

**TWO DECADES OF DISCUSSION ON
CHARITABLE FOOD AID IN FINLAND**
Analysing the framing by and through the media

Ville Tikka
Master's thesis, Sociology
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Jyväskylä
Autumn 2016

ABSTRACT

Tikka, Ville. TWO DECADES OF DISCUSSION ON CHARITABLE FOOD AID IN FINLAND – Analysing the framing by and through the media.

Master's thesis, Sociology, autumn 2016.

Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Jyväskylä.

Supervisor: Markku Lonkila.

58 pages.

For two decades, charitable food aid has operated at the fringes of official social policy in Finland. In recent years, these practices, that were until recently regarded as a national shame, have become widely accepted means of not only feeding the food insecure, but also of managing food waste. At the same time, the tasks of the state, the civil society and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland are being redefined. For example, the *Berliner Tafel* –food bank network scheme, which incorporates actors from the public sector, the private sector and the church and civil society, has been implemented in Vantaa. This reform has been well received and it has piqued interest in other cities as well.

But how have the interpretations of charitable food aid evolved from the highly criticized beginnings in the 1990's to the situation of the present? And how has the discussion on charitable food aid changed during this time period? By utilizing the concepts of framing and frameworks, this thesis endeavours to answer three key questions: how has charity food aid been framed during the 20-years of discussion; who is using these frames, how do they use the frames and at what times; and finally what are the characteristics of the essential frames? The rooting of charitable food aid is studied in the context of a Nordic welfare regime by analysing the frames utilized in Helsingin Sanomat newspaper between 1995 and 2016 (N=529). Utilizing frame package analysis, the thesis attempts to explore the tentative linkages between the evolution of frames utilized within the discussion and the more abstract notions of changes in welfare responsibilities and the Finnish welfare state as a whole.

By analysing the various frameworks through which charitable food aid has been interpreted throughout the timespan, the results suggest that i) charitable food aid, most notably the breadlines, are predominantly used as a rhetoric device in the discussion; ii) when the practices are framed as potential receivers and redistributors of food waste, the normative perception of charitable food aid is mainly positive and the underlying causes for Finnish food insecurity are not addressed; iii) the vague concept of "hunger" has led to speculation on whether or not the recipients are actually in need of aid, and moreover to the discussion focusing more on economic poverty rather than dimensions of food insecurity; iv) the responsibilities within the context of the Finnish welfare regime, especially through the transition of welfare responsibilities from the state to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the civil society, have been addressed in the discussion throughout the timespan; and v) the organizers of charitable food aid are somewhat underrepresented in the media.

Keywords: charitable food aid, food security, frame package analysis, welfare responsibility, food waste, welfare regimes, civil society

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tikka, Ville. TWO DECADES OF DISCUSSION ON CHARITABLE FOOD AID IN FINLAND – Analysing the framing by and through the media.

Pro Gradu -tutkielma, Sosiologia, syksy 2016.

Yhteiskuntatieteellinen tiedekunta, Jyväskylän yliopisto.

Ohjaaja: Markku Lonkila.

58 sivua.

Jo kaksi vuosikymmentä virallisen sosiaalipolitiikan rajapinnoilla toiminut ruoka-apu on murrosvaiheessa: Tulisiko toiminta hiljaisen hyväksynnän sijaan tunnustaa, jolloin avun kohdentamista ja järjestämistä voidaan avoimesti kehittää yhdessä kirkon, kunnallisen sosiaalitoimen ja yksityisen sektorin kesken? Onko toiminnan fokus siirtymässä väliaikaiseksi tarkoitettuun akuutin nälän torjunnasta kohti sosiaalipoliittisen ruoka-köyhyyden ja ekologisen ruokahävikin ongelmat yhdistävää ratkaisumallia? Julkisen, yksityisen ja kolmannen sektorin yhteistyönä toteutettavan saksalaisen ruoka-apumallin (Berliner Tafel -ruokapankkiverkosto) rantautuminen Suomeen (Yhteinen Pöytä Vantaalla) sekä mallin herättämä valtakunnallinen kiinnostus osoittavat, että aiemmin pääsääntöisesti kirkon ja kolmannen sektorin toteuttama ruoka-apu on laajentumassa eri toimijoita yhdistäväksi, järjestelmälliseksi kokonaisuudeksi.

Kuinka ruoka-avulle annetut käsitykset ja merkityksenannot ovat kehittyneet kahdessa vuosikymmenessä alun kriittisestä lähestymisestä nykyiseen hyväksyvään näkökulmaan? Entä miten aiheesta käyty keskustelu on muuttunut tänä aikana? Tämä tutkielma pyrkii kehystämisen ja kehysten käsitteiden avulla vastaamaan seuraaviin kysymyksiin: miten ruoka-aputoiminta on kehystetty viimeisen 20 vuoden aikana; kenen toimesta, millä tavalla ja minä ajankohtina kehyksiä on käytetty; sekä mitkä ovat keskeisimpien kehysten tunnuspiirteet? Tutkielma tulkitsee ruoka-avun vakiintumista Pohjoismaisen hyvinvointivaltion kontekstissa, käyttäen aineistona Helsingin Sanomista koottua media-aineistoa (N=529). Kehysanalyysin (frame package analysis) avulla pyritään tarkastelemaan ruoka-aputoiminnan ympärillä käydyn keskustelun kehitystä suhteessa hyvinvointivastuun siirtymiin sekä yhteiskunnassa tapahtuneisiin muutoksiin.

Tutkielman tulokset osoittavat, että i) ruoka-apua ja etenkin leipäjonoja käytetään aineistossa ensisijaisesti retorisenä keinona, visuaalisena merkinä ja osoituksena tuloköyhyydestä Suomessa; ii) kun toimintaa käsitellään ruoka-avun ja hävikin yhdistävän kehyksen kautta, toiminta nähdään lähes poikkeuksetta positiivisena, eikä nälän tai ruokaturvattomuuden juurisyitä käsitellä; iii) epämääräisen ”nälkä” -käsitteen käyttäminen ruoka-avun kontekstissa on aineiston perusteella johtanut tilanteeseen, jossa avuntarvitsijoiden subjektiivisia kokemuksia nälästä pyritään arvioimaan jotta apua voitaisiin kohdistaa, ja samalla keskustelu päättyy keskittymään lähinnä nälän taustalla vaikuttavaan tuloköyhyyteen; iv) hyvinvointivastuun siirtymät, etenkin siirrettäessä vastuuta valtiolta kirkolle, ovat liittyneet ruoka-avusta käytyyn keskusteluun läpi aineiston aikavälin; ja v) ruoka-apua jakavat toimijat ovat aineiston perusteella jokseenkin aliedustettuina mediassa.

Avainsanat: ruoka-apu, ruokaturva, kehysanalyysi, hyvinvointivastuu, ruokahävikki, hyvinvointivaltio, kansalaisyhteiskunta

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has received funding from the foundation *Kansan Sivistysrahasto* (<http://www.sivistysrahasto.fi>), of which the author is deeply grateful.

The writer would also like to acknowledge the support and insights received while working with the TRANSMANGO consortium (EU 7th Framework Programme, grant agreement no: 613532). For more information, visit: <http://www.transmango.eu/>.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

TIIVISTELMÄ

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1 INTRODUCTION & RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	1
2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	4
2.1 Frames, media and social problems	4
2.1.1 “What is it that’s going on here” – frames in sociology	4
2.1.2 Framing in the media	5
2.1.3 Media and social problems.....	6
2.2 On the level of analysis: charitable food aid practices as an endpoint.....	6
2.3 Key concepts	9
2.4 Reflection on validity	11
3 FOOD AID IN A WELFARE STATE.....	12
3.1 Studies on food aid in Finland.....	12
3.1.1 The organization of charitable food aid practices and the origin of food	13
3.1.2 The recipients of charitable food aid.....	16
3.1.3 The critique of charitable food aid	16
3.1.4 Charitable food aid in a Nordic welfare state.....	18
3.1.5 Food waste and charitable food aid.....	18
3.2 Two decades of food aid in a welfare state	20
3.2.1 History of charitable food aid in Finland	20
3.2.2 Timeline	21
4 DATA & METHODOLOGY	23
4.1 Frame Package Analysis	23
4.2 Data collection.....	24
4.3 Analysis	26
4.4 Additional remarks	28
5 RESULTS.....	29

5.1 Overview of the data	29
5.2 Two decades of frames.....	31
5.2.1 An overview of the frames.....	31
5.2.2 The evolution of the frames: a longitudinal approach	37
5.2.3 Stakeholders and the normative perceptions of the frames.....	40
6 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION	43
6.1 Conclusions from the analysis.....	43
6.2 Suggestions for further studies	47
6.3 What does the future have in store for food aid?	48
REFERENCES	50

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Recipient-as-an-endpoint -model.....	7
Figure 2: Practices-as-an-endpoint -model.....	7
Figure 3: Timeline of the essential turning points during 1990–2016	22
Figure 4: Distribution of text units according to section.....	26
Figure 5: Number of text units 1995–2016	29
Figure 6: Monthly mean values of text units by decade.....	30
Figure 7: The occurrence of frames in HS (1995–2016).....	39
Figure 8: The utilization of frames by stakeholders	40

TABLE OF TABLES

Table 1: Number of text units annually	31
Table 2: The occurrence of frameworks by stakeholders and normative perception of CFA	42

1 INTRODUCTION & RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The exceptionally deep recession in 1990's served as a starting point for charitable food aid in Finland. As the welfare state was unable to meet or even acknowledge the rising number of food insecure people, it was the civil society, most notably the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, who took action. The first food bank was established in 1995, followed next year by the beginning of EU's Food Distribution programme for the Most Deprived (MDP). These practices were initially thought of as temporary, made redundant as the economy would begin to grow again. This notion was unfortunately proven wrong as recipients continued to rely on charity, despite the economy rising from the slump, and charitable food aid remained at the fringes of official social policy. More recently, the Finnish food safety guidelines have become more lenient, paving way for the redistribution of food surplus from the retail sector and food industry and subsequently the alleged upsurge in the framing that couples food aid with food waste. Since the establishment of the first food bank in 1995, charitable food aid has been entrenched as a seemingly irreplaceable solution to hunger in Finland, with plans on developing the cooperation between private and public sector actors and the civil society under way. To better understand the process that has taken place, a longitudinal analysis on the interpretations and the evolution of the discussion on charitable food aid is necessary.

The phenomenon studied in this thesis is the twenty-year time period in which charitable food aid has been entrenched at the fringes of social policy. By analysing the frames utilized during 1995–2016 in a nationwide newspaper, the thesis studies the interpretations of and relevance given to charitable food aid in the media texts. The texts range from short news stories to longer articles, including all relevant text units gathered from the online archive of Helsingin Sanomat (N=529). The analysis is qualitative and an abductive approach is applied, as the analysis is influenced by the concepts of frameworks and framing, welfare responsibilities and universalism, and food security. Charitable food aid has been studied extensively in the Finnish context, but the focus has, however, often been either on the level of recipients or on a more general level. This thesis wishes to focus more on the practices and the organizers' interpretations of charitable food aid, thus tentatively resulting in conclusions from a different angle than previously.

Having operated at the fringes of official social policies for two decades, charitable food aid practices are at a turning point: Should the activities be given recognition, instead of tacit approval, whereupon the organization and allocation of the aid could be developed openly in tandem with the church, civil society, social services and private enterprises? Is the focus shifting from temporary hunger alleviation and fight against poverty towards a model that encompasses both food insecurity and food waste? The implementation of the *Berliner Tafel* –food bank model in Vantaa (*Yhteinen pöytä*) and the widespread national interest of said model indicate that the activities – hitherto organized primarily by non-governmental organizations and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland – are expanding into a highly organized assemblage, comprising of multiple actors. At the same time, the interpretations and meanings associated with charitable food aid are in transition, as the practices are being restructured and organized anew within the context of a Nordic welfare state.

The aim of this thesis is to unfold the plethora of ways in which food aid has been framed in public discourse during its 20-year lifespan, identifying the key stakeholders involved and the temporal and normative dimensions of these framings. This forms a starting point for further analysis and could be used to contest and/or verify the more abstract notions revolving around food aid. The findings could also be analysed further looking at the temporal dimension and the emergence of frames – i.e. “why do these particular frames emerge and prevail in these particular time spans?” – but herein the analysis is more focused on exploratory than confirmatory study.

The occurrence and emergence of different frames is seen as a process that incorporates the stakeholders, the frames deployed and the context in which the process is evolving, all progressing in tandem. Thus the research questions are:

RQ1: How has charity food aid been framed during the 20-years of discussion?

RQ2: Who is using these frames, how do they use the frames and at what times?

RQ3: What are the characteristics of the essential frames?

The thesis is structured around six chapters, including this introduction. Chapter 2 showcases the theoretical and conceptual framework that is used in analysing the phenomenon: how are frames and framings understood in the context of media texts, why

does this thesis utilize the concept of food insecurity rather than hunger, and what are the most important characteristics of the Nordic welfare regime. Also, reflections on the level of analysis and the validity of the results are presented. Chapter 3 presents previous studies on charitable food aid, as well as some key figures and estimates of the organization of the aid in Finland. The evolution of the practices and turning points within the context over the two decades are also presented in a timeline here. Chapter 4 features the gathering of the data as well as presentation of the method of analysis. In chapter 5, the results are structured around an overview of the data and the evolution of the discussion, where the focus is on the framings and the utilization of the frameworks. Finally, chapter 6 offers some tentative conclusions of the results, followed by suggestions for further studies and a reflection on the future of Finnish charitable food aid.

2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The thesis applies an abductive approach, hence an overview of the theories, concepts and more general views that affect the analysis are presented. The chapter concludes with a reflection on validity.

2.1 Frames, media and social problems

Between and also within fields of study, frames and frameworks have been construed in various ways. This thesis relies on Erving Goffman's work, supplemented with concepts from the field of media studies.

2.1.1 "What is it that's going on here" – frames in sociology

The sub-heading refers to the fundamental question proposed by Erving Goffman in his seminal work *Frame Analysis* (1986, 25) that fundamentally states that the situation in which social interaction takes place is understood and interpreted through framings. According to Goffman, framing is an integral part of everyday life and comes naturally to individuals in all situations where one tries to structure the world around them (ibid. 8). A situation can usually be interpreted (and misinterpreted) using multiple frames, and the definition of "what is going on" may change due to additional information or a slight change in the scene (ibid. 25). A popular way of simplifying Goffman's frame analysis (e.g. Saaristo & Jokinen 2004, 60; Luhtakallio 2005, 192) is the theatre example: in a theatre, during a play, someone shouts "fire!" which can then be interpreted as part of the play or as an actual cry of danger – thus two framings of the same exclamation are possible. In the setting of a theatre, the interpretation will most likely be affected by observations associated with the cry – did one of the actors shout or was it someone in the audience, did the actors on stage react to the exclamation in character or are they presently scuffling towards the exit etc.

Goffman differentiates first between natural and social frames, and delves deeper into frameworks with the addition of keying – the multiple layers or laminates of said frame (Goffman 1986, 21–23, 40–82). Natural frameworks identify situations as "undirected, unoriented, unanimated, unguided [and] 'purely physical'" (ibid. 22) whereas social

frameworks take into account the background understanding and individual agency within the situation; a natural, unguided event happens whether the perceiving individual decides to interfere or not, unlike an event that is fundamentally social, where an individual's understanding of said situation determines the interpretation and further actions (ibid. 22–23). Within a social framework it is often possible to discern more than one frame at work: for example, the primary framework in this thesis is the media and the specific form of text (news, columns etc.) but these textual units usually include and implement multiple layers or laminations that interpret the phenomena from different angles or keyings (ibid. 82). In addition to the inclusion of multiple framings with different keyings, the primary framework can also neglect – “dissattend” – aspects that could have been included in the frame by another stakeholder or in another situation (ibid. 201–246). This is something that is especially interesting in the context of media framings and media coverage of social problems.

2.1.2 Framing in the media

For Goffman, framing was part of social interaction – in most examples expressed in terms of interaction that happens between individuals that share the same spatial space. Thus the frameworks in Goffman's examples are implemented, contested and revised in close cooperation between individuals. When studying media frames, frame analysis is divided into media framings and public or audience framings – i.e. frames deployed intentionally or unintentionally by the media and the interpretation of these frames by the audience (De Vreese et al. 2011, 107). In this thesis, the focus is on media framing – with the few exceptions where opinion pieces are referencing previous media frames and thus re-interpreting them.

Media frames are, however, brought forth by journalists, interviewees and guest columnists etc. Therefore the analysis will try to acknowledge the stakeholders deploying the frame, as suggested by Ortiz-Miranda, Pérez and Arnalte-Alegre (2016). Van Gorp (2007) differentiates between framing *by* the media and framing *through* the media via “frame sponsors (ibid. 68–69). While it is true that journalists often mediate the input from stakeholders, it is not clear whether these stakeholders count as frame sponsors – “interest groups, spin doctors, advertisers, and so forth” (ibid. 68) – in the case of charitable food aid. The notion of frame sponsors will be explored further in chapter 4.

2.1.3 Media and social problems

The studied phenomenon, charitable food aid, is in this thesis considered an anomaly in the context of a Nordic welfare regime, and thus as a social problem. The role of media in identifying social problems is crucial. According to Jamrozik and Nozella (1998, 71) “the mass media not only report news but also create news.” Hence, the thorough analysis of media framings should acknowledge the role of media as an agent in the construction of the phenomenon. As stated before, frameworks are fluid and depend on both the one deploying them and the receivers, but in the case of media frames, it should be stressed that the “media bring to public notice a mediated image of society created by reporting events that most people do not experience directly” (ibid. 72). In the case of charitable food aid, this tentatively means that the target audience is not familiar with the practice and therefore relies solely on the media coverage in forming their interpretation and understanding of the phenomenon – a notion that is crucial in the case of frameworks, as the audience has no means of adding their own observations in the act of interpretation or of knowing what has been *disattended* in the media framing of the issue (cf. Goffman 1986).

2.2 On the level of analysis: charitable food aid practices as an endpoint

Though lacking in official statistics and comprehensive estimates, charitable food aid has been studied extensively in Finland (see chapter 3.1). The focus has, however, often been on the recipients and the mechanisms that lead people to rely on charitable practices (e.g. Ohisalo & Saari 2014; Ohisalo, Laihiala & Saari 2015), thus partially ignoring the study of the organizers of charitable food aid practices. One way of structuring this difference is by placing the practice as the “endpoint” of analysis, instead of the recipients. Thus, rather than asking “what mechanisms lead individuals to these practices” the question is structured around the mechanisms and structures that enable and support charitable food aid practices – i.e. “what do these practices need in order to function?” Below first the *recipient-as-an-endpoint* –model (figure 1) is presented, followed by the proposed *practices-as-an-endpoint* –approach (figure 2) utilized in this thesis.

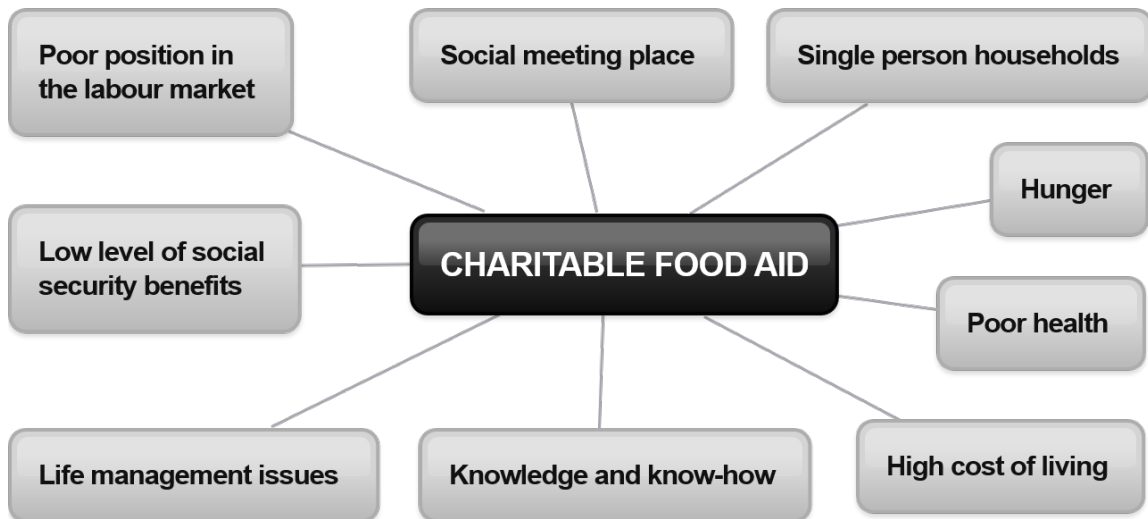


Figure 1: Recipient-as-an-endpoint -model
(Ohisalo 2015, 11, translated and edited.)

The framework above, ironically taken from a presentation where Ohisalo considers arguments for and against the notion of charitable food aid practices as a solution to food waste – and therefore focuses on the practice-level – outlines the mechanisms that lead individuals to charitable food aid. Hence, though the practice is visually an endpoint, the framework is construed around the recipient attending these practices. This thesis is, in contrast, interested in the mechanisms that the practice requires in order to function:

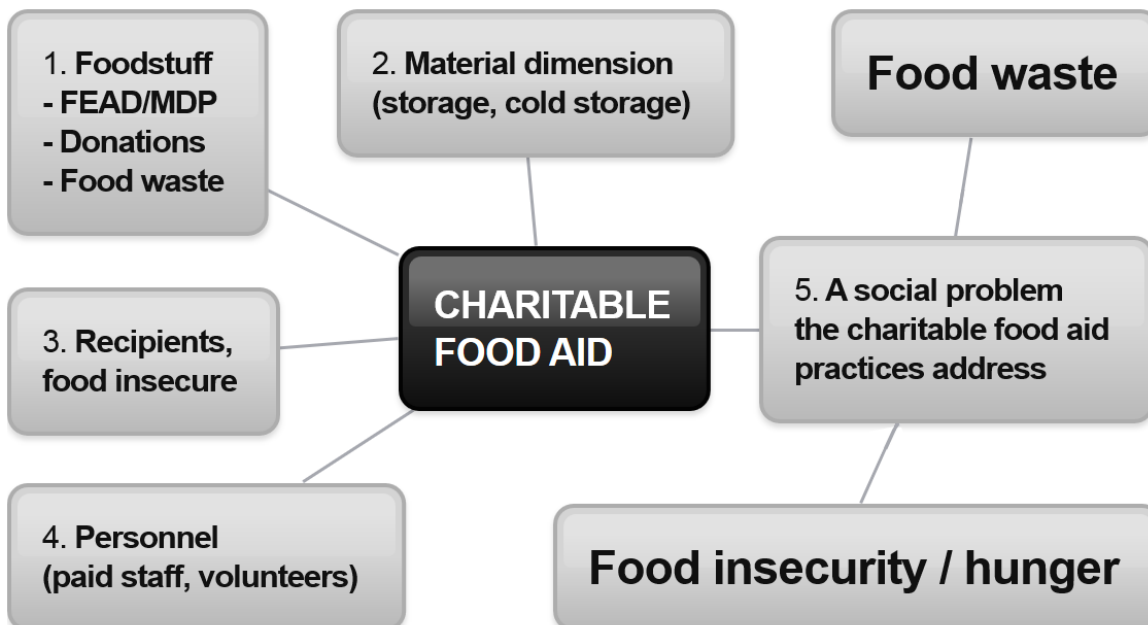


Figure 2: Practices-as-an-endpoint -model

The proposed model is structured around five requirements, described briefly below.

1. Foodstuff

In order to alleviate hunger, charitable food aid practices require foodstuff to be (re)distributed to the food insecure. In Finland, the food distributed comes mainly from three sources: from the EU (FEAD/MDP), as donations from private enterprises (faulty packaging etc.) and as food surplus from retailers (origin of food is described in detail in chapter 3.1.1).

2. Material dimension

The material dimension refers to the storage and distribution facilities required in the practices. The facilities available are important not only because of food safety regulations (e.g. cold storage and refrigerated logistics) but also because they often dictate how the practice is organized (Ohisalo, Eskelinen, Laine, Kainulainen & Saari 2014, 27–30).

3. Recipients, food insecure

Without food insecure citizens, charitable food aid practices lose their purpose. This does not imply that the organizers of charitable food aid actively try to produce food insecurity, quite the contrary, but it is nevertheless a requirement for the practices to continue.

4. Personnel

Charitable food aid relies heavily on volunteers, though the practices do employ some full-time and part-time employees (see chapter 3.1.1).

5. A social problem the charitable food aid practices address

The crucial difference between the two models is the inclusion of the *raison d'être* for the practices in the latter model. What is the social problem that is addressed through charitable food aid? At the surface the question might seem rather self-explanatory – food aid provides food for the food insecure and thus alleviates hunger – but the answer is not as straightforward if examined more closely. The model provides two social problems, food insecurity or hunger and food waste, though the inclusion of for example social exclusion or substance abuse could have also been justified. But the dual purpose of charitable food aid as a solution to hunger and waste is perhaps the most widely addressed issue (e.g. Hanssen et al. 2015; Ohisalo 2015; Salonen 2016, 16–17; Kortetmäki & Silvasti forthcoming 2017).

As the thesis operates on the level of the practices, the focus is on the interpretations given to and understandings of the phenomenon that is charitable food aid. In the case of media

analysis, this is easily justifiable inasmuch as the discussion and utilization of various frames revolves around the practices and their positioning within the context of a Nordic welfare state rather than the level of recipients. This approach also tentatively enables for a more critical analysis, as it is perhaps easier to reflect on the practices without positioning charitable food aid as a “saviour of the food insecure,” patching the holes in the social safety net whilst also preventing food waste (cf. “the Wenceslas Syndrome,” Poppendieck 1998, 17–19).

2.3 Key concepts

Food security or lack of hunger?

The problem with hunger is that it is not an exact or easily defined concept. Hunger is subjective, and therefore dependant on interpretations, but also heavily influenced by the shared understanding of the concept. Hänninen (1994) points out that discussion on hunger is socially and politically loaded, meaning that what has been explicitly and intentionally defined as “proper” hunger has social and political consequences. By defining hunger as a state of severe undernourishment, those who aim at diminishing the problem deliberately employ a narrow definition of hunger – thus undermining the subjective feelings of hunger that do not meet the predefined characteristics of the concept. In Finland, this has been apparent not only in the use of comparisons, such as that between the so-called-hungry in Finland and the truly hungry in developing countries (e.g. Vuorela 1997) but also in, for example, the notorious comment from the then Minister of Finance Iiro Viinanen who stated in a diminishing tone that he had also “felt peckish, even hungry” (according to Karjalainen 2008, translated) when pressed about the issue of breadlines in 1993.

For this reason, studies on food aid have opted for the use of food insecurity rather than hunger (e.g. Riches & Silvasti 2014; Silvasti 2014; Kortetmäki 2015) – food insecurity being the lack of **food security**. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO 2008) “[f]ood security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.” This notion is further structured around four key elements: i) physical **availability** of food, ii) economic and physical **access** to food, iii) food **utilization**, and iv) **stability** of the other three dimensions over time. The concept allows the study to distinguish between various forms of food insecurity;

though it may neglect the subjective feelings of hunger, it encompasses scientifically defined food deprivation as well as malnutrition resulting from deficiencies, excesses or imbalances in consumption. “Simply put, all hungry people are food insecure, but not all food insecure people are hungry –.” (Ibid.)

Universalism, entitlement and welfare responsibility

As Finland is widely considered a Nordic welfare state, some intersecting concepts should be defined in order to understand the context in which charitable food aid is organized in. First, the welfare of all citizens in Finland is organized by the public sector according to the ethos of universalism or universal welfare policies – that every citizen shares equal rights and responsibilities (e.g. Esping-Andersen 1990; Heikkilä & Karjalainen 1998; Kosonen 1998). Basics rights are incorporated in the Finnish Constitution in chapter two, of which section 19 states:

Those who cannot obtain the means necessary for a life of dignity have the right to receive indispensable subsistence and care. Everyone shall be guaranteed by an Act the right to basic subsistence in the event of unemployment, illness, and disability and during old age as well as at the birth of a child or the loss of a provider.

(The Constitution of Finland 1999/731 § 19, *the right to social security*.)

Dignity is a central aspect of universal welfare as, according to Reisman (2001, 127), universalist services guarantee public provisions and social services without stigmatization and shame; statutory services are an entitlement, as opposed to a gift. This is one of the key aspects when examining charity – in this thesis charitable food aid – in the context of a Nordic welfare regime such as Finland.

The role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in social services has been greater especially in Catholic European countries (Jokinen & Saaristo 2006, 254–255). In this case the “welfare mix” – the way in which welfare provision is divided between the market, the state and the civil society – differs from that of Finland, where emphasis is on the role of state (Greve 2015, 116–121). Finland has, however, diverted welfare responsibilities to the civil society – most prominently the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland – for example during the deep economic recession of the 1990’s (e.g. Jokinen & Saaristo 2006, 255; Silvasti & Karjalainen 2014). Hence, in studying charitable food aid, the thesis is interested in notions of transition in *the welfare responsibilities* – i.e. who is defined responsible for the food security of Finnish citizens (on welfare responsibility see Julkunen 2006).

By focusing on the transitions in responsibilities within a welfare state, the thesis lightly partakes in the discussion of welfare state reforms and the future of the Nordic welfare regime. Whether the Finnish welfare state is shifting from the universalistic and socio-democratic paradigm towards an individualistic, (neo)liberal welfare mix (e.g. Ferge, Hellsten, Kalimo & Purola 1997; Heiskala, Luhtakallio, Alasuutari, Ilmonen & Uskali 2006; Julkunen 1992, 2006; Saarinen, Salmenniemi & Keränen 2014) is not central to the thesis, but by analysing the discussion revolving around a charitable practice in the context of a welfare state, the transitions in responsibility serve as a way of connecting the media analysis to a broader discussion. The prevalence of charitable food aid, after all, has been used as a sign that the “welfare model is deteriorating,” as publicly suggested by Hiilamo (2007, see also 2012).

2.4 Reflection on validity

Maxwell (2005) suggests that a qualitative research design should consist of five components: i) goals (what are the tentative outcomes of the study?), ii) conceptual framework (what theories, beliefs and concepts does the research draw upon?), iii) research questions (what part of the studied phenomena does the study aim at unravelling?), iv) methods (how is the study conducted in practice?) and v) validity (what shortcomings the study might have?). The research goals, questions and methodology are described in detail elsewhere, but herein a few paragraphs are spent on reflections on validity.

The chosen approach, abductive frame analysis, is inherently qualitative and subjective. Without a detailed and specific theoretical basis the analysis in this thesis leans towards induction in the coding of the dataset, which in turn denotes that another researcher could – and most certainly would – come up with a different set of codes and subsequently with varying results. Hence, the results of this thesis offer only tentative notions on the evolution of the discussion on charitable food aid. In addition, the inclusion of only one, albeit widely circulated and nation-wide, newspaper hinders extrapolation of the results. Notwithstanding, the timeline presented hereinafter should contextualize and tentatively affix the frameworks to the “reality” that lies beyond the media texts and public discussion. (Cf. Corbin & Strauss 2008, 45–64.)

3 FOOD AID IN A WELFARE STATE

The studied phenomenon is the twenty-year span in which charity food aid has been established as a seemingly irreplaceable solution to hunger in Finland. This process is without a doubt interlinked with other phenomena – such as growing income differences and bad housing politics (e.g. Ohisalo & Saari 2014) – but, for the sake of scope and focus, this thesis will exclude all intersectional phenomena. I will however try to position the thesis’ results within the context of other processes during the same timespan – most notably the public discussion and niche practices around food waste as well as welfare state reforms and the emerging neoliberal tendencies in political decision-making. Hence both the evolution of charitable food aid and some key events within the Finnish welfare state are presented here in a longitudinal manner.

The chapter will start by presenting some key research findings on Finnish charitable food aid (CFA) – how is the practice organized on a national level, who are the people utilizing these practices, what are the main critiques towards the practice etc. – and proceed to examine CFA within the context of the (Nordic) welfare state. As the analysis is interested in the longitudinal processes in both CFA and in the Finnish state, a timeline addressing the level of practice and context is presented.

3.1 Studies on food aid in Finland

In a recent report, Ohisalo et al. (2014) describe Finnish charity food aid as a “patchwork quilt of aid”; unlike in for example the United States or Canada, Finland does not have central charitable organizations to coordinate food (re)distribution, but the field of food aid consists of over 400 distributors – including parishes, unemployment organizations and other NGO’s – operating in various ways (Ohisalo et al. 2014; Silvasti & Karjalainen 2014, 79). The food distributed in these practices is a combination of donations from retail and the food industry and foodstuff originating from the Fund for European Aid to the most Deprived (FEAD, 2014–) and its predecessor the EU’s Food Distribution programme for the Most Deprived Persons (MDP, 1987–2014¹). The most prominent way of organizing

¹ Finland was part of the programme starting from 1996

CFA are the breadlines – food queues – but there are instances where food is served as meals or the food assistance is realized through vouchers.

For the last two decades, CFA has been the subject of study both during the deep economic recession of 1990's and the more recent recession of 2009, ranging from ethnographic studies focusing on the receivers of food aid (e.g. Karjalainen & Järvinen 2000; Salonen 2016) to more theoretical analysis on the ethical connotations embedded in the concept of first world hunger (Kortetmäki 2015). The literature review has been divided into five segments, all referring to a fairly distinct view on CFA: the **organization of the practices** and the **origin of the food** in CFA, studies on the **recipients of CFA** and the **mechanisms that lead to food insecurity, critique of CFA**, studies that locate **CFA in the context of a Nordic welfare regime**, and lastly food redistribution through **CFA as food waste management**.

3.1.1 The organization of charitable food aid practices and the origin of food

In a survey conducted by Ohisalo et al. (2014, 13–15) the organizers of CFA were classified into five distinct groups. **The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (ELCF)** is the single largest stakeholder in CFA, making up roughly 30% of the respondents in the survey. Within ELCF the way of organizing CFA varies between parishes and in the report ELCF is further separated into two groups: parishes that that organize CFA using primarily deacons and other paid work, and parishes that employ volunteers, unemployed people in rehabilitative work or jobseekers under payed subsidy in parallel with full-paid staff. The second largest group consists of **other religious organizations or organizations with a religious ideology** (e.g. the Salvation Army, Veikko ja Lahja Hurstin Laupeudentyö) which make up 28% of the respondents. 22% of the respondents were member organizations of the **Mannerheim League for Child Welfare**, 11% were **associations for the unemployed** and the remaining 9% were classified under **other organizations and associations**.

In addition to being organized by multiple organizations and associations, CFA practices vary significantly. As mentioned before, although nigh all practices rely on voluntary workers, some organizers also employ full and part time staff in addition to jobseekers through rehabilitative work and payed subsidies (ibid. 19–23; see also Salonen 2016, 16–17). On the practical level, queues (breadlines) were the most usual way of organizing the aid, both inside the facilities and outdoors. Lining the recipients outside the premises was

seen as problematic, but there is little to be done in organizations and associations that are constantly struggling with the size of facilities and storage (especially cold storage). In some instances, namely church social work, the queuing is non-existent as the aid is given in the diaconic practice meetings. (Ibid. 27–30.) The level of control also varies between organizers: to receive food from some ELCF practices, the recipients are interviewed to ensure they truly are in need of aid; some instances require a bank statement or other proof of low income; and some practices hand out food to whoever is present in a no-questions-asked manner. The aid could also be served as meals instead of foodstuff. (Ibid. 33–35).

An interesting perspective is the level of cooperation between CFA actors and municipalities. In some regions the level of support from municipalities was significant whereas in other regions there was no interaction between CFA and the public sector. Overall roughly a third of the respondents had cooperated with municipal social or health services. The cooperation included financial support, informing social service clientele of available food assistance and organizing social service fieldwork in CFA. Vantaa municipality has taken the cooperation furthest by implementing the *Berliner Tafel* – scheme², where CFA is organized in close cooperation between the public, private and voluntary sector in order to maximize the utilization of food waste in a socially inclusive way. (Ibid. 40–44; Yhteinen pöytä 2016.) The Vantaa model of close cooperation notwithstanding, CFA is often described as “the aid after the final counter”, referring to its position as the assistance that is offered after the official welfare services have proven inadequate or insufficient (e.g. Ohisalo & Määttä 2014; Salonen 2016, 18).

The 2013 study illustrates, that a majority of CFA organizers hand out primarily EU-food that is supplemented with donations and purchases, though there were organizers that relied solely on donations or EU-food. The origin and level of food donations varied between regions, but the most notable source was the retail sector. Instability and fluctuation of food waste in retail and therefore food donations (more on the interlinkages between food aid and food waste hereinafter) was deemed especially problematic for those practices that relied heavily on donations and did not possess the necessary financial means to buy food from other sources. Due to the predominance of EU-food (examined in detail below), the distributed food was chiefly dry goods, complemented with pastries and bread,

² See <http://www.berliner-tafel.de/berliner-tafel/>

canned meats and fish, dairy products, processed food, and occasionally fresh vegetables, beverages and unprocessed meat products. (Ohisalo et al. 2014, 24–27, 62.)

Since 1996, Finnish CFA practices have received food or financial support from the EU. Beginning with **Food Distribution programme for the Most Deprived Persons of the Community** (MDP) during 1996–2014, the supply was part of EU-level agricultural policy, as the donations originated in the agricultural overproduction within the union and were funded by the European Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF). This linkage to agricultural policy is still detectable in Finnish CFA, as the successor to MDP, **the Fund for European Aid to the most Deprived** (FEAD), is still coordinated nationally by the Agency of Rural Affairs (MAVI), although the programme is no longer connected to agriculture. (European Commission 2016a.) MDP provided those EU countries that participated in the programme with supplies from the public intervention stocks of agricultural products (ibid.). These stocks included for example beef, flour, butter, olive oil and milk powder – albeit olive oil was not included in the Finnish assortment, as it was at the time deemed “too exotic” for Finnish citizens (Mukka 1996; Rimmi 1996; Silvasti & Karjalainen 2014, 81). Following the reforms in CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) – and the subsequent greatly lower intervention stocks – the European Commission began work on the successor of the now problematic MDP in 2008. After intensive negotiations, MDP was finally replaced by FEAD in 2013 – a transition that resulted in a one-year disruption in EU-food in CFA (Lehtelä & Kestilä 2014, 272; European Commission 2016a).

Since the transition, Finland ceased to be the only Nordic country to receive EU-level poverty relief, as Sweden and Denmark also participate in FEAD. The programme supports member countries’ actions to provide material assistance to those in need – thus expanding the aid from mere foodstuff to e.g. clothing – but the Finnish Government has decided to stick to food aid exclusively. The budget for FEAD is over €3.8 billion for 2014–2020 – the Finnish share amounts to approximately €22.5 million – on top of which the member countries are to contribute national co-financing (15% of the total amount). The aid is to go in tandem with social inclusion measures to help people out of poverty. The Agency for Rural Affairs is still the coordinator of FEAD, but the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (TEM) is the operator responsible of the funds. (Lehtelä & Kestilä 2014, 272–273; European Commission 2016a; European Commission 2016b.)

3.1.2 The recipients of charitable food aid

There is no official estimate of the amount of recipients frequenting CFA practices, but in a recent report Ohisalo (2014, 40) estimates that over 22.000 people turn to CFA every week. According to the survey the recipients are mainly middle-aged or older – this is partly due to older citizens’ underutilization of welfare services – but students and other youth also frequent CFA practices. One in ten recipients defined themselves as working – an example of the working poor –phenomenon – though poor position in the labour market was an overarching theme among the survey and unemployed were, in most regions, the largest group of recipients. The recipients are slightly more often female than men, though there are regional differences, and 87% of the respondents were Finnish citizens. Over 60% of the respondents lived alone and a third was living with children. All in all, the recipients form a heterogeneous group that are more poorly positioned in the labour market than the rest of society. (Ohisalo 2014.)

The mechanisms that lead people to food assistance have been analysed as part of the *Huono-osaisiin Suomi* –project (“the most underprivileged Finland”), in which the researchers specified different claims that portray underprivilege or disadvantage in the society, operationalized these claims as a questionnaire for recipients of food assistance (N=3.474) and analysed these using quantitative methods (Ohisalo et al. 2015). Following a quantitative factor analysis, three factors of experiences of disadvantage were presented: i) discontent with life and poor state of health, ii) economic disadvantages, and iii) depression, loneliness and hunger – a grouping that is more generally referred to as economic, social and health related disadvantages (ibid. 439–441, 443). Perhaps the most notable result of analysis was that over 40% of the 3.500 respondents’ disadvantages encompass all three factors. This group has, in relation to the Finnish population, an overrepresentation of unemployed, homeless, those with small incomes and those with substance abuse problems. Economic disadvantage was characteristic to youth, students, and those with families. (Ibid. 443.)

3.1.3 The critique of charitable food aid

Janet Poppendieck (1998) structures her criticism as the “seven deadly ins” of emergency food: insufficiency, inappropriateness, nutritional inadequacy, instability, inaccessibility, inefficiency and, above all, indignity (ibid. 210). **Insufficiency** is concerned with the amount of food distributed; **inappropriateness** on the other hand focuses on the variety of

foodstuff available for different diets and dietetic needs. **Nutritional inadequacy** sheds light on the issue that food assistance – whether in form of meals or as handouts – extremely rarely comprises a healthy and wholesome meal nutritionally. Especially in those practices that rely heavily on donations (and practically all organizers of the MDP-era), **instability** is an issue for CFA organizers; at the same time some recipients might struggle with **inaccessibility**, especially in the rural areas of Finland. **Inefficiency** is concerned not with the efficiency of individual practices, but with the system that is “ripe with inefficiencies” (ibid. 225). Finally, **indignity** – the humiliation and inconvenience of CFA – is seen as a mechanism leading to social exclusion rather than inclusion. (Poppendieck 1998, 209–229.) Whether or not recipients feel shame or feel social exclusion is a question that has been somewhat contested in the Finnish context by organizers and researchers: especially ELCF outspokenly perceives the practice as socially inclusive (e.g. Siukonen 2006) whereas empirical research has focused more on the individual experience of shame and stigmatization (e.g. Ohisalo, Saari & Saukko 2014).

An essential aspect of CFA research is the concept of **entitlement**. Food aid is not something one is entitled to – as opposed to official welfare services – but a gift:

People dependent on food aid necessarily lose part of their freedom of choice and inherent human dignity, because they have to accept charity food in spite of their actual needs and preferences. – – When people lose their entitlement to food they actually lose the possibility to choose their own food. In the prevailing food system the right to food is provided by money in the market place. If the consumer, for one reason or another, lacks money, she or he loses the right to food. Food aid is not an entitlement, it is a gift. (Riches & Silvasti 2014, 9.)

According to Poppendieck (1998, 5) the emergence and prevalence of food aid reveals a larger shift in a society: the underlying abandonment of the fight against poverty – “the end of entitlement”, as the books subheading states – and a shift towards “damage control rather than prevention.” Silvasti (2014, 10) goes to add that this shift moves the initial aim of poverty reduction to “the margins of social policy because well running successful charity work diminishes the pressure on the political system.”

Closely related to the ideal of food as an entitlement rather than a gift, is the view that food insecurity is a human rights issue – i.e. that people have an inherent **right to food** (Riches & Silvasti 2014; Silvasti 2014). This view has a firm foundation in the *Declaration of Human Rights*, and, in practice, should result in a situation where state or an international community takes care of its food insecure members, as adequate nourishment is seen as a

basic human right (e.g. Silvasti 2014, 188–189). In the context of universal welfare provision, where social benefits should be sufficient for citizens to afford housing, food and other basic needs, the continuing reliance on a practice that is a fundamentally gift available to *some* people, in *some* regions and at *some* times is highly problematic and explored further below.

3.1.4 Charitable food aid in a Nordic welfare state

Finland is widely considered a Nordic welfare state, where welfare services are arranged according to the ideal of universalism (e.g. Silvasti 2015; Kortetmäki & Silvasti forthcoming 2017). Unlike in North America, where food bank networks are central and nationwide actors, CFA in Finland has operated in the fringes of official social policy, starting out as temporary emergency relief due to the welfare states inability or reluctance to take care of the hunger problem (Silvasti 2014, 186–187). Though within the ethos of the Nordic welfare regime individuals should be provided with basic security by the state, the level of basic social security in Finland has been proven insufficient (THL 2015). This insufficiency is then supplemented by CFA practices (Silvasti 2011, 2014, 2015). In addition to those relying solely on basic social security, one should also consider those living in the vicinity of being poor – the working poor, students, pensioners etc. For as Poppendieck (1998, 57; also Riches 1997, 10) reminds us, “food is often the most flexible item in the family budget, the place where you can economize – –”, implying that in the case of sudden financial turmoil food is the easiest to cut back on.

As a Nordic or social-democratic welfare regime, poverty relief should in Finland rely first and foremost on the state, as opposed to the market or the civil society (e.g. Greve 2015), but the very existence of CFA within this context challenges the notion. According to Hiilamo (2012) the role of the church in poverty relief and other support, dating back to the recession of the 1990’s, should diminish as the welfare state develops. This has, however, not been the case, though Hiilamo does conclude that it is too early to claim that there has occurred a permanent diversion from universalist welfare to welfare pluralism (ibid. 411).

3.1.5 Food waste and charitable food aid

As Riches and Silvasti (2014, 8) state, the “contradiction between unrestrained waste, ecological unsustainability and growing food poverty is ethically intolerable” – a view that has led to a paradigm where CFA is seen as a link between food waste and food insecurity.

In a report issued by the Nordic Council of Ministers (Hanssen et al. 2015) the redistribution of food(waste) through food banks was seen as a significant untapped potential in the Nordic region and in Finland the proposed legislation that would obligate retailers to donate edible foodstuff to charities has widespread support throughout the political parties in Finland (LA 29/2016). The proposed legislation has met with significant opposition from the retailers, who were keen to point out that the present way of organizing donations voluntarily is already widespread and works well – especially as some of the CFA organizers are small and run with volunteers and thus unable to handle the sudden influx of donations (Kärppä 2016). While it is true that the retail industry produces a staggering 65–75 million kilos of food waste annually (Silvennoinen et al. 2012, 188), and that food insecurity is clearly present in the Finnish society, is the answer to both these problems to redistribute the surplus from the food supply chain to CFA? Kortetmäki and Silvasti (forthcoming 2017, 228) argue that:

The unforgivable wastefulness and resulting inefficiency as well as the social and environmental injustice of the food system cannot be solved by organizing a ‘secondary food market’ or ‘charitable food market’ to distribute residual food for free to citizens defined as residual citizens unfit for the ‘primary market.’ Instead, the primary market and the current food system need to be rationalized, reorganized and made more effective.

The answer to food waste lies thus in the systemic level of the food supply chain, rather than in creating a loophole for the surplus. By promoting food redistribution from the primary market (the retail sector) to the secondary market (CFA), the process is not only marginalizing the root causes of food insecurity (housing policies, income differences etc.) but also supporting and enabling unsustainable food production (Salonen 2014; Kortetmäki & Silvasti forthcoming 2017). Kortetmäki and Silvasti (forthcoming 2017, 231) conclude that “waste-based charitable food aid promotes both social and environmental injustice and therefore cannot have any justified task or position as a part of poverty relief under an ecosocial Nordic welfare regime.” While the effect of the proposed legislation is hard to foresee – whether it forces stores to consider new practices to avoid food waste or creates a loophole for it – it is true that in the present situation *some* overlap is unavoidable. Thus it is not a question of whether or not there should be *any* overlapping between charitable food aid and food waste, but rather how *much* overlapping, in the context of a Nordic welfare regime, do we deem appropriate and justified.

3.2 Two decades of food aid in a welfare state

In order to comprehend the context in which the CFA practices have evolved and continue to evolve, a longitudinal approach to the changes in charitable food aid practices and in the Finnish welfare state are presented below. The events in the timeline will be utilized in the analysis as potential turning points for the discussion.

3.2.1 History of charitable food aid in Finland

In the 1970's and 1980's, before the economic recession, it was widely considered self-evident that the population was adequately fed, and there was certainly no discussion concerning food and nutrition security among Finnish citizens (Silvasti & Karjalainen 2014, 72). Food was and has been considered included in the income support (ibid. 72), though the sufficiency of said support and other benefits has been repeatedly questioned (e.g. THL 2011). There were of course some food aid activities even before the emergence of modern charity food aid in the 1990's: for example the salvation army has always offered "soup, soap and salvation" and in the 1980's some municipal social stand-by services in larger cities handed out foodstuff as urgent help (Hänninen et al. 2008, 8). The first signs of Finnish food insecurity emerged in 1993, when in a survey published by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health it was estimated that roughly 100,000 Finnish people were hungry or wanted for food during 1992–1993 (Kontula & Koskela 1993). Simultaneously, the ELCF arranged hunger relief via "breadlines", which would become the emblem of poverty for years to come. In spite of the survey and the breadlines, public discussion and media attention did not emerge until Finnish food poverty was reported in newspapers abroad. (Karjalainen 2008.)

The first food bank in Finland was established in 1995 in Tampere. The unemployment rate at the region was 25% at the time. (Silvasti 2011, 281.) At the same time, Finland was undergoing two major transitions: the reform of the Constitution Act (Laki Suomen Hallitusmuodon muuttamisesta 969/1995), which included the Fundamental Rights reform and 1995 also marks the year when Finland joined the European Union. The EU food aid (MDP) was applied for in 1995, but as EU-level bureaucracy and the practical organization of the aid demanded detailed planning, the first shipment of aid was received in 1996 (Karjalainen 1997, 203). In 1997 charitable food aid was the cause for ELCF's Common Responsibility campaign and the following year ELCF established the Church Hunger

Group (operational until 2002), which endeavoured to bring food insecurity and hunger to the public debate (e.g. Karjalainen 2008; Silvasti & Karjalainen 2014). According to Saari (2015, 214–233) in 2000, as a result of the EU’s development plan known as *the Lisbon Strategy*, Finnish social policy shifted in two ways: First, there was a transition from diminishing market dependence to focusing on diminishing social security dependence. Second, the new focus was on poverty relief rather than inequality alleviation. These transitions intertwine poverty relief as part of economic development and employment advancement – a notion that is present also in the Europe 2020 –strategy put into operation in 2010.

The financial crisis that began in 2007 winded the Finnish economy down to a slump in 2009 (Tilastokeskus 2009). Similarly to the recession of 1990’s, CFA was again chosen as the cause for ELCF’s Common Responsibility Campaign in 2010 and the Church Poverty Group was established in 2011 (Silvasti & Karjalainen 2014, 76–79). In 2013, MDP was phased out which led to a disruption in the aid, as the transition period to FEAD lasted roughly year (ibid.). Simultaneously, the *Huono-osaisin Suomi* –project produced the first estimates and reports on modern CFA in Finland – the data on which for example this thesis heavily relies on (e.g. Ohisalo et al. 2014). In addition, the Finnish Food Safety Authority EVIRA loosened the food safety regulations, which allowed for the retail sector and food industry to donate foodstuff to charity more easily (EVIRA 2013; Lehtelä & Kestilä 2014, 279). Finally, in 2015, influenced by the *Berliner Tafel* –foodbank network that incorporates actors from the civil society as well as private and public sectors, the city of Vantaa has teamed up with retailers and CFA organizers in creating the *Yhteinen pöytä* –model that has already sparked attention nationwide (Yhteinen pöytä 2016).

3.2.2 Timeline

Initially, in-depth and specific timelines of both the practice-level and the context were to be produced and presented here. But, as an extensive study on the welfare reforms implemented in Finland during the time period would comprise a thesis of its own – for example there were some 80–100 significant cutbacks implemented between 1992 and 1997 alone (Lehtonen & Aho 2000, 98) – it was finally decided that the timeline should focus more on CFA, with a few tentative turning points highlighted from within the context. The timeline (figure 3) summarizes the events described in chapter 3.2.1, with the addition of the dates of parliamentary elections.

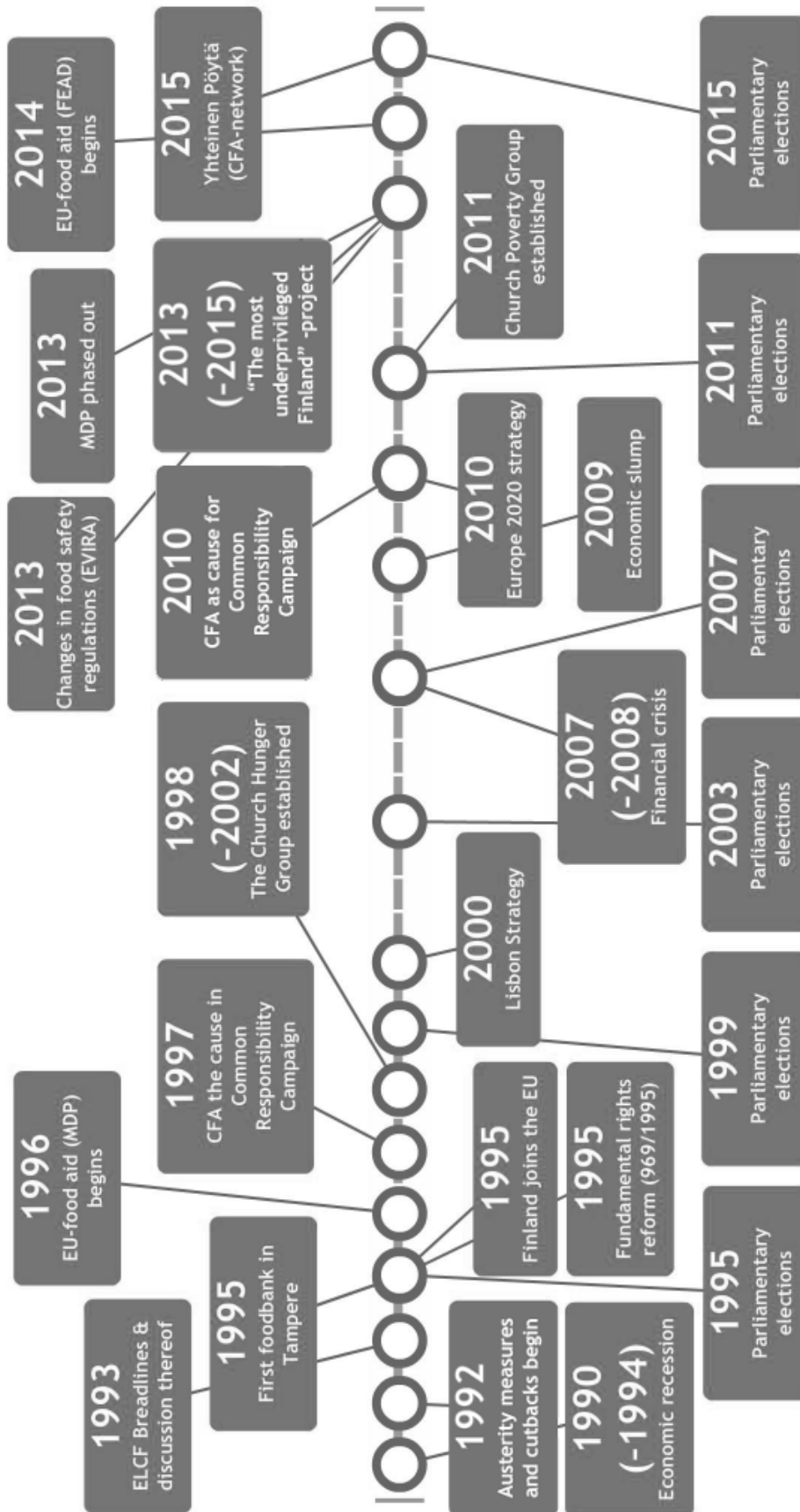


Figure 3: Timeline of the essential turning points during 1990–2016

4 DATA & METHODOLOGY

Charitable food aid is a concept that tends to be framed and used differently by various stakeholders, often leading to a confusion in terminology (e.g. the use of the term “food banks” as a synonym for all forms of food aid or the rhetorical use of the term “breadlines” as an emblem of poverty and income differences) and an ambiguity in the positioning and role of CFA in the Finnish society (e.g. temporary or here-to-stay, social services’ last resort or a practice in the fringes of social services etc.). Therefore it is crucial to understand and analyse the various frames that have been utilized in discussing and debating CFA during its 20-year lifespan; which stakeholders deploy which specific frames and during what times? To systematically approach these questions, media texts between January 1995 and June 2016 were analysed using frame package analysis.

4.1 Frame Package Analysis

Frame package analysis refers, in this thesis, to the systematic methodology for studying culturally embedded frames in media texts. The study draws upon Van Gorp and van der Goot (2012) and their example of an inductive framing analysis, but straying perhaps away from a “pure” inductive approach, as seen in the approach of Ortiz-Miranda, Pérez and Arnalte-Alegre (2016; see also “4.2 Data collection”). The aim of the analysis is to identify and reconstruct frame packages: characterized by Van Gorp (2007, 64) as “a cluster of logical organized devices that function as an identity kit for the frame”, frame packages are comprised of i) a core frame, ii) framing devices and iii) reasoning devices (Van Gorp & van der Goot 2012, 131). In this thesis I will utilize the tentative core frames, framing devices and reasoning devices in a longitudinal analysis (cf. Van Gorp 2005).

Core frame is the cultural phenomenon that defines the frame package (e.g. “charitable food aid as a national shame” or “change in welfare responsibilities” or “the purpose of the church”), which is manifested in media content through the use of framing devices and reasoning devices. **Framing devices** are conceivable elements, such as word choices, visual imagery, metaphors, arguments and examples, which constitute the manifest part of a frame package. **Reasoning devices** are the explicit and implicit justifications, assumptions and interpretations that “lie hidden” (Candel et al. 2014, 49) within the text.

The reasoning devices can form a causal interpretation, treatment recommendations or proposed solutions, but in this thesis I am chiefly interested in the problem definitions and moral implications of CFA. (Van Gorp 2007, 64–65; Van Gorp & van der Goot 2012, 131; Ortiz-Miranda, Pérez and Arnalte-Alegre 2016, 668.)

Combining Van Gorp's (2007, 68–69) notion of key events and their interaction with frames in the media with the longitudinal approach utilized in the study on the media attitudes of the asylum issue (Van Gorp 2004), the analysis will produce a visualization of the frames on a timeline. This not only allows for a presentation of the **evolution of frames** during the timespan, but enables an examination of the **linkages between key events in the context** where CFA takes place (i.e. the Finnish welfare state) and the fluctuation and peaks of the frames utilized in media.

4.2 Data collection

In this thesis I use a textual dataset, gathered from the digital archive of *Helsingin Sanomat*. The unit of analysis is a whole body of text – e.g. a news article, an editorial or a column. Helsingin Sanomat (HS) is the largest newspaper in Finland and, more importantly, it is distributed nationwide, thus offering a wide range of discussion, opinions and news on CFA. Though politically nonaligned today, HS has been associated with liberal political parties in the past – most notably in the beginning of the 20th century, when the newspaper was the party organ for the liberal and nationalist Young Finnish Party and subsequently the National Progressive Party (Henning & Gunn 2004). In recent media studies HS has been described as having a “supportive role towards the elite” (Herkman 2015, 87) and that it implements “discursive majority parliamentarism” (Puhakka & Ridell 1996, 195), which suggests that, in general, the views and framings of HS tend to favour the reigning government. Nevertheless, through opinions and columns, the data includes text units that oppose and criticize the *status quo* – however undefined and vague the official policy towards CFA may have been (cf. Ellisaari 2000; Ohisalo & Saari 2014, 22).

The data was analysed with an abductive approach, reminiscent of the grounded theory variant of Corbin and Strauss (2008), as interpreted by Reichertz (2009); preliminary analysis and coding of the dataset began immediately at the start of the collection of data and was not directly influenced by any specific theory, though one must admit and

acknowledge his/her own standpoint – and consequently the biases concerning data collection and analysis – and rely on *sensitivity* rather than *objectivity* (Corbin & Strauss 2008, 32–35, 57; cf. Van Gorp & van der Goot 2012, 130–131). Sensitivity, in this case, meant that throughout the collection, both the preliminary coding and initiative thoughts, as well as the procedure as a whole – i.e. what were the optimal search terms, which sections in which timespan were to be included in the search and should the emphasis be on the justification and critique of CFA or is it best to begin with a more broader stance – were under constant reflection (Corbin and Strauss call this *the analytical tool of questioning*, *ibid.* 69–73). The process was also regularly recorded in written memos; a habit that continued on into the analysis phase (*ibid.* 117–141). This proved vital as the collection progressed, as for example some of the units classified as secondary in the early stages of collection were later on re-read and re-coded as primary data. By including units that initially seemed inadequate for analysis, it was possible to backtrack and re-code these units as the process became more focused.

The digital archive of HS enables the simultaneous use of multiple search terms (separated by AND, OR or NOT), the search can be limited to one or more sections of the newspaper, and the time period can be defined to include units anywhere between January 1990 to present. Most importantly, as the Finnish language inflects and modifies words according to their role in the sentence, the search terms could be “cut” to include all variations of the word or compound. The initial search terms were **ruoka-av*** and **ruoka-ap*** (both terms referring to “food aid”), **leipäjon*** (“breadline”), and **ruokapank*** (“food bank”), which were quickly complemented with **elintarvikeav***, **elintarvikeap***, **elintarviketue*** and **elintarviketuk*** (all terms referring to MDP/FEAD) and finally concluded with the addition of **ruokajon*** (“food line”). The first round of collection was restricted to just three sections – **Pääkirjoitukset** (“editorial”), **Mielipide** (“opinion”) and **Sunnuntai** (“Sunday section”) – as these were tentatively thought to encompass most of the discussion and debate. However, the inclusion of other sections, excluding only **Ulkomaat** (“world news”), was deemed necessary at an early stage. Finally, the timespan was set as **1995–present (June 2016)**, which assured that the dataset includes units from the beginnings of organized CFA practices – prior to the first food bank – to the present day.

En masse, the search produced 1461 hits with the keywords specified above and a timespan between January 1995 and June 2016. Out of this exploratory lot, following the

exclusion of articles and other texts on foreign food aid or other topics not specifically related to Finnish charity food aid, 652 units were then downloaded and imported to Atlas.ti for analysis. After a preliminary reading of the dataset, a further 123 units were discarded for being ill-suited for analysis – including short news stories with only a brief mention of the topic, causeries and other texts where humour or other form of expression were used extensively etc. – resulting in a final set of N=529. The distribution of data units between different sections is presented in figure 4.

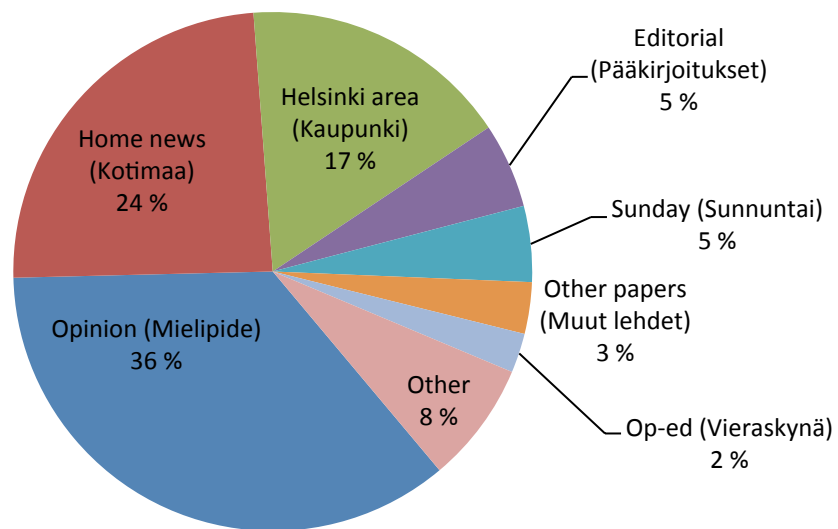


Figure 4: Distribution of text units according to section

In this thesis the focus is on practices that distribute donated food, EU-food (MDA/FEAD) or both – thus excluding text units on individual events or annual practices such as the Independence Day and Christmas events of *Veikko ja Lahja Hurstin Laupeudentyö* (a Christian organization operating in Helsinki) and the various art performances and demonstrations that have incorporated food donations and the subsequent redistribution of said food in their societal critique.

4.3 Analysis

Frame package analysis offers a methodological tool that can and has been elaborated even further (e.g. Ortiz-Miranda, Pérez & Arnalte-Alegre 2016). Notwithstanding, I have opted for a curtailed take on the methodology; as the public discourse on charity food aid is often

cursory and shallow – and therefore ill-suited for such in-depth analysis as suggested by Van Gorp and van der Goot – and the focus here is on a rather particular practice as opposed to a larger theme such as “the asylum issue in Belgium” (Van Gorp 2005) or “the EU Common Agricultural Policy reform” (Candel et al. 2013), a lighter take on frame package analysis can in this case be seen as justified. For example, Ortiz-Miranda, Pérez and Arnalte-Alegre (2016) have utilized the methodology in analysing food and nutrition security framings in the Spanish media discourse, identifying discursive framings related to the economic crisis in Spain – including the “(Food) poverty” -frame, which encompasses charity food aid among other things. Thus charity food aid is, in this instance, part of a much larger phenomenon in the framing matrix, and not indeed the focus. In addition, streamlining the analysis leaves room for and enables a longitudinal approach, which in this case was deemed more vital than an in-depth analysis of all of the frames.

The analysis started off with a simple read-through and preliminary coding of the dataset, using a qualitative analysis software (Atlas.ti). One unit of analysis could include multiple codes, but for the unit to be included in the analysis a minimum of one set of the following was required: the tentative frame or framing/reasoning device (code: F_”frame”), the normative perception of food aid (code: Norm_”neutral/positive/negative”) and the stakeholder(s) utilizing the frame or framing device (code: SH_”stakeholder”). Text units varied from short texts with only one code cluster to longer articles with a maximum of 11 clusters. The preliminary coding produced a number of tentative frames, which were then, as need be, combined to prevent unnecessary overlapping³. As some initial frames and codes clearly seemed to intersect with the concepts presented in the conceptual framework, the data was partially recoded further with these concepts in mind.

These frames were arranged and visualized on a timeline – as seen in figure 7 – in order to present the variation of the frames utilized in a longitudinal manner. The frames provide an answer to the questions *what is the frame?*, *who is using the frame?* and *how is the practice normatively framed?*, each frame consisting of a description (and title) of the frame used to address charitable food aid, the stakeholder(s) utilizing the frame and the normative

³ For example the frames “F_NIMBY”, “F_Toiminnan sivuvaikutukset” and “F_Lieveilmiöt” were all combined to form a new master frame “F_Sivuvaikutukset ja lieveilmiöt” that contains both positive and negative side effects of CFA

perception of the practice (i.e. whether food aid is seen as a positive, neutral or negative practice).

4.4 Additional remarks

The coding of the normative perception was revisited multiple times, as the differentiation between different perspectives was not simple. Should a slightly critical viewpoint be coded as “norm_negative”, even though the text unit in general is written in a neutral tone? Furthermore, how should one code a phrase that criticizes a particular aspect of food aid, but is otherwise neutral or even positive towards the practice? This led to a tendency of favouring the code “norm_neutral” in uncertain cases. Still, it is duly noted that it is not the stakeholders’ normative views that are represented here, but rather the normative undercurrents of the frames are brought forth for consideration.

The coding of stakeholders was also revisited often, as it was not altogether clear in some instances whether the frame was utilized by a certain stakeholder or rather the journalist. In the case of opinion pieces and other texts where the writer is clearly stated the coding was straightforward, but in other units one must acknowledge that even when coding quotations from stakeholders, the journalist has chosen to present us with this particular phrase and in this particular context. As Van Gorp (2007, 67) states:

It is assumed in framing theory that media makers deliberately or unwittingly make use of frames. In this sense, the “selection” of a frame is a significant decision on the part of the journalist. The frame that at the end gets embedded in the news message is, however, not determined a priori by the situation or the item reported upon. – – There is interaction between the journalist’s (un)conscious selection of a frame – out of the cultural stock of frames – as the result of the individual belief system, and the influence of additional factors inside and outside the media organizations.

Van Gorp (ibid. 68) also speaks of *frame sponsors* – interest groups, spin doctors, advertisers etc. – that may deliberately try to influence the use of frames (a notion that has been implemented in e.g. Ortiz-Miranda, Pérez & Arnalte-Alegre 2016), but in the case of CFA it is debatable whether or not the discussion is strategically influenced by the stakeholders. The inclusion of stakeholders in the analysis was, however, deemed beneficial, though once again one must acknowledge that the coupling of stakeholders and various frames does not necessarily imply that these framings are purposively utilized or a representation of the “whole picture”, but merely something constructed from a limited source of information.

5 RESULTS

The results are divided into two segments: i) **overview of the data**, where the analysis is on the level of text units and focus is on how discussion has evolved annually and within the timespan, and ii) **two decades of frames**, where the analysis is on the level of frames and focus is on the evolution of discussion within the timespan.

5.1 Overview of the data

First, looking at the development of the discussion solely by number of text units by year (figure 5), some preliminary observations can be made. The figure's shortcoming is that it does not differentiate between short news stories and longer, more in-depth articles, but this is rectified later in figure 7.

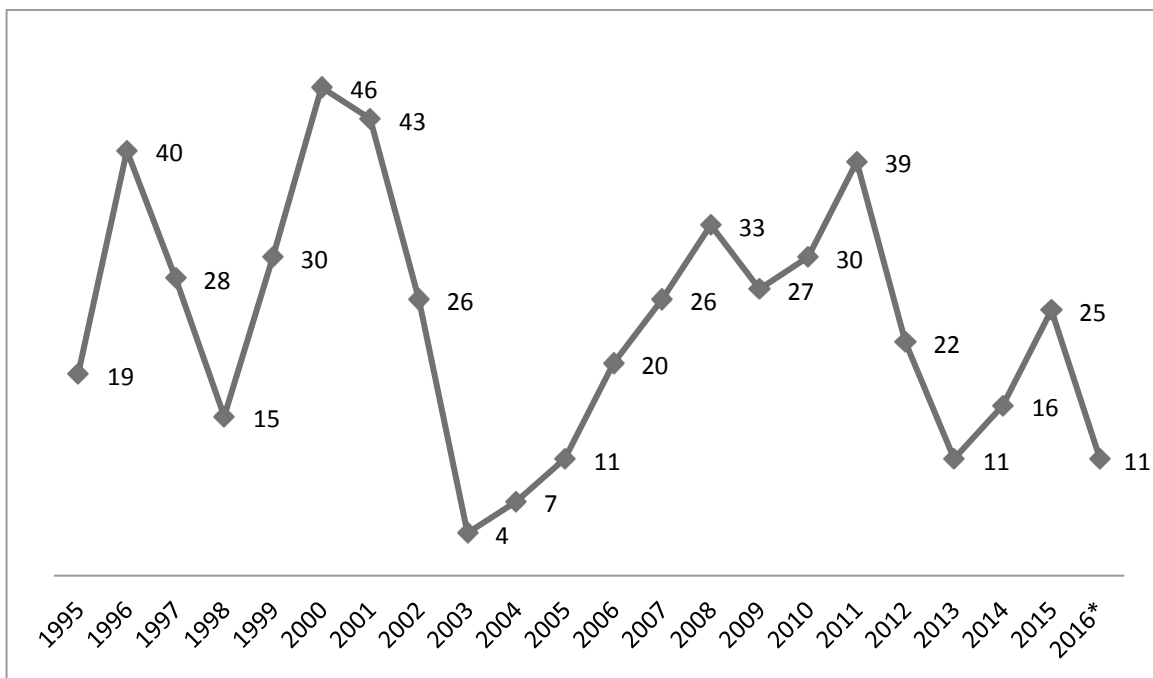


Figure 5: Number of text units 1995–2016

The timing of first spike (circa 1996) clearly falls on the period of the establishment of the first food bank and the beginning of the MDP. Similarly, CFA is discussed more around the time of the economic slump of 2009. The spike circa 2000 coincides with the work of the Church Hunger Group, but at this stage it is too early to claim that the discussion was affected by the group's work. The tentative rise at the end of the timespan begins at the

transition period from MDP to FEAD, and also coincides with the work of the *Huono-osaisin Suomi* –project. Perhaps the most interesting observation is the lack of discussion mid-2000 – the time period between two economic recessions.

Second, figure 6 presents the distribution of the text units by month. The text units were first divided into decades and the figure presents the mean values of the text units in said periods in addition to the mean values of the whole dataset.

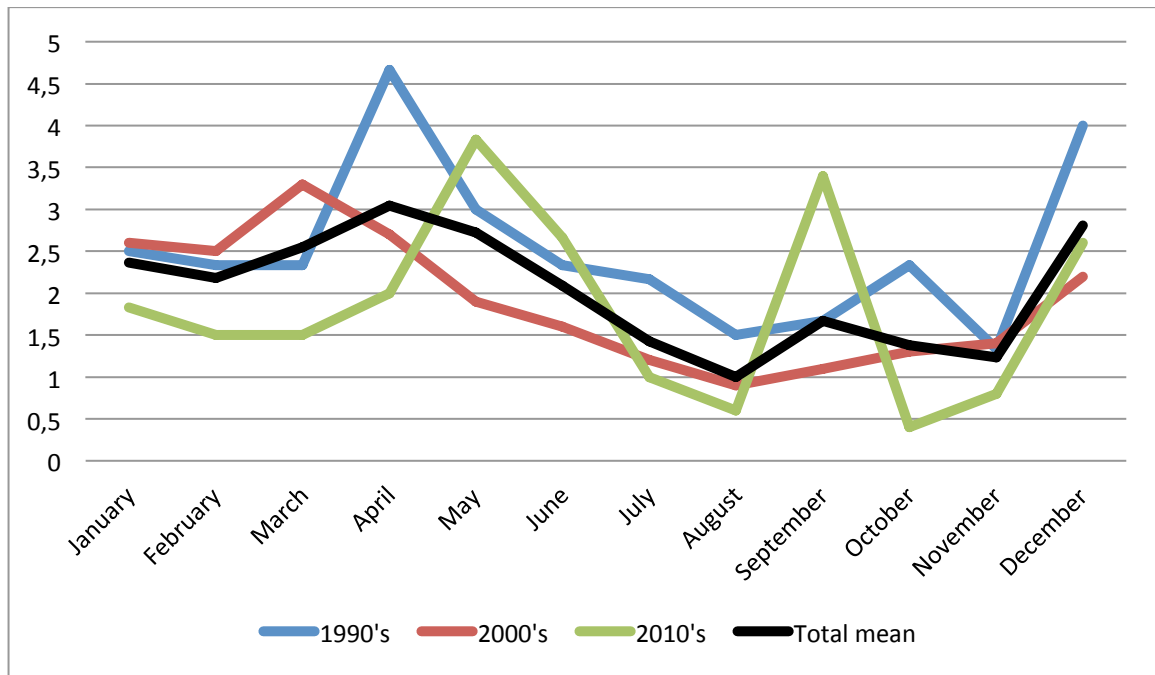


Figure 6: Monthly mean values of text units by decade

The overarching trend seems to be that the discussion peaks at two points: before the summer months and in December, with the exception of the obscure peak in September of the 2010's line. As can be seen from table 1, this is due to a peak in 2015. Though there is not a clear overarching theme linking the text units at the time period, this coincides with the establishment of the *Yhteinen pöytä* in Vantaa as well as some proposed cutbacks by the government. This peak notwithstanding, looking at the other instances where the number of data units exceeds ten, we can observe that the discussion is indeed centred on the months of March, April and May. The data did not provide any clear indications as to why the discussion centres on these months.

A common phrase is that “the poor have friends prior to elections” (e.g. Helsingin Sanomat 15.3.2007), but this sentiment is not supported by the data. Looking at table 1, there are no

significant spikes in the discussion prior to parliamentary elections in March 1999, March 2003, March 2007, April 2011 nor April 2015. On the other hand, politicians might appeal to the recipients of CFA in other media outlets, and the data only includes discussion on CFA, and not more generally on poverty or other disadvantages.

Table 1: Number of text units annually

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Jan	3	4	1	2	3	2	8	9	0	0	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	0	2	5	1
Feb	0	3	4	1	2	4	3	6	0	1	1	3	2	5	3	1	3	4	0	0	1	1
Mar	1	4	2	2	4	1	6	2	0	2	0	3	6	2	2	10	1	2	1	0	1	4
Apr	1	11	3	1	8	4	1	2	1	1	1	3	3	10	5	0	7	0	1	3	0	1
May	0	0	2	0	1	15	5	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	3	5	14	0	3	2	1	3
Jun	0	1	4	2	0	7	4	1	1	0	0	1	3	1	2	3	5	4	2	2	2	1
Jul	0	2	4	1	1	5	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	2	2	3	0	2	1	0	2	
Aug	1	1	2	0	1	4	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	
Sep	4	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	10	
Oct	6	3	3	0	1	1	6	1	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	
Nov	1	2	1	1	1	2	4	0	0	1	1	0	4	3	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	
Dec	2	8	2	4	7	1	4	0	2	0	2	1	4	2	4	3	0	5	1	5	2	

5.2 Two decades of frames

The analysis of the data produced 11 frameworks for CFA. The overwhelmingly utilized framework used CFA practices as an emblem of extreme poverty and was used a total of 253 times in the data, whereas the two least utilized frameworks combined were only used a total of 40 times. These two smaller frameworks are herein combined under the title “Other.” A short overview of the frames is presented next, followed by a longitudinal analysis of the evolution of framings in the media.

5.2.1 An overview of the frames

Charitable food aid as an emblem of poverty (253)

The most prominent frame by far, *charitable food aid as an emblem of poverty* is a framework where CFA practices – usually breadlines (*leipäjonot*) – were used in a rhetoric way when referring to poverty in Finland:

We are shown pictures of two kinds of queues: stockbrokers are lining up on the streets, while behind the corner the breadlines of charitable organizations continue to grow. As the

dream of striking rich lives on, elsewhere people worry about their daily bread.
(Helsingin Sanomat 15.12.1999, Vieraskynä.)

The framework could be used either as a rhetoric device (as above), where CFA is seen as a symbol of extreme poverty in Finland, or as an argument against for example military expenses:

I'm not sure whether Finland really needs these military helicopters. Perhaps the people queuing in Salvation Army breadlines and rummaging through garbage cans will feel safer with the army-green gadgets flying overhead.
(Helsingin Sanomat, 5.3.1998, Mielipide.)

As the framework was used in a rhetoric way, the text units were usually not concerned about CFA *per se*, but rather about poverty or income differences. Therefore the framework addresses the multifaceted phenomenon that is CFA purely as an outcome of poor income, though never delving deeper into what the mechanisms of poverty could be. Since the framework consists namely of mere mentions of CFA, namely breadlines, it was at first thought best to leave this frame out of analysis. Eventually, as the coding of the data continued, it was clear that the frame would become the most prominent way of addressing food aid in the data and therefore it was in the end included in analysis.

Organization of charitable food aid practices (129)

Most often used in news reports, *Organization of charitable food aid practices* is a frame where CFA is neutrally reported on and it is utilized in describing how CFA is organized – i.e. what is being distributed and how. This frame – alongside “*heart-rending human stories*” – is an example of framing *by* media, as suggested by Van Gorp (1997). The framework also included some critical observations of the contents of the aid and on the coping of the volunteers in CFA. The frame is quite evenly utilized throughout the dataset, but more often in the beginning of the timeline (see figure 7).

Charitable food aid as a result of poverty (96)

Whereas *charitable food aid as an emblem of poverty* is not interested in the root causes and mechanisms of poverty, this framework specifically addresses the causal relationship

of for example housing politics, the deep economic recession, and substance abuse in regards to CFA.

“The unemployed, those relying on small pensions, individuals with substance abuse issues and families with various problems did not get a morsel of the [economic] growth. Their situation has only become graver: people try to make ends meet on loans, but sometimes for example a fridge might break down.”
(Helsingin Sanomat 1.5.2000, Kotimaa.)

The frame was often used in tandem with the *change in welfare responsibilities in Finland* frame, as the reason for participating in CFA practices was often associated with the state’s inability to provide basic social security. The most prominent framing devices utilized within this framework included notions of national shame – further linking it to the concept of welfare responsibility – and the temporal dimension of CFA. Tentatively the frame was expected to also address food insecurity or food poverty, but surprisingly this was not the case, and the focus was on economic poverty, thus disregarding the multifaceted causes of food insecurity.

Change in welfare responsibilities in Finland (69)

The frame considers the relationship between CFA practices and the state, especially through the transition of welfare responsibilities from state to the church and the civil society.

“With the establishment of food banks, the church has highlighted a significant flaw. The society has been issued a distress call. Amidst all this welfare, tens of thousands are lining up for food. There is a problem and something has to be done. The welfare state has been erected so that the church plays its part. The church cannot, however, be responsible for the tasks of the state.”
(Helsingin Sanomat 6.1.1999, Kotimaa.)

Often used in tandem with *The purpose of the church* and *Charitable food aid as a national shame*, the frame discusses CFA in the context of the welfare state, thus addressing the notion of whether or not CFA is justifiable in a Nordic welfare regime. In contrast to *charitable food aid as a result of poverty*, this framework focuses primarily on the transitions of responsibility rather than the mechanisms of disadvantages.

Charitable food aid as a national shame (65)

Charitable food aid was seen as a national disgrace both by those who thought it proves that there are food insecure people in Finland, but interestingly also by those who thought that in actuality there is no hunger problem in Finland – at least in contrast to that in for example Biafra or North Korea:

I just want to say that I have personally seen people who are starving. In all honesty I can say that I am ashamed by my own country. Is there really such a hunger problem in Finland that we must apply for aid from the EU?
(Helsingin Sanomat 27.7.1997, Mielipide.)

As the feeling of shame often originated from the inability of the state to provide for its citizens, the frame was frequently used overlapping with *change in welfare responsibilities in Finland*. On the other hand, the frame was also used in tandem with the rhetorical notions of *charitable food aid as an emblem of poverty*, and it remains thus a shallow take on the practices at times.

“Heart-rending human stories” (50)

Perhaps the most difficult frame to code in this dataset, *“heart-rending human stories”* was first regarded as a media frame (such as Editorial, Column etc.) as it is a distinct way of portraying CFA in the media. In the end, however, it was included in the analysis as another example of framing *by* the media. The title of the framework comes from Jamrozik and Nozella (1998, 71) where the two describe how “[s]ocial problems are vividly portrayed by presenting them as ‘heart-rending human stories’ or ‘human catastrophes’, described in emotive terms – –.” The framework was always constructed around a recipient or a volunteer in CFA and relied on the interview of said person(s) and the journalists’ – often bleak and gritty – observations at the scene:

Some respond aggressively to being photographed. Poverty involves shame, though there is no need. Aggression is also understandable. No one wants to be the subject of poverty porn. But this is not poverty porn. This is a portrayal of the reality in Finland of today.
(Helsingin Sanomat 1.9.2015, Kaupunki.)

The framework could also utilize somewhat macabre backstories and anecdotes to liven up the text:

Tuula had been vomiting what looked like blueberry soup. “She always did enjoy blueberry soup.” Instead of blueberry soup the bucket was filled with blood. Tuula’s insides were in

shreds following years of extensive drinking, and apparently the refreshments she had had at her 60th birthday were too much.
(Helsingin Sanomat 8.1.2012, Kotimaa.)

As the frame is an example of framing by the media, it was used exclusively by the media, and more so never in Editorials. Though heavily emotional by default, the normative perception of CFA was especially hard to code within this framework. In the end it was decided that, as the frame is laden with expression, it was excluded from the coding of normative perception.

Charitable food aid and food waste (46)

Often referred to as the most prevalent frame in the recent years (e.g. Ohisalo 2015), this frame sees the potential in CFA inasmuch as the practices redistribute food surplus from retail and donations from food industry (faulty packaging and other foodstuff that are edible yet not saleable). The focus is shifted from the root causes of poverty and food insecurity to the issue of food waste in the food supply chain.

Jussi Pajunen (The National Coalition Party) shed some light on the history of breadlines: “Ten years ago the Salvation Army observed how edible bread from the shops was either thrown out or given to the pigs to eat. If the demand should cease, fully edible bread would once more become fodder for pigs.”
(Helsingin Sanomat 1.3.2001, Kaupunki.)

At the same time as the Salvation Army’s breadlines are getting longer and the parishes are complaining that they are increasingly fatigued under the workload of taking care of hungry citizens, tonnes of food is being carted into dumps. What kind of a realism [sic] are we living in? – – Or does food turn into worthless waste in our hands the very second it loses its market value?
(Helsingin Sanomat 22.6.2000, Mielipide.)

This was also the frame utilized by the private sector actors. The way CFA was framed by these actors, was that by providing the practices with their surplus they were participating in the “common good” and that the arrangement is mutually beneficial.

Bread and ready-meals are not allowed to go bad on the shelves, but are collected a day before the last selling date, packed in boxes and collected every morning by the parish of Myllypuro to be distributed to those in need. If the [foodstuff] were to be transferred to landfills, it would mean a lot of work. “The food would have to be removed from their packagings into compostable waste and the packaging sorted separately. Now we are spared this work.”
(Helsingin Sanomat 7.2.2005, Kaupunki.)

As the framework does not address the root causes of food insecurity, the transitions in welfare responsibilities or other criticism of the aid, the normative perception of CFA is predominantly positive (see table 2).

The purpose of the aid (46)

The question of who is eligible for aid and who is not is at the heart of this framework, as the focus is on the function of the aid: should the practices provide aid for everyone or should the recipients be scrutinized, so that the aid can be allocated? The recipients have been monitored in various ways throughout the timespan of CFA, whether by demanding identification, personal data or social security number (e.g. Helsingin Sanomat 13.4.1996, Kotimaa; 14.12.1996, Kotimaa; 28.3.2013, Kaupunki), or by demanding the recipients attend an interview prior to the aid.

“This is not about prying in the negative sense, but that in diaconic work our task is to aid those in need, and not others.”
(Helsingin Sanomat 15.5.2011, Kotimaa.)

In addition to giving justification to these conventions, the framework includes both positive and negative interpretations CFA: On the one hand, CFA was seen as a socially inclusive practice that could even employ or otherwise keep recipients busy through volunteer work. Within the framework, the practices social dimensions – i.e. CFA as a meeting place and social situation – are emphasized.

I believe that breadlines serve other purposes in addition to hunger. In the queues people get to meet each other and therefore to alleviate their social needs.
(Helsingin Sanomat 14.2.2008, Mielipide.)

On the other hand, the recipients’ growing reliance on the aid was seen as highly problematic, linking this frame to the welfare responsibilities of the state.

The purpose of the church (35)

Utilized predominantly by ELCF, *the purpose of the church* differs from *change in welfare responsibilities in Finland* inasmuch as it focuses on the role of the church in the context of the welfare state. Arguably overlapping with the aforementioned frame, this framework still formed a definite frame on its own.

Foodbanks have been operated for years with good grace, but now the meaning of the work has been questioned: “Is giving material assistance in such degree the churches task?” (Helsingin Sanomat 16.5.2000, Kotimaa.)

The framework differed from *change in welfare responsibilities in Finland* also in that it emphasized the temporal dimension of CFA – that church food banks and other means of aid were supposed to be a temporary solution, and should not have become an established practice.

[Archbishop] Vikström took part in the churches national poverty seminar, held in Helsinki on Monday, and expressed his worries about the foodbank scheme becoming established. “That was not our intention.” (Helsingin Sanomat 16.5.2000, Kotimaa)

Other: side-effects of charitable food aid and the agricultural policy framework (40)

The two smaller frames were both rather situational and therefore present in the timeline in specific instances. *Side-effects of charitable food aid* revolved around the negative and positive side-effects of CFA, though chiefly focusing on the negative side. The positive effects overlap with *the purpose of the aid* framework, but the negative side-effects (violence and racism in the queues, reduced value of estates near the breadlines and the “not in my backyard” phenomenon etc.) were exclusive to this frame. The frame peaked in 2011, when the disbandment of the breadline in Kallio, organized by *Veikko ja Lahja Hurstin Laupedyö ry*, was discussed vividly. During the time period of MDP, CFA was also framed within an agricultural framework, as the EU-aid has its roots in EU-level agricultural policy.

5.2.2 The evolution of the frames: a longitudinal approach

The frames described above are presented in a timeline in figure 7. Whereas figure 5 showed the total number of text units for each year, figure 7 aims to show how “rich” the discussion has been – i.e. what variety of frames has been utilized. This allows not only the presentation of the evolution of specific frameworks, but also the peaks of media coverage are easily and more exactly visualized (cf. Boydston & Glazier 2013). As can be seen from the figure, the discussion has encompassed a plethora of frames throughout the timespan, a notion that would imply that the discussion has not been dominated by a single frame at any point. The figure retraces the spikes and slumps of the text units fairly well, which continues to suggest that the discussion has been quite evenly rich in frames at all times.

Regarding the spike of circa 1996, looking at the frames utilized it is clear that the organization and contents of the aid are the focus of discussion. It is safe to say that this is due to the novelty of CFA practices (first food bank in Tampere, the beginning of MDP etc.) and the sluggish bureaucracy and subsequent delays in the EU food aid. In the *other* frame the agricultural policy framework is utilized often, as the EU-level aid intersects with agricultural policies. Between the spikes of mid-1990 and 2000's, CFA continues to be used in a rhetoric way, though there are fewer text units in the data at this point.

During the turn of the millennium – in addition to the use of CFA as a rhetoric device – four frames stand out: *CFA as a national shame*, *CFA as a result of poverty*, *organization of CFA* and *changes in welfare responsibilities*. An overarching theme during this period is that the discussion focuses on the consequences of the economic recession – i.e. CFA is being framed as an outcome of the cutbacks and austerity measures implemented during the deep economic recession. This supports the notions that even after the national economy began to grow and the economic recession came to an end, the impact of the period continued to affect social policy and the underprivileged well into the 2000's (e.g. Lehtonen & Aho 2000). This period also marks the first time that the framework *CFA and food waste* is effectively present in the data, though some brief mentions of food waste redistribution date back to the very beginning of the time period.

The next spike coincides with the beginning of the financial crisis of 2007–2008, though the Finnish economy was not hit by it until 2009. During this period, the use of CFA as a rhetoric device is prominently frequent, though there is an increase in other framing as well. The prominent increase in the *other* framework during 2011 is for the most part due to the outrage caused by the suggested disbandment of the breadline in Kallio. From 2013 onwards *CFA and food waste* becomes a relatively large framework in the discussion, which suggests that since the changes made to the food safety regulations, the subsequent rise of donated foodstuff, and finally the proposed legislation that would obligate retailers to donate edible foodstuff to charities have caused a resurgence of this particular framework.

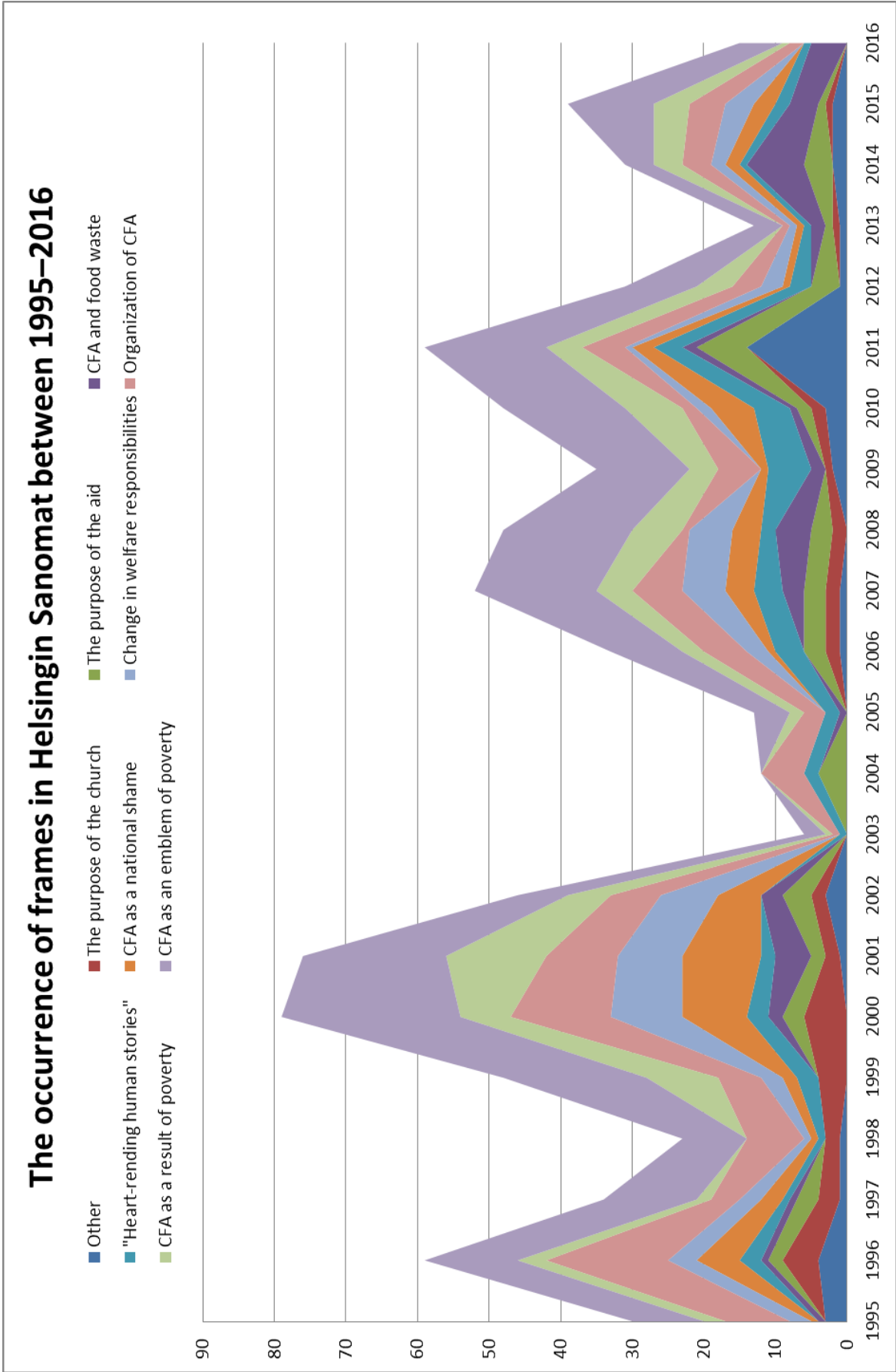


Figure 7: The occurrence of frames in HS (1995–2016)

Reflections on the purpose and tasks of the church were more often included in the discussion during the beginning of the aid. Also, the use of “*heart-rending human stories*” was more frequent around the period of the economic slump of 2009, rather than during the much deeper economic recession of 1990’s. With this dataset it would be daring claim that the discussion on CFA is anchored around economic downtrends and cutbacks in social policy, but on the other hand the media attention given to CFA does seem to increase at such times. Especially interesting is the sudden drop in discussion between the two economic recessions, though it is impossible to indicate a cause for this sudden drop in the data.

5.2.3 Stakeholders and the normative perceptions of the frames

The coding of the stakeholders utilizing the frames was not as straightforward as suspected. The shortcoming of the data was that it was troublesome to reliably differentiate between journalists’ *interpretations* of interviews and the actual stakeholder interviews – i.e. framing *by* and *through* the media. Some tentative considerations can, however, be made, though for the most part the frames were coded under *Media* (i.e. journalists from Helsingin Sanomat or other media outlets in the section *Other papers*) or *Other* (individual writers in *Opinions*, if the affiliation or role of the writer was not explicitly stated). The overall distribution of frameworks between stakeholders is presented in figure 8:

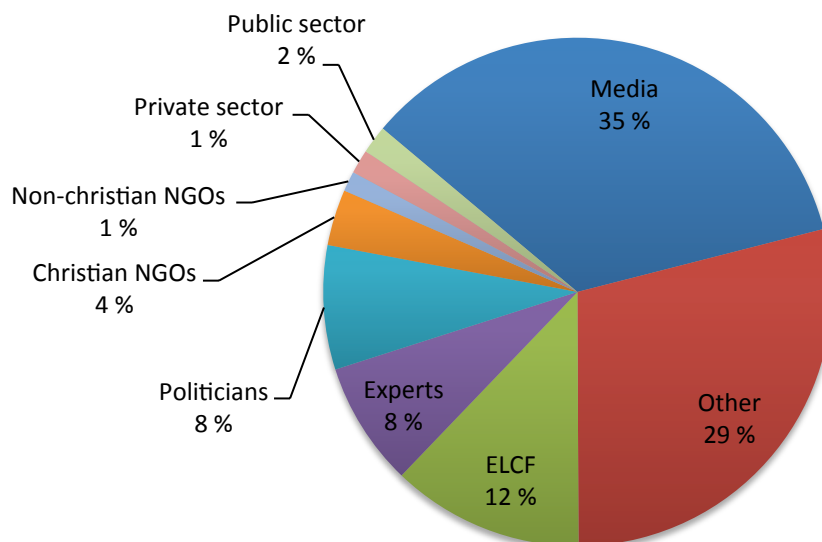


Figure 8: The utilization of frames by stakeholders

A noteworthy observation is the the overall poor representation of the CFA organizers in the data, with the added share of ELCF and NGOs adding up to not even a fifth of the data. Furthermore, the nigh complete absence of the National Organization for the Unemployed (TVY, present in four text units) and the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare (MLL, present in two text units) as well as the overall lack of NGOs in the data are interesting observations. According to Ohisalo et al. (2014) the NGOs amount up to roughly two thirds of the CFA organizers – the rest consisting of parishes and other organizations, all coded here under ELCF – therefore the NGOs and ELCF are somewhat unevenly represented in relation to each other. In regards to other stakeholders presented above, politicians and experts (in here “experts” refers to researchers, representatives of research institutions and professionals in the field of social work) were present moderately often throughout the data, whereas private and public sector actors were rarely the key stakeholders in the discussion. Private sector actors were representatives of either the food industry or retail sector and the public sector consisted of officials in Ministries or public institutions. The results are somewhat inconclusive, as the coding was such a complicated procedure. Table 2 illustrates how in most frameworks the key stakeholders are either *Media* or *Other*, though the ELCF does appear to utilize some frames more often than other stakeholders. Still, the data collected proved to be unsuitable for a thorough analysis of the stakeholders’ framings, which would require a larger and broader dataset gathered from multiple sources.

Looking at the normative perception of CFA – i.e. whether the practices are seen as positive, neutral or negative within the framework – some intriguing results arise in table 2. First, observing the frames where the normative perception tends to be leaning towards negative, two frames stand out: *change in welfare responsibilities* and *charitable food aid as a national shame*. The overarching theme in these frames is that both frameworks view CFA first and foremost within the context of the Finnish welfare state – and therefore discuss it in tandem with universalist social policy. This is also true for the framework *charitable food aid as a result of poverty*, though this frame tends to be utilized more neutrally. Second, when discussing CFA within the framework of *charitable food aid and food waste*, the normative perception tends to be predominantly positive. Same goes for the framework *side-effects*. Overall, the normative perception is chiefly neutral – which is partially explained by the large proportion of framings by the media, as news stories tend to favour a neutral approach.

Table 2: The occurrence of frameworks by stakeholders and normative perception of CFA

	Key stakeholders utilizing the frame	Normative perception of CFA within the frame
CFA as an emblem of poverty	Other (131) Media (64) Politicians (25) Experts (21)	N/A ⁴
CFA as a result of poverty	Media (26) Other (19) ELCF (16) Experts (16)	Positive (9) Neutral (58) Negative (20) N/A (10)
Organization of CFA	Media (86) ELCF (18)	Positive (11) Neutral (106) Negative (10) N/A (2)
Change in welfare responsibilities	Media (22) ELCF (17) Politicians (10)	Positive (5) Neutral (31) Negative (35)
CFA as a national shame	Other (28) Media (16)	Positive (4) Neutral (5) Negative (39) N/A (17)
"Heart-rending human stories"	N/A ⁴	N/A ⁴
CFA and food waste	Media (17) Private sector (10)	Positive (26) Neutral (19) Negative (1)
The purpose of the aid	Media (17) ELCF (11)	Positive (11) Neutral (25) Negative (12)
The purpose of the church	ELCF (17) Media (8) Other (8)	Positive (11) Neutral (11) Negative (12)
Side-effects	Other (10) Media (8)	Positive (12) Neutral (11) Negative (2)
The agricultural framework	Media (10)	Positive (0) Neutral (9) Negative (6)

⁴ *CFA as an emblem of poverty* did not focus on the CFA *per se* and is therefore left out of the normative perception of CFA column, whereas *"heart-rending human stories"* was decided best to be left out completely, as it was extremely difficult to code either the stakeholders or the normative perceptions.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The chapter is divided into three sections: First, the results are examined through the research questions, with the emphasis being on the four most theoretically interesting frameworks; second, some suggestions for further studies are addressed; and third the future of CFA in Finland is contemplated on.

6.1 Conclusions from the analysis

RQ1: How has charity food aid been framed during the 20-years of discussion?

Throughout the time frame of 1995 to 2016, CFA has been framed in the media discussion quite broadly. In most text units, however, CFA was used first and foremost as an emblem of poverty in Finland. In these text units the focus was indeed not on CFA practices, but the breadlines or other practices were used as symbols or visual cues of poverty in Finland. Utilizing the practices as a rhetoric device, the framework usually dismissed the root causes of poverty. These mechanisms were the basis of another frame, *charitable food aid as a result of poverty*, which focused on the underlying causes that lead the recipients to rely on charitable aid. In addition to *CFA as a result of poverty*, other notable frameworks were *changes in welfare responsibilities*, *CFA and food waste* and *the purpose of the aid*. As these four frames all connect to the conceptual framework, a more thorough reflection on them is presented under research question 3.

The dataset gathered from Helsingin Sanomat seems to emphasize both the neutral news-format – i.e. the reporting on how the CFA practices are organized and what is being donated etc. – and the more sentimental framing of CFA, exhibited especially in the “*heart-rending human stories*” framework.

RQ2: Who is using these frames, how do they use the frames and at what times?

The absence of CFA organizers in the dataset is an interesting observation: could the underlying reason be that, as the practices rely heavily on volunteer work, the organizers of the aid do not have the capacity to participate in public discussion? Whatever the reason may be, the lack of representation from the most invested stakeholders – perhaps apart

from recipients, who are also absent from the data – is problematic, as their hands-on knowledge and understanding of CFA is not fully utilized in the current discussion. ELCF was the most prominent of the CFA organizers in the data, most notably in utilizing the framework *the purpose of the church*, but also throughout the timespan when the focus was on the responsibilities of both the state and the church or civil society. But, as mentioned before, the coding of the stakeholders was not straightforward – something that was a major weakness in the analysis. A broader dataset that incorporates text units from different outlets (NGO newsletters, press releases, other newspapers etc.) would enable a more thorough analysis of the stakeholders’ utilization of the frames. This was however not possible in this thesis due to time constraints. The possibilities for further analysis are, however, addressed later in this chapter.

The results suggest that the discussion is centred on the two economic recessions and subsequent impacts these have had on social policy. An equally interesting observation is the fact that the discussion seems to come to a standstill circa 2003, which begs the question: did CFA practices lose their media-appeal during the economically steady time period? The data is, however, ill-suited to answer this question. The notion that the “underprivileged have friends prior to the elections” on the other hand can be dismissed – at least in the context of CFA – as the results do not support this in any of the parliamentary election years that coincide with the timespan. The alleged transition to the focus on food waste in the 2010’s is somewhat supported by the results, though perhaps not as prominently as is claimed. Then again, the data presents only a fragment of the public discussion, and hence a broader dataset could allow elaboration on this notion.

RQ3: What are the characteristics of the essential frames?

Focusing on the frameworks that intersect with the conceptual framework, rather than on the frames that were most often utilized, four frames are highlighted herein.

CFA as a result of poverty is a framework that is mainly structured around the mechanisms of disadvantages (cf. Ohisalo et al. 2015; see also figure 1). Though through this framing the phenomena of food insecurity, hunger and poverty are examined in more detail than in *CFA as an emblem of poverty*, the focus is still dominantly on income poverty rather than food poverty or food insecurity. Thus the framework dismisses the

dimensions of food security that are not directly linked to income, most notably the *physical* access to food and food *utilization*. The latter was addressed in the data only a handful of times, often when referring to the recipients' lack of food skills, though the proper utilization of food is crucial for both the wellbeing of recipients and subsequently the public health. Physical access to food was also largely absent from the discussion, with only some brief mentions in the case of *RuokaNysse* – a CFA practice structured around a bus service in Tampere that caters for recipients with poor physical access to CFA.

The narrow interpretation of food (in)security was also at the heart of the framework **the purpose of the aid**. The frame was utilized most frequently when discussing who is eligible for aid – i.e. who is truly hungry – and thus the framework intersects with the concepts of hunger and food insecurity. As the practices rely for the most part on the abstract notion of hunger, verifying the “hungry” from the “not-hungry” is a thoroughly subjective process and a practice where many of the CFA organizers have resorted to demanding bank slips or other means of documentation by which the recipients prove their need of aid. This, however, brings us back to the problem of defining hunger as a direct result of income poverty by default – a simplification that once again dismisses the other dimensions of food security. Moreover, as the purpose of the aid was also defined as being a meeting place and the distribution as a socially inclusive event for the recipients, it is problematic if the framing of CFA suggests that for example the working poor, students or those with small pensions are excluded from these practices on the grounds that they have some kind of income. By implementing a broader understanding of food insecurity, the practices could avoid rejecting recipients that seem, by a narrow definition, not truly hungry or in need. This, of course, assumes that the practices try to act by the ideal of universalism in some degree, wherein lies another issue: As the aid is not, apart from food safety regulations, monitored in any significant way, the allocation of the aid is dependent on the organizer of the practice. Not all practices have the resources or are willing to fulfil the task that is thought by many to be the responsibility of the state.

Which brings us to the **change in welfare responsibilities** built-in CFA. If we consider Finland as a Nordic welfare regime, the task of providing basic security for the citizens is the responsibility of the state. CFA practices openly challenge this presumption by providing for a basic need. This transition in the welfare responsibilities was challenged in the 1990's by the church and more widely during the aftermath of the cutbacks of the

1990's recession and during the economic slump of 2009. But as we come to the end of the timespan, the results suggest that the outrage is not as vocal as before. This could imply that the transition from the ideals of a Nordic welfare state to the ideal of "neoliberal thinking" that "stress private arrangements based on individual responsibility, such that individuals and families would take care of their own social security, supported by charitable work on nongovernmental organizations", as suggested by Ferge et al. (1997, 35), has become more or less accepted in the organization of CFA. But by shifting welfare responsibility to CFA practices instead of raising the level of basic security, the phenomenon addressed is narrowed down to just hunger (with all its problematic aspects addressed above) and thus the root causes of food insecurity are dismissed. Julkunen (2006) also addresses the issue of transitioning welfare responsibility from the state to NGOs in terms of autonomy of the NGOs, stating that "[a]lthough production of services in NGOs is paid, professional work, they cannot be obliged to provide aid or produce services" (ibid. 217). Moreover, in the case of CFA where the practices rely heavily on volunteer work, the practices are perhaps more prone to be fatigued which leads to instability in the production of the services – an issue highlighted by Julkunen (ibid. 128) as well.

A tentative mechanism that supports this transition in welfare responsibilities is the use of framings that showcase the positive aspects of CFA, dismissing the more critical notions of the aid. **CFA and food waste** is a framework that fits the description: the normative perception of the practices is positive by default as they are seen as a solution to the shameful overproduction and food waste in the supply chain, and the underlying social issues that lead recipients of food aid to the practices are for the most part dismissed entirely. By focusing on food waste management, the frame justifies CFA practices from a new perspective, rooting their existence firmly to the receiving end of the food supply chain. The role CFA practices play in this scheme – whether it is called waste management or food surplus redistribution – has been used as an argument against the disbanding of practices by politicians (see chapter 5.2.1) and the retail sector but also by the organizers of CFA themselves: "If our distribution is interrupted, an outstanding amount of foodstuff will go to waste from [the shops]" (Helsingin Sanomat 26.1.2015, Kaupunki). An interesting side note is the establishment of food waste restaurants. Fine dining made from food waste does not seem to intersect with hunger alleviation at first glance, but as the CFA practices are intertwined with the food waste from the retail sector, these practices

deserve to be considered in relation to each other. On the one hand, restaurants such as *Waste to Taste* tentatively support those in need by providing access to income via easily accessible jobs, thus addressing one of the root causes of food insecurity. On the other hand though, these practices cream off the best donations from the food supply chain, resulting in less food to be distributed for free whilst still maintaining the loophole for creating food waste – thus maintaining both the issues of overproduction and the food insecurity of the underprivileged. These issues notwithstanding, the waste-based restaurants do hold potential for reducing food waste in a dignified manner, though in a broad sense and at this particular time the negative impact had on CFA might outweigh the positive impact had through food waste management. Ultimately a more systematic understanding of the intersectionality of both of these practices and the grand scheme of overproduction and national food insecurity should be implemented in the discussion.

6.2 Suggestions for further studies

As stated before, the dataset was not entirely suitable for such a systematic approach as suggested by Van Gorp and van der Goot (2012). Thus, a larger dataset, with text units from other sources (other newspapers, press releases, blogs etc.) would enable for a more thorough and systematic frame package analysis. With a larger dataset and a frame package matrix, the results would better achieve the discussion as a whole, rather than through a single media outlet. An interesting approach would also be to analyse this dataset using quantitative methods – the unit of analysis being the text units that are coded using frame package analysis, thus producing the variables of the units.

Building on the results of this thesis, it could be possible to operationalize a survey for the CFA organizers that would aim at structuring the interpretations given to the practice by the organizers of CFA. With a survey, the data collected could be analysed for differences between religious, non-religious and ELCF organizers, between locations, between those that distribute donations and those who distribute EU-food etc. Another possibility would be to elaborate on the practices-as-an-endpoint –model, by defining the mechanisms within the context of a welfare state that are connected to CFA, and possibly implementing the results presented in this thesis to these mechanisms.

Finally, looking at the frame *CFA and food waste*, one could argue that even though CFA has been used as a rhetoric device and an emblem of poverty in Finland, it was only when the practices were linked (in a positive manner) to the issue of food waste that CFA gained policy relevance. According to Haajer (1995, 22) “[t]he regulation of a problem first and foremost requires forms of discursive closure: the problem needs a definition that gives policy-making a proper target”, which in this case suggests that food insecurity was not a sufficient or distinct issue, whereas food waste is more easily accepted as a policy-making target. Therefore a study focusing primarily on the shift in focus or justification of CFA would tentatively produce some interesting results.

6.3 What does the future have in store for food aid?

The arrival of the *Berliner Tafel* –network influence, implemented in the *Yhteinen pöytä -model* in Vantaa, marks a significant change in the way CFA practices may be organized in Finland. Thus, a few words on the future of CFA are in order. The new model incorporates not only the civil society and ELCF, but also actors from the private and public sectors, which can be seen a signal that the practices need no longer operate at the fringes of official social policy; organized in tandem with municipalities, cities etc., the new model of CFA involves an impressive transition in welfare responsibilities. This shift in responsibility from the state to the church and civil society deserves to be scrutinized further. At the time of writing, government plans for allocating €1.1 million appropriation for CFA practices and other NGOs have emerged, which, if fulfilled, will further entrench the role of ELCF and NGOs in providing welfare in Finland – and simultaneously continue to distance Finland from the ideals of the Nordic welfare regime (Uusi Suomi 10.10.2016, Kotimaa).

Another interesting notion is the upcoming reform of basic social support, as starting in 2017 the last-resort form of financial assistance is transferred from the social services to the Social Insurance Institution of Finland (Kela). The transition might result in an upsurge of recipients in CFA: as the primary mean of applying for basic social assistance is now an online service, out of the approximately 300.000 recipients of the aid those without access to Internet or without the necessary skills in addition to poor physical access to local services can be at risk, and the transition period is predicted to be congested (HS.fi 2016).

In addition, the refugee crisis and subsequent rise of *sans papiers*, the undocumented migrants and those that have received negative decision on asylum but have not left the country, is an issue that has not been addressed enough. Are these people welcome in CFA practices? If the reform of CFA continues to imitate the *Berliner Tafel* –model and the cooperation between the public sector and the civil society grows – hence transferring welfare responsibilities from the state to the NGOs – are these practices going to start screening the recipients more thoroughly than at the moment?

In conclusion, the context in which CFA practices operate in is at an interesting state and at the same time the tacit approval of the aid has been replaced with outspoken discussion on the cooperation between public and private sector and civil society. At a period such as this, it is crucial to produce critical evaluations and research on the subject, as the public discussion tentatively seems to favour a rather narrow view on the subject. The work of *Huono-osaisin Suomi* – project has been utilized in decision-making and in the media, but one cannot help but feel like some aspects of CFA have been “disattended”, as suggested by Goffman (1986), by utilizing only a fraction of the results in general discussion. Regarding the recent allocation of funds for CFA and other NGOs, only time will tell whether or not this transition in welfare responsibilities is somehow regulated to address not only hunger in its narrowest sense, but encompassing the mechanisms of food insecurity in a more wholesome manner.

REFERENCES

Boydston, A. E. & Glazier, R. A. (2013). A Two-Tiered Method for Identifying Trends in Media Framing of Policy Issues: The Case of the War on Terror. *Policy Studies Journal* 41, pp. 706–735. DOI: 10.1111/psj.12038

Candel, J.L., Breeman, G.E., Stiller, S.J. & Termeer, C.J.A.M. (2014). Disentangling the consensus frame of food security: The case of EU Common Agricultural Policy reform debate. *Food Policy* 44, pp. 47–58.

The Constitution of Finland, 11 June 1999. Unofficial translation available at: <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/kaannokset/1999/en19990731.pdf> [accessed 3.10.2016]

Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. L. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd edited ed.). London: Sage.

De Vreese, C. H., Peter, J. & Semetko H. A. (2001). Framing politics at the launch of the Euro: A cross-national comparative study of frames in the News. *Political Communication* 18(2), pp. 107–122.

Ellisaari, J. (2000). Leipäjono kiistää sosiaalivaltion. *Socius: Sosiaali- ja terveystieteellinen aikakauslehti* 5, p. 30.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity.

European Commission (2016a). Free food for the most deprived persons in the EU (archive). http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/most-deprived-persons/archive_en.htm [accessed 20.9.2016]

European Commission (2016b). Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived (FEAD). <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=1089> [accessed 20.9.2016]

EVIRA (2013). Ruoka-apuun luovutettavat elintarvikkeet. Valvontaviraston ohje 16035/1. https://www.evira.fi/globalassets/tietoa-evilasta/lomakkeet-ja-ohjeet/elintarvikkeet/elintarvikehuoneistot/ruoka-apuohje_16035_2013.pdf [accessed 6.10.2016]

FAO (2008). An introduction to the basic concepts of food security. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/013/al936e/al936e00.pdf> [accessed 4.10.2016]

Ferge, Z., Hellsten, K., Kalimo, E. & Purola, T. (1997). Sosiaalipolitiikan kilpailevien ideologioiden vertailua: Hyvinvointivaltion eurooppalainen malli ja uusliberalismi vaihtoehtoisina esikuvina. Sosiaali- ja terveysturvan katsauksia 19. Helsinki: Kansaneläkelaitos, tutkimus- ja kehitysyksikkö.

Goffman, E. (1986). Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience (Revised ed.). Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Greve, B. (2015). Welfare and the welfare state: Present and future. New York: Routledge.

Hajer, M. A. (1995). The politics of environmental discourse: Ecological modernization and the policy process. Oxford University Press.

Hanssen, O. J., Ekegren, P., Gram-Hanssen, I., Korpela, P., Langevad-Clifforth, N., Skov-Olsen, K., Silvennoinen, K., Stare, M., Stenmarck, Å. & Svanes, E. (2015). Food redistribution in the Nordic region: Experiences and results from a pilot study. TemaNord, Nordic Council of Ministers, Copenhagen K. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.6027/tn2014-562>

Heikkilä, M., Hänninen, S., Karjalainen, J., Kontula, O. & Koskela, K. (1994). Nälkä. Sosiaali- ja terveysturvan ministeriön raportteja 153. Helsinki: Stakes.

Heikkilä, M. & Karjalainen, J. (1999). Leaks in the safety net: The role of civil dialogue in the Finnish inclusion policy. Helsinki: Stakes.

Heikkilä, M., & Karjalainen, J. (2000). Köyhyys ja hyvinvointivaltion murros. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Heikkilä, M., & Uusitalo, H. (1997). Leikkausten hinta: Tutkimuksia sosiaaliturvan leikkauksista ja niiden vaikutuksista 1990-luvun Suomessa. Helsinki: Stakes.

Heiskala, R., Luhtakallio, E., Alasuutari, P., Ilmonen, K., & Uskali, T. (2006). Uusi jako: Miten Suomesta tuli kilpailukyky-yhteiskunta? Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Helsingin Sanomat (15.3.2007, Mielipide (online archive)). Köyhyys on suhteellista.

- Henning, C., & Gunn, A. (2004). *Päivälehti – Helsingin sanomat*. Helsinki: Helsingin sanomat.
- Herkman, J. (2015). Pelkkää retoriikkaa? Populismien kehykset Helsingin Sanomissa ja Iltä-Sanomissa vuoden 2011 eduskuntavaalien yhteydessä. *Media & viestintä* 38(2), pp. 74–89. <http://www.mediaviestinta.fi/arkisto/index.php/mv/article/viewFile/89/74> [accessed 17.9.2016]
- Hiilamo, H. (Helsingin Sanomat, 19.3.2007, Pääkirjoitukset (online archive))
Hyvinvointimallimme rapautumassa.
- Hiilamo, H. (2012). Rethinking the role of church in a socio-democratic welfare state. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 32(7/8), pp. 401–414.
- HS.fi (2016). Kela kouluttaa työntekijöitään toimeentulotukeen – tukea voi kohta hakea verkossa. <http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/a1475980876722> [accessed 10.10.2016]
- Hänninen, S. (1994). Nälästä. In Heikkilä, M., S. Hänninen, J. Karjalainen, O. Kontula & K. Koskela (eds.): *Nälkä*, pp. 3–14. *Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden tutkimuskeskuksen raportteja 153*. Helsinki: Stakes.
- Hänninen, S., Karjalainen, J., Lehtelä, K-M. & Silvasti, T. (2008). *Toisten pankki: Ruoka-apu hyvinvointivaltiossa*. Helsinki: Stakes.
- Jamrozik, A., & Nocella, L. (1998). *The sociology of social problems: Theoretical perspectives and methods of intervention*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jokinen, K. & Saaristo, K. (2006). *Suomalainen yhteiskunta (2nd revised ed.)*. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Julkunen, R. (1992). *Hyvinvointivaltio käännekohdassa*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Julkunen, R. (2006). *Kuka vastaa? Hyvinvointivaltion rajat ja julkinen vastuu*. Helsinki: Stakes.
- Karjalainen, J. (1997). Ruoka-apu toimeentulon täydentäjänä – Näkyykö köyhyys epävirallisen avuntarpeen lisäyksenä? In Heikkilä, M. & H. Uusitalo (eds.): *Leikkausten*

hinta: Tutkimuksia sosiaaliturvan leikkauksista ja niiden vaikutuksista 1990-luvun Suomessa, pp. 197–210. Helsinki: Stakes.

Karjalainen, J. (2008). Nälkä-äläkästä nälkärühmään – tutkimus, ruokapankit ja politiikka lehdistössä. In Hänninen, S., J. Karjalainen, K-M. Lehtelä & T. Silvasti (eds.): Toisten pankki: Ruoka-apu hyvinvointivaltiossa, pp. 69–114. Helsinki: Stakes.

Karjalainen, J. & Järvinen, S. (2000). Yllätysten tori sosiaalisena innovaationa – viisi katsetta vaihtoehtoiseen apuun. In Heikkilä, M., & J. Karjalainen (eds.): Köyhyys ja hyvinvointivaltion murros, pp. 103–268. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Kontula, O. & Koskela, K. (1993). Taloudellisen laman terveysvaikutuksia 1992–1993. Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriön julkaisuja 1993:10. Helsinki: Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö.

Kortetmäki, T. (2015). Food security and ethics: the first world hunger. In Dumitras, D. E., I. M. Jitea & S. Aerts (eds.), Know your food: Food ethics and innovation, pp. 198–204. Wageningen Academic Publishers. DOI: 10.3920/978-90-8686-813-1_29

Kortetmäki, T. & Silvasti, T. (Forthcoming 2017). Charitable food aid in a nordic welfare state: A case for environmental and social injustice. In Matthies, A.-L. & K. Närhi (eds.): The Ecosocial Transition of Societies: The Contribution of Social Work and Social Policy, pp. 219–233. Abingdon: Routledge.

Kosonen, P. (1998). Pohjoismaiset mallit murroksessa. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Kärppä, H. (Helsingin Sanomat 26.5.2016, Talous (online archive)). Kaupat tyrmäävät hävikkiruuan pakollisen jakelun.

LA 29/2016. Lakialoite laiksi elintarvikelain muuttamisesta. https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/vaski/Lakialoite/Sivut/LA_29+2016.aspx [accessed 22.9.2016]

Laki Suomen Hallitusmuodon muuttamisesta (969/1995), 17 July 1995.

Lehtelä, K-M. & Kestilä, L. (2014). Kaksi vuosikymmentä ruoka-apua. In Vaarama, M., S. Karvonen, L. Kestilä, P. Moisio & A. Muuri (eds.): Suomalaisten hyvinvointi 2014, pp. 270–281. Helsinki: Terveysten ja hyvinvoinnin laitos.

Luhtakallio, E. (2005). Kehysanalyysi mediakuvien sukupuolirepresentaatioiden tutkimuksessa. *Sosiologia* 42(3), pp. 189–206. <http://elektra.helsinki.fi/se/s/0038-1640/42/3/kehysana.pdf> [accessed 26.9.2016]

Matthies, A-L. & Närhi, K. (Forthcoming 2017). *The Ecosocial Transition of Societies: The Contribution of Social Work and Social Policy*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Matthies, A-L. & Uggerhøj, L. (2014). *Participation, marginalization and welfare services: Concepts, politics and practices across European countries*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Mukka, A. (Helsingin Sanomat 5.4.1996, Kotimaa (online archive)). EU:n avustusmuonan jakelu alkaa pääsiäisen jälkeen.

Ohisalo, M. (2014). Kuka tahansa meistä? Sosioekonominen asema ruoka-avussa. In Ohisalo, M. & J. Saari (eds.): *Kuka seisoo leipäjonossa? Ruoka-apu 2010-luvun Suomessa*, pp. 27–41. Helsinki: KAKS – Kunnallisan kehittämissäätiö.

Ohisalo, M. (2015). Ovatko leipäjonot ratkaisu ruokahävikkiin? Presentation, Hävikkiseminaari – ylijäämäruoka köyhille vai kaatopaikalle?, Visitor's Centre (Little Parliament), 22.9.2015. http://www.eapn.fi/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Eduskunta_Ohisalo_h%C3%A4vikki_22.9.2015.pdf [accessed 3.10.2016]

Ohisalo, M., Eskelinen, N., Laine, J., Kainulainen, S. & Saari, J. (2014). *Avun tilkkutäkki: suomalaisen ruoka-apukentän monimuotoisuus*. Avustustoiminnan julkaisuja. Helsinki: Raha-automaattiyhdistys.

Ohisalo, M., Laihiala, T. & Saari, J. (2015). Huono-osaisuuden ulottuvuudet ja kasautuminen leipäjonoissa. *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka* 80(5), pp. 435–446.

Ohisalo, M. & Määttä, A. (2014). Viimeisen luukun jälkeen – ruoka-avussa käyvien paikka julkisessa palvelu- ja tulonsiirtoverkossa. In Ohisalo, M. & J. Saari (eds.): *Kuka seisoo leipäjonossa? Ruoka-apu 2010-luvun Suomessa*, pp. 42–58. Helsinki: KAKS – Kunnallisan kehittämissäätiö.

Ohisalo, M. & Saari, J. (2014). Kuka seisoo leipäjonossa? Ruoka-apu 2010-luvun Suomessa. Helsinki: KAKS - Kunnallisanalan kehittämissäatiö.

Ohisalo, M., Saari, J. & Saukko, E. (2014). Vuotava haava – Häpeä ja stigma leipäjonossa. In Ohisalo, M. & J. Saari (eds.): Kuka seisoo leipäjonossa? Ruoka-apu 2010-luvun Suomessa, pp. 81–95. Helsinki: KAKS – Kunnallisanalan kehittämissäatiö.

Ortiz-Miranda, D., Pérez, O. M. & Arnalte-Alegre, E. (2016). Food and nutrition security discursive frames in the context of the Spanish economic crisis. *Food Security* (8), pp. 665–677.

Paloviita, A., & Järvelä, M. (2015). Climate change adaptation and food supply chain management. Abingdon: Routledge.

Poppendieck, J. (1998). Sweet charity? Emergency food and the end of entitlement. New York: Penguin Books.

Puhakka, S. & Ridell, S. (1996). Poliittikka ja poliittikka uutisessa: hallitus, oppositio ja Helsingin Sanomat. In Luostarinen, Heikki & Kivikuru, Ullamaija & Ukkola, Merja (eds.) *Sopulisilppuri: mediakritiikin näkökulmia*. Lahti: Helsingin yliopisto, Lahden tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskus, pp. 177–198.
<https://www15.uta.fi/kirjasto/nelli/verkkoaineistot/yht/puhakka.pdf> [accessed 17.9.2016]

Reichertz, J. (2009). Abduction: The Logic of Discovery of Grounded Theory. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 11(1). <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs1001135>. [accessed 29.8.2016]

Reisman, D. (2001). Richard Titmuss: Welfare and society (2nd ed.). New York: Palgrave.

Riches, G. (1997). First world hunger: Food security and welfare politics. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Riches, G. (1997). Hunger and the Welfare State: Comparative Perspectives. In Riches, G. (ed.): First world hunger. Food security and welfare politics, pp. 1–13. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Riches, G. & Silvasti, T. (2014). First world hunger revisited: Food charity or the right to food? (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rimmi, R. (Helsingin Sanomat 5.1.1996, Kotimaa (online archive)). Suomen köyhät eivät saa EU:n oliiviöljyä.

Saari, J. (2015). Huono-osaiset: Elämän edellytykset yhteiskunnan pohjalla. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Saarinen, A., Salmenniemi, S. & Keränen, H. (2014). Hyvinvointivaltiosta hyvinvoivaan valtioon: Hyvinvointi ja kansalaisuus suomalaisessa poliittisessä diskurssissa. *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka* 79(6), pp. 605–618.

Saaristo, K. & Jokinen, K. (2004). *Sosiologia*. Helsinki: WSOY.

Salonen, A. S. (2014). The Christmas celebration of secondary consumers: Observations from food banks in Finland. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 0(0), pp. 1–7. DOI: 10.1177/1469540514541881

Salonen, A. S. (2016). Food for the soul or the soul for food: Users' perspectives on religiously affiliated food charity in a Finnish city. Faculty of Theology, University of Helsinki.

<https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/166534/FOODFORT.pdf?sequence=1>

[accessed 10.10.2016]

Salonen, A. S. (2016). 'You can vote with your feet if you want'. Users' responses to religious services in the context of food charity in a Finnish city. *Social Compass* 63(1), pp. 109–124.

Silvasti, T. (2011). Ruoka-avun vakiinnuttaminen Suomessa. Tarpeen ja oikeutuksen jäljillä. *Janus* 19(3), pp. 279–289.

Silvasti, T. (2014). Participatory alternatives for charity food delivery? Finnish development in an international comparison. In Matthies, A-L. & L. Uggerhøj (eds.): *Participation, marginalization and welfare services: Concepts, politics and practices across European countries*, pp. 183–197. Farnham: Ashgate.

Silvasti, T. (2015). Food Aid – Normalising the Abnormal in Finland. *Social Policy and Society* 14(3), pp. 471–482. DOI: 10.1017/S1474746415000123.

Silvasti, T., & Karjalainen, J. (2014). Hunger in a Nordic welfare state: Finland. In: Riches, G. & T. Silvasti (eds.): First world hunger revisited: food charity or the right to food?, pp. 72–86. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Silvennoinen, K., Katajajuuri, J-M., Hartikainen, H., Heikkilä, L. & Reinikainen, A. (2015). Food waste and related climate impacts in Finland. In Paloviita, A., & M. Järvelä (eds.): Climate change adaptation and food supply chain management, pp. 183–193. Abingdon: Routledge.

Siukonen, T. (Helsingin Sanomat 13.3.2006, Kotimaa (online archive)). Seurakunnat täydentävät EU:n ruokakassia aterioilla.

THL (2015). Perusturvan riittävyyden arviointiraportti 2011–2015. Perusturvan riittävyyden II arviointiryhmä, työpaperi 1/2015. Helsinki: Terveyden- ja hyvinvoinnin laitos.

Tilastokeskus (2009). Bruttokansantuote laskuun, Suomi taantumassa. http://www.stat.fi/ajk/tiedotteet/2009/tiedote_003_2009-02-27.html [accessed 6.10.2016]

Uusi Suomi (10.10.2016, Kotimaa). Online: <https://www.uusisuomi.fi/kotimaa/205760-eduskunnalta-ainutlaatuinen-teko-11-miljoonaa-euroa-ruoka-apuun-ja-vahavaraisille> [accessed 10.10.2016]

Vaarama, M., Karvonen, S., Kestilä, L., Moisio, P., & Muuri, A. (2014). Suomalaisten hyvinvointi 2014. Teema 2014: 22. Helsinki: Terveyden ja hyvinvoinnin laitos.

Van Gorp, B. (2005). Where is the frame? Victims and intruders in the Belgian press coverage of the asylum issue. *European Journal of Communication* 20(4), pp. 484–507.

Van Gorp, B. (2007). The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In. *Journal of Communication* 57(1), pp. 60–78.

Van Gorp, B & van der Goot, M.J. (2012). Sustainable food and agriculture: Stakeholder's frames. *Communication, Culture & Critique* (5), pp. 127–148.

Vuorela, J. (Helsingin Sanomat, 27.7.1997, Mielipide (online archive)). Nähdäänkö Suomessa nälkää?

Yhteinen pöytä (2016). Yhteinen pöytä -projekti, Vantaan kaupunki
<http://www.yhteinenpoyta.fi/> [accessed 21.9.2016]