin Diggelmann, 2016). In order to better understand this phenomenon, the organizations Caritas, the Heilsarmee and the Swiss Red Cross have commissioned a study to investigate these developments (Bettina Fredrich and Benjamin Diggelmann, 2016). The results of this study show that the relationship between public social assistance and charities has changed in the last 10 years (Knöpfel et al., 2016). Public social services have to focus more and more on the disbursement of financial support services, because time for a long-term support and care is increasingly lacking (Knöpfel et al., 2016). In the same phase, the charities have expanded their range of offers in the social counselling service (Knöpfel et al., 2016). Experts which were interviewed in this study forecasted that this development will continue into the near future (Knöpfel et al., 2016). The social services will have to concentrate on the examination of material assistance, as the resources for integration measures, long-term assistance and situation-related services are lacking (Knöpfel et al., 2016). This opens up a space for action which charities can fill, if they want to (Knöpfel et al., 2016). However, charities have to rethink their role in the social security system (Knöpfel et al., 2016). The danger is that charities will get into a situation in which they assume quasi-state tasks for which they are neither legitimized nor financed (Knöpfel et al., 2016). The alternative according to this study is a new strengthening of public social assistance (Knöpfel et al., 2016).

7.2.4 Spaces of care and encounter

The surplus food redistribution organizations can also be conceptualized as spaces of care and encounter has been shown in chapter 2.4. Nevertheless, as can be read in chapter 6.4, the Caritas Markets do more than the other organizations to create spaces of care and encounter, for example, by providing a café inside their markets. Redistribution sites from Tischlein Deck Dich and Tables du Rhône do little to create spaces of care and encounter at the redistribution sites. Social institutions which receive surplus food from the organizations and provide meals to people affected by poverty may create spaces of encounter as Marovelli (2019) described (see chapter 2.4.2). As a consequence, there lie further possibilities for the creation for care and encounter, especially at the redistribution sites.

8. CONCLUSION

In this master thesis, the organizational landscape and the different approaches and practices of the main surplus food redistribution organizations in Switzerland were outlined on the basis of the diverse economies of the different main organizations. Using the diverse economies approach, the diverse surplus food economy has been analysed in order to have a better overview of the already existing diversity of surplus food reallocation activities. Additionally, the possibilities and limitations of surplus food redistribution for the reduction of food waste as well as for the alleviation of poverty was explored. In order to better grasp the possibilities and limitations, the scale and geographical spread was analysed together with the question of how the organizations provide spaces of care and encounter.

The results from a waste prevention perspective have shown that the amount of redistributed surplus food is low compared to the total amount of wasted food. However, there are further possibilities to rise the amount of surplus food redistribution through an increase and diversification of surplus food sourcing. Furthermore, the possibilities are relatively high regarding the environmental impacts, the efficiency of redistribution and the organizational structure of the organizations. Limitations lie in logistical and financial challenges as well as within hygienic regulations.

The possibilities and limitations from a poverty alleviation perspective are more difficult to evaluate and depend, to a certain extent, on a political understanding of how the social welfare state should be. There are still possibilities to increase the number of beneficiaries as there is still a high percentage of people affected by poverty who do not have access to surplus food. Identified reasons for that are geographical, temporal or emotional obstacles. Nevertheless, an important question to ask is weather the goal should be to further increase the amount of surplus food redistribution, because it might go to a direction many researchers have warned of. It may become problematic if the state continues to reduce expenditure on social assistance and if surplus food redistribution organizations begin to fill a gap which should actually be provided by the state. From a poverty alleviation perspective, surplus food redistribution can therefore not be regarded as a long-term solution. The organizations however do not only provide food for people affected by poverty but may also provide spaces of care and encounter. There are still further possibilities to extend the provision of spaces of

care and encounter. As a consequence, the surplus food redistribution organizations therefore have to ask questions about whom they aim to help and how.

The organizational landscape of surplus food redistribution and reallocation is very complex. This research aimed at presenting an overview about surplus food redistribution in Switzerland both from a waste prevention as well as from a poverty alleviation perspective. The illumination of the research question from both perspectives is a strength of this work. However, there are some limitations of this research which must be considered. Through the classification with the diverse economies approach, there were some overlaps which could hardly be avoided. Another weak point is that because the focus lied on providing an overview, the research does not offer an in-depth analysis of other important areas which would be interesting to analyse in more detail.

One area which would be interesting to further research is the perspective of beneficiaries and to better understand how the organizations create spaces of care and encounter. A more local and ethnographic research design would help to better understand the needs of the beneficiaries. Additionally, it would be interesting to interview people who work in the social institution which provide the access cards and to understand how they perceive the rise of surplus food redistribution organizations.

Another important area of research which also opens up is how the different surplus food reallocation organizations contribute to the reduction of food waste and the alleviation of poverty as well as how they provide spaces of care and encounter. From a waste prevention perspective, it would also be interesting to research how more surplus food from the agricultural sector could be redistributed to people affected by poverty.

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10. APPENDIX

10.1 INTERVIEW GUIDELINE SURPLUS FOOD DONATION ORGANIZATIONS

Einstieg	Fragen	Vertiefungsfragen / Notizen
	Was sind Ihre Aufgaben in der Organisation x?	
Überschüssige Lebensmittel		
Herkunft Lebensmittel & Logistik	Wie kommt ihre Organisation zu den überschüssigen Lebensmittel?	Wie funktioniert die Logistik? Von welchem Sektor erhalten Sie primär Nahrungsmittel? Kommen Betriebe auf Sie zu, wenn Sie Überschüsse haben? Wie benutzen Sie die Plattform Foodbridge? Haben Sie nebst den eigenen Fahrzeugen auch noch weitere Transportmöglichkeiten?
	Wie viele der gespendeten Lebensmittel kommen prozentual aus der Industrie, von Supermärkten und von der Landwirtschaft?	
	Was sind die Hauptgründe, weshalb die überschüssigen Produkte an TDD abgegeben werden?	
Lebensmittel nach Kategorie	Von welchen Produktekategorien gibt es zu viele und von welchen zu wenige? Welches sind die beliebtesten Lebensmittel?	
Überschüssige Produkte	Was passiert mit Produkten, welche nicht mehr abgegeben werden können? Werden Produkte nach Ablauf des MHD teils noch abgegeben?	
Lebensmittelbezüger*innen		

Angebot / Nachfrage	Wie sieht das Angebot im Vergleich zur Nachfrage aus? Wie hat sich die Nachfrage seit der Gründung entwickelt? Von welchem Umkreis kommen die Leute zu den Abgabestellen?	
Bezugskarten	Wie funktioniert die Vergabe von Bezugskarten? Wie viele Personen besitzen eine Bezugskarte von ihrer Organisation? Kann die Nachfrage an Bezugskarten gedeckt werden?	
Funktionsweise Abgabe	Wie funktioniert die Abgabe der Lebensmittel?	Gibt es eine Limite, wie viel von einer Person bezogen werden kann?
Auswahl Standorte	Wie wurden bzw. werden die Standorte ausgesucht?	Welche Faktoren sind/waren bei der Standortauswahl wichtig?
Zusammenarbeit	Wie funktioniert die Zusammenarbeit zwischen ihrer Organisation und anderen Lebensmittelspendenorganisationen? Wie funktioniert die Zusammenarbeit mit der Landwirtschaft, Industrie, Supermärkten?	
Konkurrenz	Spüren Sie "Konkurrenz" zwischen den verschiedenen Organisationen, welche überschüssige Lebensmittel weiterverteilen wie beispielsweise die Ässbar oder Too Good To Go?	
Aktivitäten neben dem Angebot von Lebensmittel		
Arbeitsintegration	Wie funktioniert die Arbeitsintegration	Wer wird wie integriert?
Weitere Angebote	Was gibt es nebst der Abgabe von Lebensmittel noch für Angebote für die Bezüger*innen von Lebensmitteln?	
Zahlenerfassung		
	Wie werden die Zahlen erfasst, wie viel Kg Nahrungsmittel pro Jahr verkauft werden?	

Zukunft	Lebensmittelspenden sind in den letzten Jahren stark angestiegen. Wie schätzen Sie die aktuelle Entwicklung von Lebensmittelspenden ein? Wie denken sie, werden sich Lebensmittelspendeorganisationen in der Schweiz entwickeln?	
Rückblick	Was hat sich seit der Gründung von ihrer Organisation primär verändert? Was war in der Vergangenheit herausfordernd?	Zunahme, Stabilität, Rückgang?
Ausblick	Wie denken sie, wird sich ihre Organisation in Zukunft entwickeln? Was ist für die Zukunft wichtig?	Welche sind die Herausforderungen, die es in Zukunft zu meistern geben wird?
Sonstiges		
	Gibt es noch weitere Punkte, die Sie gerne anfügen möchten?	

10.2 Interview Guideline Caritas Market

Einstieg	Frage	Vertiefungsfragen / Notizen
	• Was sind Ihre Aufgaben in der Organisation x? • Was sind die Hauptziele vom Caritas Markt?	
Caritas Markt		
Gründung & Entwicklung	• Welche Entwicklungen waren entscheidend, dass die Caritas entschieden hat, im Jahr 1992 den ersten Caritas Markt zu eröffnen? • War zu Beginn klar, dass es ein Markt sein soll und keine Lebensmittelbank? • Was hat sich seit der Gründung des 1.Caritas Markt verändert?	Wenn ja, weshalb hat man sich für die Form eines Supermarktes entschieden?
Auswahl Standorte	• Wie wurden bzw. werden die Standorte ausgesucht?	Welche Faktoren waren bei der Standortauswahl wichtig?
Funktionsweise	• Gibt es eine Limite, wie viel von einer Person gekauft werden kann?	
Produkte		

Herkunft Lebensmittel	• Wie kommt ihre Organisation zu den überschüssigen Lebensmittel?	• Ca. 40% der Produkte werden gespendet. Sind dies überschüssige Produkte oder werden Produkte auch für den guten Zweck gespendet? • Wie viel Prozent der Produkte werden zu vergünstigen Konditionen eingekauft? • Wie viel Prozent der Produkte werden zu normalen Preisen eingekauft?
	• Wie viele der gespendeten Lebensmittel kommen prozentual aus der Industrie, von Supermärkten und von der Landwirtschaft?	
	• Was sind die Hauptgründe, weshalb die überschüssigen Produkte an TDD abgegeben werden?	
Logistik	• Wie funktioniert die Logistik? • Von welchem Sektor erhalten Sie primär Nahrungsmittel? • Kommen Betriebe auf Sie zu, wenn Sie Überschüsse haben? • Wie benutzen Sie die Plattform Foodbridge? • Haben Sie nebst den eigenen Fahrzeugen auch noch weitere Transportmöglichkeiten? • Was sind die Hauptgründe, weshalb die überschüssigen Produkte zum Caritas Markt kommen?	
Lebensmittel nach Kategorie	• Von welchen Produktekategorien gibt es zu viele und von welchen zu wenige? • Welches sind die beliebtesten Lebensmittel?	
Preise	• Wie werden die Preise der Produkte definiert? • Wie viel Prozent sind die Produkte im Schnitt günstiger als in Supermärkten oder Discounter?	

Überschüssige Produkte	• Was passiert mit Produkten, welche nicht mehr abgegeben werden können? • Werden Produkte nach Ablauf des MHD teils noch abgegeben?	
Lebensmittelbezüger*innen		
Angebot / Nachfrage	• Wie sieht das Angebot im Vergleich zur Nachfrage aus? • Wie hat sich die Nachfrage seit der Gründung entwickelt? • Von welchem Umkreis kommen die Leute zu den Caritas Märkten	
Bezugskarten	• Wie funktioniert die Vergabe von Bezugskarten? • Wie viele Personen besitzen eine Bezugskarte von ihrer Organisation? • Kann die Nachfrage an Bezugskarten gedeckt werden?	
Aktivitäten neben dem Angebot von Lebensmittel		
Arbeitsintegration	• Wie funktioniert die Arbeitsintegration und die soziale Integration	Wer wird wie integriert?
Weitere Angebote	• Was gibt es nebst dem Verkauf von Lebensmittel noch für Angebote für die Bezüger*innen von Lebensmitteln?	• Gibt es bereits in allen Märkten einen Ort für Begegnungen wie bsp. Ein Café? • Seit wann gibt es diese Cafés? • Gibt es diese in allen Caritas Märkten? Wenn nein, sind diese in allen geplant? • Sind weitere Projekte, Aktivitäten in diesen Kaffees geplant?
Zahlenerfassung		
	• Wie werden die Zahlen erfasst, wie viel Kg Nahrungsmittel pro Jahr verkauft werden?	
Zukunft	• Lebensmittelspenden sind in den letzten Jahren stark angestiegen. Wie schätzen Sie die aktuelle Entwicklung von Lebensmittelspenden ein?	

	• Wie denken sie, werden sich Lebensmittelspendeorganisationen in der Schweiz entwickeln?	
Rückblick	• Was hat sich seit der Gründung von ihrer Organisation primär verändert? • Was war in der Vergangenheit herausfordernd?	Zunahme, Stabilität, Rückgang?
Ausblick	• Wie denken sie, wird sich ihre Organisation in Zukunft entwickeln? • Was ist für die Zukunft wichtig?	Welche sind die Herausforderungen, die es in Zukunft zu meistern geben wird?
Sonstiges		
	• Gibt es noch weitere Punkte, die Sie gerne anfügen möchten?	

10.3 Personal Declaration

I hereby declare that the submitted thesis is the result of my own, independent work. All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

Lucerne, 29.04.2020

Lara Zedi