Rethinking Edibility: Encounters with Food Waste

Virginia I. Catena
Spring 2021
Supervised: Louise Tranekjær

Abstract

This interview-based research uses Practice Theory (Reckwitz, 2002, Shove & Pantzar, 2005) and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992 & 2010) to examine how Dumpster-divers and users of the Too Good to Go app relate to foodstuff they acquire through their practices. This project starts with a website and app analysis that unpacks the workings of Commodity Activism's logic (Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee, 2012) in framing Too Good To Go's activities. This is followed by an interview analysis using Shove & Pantzar's elements of practices - Competencies, Images, and Objects. The analysis explores how these two forms of consumption result in distinct perspectives on food surplus, while also delving into how informants narrate and navigate notions on edibility: from who eats food that's about to be wasted, to the flaws within the global food system. Lastly, this paper is concerned with the importance of images and their role in influencing individuals who engage in transgressive practices.

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Introduction

Food waste is an invisible problem, yet it represents 8% (Teigiserova et al. 2020) of the planet's carbon emissions. This project aims to engage with individuals consuming food on the verge of going to waste, delving into what allows them to engage with objects that others might find inedible. The individuals interviewed are Dumpster-divers and users of the Too Good To Go (TGTG) app in Copenhagen. These two groups represent two forms of consuming food that is about to be wasted: Dumpster-divers immerse their bodies in Dumpsters to retrieve food that supermarkets have discarded, while Too Good To Goers (TGTGers) acquire it through an app involving a transaction. Using Practice Theory (Shove & Pantzar, 2005) and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992 & 2010), I will firstly unpack how TGTG presents itself through its website and app. I will later analyse the participant interviews, paying particular attention to how Images, Competences and Objects, the elements of a practice proposed by Shove and Pantzar, are organised within these two different forms of consumption. This project aims to learn how practitioners of these two opposite forms of consumption (inside and outside the market) engage with foodstuff that is not usually valued but has an immense impact on the planet.

Food Waste

In order to contextualise the practices of Too Good To Go (TGTG) and Dumpster-divers, it is essential to understand the magnitude of food waste as a global issue. FAO defines food waste as: "... food appropriate for human consumption being discarded, whether or not after it is kept beyond its expiry date or left to spoil" (FAO, 2019, p. 8).

Falcone & Imbert (2017) argue the causes of waste vary significantly from region to region. In low-income countries, waste usually occurs in the early stages of the supply chain. Reasons oscillate from lack of technical equipment and poor handling when harvesting or placing into storage, to inadequate storage conditions or logistical challenges. In contrast, in Europe and the US, food waste generally happens at the retail stage and consumer level. (Falcone & Imbert, 2017)

According to Winkler & Aschermann (2017), there are two main categories of food waste: avoidable and unavoidable. The first one deals with produce that at the time it was discarded could have been appropriate for human consumption. The latter deals with banana or watermelon peels, things that were produced at some stage during the supply chain, but which are not desirable for human consumption.

It is estimated that one-third of the food produced worldwide is wasted (FAO, 2011). This does not solely mean there is wastage at the end of the supply chain. Waste comes in all forms: in land use that could be allocated to other activities such as rewilding (Bowman, 2020), in time and resources employed by farmers and transporters or in natural resources: water, energy and the fossil fuels powering the machinery of industrial agriculture or packaging. If food waste were a country it would be the third-largest in Co2 emissions, right after the US and China (FAO, 2011). These numbers reflect that the current workings of the Food Supply Chain have plenty of room for improvement. This project aims to explore different solutions – working inside or outside the market at consumer level – that deal with the problem of food waste and its subsequent effect on climate change.

Why these cases?

This project started with an interest in green consumption. In a previous semester, I worked on a project regarding 'ugly' produce consumption via subscription boxes (GRIM). In that project, we delved into Commodity Activism (Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee, 2012) and how small transactions become a way to satisfy an environmental conscience while keeping the cycles of consumption going. Soon after that project ended, I became interested in the Zero Waste movement. TGTG soon sparked my curiosity due to its affordability and accessibility in a movement where buying gadgets to avoid waste seems to be the norm. There were also noticeable differences between the previously studied ugly vegetables and TGTG. GRIM sells produce rejected by supermarkets due to aesthetic or overproduction matters, while products sold by TGTG have made it to supermarket shelves – but have not been sold during the desired time frame. These practical and symbolic differences between the cases were enough to justify making a new case study out of TGTG. Soon after I started reading, it became evident that to show TGTG is selling objects on the verge of being decommodified, I needed a case that could offer some contrast. Even If I had previously heard about Dumpster-diving through fellow students, or superficially read about it during the ugly veg project, I did not become interested until I read Cornelissen's (2016) ethnographic work on New York City's Dumpster-divers. Cornelissen's work got me thinking of the material similarities between Dumpster-dived food and the food TGTGers get in their bags. Following this logic, this project will delve into:

How different contexts of consumption allow Dumpster-divers and Too Good To Go users to develop distinct relations with avoidable food waste? What can be learned from their narrations of these two forms of consumption to inform alternative ways of relating with foodstuff?

Eating wasted food

A Dumpster-diver is a person who retrieves discarded goods. The practice developed in the context of the Freegan movement in the early 2000s. Freegans are invested in participating as little as possible in the capitalist economy by salvaging discarded elements, foraging or participating in sharing practices (Cooks, 2017). Being categorised as Freegan, unlike vegetarian or vegan – which are a result of the practices of individuals – is more of an open identification label.

Dumpster-diving is usually positioned in the intersection between anti-capitalist discourses and sustainability discourses, through its rhetoric opposing the wastefulness of food systems (Rombach & Bitsch, 2015). Contrary to popular belief, the literature has shown that Dumpster-divers are generally educated (Capponi, 2020 & Cornelissen, 2016) and choose to engage in this practice as a form of protest rather than sheer necessity (Barnard, 2016). Dumpster-divers do not eat trash indiscriminately. Capponi (2020) argues that trash is submitted to critical evaluations when it is sorted and its origins are put into question: Where does it come from? Is it organic? Vegetarian or vegan? Most importantly, why was it wasted? The author also discusses how Divers have preferred stores or markets they frequently return to. In Capponi's work, the participants are vocal about their preference of chains like Waitrose over Tesco, and also dive according to their moods – for instance, looking for sushi or Mexican food when they crave it. Freegans' findings are usually far off the image of what waste conjures on the readers' mind, they are not mouldy or rotten. They are tomatoes, bananas or salads that have lost their space in supermarket aisles, making space for newer or fresher goods.

In her ethnographic work on New York City, Cornelissen (2016) found that Dumpster-divers develop a series of competencies related to diving. She refers to these competencies and attitudes as context-specific Habitus. The notion of Habitus (1986) refers to everyday practices, tastes and sets of values that correspond to specific lifestyles. In turn, individuals performing them produce and reproduce these values and practices, consequently reinforcing the value of the practices in hand (Bourdieu, 1984). Cornelissen argues that in order to realign their dispositions to eat food that has been wasted, divers re-articulate their Habitus in such a way that they come to perceive their practices as commonsensical. Hence, the author's understanding of Habitus is situational, where values and practices are developed both consciously and unconsciously to function in a determined situation such as consuming products that have been discarded. In the context of Dumpster-diving and TGTG, I will refer to consumption as the "means by which individuals and groups expressed their identities through symbolic representation in taste and lifestyle, with their desires focused on symbolic rather than material reward" (Warde,

2014, p 4). Therefore, I will not be looking at consumption solely limited to being an exchange value, but also as an act of meaning-making.

Theoretical Perspectives

The next section will introduce and clarify some of the concepts that have informed this research. I will be highlighting some previous findings on the subjects of Freeganism and Dumpster-diving. Moreover, I will discuss Boarder Giles' concept of Un-commodities (Boarder Giles, 2014) that will be the foundation of my conceptualisation of waste. I will also expand on the notion of Commodity Activism (Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee, 2012) to unpack TGTG's practices. Lastly, I will discuss Practice Theory (Reckwitz, 2002 & Shove & Pantzar, 2005) and its theoretical and methodological purchase over this project.

The Uncommodity

To grasp the complexity of consuming "wasted" food via Dumpster-diving or TGTG, we must first delve into what it means for these commodities to be discarded. Appadurai (1986) has argued that 'commodity' is a situation in the social life of an object (Appadurai, 1986, p.13). In other words, a tomato, for instance, is grown, transported and, in an ideal scenario, bought by a retailer to be sold. The space in time where this tomato has exchange value is referred to as its commodified state. Appadurai also argues that commodities can move in and out of their commodified state.

TGTG deals with the last minutes of a product's commodified state, while Dumpster-divers deal with its afterlife. What is essential here is that while the monetary value of these commodities is rapidly declining when TGTGers and Dumpster-divers step in, the edibility of the produce has not radically changed – mostly. This project is concerned with understanding how consumers engage with and appropriate food stepping out of their commodified state.

Following this line of thought, Boarder Giles (2014) develops the concept of "uncommodities". Building on Agamben's (1998) notion of "relational exception" and Kristeva's Abjection (1982), he argues that uncommodities are objects defined by their exclusion from circulating within the commodity chain (Boarder Giles, 2014). The meaning of their exclusion is immanent – they are (avoidable) food waste relegated to the domain of the bin. In this vein, the Dumpster and its content are physical spaces overtaken as a conceptual space of exception (Giles, 2014 p.105). The consumers walk in through the automatic doors of the supermarket, while the divers use the back door. The space for the consumption of this wasted food is

outside the normal trajectory of the shopper. In fact, it lies within an area that produces discomfort. The third part of the analysis section will be informed by Boarder Giles' theorisation of the uncommodity, while also standing on both concepts 'relational exception' and 'abjection' to unpack narratives pertaining to the nature of edibility and transgression.

In this vein, I will continuously use Boarder Giles' term to refer to the objects that have lost their commodity status found in Dumpsters. The term uncommodity encompasses not only the lack of transactional value that these objects carry, but also the symbolic value this abject capital symbolises (Boarder Giles, 2020). Moreover, throughout the analysis, I will use the term food surplus instead of food waste. Food surplus, different from food faste, refers to food that would be deemed appropriate for human consumption if adequately managed (Teigiserova et al., 2020). Food Waste is a broader term, as explained in the introduction, that also refers to mismanaged foodstuff beyond the point of edibility. Moreover, Mourad (2016) and Giles (2020) explain the term "waste" carries connotations that reinforce the uselessness of these objects. Therefore, to avoid perpetuating language that connotes the goods consumed by TGTGers and Divers have no material or symbolic value, I will use the terms food surplus and uncommodities when appropriate instead of the more general food waste.

The Ethical Foodscape

The practices of Dumpster-divers and TGTGers fall on different spectrums of what Goodman et al. (2010) term 'Ethical Foodscape'. The term Foodscapes builds on Appadurai's theorisation of global cultural flows (1996). Influenced by this notion that emphasises fluidity in the movement of ideas, capital and people: Foodscapes are "a social-constructions that capture and constitute cultural ideas of how food relates to specific places, people and political-economic systems" (Johnston & Cairns, 2012, p.230). The term Ethical Foodscape was developed to circumscribe the variety of actors (governmental, commercial, movements or non-profits) that are invested in ethical eating. Food within the discourses of the Ethical Foodscape works as a medium to express socio-cultural concern. At its core, the Ethical Foodscape is the conceptual intersection of contentious politics and the markets. An established example of this is Fairtrade. Buying a Fairtrade product signals care for workers across the world and the willingness to pay a premium for what is expected to be guilt-free coffee or chocolate. Goodman et al. argue that:

> "Food and food ethics are thus relationally performative as they involve the linking up of the material and constructed self with Others and Other natures in moral webs of meanings through the performances of producing, shopping, making, serving, eating, and ultimately, 'wasting'"(Goodman et al., 2010 p 1784).

Even if this project is focused on consumer level interactions, it does not mean to imply that the only – or most – important levels for action within Climate Change must happen at individual level. This discussion is wider and more complex than the scope of this project and central to Ethical Foodscape Issues.

Commodity Activism & the Eco-Habitus

Food ethics moralise food choices. In consequence, consumers are given a choice (and the responsibility) to "vote with their forks" as suggested by Pollan (2006) in "The Omnivore's Dilemma". In this manner, civic engagement can be performed through consumption, which Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee (2012) term Commodity Activism. Within this logic, social causes are reoriented to follow the rationale of Capitalism (Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee, 2012, p 10). To refer back to the previous Fairtrade example: consumers can buy coffee in Copenhagen that is branded with the Fairtrade logo. This logo helps the consumer to discern in the context of an aisle which corporation takes ethics seriously enough to have a third party certify it. In theory, by choosing the certified product the consumer is guaranteed the farmers in Ethiopia or Costa Rica have been paid a fair price for their labour. From this perspective, doing a "virtuous" action and buying something are two layers of the same activity: the purchase of a coffee bag. Care is expressed through participation in the market. Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee (2012) argue that commodities within this frame are carriers of symbolic value. Subsequently, these commodities become grounds for compromising between citizenship and self-entrepreneurship. Commodity Activism allows the consumer and the citizen to be conceptualised in a non-binary form, blurring the lines of two traditional antipodes.

Individuals that engage in this particular brand of activism are performing what Carfargna et al. (2014) term "Eco-Habitus". This form of Habitus can be found in consumers with High Cultural Capital. Consumers rearticulate their taste by privileging environmental care and social justice in accordance with current sustainability discourses (Kennedy et al., 2018). This form of consumption allows these individuals to draw symbolic boundaries in order to categorise practices or objects and claim distinction through their consumption.

Practice Theory

The collection of data for this research will come through two main sources: the first one is surveying texts found in the TGTG app and website, while the second one is interviews carried out with TGTGers and Dumpster-divers. Therefore, my approach to Practice Theory will be through the discursive narration of practices. How are Skills, Images and Objects narrated? To this end, I will rely on Fairclough's three

dimensional model for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to unpack these discursive formations.

As previously mentioned, this research will focus on understanding how TGTGers and Dumpster-divers articulate their practices concerning food waste. Therefore, the notions described above pertaining to consumption and sustainability will be central to my understanding of Practice Theory. Practice Theory has been used for consumer studies (Shove & Ward, 2002; Halkier et al., 2011) and particularly to analyse sustainability-related behaviours (Hargreaves, 2011, Røpke 2009, Kennedy et al., 2015) for some time. This section will firstly introduce the concept of Practice Theory and then problematise the implications of applying it to sustainable consumption. To begin with, Reckwitz (2002) argues that the cultural theories that inform Practice Theory – such as Bourdieu's work on Distinction – understand action by focusing on the "symbolic structures of knowledge" and constraints that individuals have to adhere to a specific world view and behave accordingly (Reckwitz, 2002). A practice is considered the smallest unit of social analysis. The author defines a practice (Praktik) as:

> "a routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (Reckwitz, 2002, p 249).

This way, the author identifies the elements that make up a practice, allowing us to focus on the action-object relations that make up said practice instead of the individuals that perform them. Moreover, the author emphasises that a practice is first and foremost intentional and that it has an ascribed knowledge base that is carried out through the body.

Theoretical Approach

In this section, I will describe the two layers of my theoretical approach. Building on Reckwitz's understanding of Practice Theory, Shove and Pantzar (2005) further operationalise the concept of practice by interpreting them as "assemblages of images (meanings, symbols), skills (forms of competence, procedures) and stuff (materials, technology) that are dynamically integrated by skilled practitioners through regular and repeated performance" (Hargreaves, 2011, p.83). The theoretical & methodological approaches of this project will rely on the articulation (and separation) of the three elements proposed above: Images, Skills and Materials. The discursive juncture of these three elements will be understood through Fairclough's three-dimensional model. This section will delve into how Shove & Panzar's theoretical framing of practices can be used methodologically while relying on Fairclough's approach to structure the encounter with the texts.

a. Practices & Images

Shove & Panzar (2005) remark the importance of the imagery associated with a practice through the example of Nordic Walking, a form of walking aided by two poles. They bring into question that the possibilities of diffusion of a practice are also related to the self-perception of the users while performing it. In their study, people in the UK who try Nordic Walking report feeling "silly" (Shove & Pantzar, 2005, p.52). This self-perception of the practitioners could potentially become a hindrance in the diffusion of the practice and the imagery associated with it. This is particularly relevant for this paper. In the analysis section, I will develop on the vital role images play in the cases of TGTG and Dumpster-diving.

This is also related to what Reckwitz calls a "practice specific emotionality". With this, he implies how every practice is also defined by ways of wanting and avoiding specific things. In Practice Theory, these desires are not attributed to the individual performing them, but to the practice itself (Reckwitz, 2002). Along these lines, Røpke argues that social practices are reproduced and transformed by actors generating patterns that result in social systems (Røpke, 2009). The reproduction of these practices sustains and stabilises social relationships and systems that are subsequently upheld by the reproduction of these practices (Hargreaves, 2011). This logic does not suggest that individuals have no agency but that they are competent actors that navigate and negotiate multiple practices every day (Schor, 1999).

b. Practices & Competences

Competences or skills are vital to a practice. Shove & Pantzar suggest that "new practices consist of new configurations of existing elements or of new elements in conjunction with those that already exist" (Shove and Pantzar, 2005, p 61). That is to say, the competencies linked to a practice are not always novel, but sometimes they are the reconfigurations or repurposing of existing skills or equipment that has acquired a new meaning. From their perspective, what is most important is not the different elements constituting the new practices, but how they relate to each other. This is particularly clear in the case of Nordic Walking presented by the authors, where participants know how to walk before learning a distinct way of walking that involves specific walking poles. While a similar object existed for skiing, the poles have been reimagined for this specific activity. Thus, Nordic Walking is a new way of engaging with walking, mediated by a novel use of poles outside a sky slope (Shove & Pantzar, 2005).

It is important to highlight that this new set of skills might be formalised in a set of principles or rules, while others remain implicit. Some skills are simple and generic, like walking in Nordic Walk, while others are specialised and need to be taught. In this regard, Røpke argues that:

> "Although the competences are partly embodied in the practitioners, the practice perspective implies that they are seen as part of the practice (which only exists through the performances) and therefore social, in the sense that they are shared" (Røpke, 2009).

The expansion or stagnation of a practice is reliant on participants being able to perform these acquired competences. Practices are ever-evolving, its practitioners are both its performers and producers. In Warde's (2005) terms "practices are thus, coordinated entities but also require performance for their existence. A performance presupposes a practice" (Warde, 2005, 134). In other words, for a practice to exist it has to be performed by individuals who simultaneously are producing it in their performance.

c. Practices & Materials or Objects

Most practices involve the appropriation of material elements, I will refer to this phenomenon as a form of consumption. In the case proposed by Shove & Panzar, materials are essential to the practice, since there is no Nordic Walking without the characteristic poles. Materials and their practice-specific use will also be predominant in the analysis. Whether in the form of a branded bag, an app or gloves.

Interdiscursivity in CDA

Fairclough's three-dimensional model is particularly helpful to structure and operationalise the discursive practices surrounding the consumption of uncommodities. The author proposes that discourse should always be regarded as (a) text, (b) a discursive practice and (c) a sociocultural practice. Meaning that discourse analysis consists of a stage of *description* of the text in question, a second stage where the relations between said text and its production are *interpreted* and finally an *explanation* of how these processes are socially construed and constructed (Fairclough, 2010b, p.132). This model provides the means to consider texts either in the form of institutional websites or interviews – not only at face value but also as part of grander orders of discourse (Fairclough, 2010d p.358).

Out of Fairclough's extensive methodological toolset, I will predominantly focus on Interdiscursivity. This aspect of intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992) centres upon how styles, genres and discourses are drawn into texts, generating new articulations (Fairclough, 2010c). Interdiscursivity considers both form and content, aiming to generate an "inter-level" that connects linguistic analysis with relevant forms of social analysis (Fairclough, 2010c p 238). Interdicursivity will be critical for the analysis section when looking at different formats: the app, website and interviews.

Moreover, interdiscursivity will serve as the tool to untangle the narration of practices in the form of Skills, Images and Objects. Fairclough (2010b) argues that the

connection between practices and texts can be mediated through discursive practices. In this vein, text interpretation and production are shaped by the nature of a practice, while the text's production process simultaneously shapes its future interpretation (Fairclough, 2010b, p 94).

As previously mentioned, the first part of the analysis section will only be looking at TGTG's official communication outlets – the website and app. As a consequence, my analysis is limited to a highly curated version of the company's voice. By using these limited texts, I am not attempting to reduce the organisation's identity to its external communication, but to focus on how users later interpret this communication in the interviews. Fairclough's methodology will dictate the analytical focus for these institutional texts, departing from the notion that texts can be seen both as products and processes (Fairclough, 2010d, p.360). In this vein, he proposes that texts should be looked at situationally, institutionally and through the context of culture. Fairclough's approach to CDA is characterised by allowing analytical separations while encouraging a close observation of how these different layers or elements relate to each other. This is illustrated in the concept of interdiscursivity where the articulation of genres, styles and discourses within a text can be looked at situationally and, simultaneously, through other orders of discourse (Fairclough, 2010a, p.7).

Fairclough's approach to CDA has a unique focus on Hegemony. The author explains that the use of the term "discourse" instead of "use of language" implies that he interprets speech acts as ways of producing and reproducing power relations, social dynamics and ideological stances. Hegemony, to Fairclough, suggests "the development in various domains of civil society (e.g., work, education, leisure activities) of practices which naturalise particular relations and ideologies, practices which are largely discursive" (Fairclough, 2010b, p.129). The analysis proposed here aims to explore forms of consumption that are emerging against the backdrop of the Hegemony of the Food Supply Chain. Thus, operationalising Hegemony is vital. Fairclough's three-dimensional model enables me to reflect upon how relations and ideologies are naturalised or resisted in relation to the consumption and discarded food surplus.

Methodological Approach

In the following section, I will explain how I reached the design of this project. Firstly, I will explain why I find it necessary to use three types of empirical material: website, app and interviews. Moreover, I will clarify the logic behind the questionnaire design used for the interviews and how I chose the sample of informants.

a. Apps, Websites and Interviews: On working with different types of empirical materials.

This project's analysis section will deal with three different types of empirical materials: website, app and interview analysis. With this mixed approach, I aim to unpack how these commercial and non-commercial forms of foodstuff consumption are discursively constructed. As explained in the theoretical perspectives section, Dumpster-diving is an activity that is learned and understood through practice. This is why it was instrumental to speak directly with the Divers, to hear first hand how they understand, attribute meaning to and narrate this practice themselves. On the other hand, TGTG is a practice that is mediated through an app and, therefore, the app's format and content mediate the experience of this practice. Thus analysing the company's website and app became of vital importance to frame both how the practice is narrated within its official outlets as well as by its practitioners in the succeeding interviews. An interview study that just considered the practitioner's perspectives in TGTG without tracing the elements (technological and discursive) that inform the practice would have been incomplete, and vice-versa.

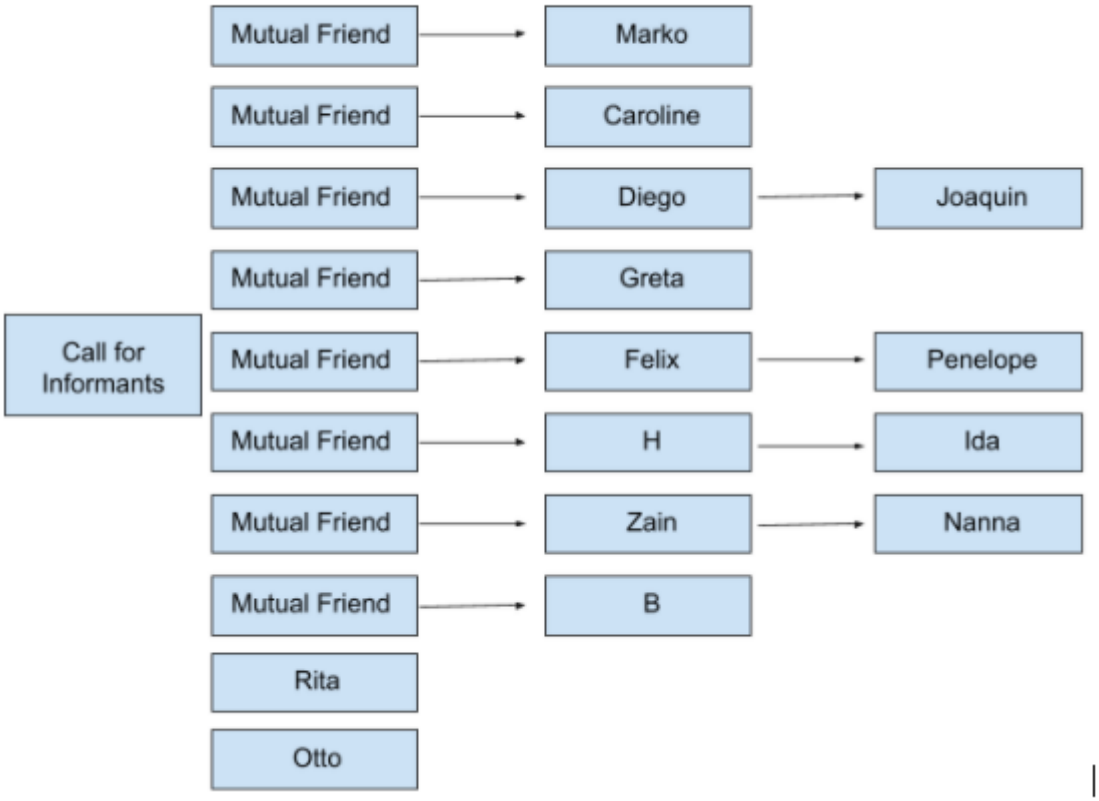
With this in mind, the first and second section of the analysis will unpack some of the narratives present in the TGTG website and the general format of the app. For this purpose, I will use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as explained in the theory section.

The third section of the analysis will use Practice Theory's three categories: Images, Skills and Objects (Shove & Pantzar, 2005) to structure the analysis. Considering Practice Theory's importance to this research, it could have been a logical step to contemplate gathering my data through participant observation. While this seemed attractive while planning this project, I decided that my main interest did not lie in observing the specificities of what TGTGers and Divers did, but in how they narrated and attributed meaning to their encounters. In this respect, my attention is set on how these practices are discursively constructed and what can be learned from these individuals. In other words, even if participant observation seemed challenging and exciting in the middle of a pandemic, the data gathered would have been less suited for a study of solely discursive practices.

b. Sampling

The sampling for this research has been respondent-driven (Bernard, 2007). That is to say, starting from a small number of informants, I appealed to their social networks to contact further informants. This method was chosen because Divers and TGTGers are spread out within the population. Moreover, Diving as informed by the

literature is usually an activity taught by a friend or an acquaintance (Barnard, 2016). By this logic, resorting to people's networks seemed like an adequate way to contact Divers and TGTGers. The process of contacting informants started with a call on Facebook where I asked if anyone had experience Dumpster-diving or using TGTG, and that I would be happy to have a conversation with them to gather data for my thesis. I received twenty-eight messages, some from acquaintances and some from people my friends put me in contact with: either friends, old flatmates or partners. I decided to prioritise the contacts to people I had never met or only met in passing, so as not to inform my questions or analysis with preconceptions of the informants. In this manner, I started several chains of contact belonging to different groups of people, as shown in the following diagram:



Sample details:

a. Dumpster-divers

	Age	Nationality	Length	Education	Occupation
Caroline	29	Danish	26:11	Master's Student	Intern at NGO
Diego	27	Spanish	33:17	Masters	Graphic Designer
Felix	29	Danish	32.02	Masters	Unemployed
Greta	26	Danish	15:51	Master's Student	Student job at University
H	28	English	16:58	Masters	Unemployed/Activist
Ida	27	Canadian	31:05	Masters	Sustainability Consultant
Joaquin	25	Spanish	32:39	Bachelor's	Wolt

b. Too Good To Goers (TGTGers)

	Age	Nationality	Length	Education	Occupation
B	31	Chilean	15:22	Bachelor's	Kindergarten Teacher
Nanna	30	Danish	12:47	Masters	Unemployed
Otto	32	German	21:40	PhD Student	PhD Student
Penelope	25	Danish	13:10	Masters	Unemployed
Mila W Marko	24 25 23	Croatian Slovakian Croatian	35:48	Master's Students	
Rita	37	Cuban	14.57	PhD	Data Scientist
Zain	28	English	37:02	Masters	Sustainability Project Manager

c. Questionnaire design

The questionnaire was designed by taking into consideration the main categories of Practice Theory: Skills, Images and Objects. That is to say, the questions were thought in such a way that would enable the informants to invoke images about their practices surrounding waste and the routines that would unpack their skill sets, as well as which would implicitly discuss how they perceived their relation to objects. By "thematising" (Brinkman & Kvale, 2018) questions in this way when I encountered the transcripts, I knew I was looking for statements that fell within these categories of Practice Theory. Even if this somewhat limits the possibilities of what fits within the scope of the analysis, it helped me navigate the amount of data while keeping a clear focus on the problem at hand.

The interviews were semi-structured. This enabled me to stay on topic and ask follow-up questions when the informants made connections between Diving and TGTG. Divers and TGTGers were presented with different sets of questions. The first two questions were the same for both groups and pertained to general knowledge on Food Waste, but were particularly useful to see in what terms the person was framing food waste: is it a household or individual problem? Is it an industrial problem? The second set of questions was particular to Divers and TGTGers and intended on getting informants to narrate their first impressions and experiences of the practices and how this later evolved into a routine. The third set of questions guided the informants to reflect on their practices and their own understanding of food waste problems and solutions. Both groups of informants were asked about other initiatives they knew that tackled food waste, with the intention of gauging if these initiatives were also market solutions, non-profits or citizen initiatives. In the delimitations section, I will discuss the limits of this questionnaire and its format.

(See full questionnaire in Annex 3)

d. The interview situation

For the interview settings, I chose a series of public spaces I offered informants after inquiring about convenient locations around the city. 13 out of 14 interviews were conducted in cafes or a brewpub since we were meeting for the first time. Due to COVID-19, I chose places I knew were both quiet and had outdoor sitting to make everyone more comfortable. One of the informants tested positive for COVID-19 the day after our interview; this is why I interviewed one person via Zoom since the date could not be easily rescheduled.

Since I had not met most interviewees, I was often surprised by TGTGers having Dumpster-dived years before. Marko (See annex 2) offered this information during

the interview, and I had not prepared questions to ask in case something like that happened. Moreover, during this first interview, the group discussed how their families and friends talked about waste and initiatives like TGTG or Diving. For this reason, I added a question in both questionnaires regarding social network perceptions on their practices and an optional question if some people had both dived and used TGTG (to avoid leading questions).

f. Delimitations

Two main issues limit the following analysis: firstly, the questionnaires and secondly, the sample of interviewees. The questions asked to Divers and TGTGers were not different enough to consider the nuances between these two frames of consumption. In designing this questionnaire, I was more focused on the similarities in the objects of these practices rather than the differences in how they were acquired. Thus, I did not prepare questions that catered adequately to TGTGers. Moreover, as shown in the difference in interview lengths, and quality of information provided, my questions did not engage TGTGers the same way they engaged Divers. In hindsight, it was naive to ask both groups similar questions and expect the same engagement from different activities. Different frames of consumption required different questions.

The following analysis is limited to the quality of interviewee samples. As seen in the tables above, out of sixteen informants, only two hold bachelor degrees, twelve hold masters degrees or are in the process of getting them, and two others hold PhDs. Needless to say, this is an overeducated sample. This must be taken into consideration for this analysis.

Furthermore, only 5 out of 16 of the interviewees are Danish; most of the people I interviewed moved to Denmark for their studies. This makes the findings, due to the sample size and ‘diversity’ in nationalities not representative of Denmark. This was not intentional, but since I am an immigrant myself and the sampling method I used was respondent-driven, this was an organic result that speaks both of my own networks and the informants' networks. Therefore, 13 out of 16 informants and myself were communicating in a second language. This must be considered when thinking of the extent to which language is deliberate, and the extent to which they are using the language they have at their disposal.

Lastly, it is important to consider that this research, even with informants of diverse cultural backgrounds, is still set in Copenhagen. As such, we must consider that apps like TGTG that require a credit card would have a very different audience if they existed in countries with a larger informal economy or less widespread digital

economy. So, the context of the usage of an app like TGTG must not be glossed over granted.

g.Validity

With the above in mind, the sample of TGTG informants is too small and too overeducated to accurately represent TGTGers in Copenhagen. This does not mean the findings are not useful, especially when paired with the Dumpster-divers responses. Even if equally small, the Diver sample is in line with other findings regarding this practice (Barnard 2016, Caponni 2020, Cornelissen 2016, Rombach & Bitsch 2015, Boarder Giles 2014 & 2020). This fact does not make them statistically significant, but they possess a different level of reliability than the TGTG findings. In this light, even if this study's findings cannot be generalised, the information that has been brought into light points towards the necessity for further research in this area, and that there is much to be learned from the ways that different frames of consumption enable different ways of engaging and conceptualising waste.

Analysis

As previously mentioned, the analysis section of this project contains three main parts: A website analysis (Part 1), an app analysis (Part 2) and, finally, an interview analysis (Part 3). The latter has subsequently been divided into three overarching subsections: Competences, Images and Objects. This analysis will delve into the perspective of the communication outlets of TGTG, users of the app and Dumpster-divers on their relation to food surplus and waste.

Analysis Part 1: Website analysis

In this section, I will unpack TGTG's website content and app, following Fairclough's three dimensional model. Moreover, I will use TGTG UK's Website and app to rely on original content written in English. TGTG's Danish website and English website share four sections with the same information, provided in different languages. The purpose of this short analysis section is to offer context for what users encounter when navigating the app. In this vein, we can be aware of the information that they are exposed to before the interviews, and offer more context to the way in which TGTG presents in its own words.

To begin with, when we open the TGTG website, we can observe four sections: Home, Business, Movement, Blog. I will only be looking at the sections Home and Movement. The reason to focus on these two sections alone is to broadly present

how the company introduces itself. I will not focus on the Business section, since this is a project that addresses the way consumers react to TGTG and, thus, there is no need to unpack how the company interpellates the business it aims to recruit into its app. Moreover, the Blog section is focused on recipes or updates in legislation or initiatives the company is involved in. Even if these more current pieces of information are important to the overall perception of the company they are not essential to understanding TGTG's message in the context of this project.

The Home section is defined by a large text announcing "Save Food Help the Planet": with a backdrop of fruit, bread and salad falling into a TGTG-branded bag. Under this, we can see links both for the Apple store and Google Play to download the app to a smartphone. In this sense, the action to "save food" is presented as a specific practical action in the form of downloading an app to one's phone.

A1 https://toogoodtogo.org/en/

The landing page combines practical information on how the app works while adding concise facts about the general state of Food Waste. Statements such as "rescue unsold food" are repeated in multiple forms throughout TGTG's website. Through this type of repetition, the case that the consumer is saving the food is emphasised. The passage above explains how food is wasted: *"just because it hasn't sold in time"*. The use of the word "just" implies the company is attempting to trivialise the notion that food needs to be sold within specific time frames. The objective of this trivialisation could be to ridicule the short shelf life that products have within the frame of the current value chain. This is the first time TGTG will make this type of

allusion to the Food System having room for improvement, and that it holds a solution for the problem of waste.

This section also serves the purpose of introducing the reader to the rationality of the company: *"Great food at great prices, served with a side of environmental kudos*". This win-win logic is a manifestation of Commodity Activism. In the first introductory paragraph of its website, TGTG equals the act of buying food to taking environmental responsibility. The material gain (the food) and the symbolic gain (the environmental kudos) are two clear layers of the consumption of TGTG's goods.

It is also important to emphasise that by mixing and matching hard facts about food waste with information about the workings of their company, as in the picture above, TGTG further naturalises the pairing of the commercial-environmental logic. These formulations stress the logic of Commodity Activism in the reader's mind. Thus, "a side of environmental kudos" after a purchase is prone to sound completely natural in the reader's mind.

1. The Movement

The second section of the website I will look at is "Movement". This is a critical section because it's where the company expands on the scientific foundations of the importance of reducing food waste. The section is headed by "The food waste movement". Calling this section "Movement" is not a minor detail. The word movement makes a seemingly static section on hard data seem fluid and active. Moreover, it associates a commercial enterprise with the benevolent connotation of a social movement. Subsequently, this distances TGTG further from the idea it is an ordinary business: TGTG comes with a side of environmental kudos.

A2 https://toogoodtogo.org/en/

The quote in the picture above on the importance of reducing food waste, as said by a Climate Change expert, frames the urgency of addressing the problem of food waste. Choosing a quote that uses the "we" form interpellates the company and the reader while encouraging the latter to take action against Climate Change. This is important in the context of the TGTG website – framing the problem of food waste within Climate Change discourses is instrumental for readers to understand the seriousness of the problem of food waste. Furthermore, it legitimises the company's movement in the eyes of a green consumer. This use of interdiscursivity between corporate messages and science communication are preponderant in TGTG's language. The blurring of lines between the language of consumption and activism is purposeful and essential to sell TGTG as a product with a moral wrapping.

A3 https://toogoodtogo.org/en/movement

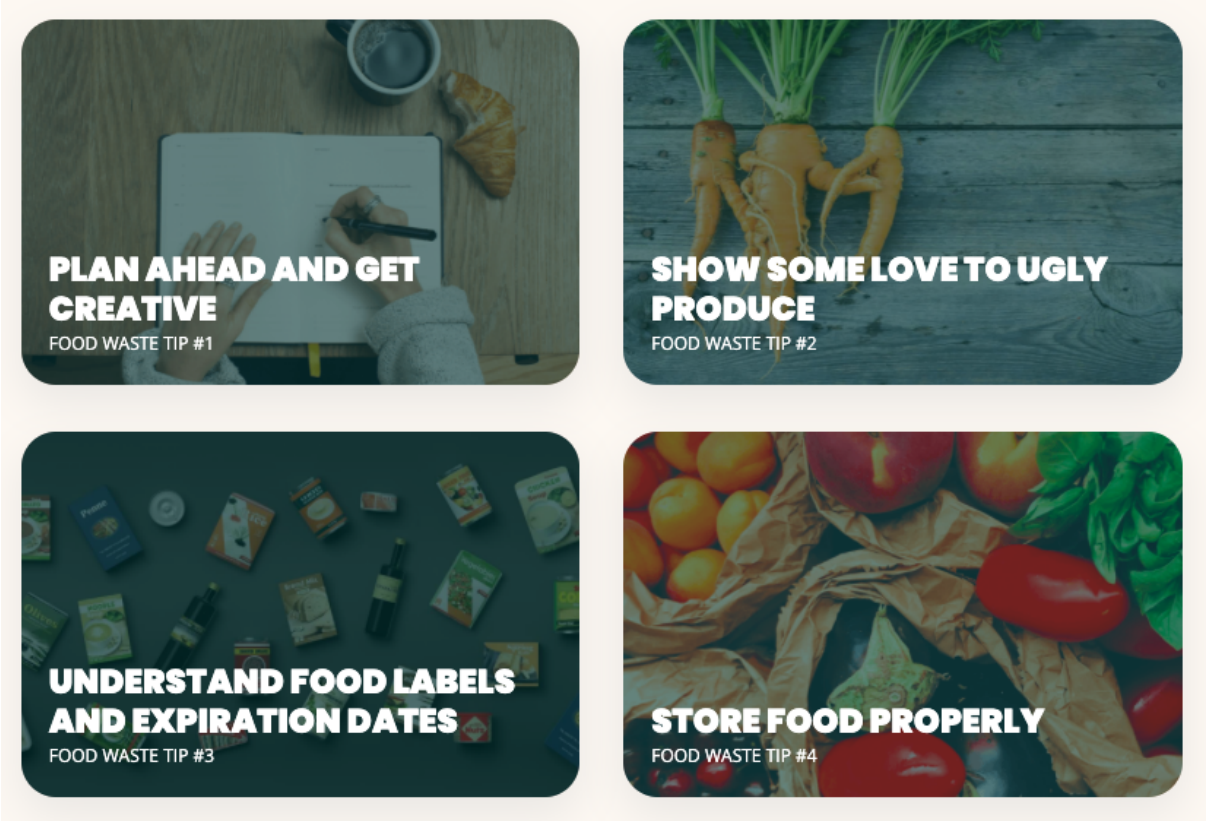
Under this image we find a button directing the user to the “Global Movement Website”, which in turn directs the user to a .org. Here, we find A2 again, and the mission statement shown in A3. The company claims it wishes to inspire multiple actors in the fight against food waste by setting clear goals on different levels to generate holistic strategies to tackle waste. In the next section, TGTG unpacks its goals and strategies at length when it comes to particular sectors. It divides this in a (1)Household, (2)Business, (3)Schools and (4) Public Affair level. I will not be discussing each section in detail, but will focus on the structures TGTG uses to communicate its goals and possibilities of action as explained in the Household section. Since this project is focused on the perspectives of individuals, it is particularly relevant to discuss how TGTG frames the positions of households in the face of food waste.

2. Household food waste: An individual problem with social dimensions

These sections are remarkably detailed and user friendly. They all start with a summary of the leading causes of waste in each level. For instance: “47 million tons of food gets wasted in European households every year, which is more than half of the total food waste in the EU” (TGTG, 2020). The combination of specific figures in tons, and the use of simple wording like “more than half”, creates the illusion the reader can grasp the size of the waste problem. However, as shown by Slovic’s (2007) study on Psychic Numbing on individual’s understanding of genocide and acting in the form of charitable donations, the capacity of individuals to value life and act in consequence decreases in the face of a mass represented by large figures (Slovic, 2007). Although Slovic’s subject matter is distant from the study of food waste, both subjects share the difficulty of the reader grasping a genuine problem, of a scale they cannot see. Therefore, if the reader were to respond to statements such as the one in question, what they would be reacting to would be the vague percentage presented – more than half. Ostensibly, the number – 47 million tons – though very likely unimaginable for most readers, works as a form of legitimation to the vagueness of the second part of the statement.

This is followed by concrete ways the company is encouraging users to tackle food waste. The section is headed by the following statement: “The issue of food waste can feel overwhelming, but even the smallest changes in our daily habits can make a difference” (TGTG, 2020). This is a response to the rigidity of the factual information discussed in the paragraphs above. This sentence tells the reader that TGTG is aware of how staggering understanding food waste feels, but that there is no need to feel paralysed; that there are plenty of small steps to take. This serves as a way to encourage individuals to take even the humblest steps to reduce their personal food

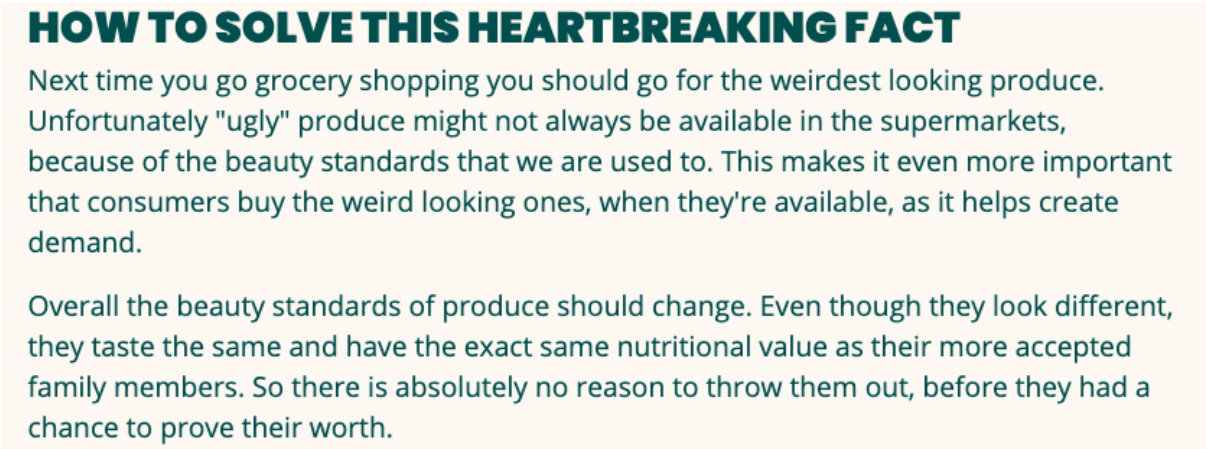
waste. However, it is also highly empathetic. By suggesting feeling overwhelmed as a normal response, TGTG allows the reader to be emotional while reading its movement and knowledge hub section. This dual nudge to take action while allowing space to be human is a crucial part of the rhetoric of this app. It is okay to buy the food TGTG facilitates; it would be wasted if the reader did not. The TGTG consumer never needs to feel like they are mindlessly buying. The articulation of care is variegated. Caring is not always represented as a grand gesture but, occasionally, as a small one – such as downloading an app.



This is followed by a mix of practical information such as suggestions for meal planning, how to store produce or – of course – using apps like TGTG. It is also important to note that while suggesting new ways to reduce household food waste, TGTG also brings attention to important issues within food waste. An example of this is the section on ugly produce. This has little to do with TGTG's core product base but is significant to the overall problem within Food Waste. In a sense, these sections go further than solidifying the cause the brand happens to be part of. Instead, TGTG is effective at communicating issues pertinent to waste and production while facilitating relevant sources such as peer-reviewed articles on the matter. In the context of its "Movement" section it is clear even if TGTG has strategies to tackle food waste in every single level, it communicates the problem of food waste not as

solely solvable by using the app, but as a serious industrial problem that overshadows the Food Supply Chain.

The information provided on the movement section of the website is plentiful. Nevertheless, even if the information is at the reader's disposal, the wording the brand chooses to propose solutions seems to be presented exclusively as the consumer's responsibility. This is evident in the case of "Ugly produce". "Ugly" vegetables don't reach the shelves of many European supermarkets for various reasons. Size issues are one of the most common causes as to why they are rejected at the supermarket door: being too big or too small, or not having standardised shapes. Grewal et al. (2018) argue that 1 in 3 fruits or vegetables fall into this category (Grewal et al., 2018). I will develop this issue following using the image below.



Presenting the ugly vegetable problem as "heartbreaking" is critical here. The language used to refer to the fruit and vegetables is emotional and alludes to these fruits and vegetables being socially rejected just like humans can be. Building upon body positivity language and referring to EU market standards as "beauty standards" in various instances further pushes the idea into the readers' mind that many of the causes for waste are capricious. Just like ideas on beauty are highly subjective. However, the dangerous part of these statements is that the solution is entirely up to the consumer. The view that it is up to the consumer to rescue the ugly vegetables diverges attention from the fact that in most European countries, as mentioned, ugly vegetables do not reach supermarkets. Sentences such as "Overall the beauty standards of produce should change" do not clarify where these changes should happen, leaving room for interpretation. Is TGTG referring to legislation that bans curly cucumbers from being sold? Or is it the consumers' beauty standards that are the issue? The context of the text most likely refers to the consumer, since it does not mention EU regulations.

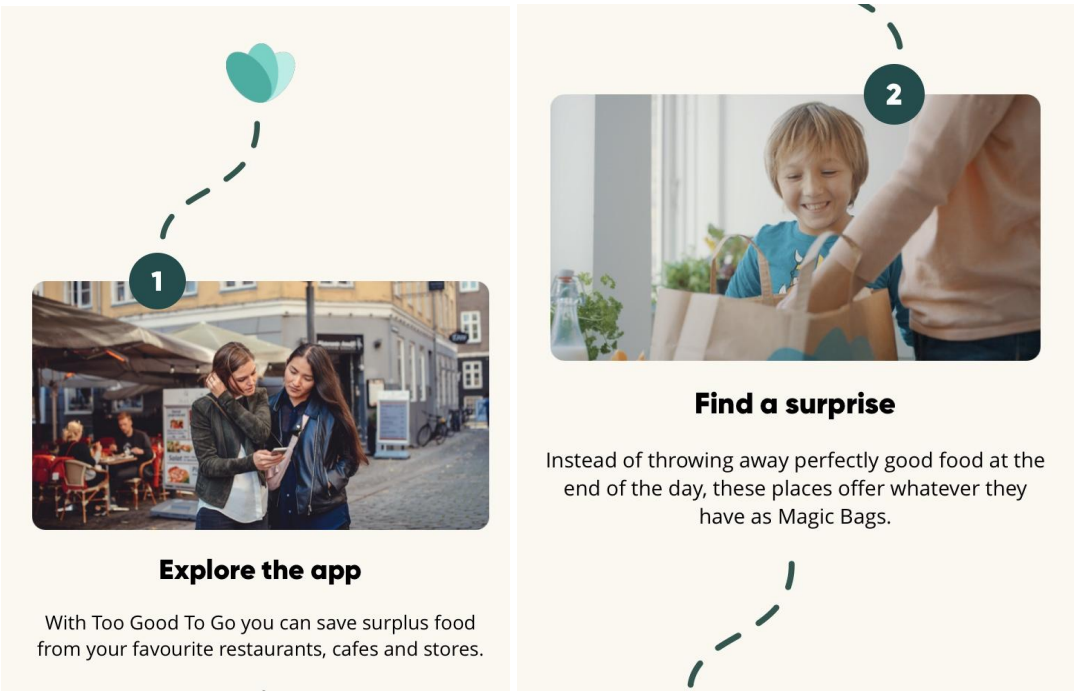
The household section of the website, though shedding light into many issues pertinent to consumers and not always directly related to the brand's activity, is well informed and accessible. Nonetheless, the narrative places too much responsibility on the individual without explicit contextualisation of the problem as a legislative and industrial one. This logic fits within Neoliberal thought processes where individuals and the market seem to bear the responsibility and guilt of Global issues (Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee, 2012).

Analysis Part 2: The app

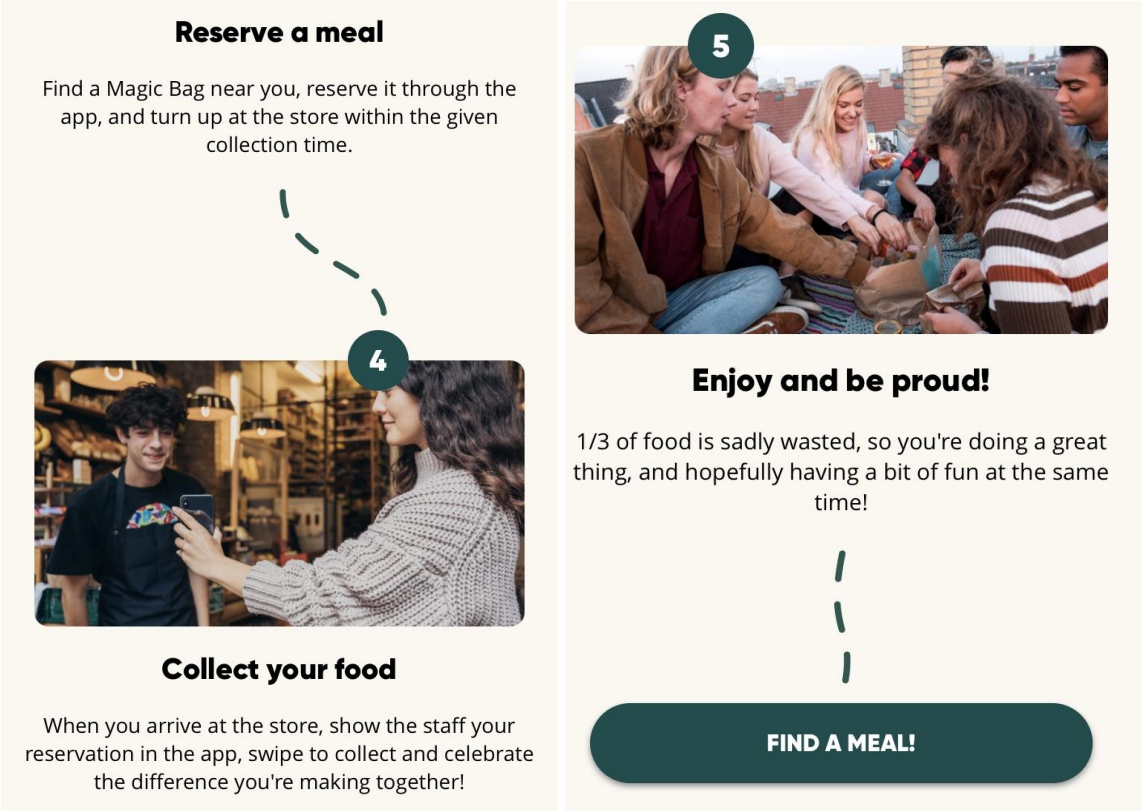
The TGTG app is simple and easy to navigate, and divided into specific categories: Time slots, type of food and personal preference. The time slots category divides food into the times of day it can be picked up: Breakfast, Lunch, Dinner. The second category divides food into larger groups such as groceries, baked goods, ready-made meals or vegetarian meals. Lastly, the personalised category showcases the user's self-selected favourites and offers TGTG proposes based on previous purchases. This type of outline allows the user to browse only within the categories they are interested in. In this section of the analysis, I will unpack how TGTG explains the app's workings through a series of simple graphics, as well as what type of information the customer receives when making a purchase. I will only focus on these two sections to follow the customer journey taken by all interviewees. This will allow me to understand better what information they possess about the app and the possibilities of action the app affords the user.

1. How does TGTG work?

The outline of the app is explained in five simple graphics like the ones beneath:



Both Images that illustrate the browsing stages emphasise the food customers are about to receive is not waste – but surplus. On the other hand, the text referring to “Exploring the App” minimises the agency of who produces the food surplus in the first place. In the next step, “Find a Surprise”, TGTG explains that at the end of the day, this food surplus (whose cause is taken for granted) will be sold in the form of a TGTG bag. By explaining the food's context, TGTG creates a background that solidifies the nature of the food the consumer is about to rescue from the bin. While everything about the journey of this food is accurate, TGTG disavows the fact that, in many cases, this surplus food was produced to fill a display and capture the consumer, rather than ever be sold. The overproduction that results in many cases in this surplus is silent. When the causes of this overproduction are not mentioned, saving the five bags of surplus food a bakery or supermarket sells every day, food that would otherwise go to waste, seems more meaningful as an action.



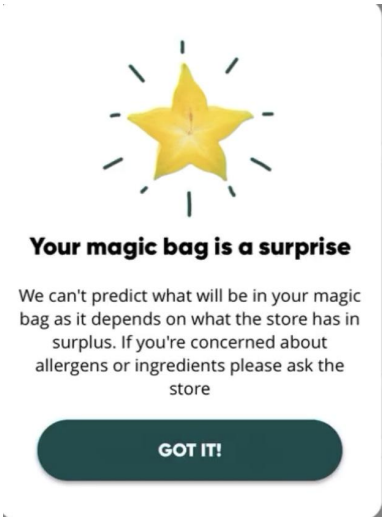
The last three steps are those pertaining to the purchase and pick-up of food. Step 4, “Collect your food”, frames the act of food collection as a celebratory occasion in the phrasing “celebrate the difference you’re making together”. Lastly, step 5, “Enjoy and be proud”, equates saving food with having fun. These last two points are important for the rhetoric of the app. Purchasing surplus food is always compared to fun activities that are purposeful. Here we must take into consideration that, as mentioned in the previous section, TGTG defines itself not only as a company, but as part of a movement. This way, by tinting activism with an atmosphere of fun – TGTG positions itself in opposition to more serious images of climate activism. Saving food waste through TGTG is light-hearted and simple – and just at the user’s fingertips. Thus, the app and the website both follow the logic of commodity activism: a purchase is a way to perform values and belief. The app puts forward the idea saving food means to buy it before it is thrown away at the retail stage. In the interview analysis section, this two-step way of approaching Commodity Activism will be challenged. When does a customer feel like they are, in fact, saving food?

2. After purchase

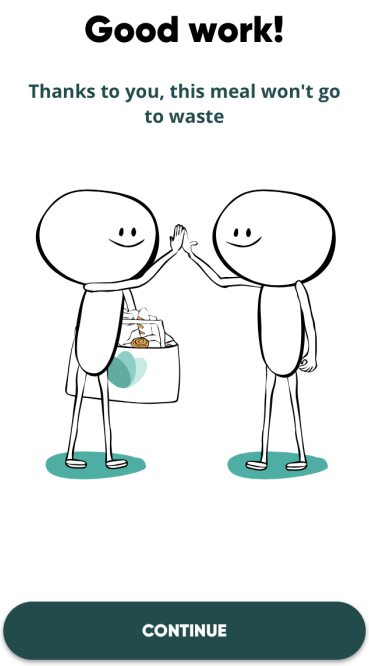
This second part of the analysis concerns the texts presented after selecting a bag from a particular store in the TGTG app. As previously mentioned, I will be looking at these brief texts since they are the only pieces of communication all TGTGers are

exposed to. For this reason, I find the need to pay attention to these small texts that every informant was exposed to.

After selecting a store, the following image pops up:



The surprise factor of the bag is emphasised at many stages of the purchase. The surprise factor follows the line of the celebratory tones used in previous sections. In this context, the word surprise predominantly carries a positive connotation. In this manner, the lack of choice in the contents of a bag carries the same positivity. The idea the customer can only get what is available at the end of the day should not be looked over. Choice is an integral part of capitalism and consumption (Larsen & Patterson, 2019). Therefore, the idea that by buying something from TGTG the consumer is choosing not to oversee the specific contents of the bag, but to receive whatever the store has left over, is quite enticing. The bag is framed as a “surprise”; therefore, the lack of choice becomes desirable. Hence, the bag's contents are not framed as leftovers on the verge of being disposed of, but as a fun surprise, thereby surrounding the unknown contents with positive connotations of expectation and optimism.



When the purchase is finalised, the last graphic appears (Image beneath): “Good Work! Thanks to you this meal won’t go to waste”. This last message shows once more that food can be saved from going to waste by being purchased. That is to say; instead of being wasted by the business that is selling it, it’s taken home by the consumer. However, when is this food saved from becoming waste? Is it saved when the consumer buys it, or when the consumer eats it?

Drawing solely from the last image it can be deduced TGTG suggests that to buy food from a business is to save it. This simple form of transactional virtuosity may not reflect the more complex portrayal the brand shows in the movement section of its website regarding the food waste problem. However, it distils the message enough to be easily conveyed in the context of an app that needs to be comfortable and engaging.

3. Two formats, one message?

The different formats analysed above -website and app- carry different quantities and qualities of information. If I had just looked at the TGTG app, I could not have observed the amount of quality and digestible information it offers about the place food waste plays within climate change, and how solvable the problem is. On the other hand, TGTG's app is the only format of information most customers encounter. Still, I consider it essential for this project to get a clear picture of TGTG and what it stands for, and the website's analysis has been useful to see how it articulates knowledge communication with marketing language. Interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 2010d, p360) is an essential lens to understand how these two genres are negotiated to solidify the image of TGTG as a brand that is not just about profit, but also the planet. Fairclough's interdiscursive approach includes looking at the two formats while considering the two situations these texts are encountered in. The app is designed for the user to finalise a purchase, while the website is mainly targeted at businesses and what TGTG can do for them. Moreover, the movement section targets individuals who want to know more about TGTG and what it stands for. These target audiences and situations of use need to be considered when comparing the content and experiences provided by the app and the website.

Analysis Part 3: Interview Analysis

> "There looms, within abjection, one of those violent, dark revolts of being, directed against a threat that seems to emanate from an exorbitant outside or inside, ejected beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable. It lies there, quite close, but it cannot be assimilated. It beseeches, worries, and fascinates desire, which, nevertheless, does not let itself be seduced. Apprehensive, desire turns aside; sickened, it rejects. (...). But simultaneously, just the same, that impetus, that spasm, that leap is drawn toward an elsewhere as tempting as it is condemned. (Kristeva, 1982, p2)

This third part of the analysis focuses on the data gathered through the interview process. The analysis will use CDA by (a) describing, (b) interpreting and (c) explaining texts. Ultimately, aiming to identify the larger orders of discourses (Fairclough, 2010b) present in them and the roles these play in the narratives of the informants. Moreover, this analysis will be structured by Shove & Pantzar's (2005) proposed categories within practices: Competences (1), Images (2) and Objects (3). These categories and the themes found within them will guide the way the narratives

are grouped. I will be looking at Divers and TGTGers separately since not all categories manifest in the same manner within both groups. However, I will attempt to draw connections between them within each of the overarching classifications. The first section, 'Competence' will delve into the particular ways Divers and TGTGers relate to the uncommoditites they acquire. How do they narrate them? How do they conceptualise and articulate their relationship with food? The ‘Images’ section will deal with the imagery that Divers associate with their practice. Whom did they imagine rummaging through the trash? How did they imagine the contents of the bin? How do TGTGers imagine the problem of food waste and their contribution as individuals? The Object section will discuss the new ways Divers and TGTGers think about uncommodities. As mentioned in the delimitations section, there is a clear tendency to quote predominantly Dumpster-divers over TGTGers. This reflects the amount and quality of information offered by the informants, as well as the questionnaire’s design.

1. Competences & Skills

This section will delve into the competencies or skills that are developed while using TGTG or Dumpster-diving. This section will expand on three main subjects: cooking, use of rhetoric and sharing. Not all these skills are present in both practices: in some instances they manifest differently, as in the case of sharing. In some cases, these skills are developed prior to the practice and evolve in different ways when encountering these new forms of consumption. In other cases, these competencies emerge as results from the practices in question.

1.a. Sharing Objects and Spaces

To begin with, I will discuss sharing in the case of Divers. The Divers interviewed discussed the importance of sharing in different contexts. This section will unpack how sharing is a critical skill Divers develop and use during and after the time they spend retrieving food. Diego observes:

> “The first times I was getting as much food as I could, and then I realised it doesn’t really make sense, because there are also other people that come to the Dumpster, so you also need to share (09.03). So it’s a really interesting thing that you are sharing. You learn how to share, you learn how to not be greedy. Because, of course, you can get as much food as you want. It’s there. But then you probably throw it (away) at home, so there is no point. (...) I learned that and I just started getting the things I need.” (Diego, Annex 1, p.10).

This is a sentiment shared by many of the informants who reported having difficulty, in the beginning, taking exactly the amount of food they needed. Diego is able to articulate the difference between what he has access to in the Dumpster, and what he needs from it. He also explains his attitude towards taking food home changed from the moment he started diving. His encounter with other people made him realise that what he was taking could be used by others. His behaviour in the Dumpster is, thus, articulated by the idea of the presence of the others. Sharing becomes part of a symbolic and collective structure of knowledge that communicates a social order between Divers (Reckwitz, 2002 p.216). The behaviour of a Diver inside the space of the Dumpster is learned by observing others; in Reckwitz's terms, they learn to be bodies in a certain way (2002, p.251). The Dumpster is not a space they encounter as individuals, but as part of a group of people that have chosen to acquire their food in this manner – thus, behaving in corresponding ways is expected. The other Divers, even if not physically present at the time Diego is retrieving the food, are present in his thoughts. This is evident in his phrasing: "because there are also other people that come to the Dumpster". This way of keeping the ever-present other in mind is a way of learning to share and to acknowledge their actions affect others. Furthermore, the awareness shown above enables Diego to see his practice as part of something bigger he can't see with his own eyes. In this vein, it can be argued that Divers work as an Imagined Community (Anderson, 1983). They are a group of people that have never met yet who are keenly aware of each other and their common objectives. This feeling of belonging to something bigger than themselves fills them with a sense of purpose and strengthens their beliefs in what they do, instead of producing a sense of disenfranchisement.

In other cases, taking more food than is necessary is framed in the context of sharing with non-divers. Ida reflects:

> (16.24) I think I definitely have more food waste than if I was just buying food, cause I do take more of what I precisely need, just because of the fact that there is loads of it there. I love sharing my food with friends or colleagues. If it's something really good I'll just take all of it. If I know that there are people that I can just give it to, I'll redistribute it. I just bought thirty bags of coffee. I found that we weren't going to drink at home, so now we are just drinking Dumpster coffee in our office and people seem into it. So it's nice it's a little bit of redistribution of food (Ida, Annex 1, p.34)

Sharing here is a bridge between the Divers and the non-divers. The choice of word redistribution is also important because of its political connotation. The word implies that resources (food surplus) are unevenly distributed and that Divers have the agency to reorganise them. The uncommodities rescued by Ida are not only consumed by herself, but she puts them back into circulation. The surplus food is subsequently consumed by individuals who would not necessarily Dive themselves.

In this manner, she brings the issue of food waste to the attention of her co-workers, while also enabling them to see the coffee out of the space of the Dumpster – and as a clean, edible product that does not belong in the bin.

By refusing to leave the thirty bags of coffee in the Dumpster and instead sharing them with people that otherwise would not get to see the contents of the bin, the Diver shows how this surplus can be seen as a piece of Social Capital (Bordieu, 1986). By bringing in the coffee to be shared with her co-workers, she generates a social interaction that is set in motion because of the material and symbolic value of the objects she shared. Though coffee as an object is familiar to everyone, the social life of the object is singular; it has been rescued from the bin. Thus, creating a space for a conversation about her particular experience as a Diver, and serving as an entry point to bring awareness to the food waste problem. But, mostly, solidifying her position as the Diver in the group. In this vein, the coffee in itself can become a symbolic boundary between those who decide to Dive, and those who do not. Conversely, her readiness to share this type of goods shows she does not perceive her access to food surplus as a barrier between her and others, but as a way to include others in her particular way of consuming food.

Many TGTGers express that sharing is an important part of managing the contents of the bag. Penelope breaks this down while retelling her routine after picking up a new bag:

> “I try to actually freeze down most of the bread, for example. So I always start by cutting it in slices and freezing it down and then I instantly think of the social interactions that I’m going to have on the following days. For example, when I studied I was thinking, ‘oh! I could bring some cake for my friends at school tomorrow’, (05.53) or something like that, ‘and then I think I'll eat it...!’” (Penelope, Annex 2, p.15)

Sharing in this context is presented as a natural way of managing the excess amount of food she has received in her bag before it goes bad. In the case of the TGTGers that considered the social interactions they would have in the following days, they framed their actions as a practical way to get rid of their own food surplus. In Penelope’s case, she narrates sharing in the same stage that she narrates cutting the bread in slices and freezing it. It is part of a routine, a rationalised form of dealing with getting an amount of food she would not be able to consume before it goes bad.

1.b. Finding questions in the bin: Rhetorics of Exception

As shown in Cornelissen’s (2016) work, Divers come to naturalise their actions, believing that eating uncommodities is common sense (Cornelissen, 2016). In the interviews analysed in this project, I have observed the same logic in Divers. In this

vein, eating what many would catalogue as trash seems to them a reasonable choice. However, what they cannot make sense of is the logic behind the food surplus they retrieve from a supermarket's bins. The use of rhetorical questions was a common denominator within all the conversations with Dumpster-divers. I have come to think of their capacity to question the food supply chain as a skill, developed by their encounters with the bin. This section will unpack their use of rhetorics.

According to Ahmed (2000), an encounter "suggests a meeting, which involves conflict and surprise" (Ahmed, 2000, p.6). This inner conflict is reflected in Caroline's words:

> "(...) they (the supermarket workers) are not allowed to take them home themselves, they are not allowed to give it away. They have to discard it. So I think just the whole...Why is it there? When it's perfectly usable and why is there so much of it? It's quite shocking, just seeing it, cause we kind of know it. But I don't know what 700 tonnes look like." (Caroline, Annex 1 P.2)

Caroline emphasises the emotional effect that looking inside the supermarket bins has on her; she feels shaken. Furthermore, it makes her wonder why all of this surplus food reaches the bin in the first place. She does not seem to want to believe the supermarket would rather throw away food than give it away. In the statement above, Caroline moves from rationalising what she can see (the bin's contents) and what she knows exists (700 tonnes of waste in Denmark). However, as mentioned, she has no grasp of what the actual amount of waste in Denmark looks like.

Nevertheless, if what she sees in the contents of the supermarket's bins is indicative of the millions of tonnes wasted, she seems only to be able to deal with the absurdity of the situation by asking this type of rhetorical question. "Why is it there? Why is there so much of it?" Her questions filled with surprise – or in her words, shock – and conflict. Caroline knows the answers to her questions. Yet, she chooses to formulate her knowledge in the form of rhetorical questions. This seems to work as a form of sense making; questions representing what is so absurd she refuses to utter as taken for granted. I will return to this idea later.

A different example of the use of rhetoric can be seen in Diego's narration of the organisation he volunteers in. The organisation cooks meals with surplus food donated from bazaars in Norrebro. Here, he describes the diverse type of people who eat at the organisation:

> "But here it's just everybody, you just go there...anyone, you know. There was also this organisation you know (24.17) it's a political party, they came there to have dinner one day, cause they are vegans, so it was the vegan political party or something like that. So they came there just to have dinner, cause everything is of course vegan. I think it's such a normal thing, you know... to

> just…But if it's that normal…why do they place these prohibitions? Why do they try to say no to the Dumpster Divers or so? Why do they keep locking them or why (24.44) don't they accept that there is so much food waste. That they could…" (Diego, Annex 1, p.14)

Considering that Diego prepares meals for people that solely consist of donated food surplus, it is not hard to understand his frustration at the thought of food of similar quality being wasted in locked supermarkets bins. The locked Dumpster's image is a repeated frustration within Divers. If it's trash, why put a lock on it? Diego asks. "Why don't they accept that there is so much food waste that they could...?" Similar to Caroline, he seems lost for words at a point in the conversation. It is not incidental that he is lost for words when he is talking about a possible solution for the supermarkets' waste problem. However, it would be unfair to ask for solutions from these individual Divers, when the solutions for having food surplus in Dumpsters worldwide should come both from governments and supermarkets. What Diego might be trying to get across with his questions is he cannot see the surplus food in the Dumpsters as trash any longer. Agamben argues: "the sovereign exception is the fundamental localisation*,* which does not limit itself to distinguishing what is inside from what is outside but instead traces a threshold (the state of exception) between the two" (Agamben, 1998, p.19).

In other words, the fact Divers break the 'state of sovereignty' of traditional forms of consumption to eat food surplus catalogued as waste creates a state of exception. The embodiment of this state of exception is the uncommodity, included in the Divers consumption solely because of its exclusion from the supermarket aisles as explained by Boarder Giles. As explained in the theory section, Boarder Giles (2014) defines an uncommodity as an object that has reached the end of its commodified life; which has been disposed of and re-assigned value after its exchange value becomes null. This does not mean Divers do not understand the spaces of consumption and disposal as they exist; they just deem them superfluous in light of their wasteful consequences. The state of exception of the uncommodity to the trespasser (the Diver) seems absurd. The Diver, in a sense, is expecting the exception to become the rule. "Sovereignty only rules over what is capable of interiorising" (Deleuze & Guattari, A thousand Plateaus, p.445, in Agamben, 1998, p.18). Divers refuse to interiorise the amount of waste produced by supermarkets is inevitable. Thus, they feel the need to circumvent the hegemony of a system that enables this waste by eating what the system disposes of. Yet, how can they break from something as ubiquitous as food waste, present from the beginning of the supply chain all the way to the supermarket? They question it.

Breaking hegemonic patterns of consumption requires new forms of narrating the new practice. Thus, rhetorical questions are tools that serve Divers as familiar forms to narrate what they are attempting to avow. Divers have looked inside the Dumpsters, they have eaten their contents and they cannot unsee that. The "conflict

and surprise" they felt has evolved; from an inner conflict where they debated with themselves if they were the person who ate from the trash to asking "Why is it there? Why is there so much of it? (Caroline)." This type of change in their thought process from a natural (hegemonic) aversion towards the contents of the bin to questioning why this food surplus is in the bin in the first place, shows how much their thoughts and actions have been informed by their practices as Divers. Therefore, these formulations in the form of rhetorical questions that can be seen in the interviews with Dumpster-divers (See Annex 1) can be read as a way of challenging the hegemony of these waste regimes, by filling their existence with questions instead of narrating them in terms of certainty or inevitability. Fairclough (2010b) argues discourse conventions that are naturalised are the most efficient forms to reproduce and sustain the ideological and cultural dimensions of hegemony. By this token, denaturalising these discursive forms and replacing them with new ones is a characteristic feature of 'hegemonic struggle' (Fairclough, 2010b, p.129).

In other words, formulating some social practices as certainties and others (like eating from a Dumpster) as taboo, is also a way of perpetuating the "ideological dimensions of hegemony". To resist these naturalised formulations of certainty by merely formulating them as questionable – or refusing to repeat the predetermined answers that, even if correct, are deemed unacceptable by the speaker – is a form of breaking the cycles that reproduce and sustain cultural hegemony. Rhetorics of exception are thus questions that do not question, but formulations that disrupt and make evident to others what is clear to the speaker.

1.c. Cooking as a Competence

Continuing within the "Competence" and Skills section within Practice Theory, we can observe through the interviews that cooking is almost a prerequisite to Dumpster-diving. Much of Divers' time is spent thinking about what they will make with the food retrieved from the bins. Cooking is necessary to process and preserve most of the food surplus they collect. This section will focus on discussing how they think of cooking after diving, and their reflections on their new practices. In the passage below, we can see Diego narrates the evolution in his approach to cooking:

> "Before it was more like...I would love a burger and I would go to the supermarket and buy a burger, or I would love pasta and go and get it. But now it's more of what I get, as I said I look at the fridge and see what the Dumpsters gave me. So...also, I learnt to cook new recipes, because of course, you have, say, pumpkin and dates and it's like 'what can I do with this?' And then you search in Google: 'recipes with pumpkin and dates' and amazing recipes...and then you think: 'Wow! I never thought you could mix pumpkin and dates'...ehhh….So, I learnt a lot." (Diego, Annex 1, p.12)

Diego's meal planning has changed from being motivated by desire to being oriented by practicalities. He assesses what the Dumpster gave him. With this way of phrasing it, Diego emphasises the random nature of eating Dumpster food, placing more importance on the fact they do not know what they are going to find instead of his choice over what he decides to take with him or leave behind. In his words, the Dumpsters gave him the food; he did not take it from the Dumpsters. The emphasis on randomness encourages him to deal with the unexpected, and to consider food combinations he usually would not choose. This is an integral part of Dumpster-diving: by choosing to eat Dumpster food, Divers limit the amount of choice they have in their everyday meals. This way of seeing food consumption as a space to relinquish choices is in direct opposition to the central logic of capitalism and consumption, where choice and options are at central concerns (Larsen & Patterson, 2019). But Diego seems to welcome these circumstances and interprets them as a learning experience and a way to broaden his culinary horizons.

Joaquin, Diego's friend, explains a similar feeling:

> "Yeah, well, the Dumpster-diving for me...has completely changed the idea that I have now about food waste. We were educated – I think – with the idea that we need specifically *this* in order to do this recipe, and now with the Dumpster diving for me...I have food and I cook it. I play with the food and I discovered…I am constantly discovering! First new products because there is a huge part of products that I never bought before...and second...When you don't have a specific product for a recipe, you realise that you can use, maybe, another one that fits better. That gives a taste that you enjoy more – or not. That you have to play with the situation, We don't have to follow the instructions in any moment of our day…we can let ourselves enjoy the process of cooking, and if we don't have this product, it doesn't matter: it is not the only way to cook and to feed ourselves." (23.45) (Joaquin, Annex 1, p.41)

Joaquin unpacks how his seemingly counterintuitive approach to cooking allows him to enjoy food in a manner he perceives as a novelty. Firstly, he attributes to Dumpster-diving the possibility of discovering ingredients and the need to improvise while cooking. This is clear in his statement regarding being taught to follow recipes. This way of thinking, even if it sounds quite logical, opposes the logic of consumption. A consumer walks into a supermarket with an idea or a list of what they want or need. Conversely, only cooking with what the Dumpster gave him, instead of what he wants to, is a change in attitude that opposes the logic of the supermarket's perpetual availability. The act of cooking directed by the ingredients instead of whims can be seens as a particularity of Dumpster-diving. Reckwitz explains:

> "the knowledge that is a constitutive element of a practice is not only a way of understanding, it is (...) also a know-how and a certain way of wanting and feeling. (...) Every practice implies a particular mode of intentionality i.e. wanting or desiring certain things and avoiding others" (Reckwitz, YEAR p.254).

The fact that both Diego and Joaquin are keenly aware of how their cooking logic has been overturned by the amount of random surplus food they have, speaks of how much thought these changes called for. The changes of perspective require understanding the "side effects" of their new way of acquiring food. This random food surplus subsequently forces them to take a counterintuitive approach that allows them to, as Daniel explains, play with the possibilities certain ingredients afford them – such as dates and pumpkins. Gibson (2014) used the concept of affordance to explain the possibilities of action that an object invites a user to engage with. Affordances are invariant; they do not vary with the need of the user. What varies is the capacity of the user to perceive them. "The object offers what it does because of what it is" (Gibson, 2014, p.130). In other words, the objects the Divers are using have not changed when the Diver retrieves them. What has changed is the Divers' capacity to see more possibilities, because they start their cooking process thinking what the object affords them – instead of thinking of the end result (a set recipe) in order to start cooking.

Cooking without a recipe can be seen as a metaphor for the Divers' way of encountering food. Divers rely heavily on their senses and the rationality learned from diving. Their encounter with food is both functional and romanticised. Functional, because they challenge their (social) preconceptions of the limits of what is edible and focus on the material value of the food they are consuming. Romanticised, because their transgression adds meaning and symbolic value to the food. This section has outlined some of the main skills that Divers need and develop in their engagement with uncommodities. Some of these observed capacities, like their use of rhetoric, will be observed continuously in the following section, and through the importance they place on cooking. The next section will follow how images articulate with the competences discussed above.

2. Images

Symbolic meanings and Images is the second of the three categories that Shove & Pantzar (2005) propose to operationalise Practice Theory. This section will unpack the imagery invoked by Divers and TGTGers when narrating their experiences. In this section I will unpack Images as forms of seeing practices, people and space. How do Divers imagine Dumpster-diving before practicing it themselves? How do TGTGers imagine the food in their bags?

2.a Images of people

When responding to the question "When did you first hear about Diving and what did you think of it?" Most of the Divers interviewed made a deliberate effort in narrating the change between how their way of perceiving Diving and who eats from the Dumpsters changed when they experienced Diving themselves. None of the interviewees initially perceived Diving as commonsensical – as they came to think later on. Some of them even wondered if they could see themselves as the type of person that goes through the trash. Ida retells her first thoughts of Divers when she moved to Denmark from Canada:

> “So I had friends in Canada that Dumpster-dived. Well, not friends really, but people who I knew because I worked in some kind of organisations that had a lot of left-leaning people, in the summer camps and in the city. They are people who Dumpster-dive and I thought it was quite gross. They are very alternative people and I really did not think (03.53) that is something to identify with. I came (to Denmark) as an intern and with very little money to spare and was finding that quite stressful and this is a very expensive city to live in. And then I started working in an organisation (name has been edited). I was an intern and my fellow interns as well as other people who worked there were Dumpster-diving. The interns who Dumpster-dived were a couple of boys and (04.48) I thought ‘they are like guys jumping around in Dumpsters’. And then I had one of my co-workers, Stine, (...) said something like ‘I came on my way to work and then I stopped behind a store and there were all these organic vegetables, that I just brought home and made this lovely dinner with’ (05.46) and then I was like ‘what? If she can do it, then I can do this’ (laughs) and then I think it was that day or that week, I just went home on the way from work and I was scoping out any grocery stores that I could see and going out the back and I remember I found a grocery store with a bin full of flour and I was soooo excited” (Ida, Annex 1, p.31).

Ida walks us through how her mind changed from seeing Divers as "alternative people" she did not identify with, to feeling she could be doing it herself. In her case, the images are striking: the people she envisions Diving back home are politically active or masculine, like in the case of her fellow interns. Ida only considers Diving after she meets a female peer in an environment deemed safe, a startup. The moment Ida decides to do it, all the hesitations and thoughts about who goes through the trash are gone, and she becomes overwhelmed by the excitement of what she has found. Ida starts by describing her imagined idea of Dumpster-diving as 'a bit gross' and, gradually, after hearing what Stine and H have found and cooked, she feels motivated to try it herself. Maybe the friendship shared with Stine

allowed her to see Diving as something less alternative and closer to herself. Ida's story is useful to see the importance of Images attached to a practice. As mentioned in the theory section, Images are crucial to the diffusion or stagnation of a practice (Shove & Pantzar, 2005). Imagining the practitioners as "alternative" was certainly a deterrent for Ida to engage in Dumpster-diving herself.

Something similar can be seen in Caroline's responses when she was asked to reflect on how her experience Dumpster-diving has affected her attitude towards food waste.

> “At the beginning when I started, it wasn’t really...it didn’t feel political for me. It was mostly the ‘oh cool, here is food in a Dumpster’, but then the more you see...ah…like, of how much is actually in those Dumpsters and the more you realise that some people are doing it to survive, like families wouldn’t be able to eat without it...it sort of becomes more political. And, as much as you can still be like ‘oh cool man, here is a good (inaudible), there is plenty of stuff in this container’. It’s also terrible that food that could be free food for someone is just in a Dumpster now and people have to negotiate with themselves, whether they want to be the kind of people that go through trash to be able to eat because there is a lot of shame associated with that. It’s also time-consuming” (Caroline, Annex 1, p.5).

In her interview, Caroline describes a similar environment to Ida's, joining a volunteer organisation where her peers Dumpster-dived, but she decides to join them instead. Caroline’s ideas of Diving also evolve from the moment she embraces her current perspective. She implies that Diving is a political act by referencing that she has seen people who rely on uncommodified food in their daily lives – in this way, making a direct link between food insecurity and food waste. She also names the mixed feelings she experiences, knowing that all of this food can be retrieved for free but at the personal cost of trespassing symbolic and physical boundaries. She explains with acute awareness the mental barriers that need to be broken to eat surplus food that has been thrown out by observing that people need to wonder if they want to be the kind of person who goes through the trash. Kristeva writes:

> "Abject. It is something rejected from which one does not part, from which one does not protect oneself as from an object. Imaginary uncanniness and real threat, it beckons to us and ends up engulfing us. It is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules" (Kristeva, 1982, p.4).

The negotiation of the self Caroline describes is parallel to Kristeva's border, where abjection awaits. A border that, when crossed, drenches the trespasser with its meaning. Eating food retrieved from the Dumpster socially implies the food is dirty – as is the subject who engages with it (the Diver). The border that needs to be

negotiated to eat food someone has categorised as inedible is both, in Kristeva's terms, "a real threat" because it implies physically trespassing, but, also, of the risk of eating something that is genuinely beyond its point of edibility. On the other hand, it also possesses an "imaginary uncanniness" because it's a challenge to societal standards about food safety and hygiene. It crosses the border between the space for trash and the space for consumption, so carefully designated and designed during the development of cities (Steel, 2020).

Thus, negotiating whether they want to be the kind of people that eat something they find in the trash is a statement that has not much to do with the individual themselves; but it is a manifestation of the ‘context of culture’. She does not mention what type of people are the people that eat from the trash, she leaves it up to the listener to deduce it themselves. This is due to the hegemony of forms of consumption. For it is taken for granted that food is bought at a store, not retrieved from its space of disposal. Hence, in Fairclough’s terms, the hegemonic nature of the context of culture shapes her narrative of her counter cultural form of consumption. Building on Gramsci, Fairclough argues the goal of the “Ethical State” is to nudge the population into a moral and cultural level which in due course fits the demands of the economy (Fairglough 2010b, p.128). This moral and cultural pervasiveness is a form of Hegemony in itself. With this in mind, what Caroline says and what she leaves unsaid is part of the hegemonic image of the ‘consumer’ – not only the predominant way of procuring food, but as the moral and right way of doing it.

Conversely, no TGTGer had reflections on how they would feel themselves by purchasing or carrying a TGTG bag. The stigma of going through the trash is not present in their experience. The TGTGer, previous to their purchase, wondered about the quality of the food they were about to receive. They were, just like Divers, surprised some of the food they were receiving was on the verge of becoming an uncommodity. Felix, a Diver who also used TGTG with his girlfriend Penelope, compares both experiences.

> “I think TGTG facilitates it in a way that makes it more…acceptable somehow? It becomes kind of, you support the shop that you are buying from and you get your...the stuff you are buying, you get it kind of in a (pauses) in a good condition. You can come and collect it properly somehow and you don’t have to feel like you are crossing anybody, yes... fear. But there are a lot of...the similarities is that they are both left over food that gets used for better and I see...Yeah, it’s basically the concept, so it’s really different but it’s the same key food waste reduction kind of concept, I guess.” (Felix, Annex 1, p19)

Felix discusses the place the images attached to specific practice play in the practitioner's mind, without explicitly naming it. It is to be noted that he starts by mentioning an economic reason: supporting the shop by buying its surplus. This

awareness on his behalf, contrary to most reports of Diving being strongly tied with anti-capitalist logics (Caponi, 2020 & Barnard, 2016), shows that Diving, even if it is economically sound for him, is not a declaration to opt out of the system and live an anti-capitalist life. He *wants* to contribute to the economy. Moreover, he describes getting his purchased goods as 'collecting it properly', which denotes that even if he Dumpster-dives himself, he still finds something improper about Diving. Like Caroline, Felix knows which symbolic boundaries he is crossing when he retrieves surplus food from the Dumpster. While being happy enough to Dive to access the food, he also has the feeling that Diving should not be the most logical way to access food surplus. He sees the benefit of a market solution for this market-created problem. Why immerse himself in a Dumpster when he can pick up food surplus in a bag at a designated time?

2.b. Image of the supermarket

After seeing the wasteful nature of supermarkets first hand, some of the Divers offered their reflections on their own experience in a store. There was no question intended to gauge their perceptions of supermarkets per se, thus, making the fact these reflections were offered freely more meaningful. In the following section, I will explore how Divers experience the supermarket after having Dumpster-dived for a while. Greta recalls:

> "A very concrete thing I think, is when I go grocery shopping I buy the basics I need and, sometimes, I think – especially when you are standing in front of the vegetables – like, my god, I could literally go to this place I know and probably find all I need." (Greta, Annex 1, p23)

Greta sees the vegetables she has bought or retrieved from the bin for what they are, regardless of the context. This might seem trivial, but it is by no means the norm. A leek taken from the Dumpster and a leek taken from the supermarket aisle might feel significantly different to a consumer that has not Dumpster-dived before. The leek that has been in the trash is likely to generate disgust, even if both leeks objectively may taste the same. Ahmed (2014) argues that disgust is not inherent to objects, but is generated when objects come in contact with contexts or other objects that have been designated as disgusting prior to the encounter with said object (Ahmed, 2014, p 87). That is to say; disgust is not embedded in the nature of the object but in its social life. In this vein, Greta does not even consider the feeling of disgust other people might experience; she only thinks of the material value vegetables in the supermarket have to her. The space of the Dumpster and the space inside the supermarket are seamless in her description. The supermarket aisles, this way, lose the clinical detachment to the world that surrounds and supplies

them. The Object-Image relation observed in these cases will be further developed in the following section of the analysis.

Joaquin's experience in the supermarket has also changed:

> " ... when I go into the supermarket and I see perfect peppers or apples that are shining, everything looks fake for me, like...What happens to the other fruits and vegetables we can't see? It is forbidden for the supermarket to show these products which come from the earth. And, on the third day, it is normal to show a little bit less shine or blablabla. So, for me, I think I now have a more realistic idea of the food and when I go to the supermarket it's so drastic the….images (24.46). When I look to the veggie section it's like 'okay, what is happening here?'" (Joaquin, Annex 1, p41)

Joaquin's image of the supermarket is like a broken mirage. He knows what the illusion is showing him – perfect produce always in stock in the middle of a city. But he can also see the cost of that uninterrupted perfection, he retrieves the byproducts of this perfection from the Dumpsters. Like Greta, he cannot see the supermarket and its contents as simple objects for consumption. The immaculate nature of the aisle seems artificial to him, primarily because, as he points out, he has a "more realistic idea of the food". Joaquin then points out the natural life of produce: the decay in contrast to the shininess of everything he sees in retail. He wonders why what he can see in the Dumpster is absent in the aisles. His sentiment is not illogical, but the idea of fruits and vegetables rotting in a place that is meant to be inviting the consumer to buy appetising produce seems off – Joaquin advocates for a realistic perspective on these places where food is sold. However, there is nothing natural about a supermarket. The supermarket represents the ubiquitousness of the supply chain: watermelons in January, lemongrass available year-round, an unspoiled selection of produce from all the corners of the world – all, seemingly, effortless. So in a sense, to ask for the supermarket to seem more "natural" is uncanny. Kristeva argues:

> "If the object, however, through its opposition, settles me within the fragile texture of a desire for meaning, which, as a matter of fact, makes me ceaselessly and infinitely homologous to it, what is abject, on the contrary, the jettisoned object, is radically excluded and draws me toward the place where meaning collapses."(Kristeva, 1982 p.3)

Divers lay in the in-betweenness of the place where meanings collapse. They have experienced what is behind the backdoor, disposed of in the trash. Yet, they are still part of the cycle of consumption and actively buy in the supermarket. So the images of food surplus they see inside the Dumpster cannot be severed to what they see in the aisles – their meanings collapse – but only to their eyes. The produce that

remains outside the store remains in the conceptual space of abjection to all other consumers; only the Diver is drawn to them and naturalises their edibility. That the Divers have lost their feelings of disgust for the Dumpsters prevents them from seeing how unnatural their attitude might seem to average shoppers. This way of perceiving the supermarket is part of what Reckwitz calls a “practice-specific emotionality” (p 254). Joaquin’s idea of a more “natural” store is echoed in Caroline’s, Diego’s, H’s and Greta’s interviews. This longing for a natural way of shopping is thus not their individual way of encountering the supermarket. This form of decoding their surroundings, of collapsing meanings, belong to the Dumpster-diving practice in the context of the sample of informants pertaining this project.

2.c. Reflecting on App mediated images

This section will focus on TGTGers reflections on what the app allows them to see. In the context of Shove & Pantzar’s categories of Practice Theory, Images not only imply visuals that can be seen in real time, but also imaginaries of spaces produced by experiences. As we observed in the previous section on Images, the meanings Divers attribute to the supermarket, changes as their involvement in the practice grows. Meanwhile, most TGTGers did not mention any changes in their experience of the supermarket. In their case, the experience of picking up a bag does not challenge the supermarket's image, but it bends beliefs on expiration dates and the importance of freshness. Moreover, in the context of this project’s informants, TGTG does not significantly challenge the image of the individual who buys from the app, nor does it create a feeling of social discomfort. For these reasons, focusing on the reflections TGTGers offered regarding what the app allows them to see – whether in the form of the size of the problem of food waste, or what it means to save food in the context of food surplus – seemed like a more adequate form to address the “Image and symbolic meanings” category. What images of waste does the app facilitate?

To begin with, Marko, who use to dive before using the TGTG app, explains to his girlfriend:

> “But you don’t see anything except the box you have, and with Dumpster-diving you SEE everything. It’s there and you just pick what you need or what looks good and you can’t take the whole Dumpster with you...that's the thing. Even if you do, you will still waste it (27.05) You can’t eat the whole Dumpster.” (Marko, Annex 2, p.24)

Marko differentiates what the two experiences allow him to see, while also acknowledging the limits of what an individual can do. Marko’s reflection articulates

both the limits of Divers as individuals, and the limits of consumers. He does so while precising the affective impact that seeing inside a Dumpster has. However, neither in the TGTGer nor Diver's case, what they see (a Dumpster or bag) represents the size of the food waste problem whatsoever. The effect of opening an app and seeing that five bags will be for sale per day conjures a very different image of the problem of food waste that comes from opening several Dumpsters and seeing them full of food surplus – especially knowing they get emptied every day. Marko's emphasis on seeing "everything" is about those different images: a curated bag full of items one has paid for, and a Dumpster full of (mostly) edible food someone has deemed disposable.

Nevertheless, the bag does help some of the TGTGers think of waste and scale. When asked if her purchase of TGTG affected her perception of food waste, Rita says:

> "That is a very good question, because I think it actually has. Yeah, although I... it actually has a lot...Although I see myself not wasting food and I try to think about this on an everyday basis. It happens. But TGTG...just makes you think about it. It makes you think about it when you see that so many places are in the app, right? Because it's restaurants, supermarkets, bakeries. I mean there are so many options all the time and then I reflect that more...and there is a lot that happens. So you see that this food would be wasted if the app wasn't there. So, in that sense, it makes me reflect on the problem, in some ways the size of the problem. Although I know the app doesn't represent the size of the problem, per se. Because I don't have enough data points to make that… prediction. But it gets you thinking." (Rita, 28, Annex 2)

In the statement above Rita makes evident her thought process: she can see that something from a unit (a particular bag, from a particular store) is, in reality, a problem mirrored in multiple stores and multiple cities. Rita's capacity to think this way is likely more related to her job and education than the app (she is a data scientist). Still, the app plays a role in mediating this image, giving it a "real-time" documentation: certain stores have a determined amount of waste at certain times. That is to say, if the user is predisposed to see what the app is offering through its feed of supermarkets, restaurants and cafes, the user may get a sense of how frequently businesses produce a surplus that may quickly become food waste. As shown in the first part of the analysis, TGTG provides the resources for customers to see where their product is coming from at all times.

On the other hand, other TGTGers wonder as well what impact their actions have and to what extent their purchase of a 'magic' bag really helps:

> "I do feel really bad when I have to throw it out but there is also a part of me that thinks they were going to throw it out anyway. So I guess I'm the middle

> man that does the job for them, maybe they feel better about themselves and I can feel bad about myself (laughs) doing that. So, it's kind of clever, actually, cause I can imagine that a lot of the people or organisations or places that use this… (07.25) they can feel a little better about themselves for participating. And who is there with the guilt now is the person, the customer! (laughs) Who is trying to do something very nice! But, yeah...it's kind of a double-edged sword I would say…"(Nanna, Annex 2, p7)

Marko argues you cannot take the whole Dumpster with you, while Nanna and many others also seem to waste (at least, partially) some of the TGTG bag due to the lack of choice and, in some cases,excessive quantities. Nanna reflects on the role she plays in the wastage chain. Firstly, by observing that through the bag, she got a product that was well on its way to being disposed of. This works both as a way to discount the importance of wasting something that is on its way to being wasted anyway (as also expressed by Ida); while positioning herself as a middle-(wo)man given the blame for wasting something a business has no use for. It could be argued she is seeing businesses offset their surplus throughout the customer, disguised as responsible management of avoidable waste. Whether we agree with Nanna or not, she raises a valuable point. In the first part of the analysis, I analysed how TGTG is presented as "Great food at great prices, served with a side of environmental kudos" (TGTG, 2020). Nanna's reflection prompts us to wonder: who is the side of environmental kudos meant for? If intended for the customer, Nanna does not feel like she is getting it. Instead, she feels guilty for wasting food. She wants to see herself as the person saving food, not as the person wasting it.

This is when the logic of Commodity Activism (Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee, 2012) comes back into play. The premise of commercial actions with moral wrappings is to facilitate the consumer into performing their socio-ecological concerns through the single action of a purchase. The complexity of the TGTG case for consumers like Nanna lies in the multiplicity of stakeholders the app has. After all, TGTG is a mediator of businesses that produce surplus – and individuals who want to buy that surplus at a lower price. What is conflicting to Nanna is this action is not as simple as, for instance, buying Fair Trade coffee. The action of buying TGTG does not end for the consumer the moment they buy food surplus: it only finishes the moment they have *not* wasted it. This makes TGTG a more complex form of Commodity Activism, for it requires actual engagement in the form of active meal planning and, in some instances, employing the reverse logic that Divers use – which is plan using what is available, and eating what the bags give them.

Whether images are about who picks up a TGTG bag, or about whom they imagine as the person that goes through the trash, matter. How a practice is imagined, how the problem presented in the practice generates engagement or disengagement in consumers as shown in Ida and Caroline's case: whom do they want to be, or what images they want to be associated with themselves is integral to the attraction of

practitioners. The practice image is not limited to how the space of the practice looks like, or if the bag is aesthetically pleasing or not; but *how* the practitioners imagine they look performing it. Who do they imagine as the typical person participating in the practice in question? Do they see themselves as the ones saving food, or just as middle-men?

3. Object

The third category proposed by Shrove and Panzar (2005) to divide practices analytically is materials or objects. This section unpacks how Images and Objects intersect; I will further develop on the capacity of Divers and TGTGers to see uncommodities as edible food not unlike what they can buy over the counter. In this section, Images and Objects cannot be analysed separately. After all, Practice Theory deals with the articulation of different elements. The practices in hand are built around the object in question: uncommodities. Thus, this section will build on interview statements that are predominantly interdiscursive. In the following account, Caroline talks about how she negotiates her ideas as a Diver with her family's expectations:

> "I kept having this urge to justify...It took a long time for me to talk to my parents about Dumpster-diving, for example, because they don't absolutely understand or see the need for it. And I also think they had a difficult time (pauses) wrapping their heads around (21.56) 'Oh our daughter is jumping into Dumpsters'...there is a little bit of pearl clutching. So there was a constant need to justify and make little jokes about it: I eat trash (fake laughs). But not too much anymore. Now it's just like… It's no less a vegetable because it's been in a certain place than another place." (Caroline, Annex 1, p.7).

The statement above is layered. Through it we can observe societal expectations in the form of her parents' "pearl clutching", her own self-consciousness and beliefs. Fairclough (2010b) refers to hegemony as the development of:

> "practices which naturalise particular relations and ideologies, practices which are largely discursive. A particular set of discourse conventions (...) implicitly embodies certain ideologies – particular knowledge and beliefs, particular 'positions' for the types of social subject that participate in that practice (...), and particular relationships between categories of participants." (Fairclough, 2010b, p 129)

Caroline first manages to breach the subject of eating uncommodified goods in the tone of a joke. Humour works as a form to diverge attention from what her parents

perceived as an incomprehensible situation. The fact she feels the need to broach the subject disguised as humour signals she can perceive what she is telling them is considered outside their (social) expectation of normality. In Fairclough's terms, Caroline is keenly aware of the discursive conventions and the power dynamics at play, and she is playing by the rules she knows, even if they seem to constrict her. Her choice to eat from the trash when she has no need to can only be articulated through humour until she does not feel the need to justify herself anymore. What changed? She has rationalised what she does. The object (the uncommodity), as in Greta's statement in the previous section, is appreciated just for its material value. "It's no less vegetable" to her. Ostensibly, Divers like Caroline or Greta are so comfortable with their rationality they can only express this in simple, commonsensical terms. In other words, Divers are not ignorant of social expectations or society's judgement; they actively choose to scorn them; their relation to the Dumpster is deeply rational, and I will return to this point later.

Similar thoughts on the quality of the food they receive from bags can also be observed in TGTGers. This is evident in the following interaction in response to the question: What came to your mind the first time you picked up a TGTG bag?

> Mila: WOW! (laughs) The first time I was really impressed about the amount of food.
> Marko: For the price.
> Mila: Yes. It was really nice.
> Marko: And the quality as well, I mean, the stuff was not even close to the expiration date or they were not bad or something. It looked like it came from the shelf, not from a waste bin or something. (08.34) (Annex 2, p.19)

All of the participants were pleasantly surprised by the contents of the "magic bag", but we can also hear there was a clear expectation the food they would be buying would not be of the best quality: "It looked like it came from the shelf, not from a waste bin or something". There is a dissonance between how the objects they are consuming are categorised discursively (and socially) and how they perceive them. To buy something categorised as almost-waste creates an expectation in the consumer. Buying their first TGTG bag might feel like a transgressive experiment, where the consumer does not know what they will get. Nevertheless, as soon as they open the bag, the rationalisation that the food they have received does not belong in the trash happens instantly.

In Felix's case, we can hear him navigating his own expectations:

> "I had a bit of difficulties with sometimes it gets a bit mushy or like smashed in there and it gets...I see stuff that I wanted, but I'm unable to use it, because it's kind of like thrown in there and it can smell and it can get really...You know… greasy and….(pauses) when you go in there and you want something

> and maybe you get like something you don't want on your hands or your clothes or something but, yeah, ehhh…I remember coming back and being amazed (07.35) about how, how me and my roommate, we just laid the things on our table and… just, wow! How can they be throwing this out? This is perfectly good and now we can, like, rearrange our next three days of meals after what we collected." (Felix, Annex 1, p.18)

In Felix's account, we can see the repetition of two of the Divers' practice elements analysed in the previous sections: firstly, how he expressed that he organises what will be eaten inspired by what he retrieved from the Dumpster. So the inverted logic of starting from what is available is manifested. Secondly, we can see the use of Rhetoric ("Why are they throwing this out?") but with the added reply that makes evident his thoughts on the functioning of waste regimes: "this is perfectly good". His depiction of the food as "perfectly good" is the key to the image he brings into question, a contract between what he sees as not belonging in the Dumpster over what he deems inedible.

Felix begins by expressing his initial discomfort in the Dumpster environment. He describes how he assesses which items he is willing to reach for and which are beyond his comfort limit. Ahmed explains the way objects impress on individuals is tied to the "histories that remain alive, (...) Feelings may stick to some objects and slide over others" (Ahmed, 2014, 14). This statement shows Felix assesses trash critically, that Divers do not eat indiscriminately from Dumpsters. They carry images with them of what is sanitary and what seems unsanitary, even if their practice might seem entirely outside of the comfort zone to some observers. This image of what is deemed disgusting does not cease to exist the moment they jump inside a bin; they re-adjust it to appraise what is still edible. The image of the Dumpster is reconfigured with every object they rescue from it. How does edible look like, and what is the new limit of edibility? Images of perfectly edible finds help them navigate their standards of what belongs in the bin and what does not. In other words, the limits of edibility are not static, but continually being negotiated.

The practice thus defines the Image of the object. Borrowing Gibson's terms: the affordances of these objects remain multi-valiant, and only acquire meaning with a practice; these objects 'in the wild' (in the bin) remain as trash without a practice attached to them. The possibilities of actions afforded by the object acquire meaning in the face of the practice. That is to say, the objects in question – uncommodities – without the value attached by the Diver or TGTGer would remain discarded; in the process of rotting. They would, inevitably, remain trash. Practice theory enables us to see how objects are not only dormant affordances, but their meanings are constructed in the articulation of deliberate actions taken with them. These actions can be as distant as an object being retrieved from a bin or received in a curated bag purchased from an app. Hence, the object of this practice (the uncommodities) only acquires a meaning that involves its edibility in these practices' context.

Discussion

The analysis section has unpacked how Images, Competences and Objects manifest within the Dumpster-diving and TGTG practice. We have observed how logics of consumption are reframed to prioritise availability instead of desire, and how objects' perception remains the same regardless of context. But, most notably, of the importance of the images associated with a practice. It can be argued that both practices allow individuals to see food surplus and waste differently.

Considering the affective response Divers have after immersing themselves in this experience that involves transgression at a physical, moral, and mostly at an ideological level, it can be argued the level of commitment to saving food surplus from becoming waste is considerably stronger within Divers. However, is this the same as understanding food waste as a problem happening from farm to fork? Some Divers showed a deep understanding of the food system's intricacies, like Caroline or Ida. While TGTGers such as Otto, Rebecca and Zayn showed as much knowledge and reflexivity on the food system's workings. Yet, in either case, can this be solely attached to the practices they are involved in, or is this a consequence of their education, life experience and area of work? Otto explains:

> “I once got locked in a supermarket, by accident. Then the staff, it was basically just two minutes afterwards. Like I didn’t even realise, I felt like still shopping and then the whole supermarket then turned into this really busy area where they started to take out all the meat from the counters and throw it in boxes. Everything. it was a huge amount.(..). I didn’t realise that food is wasted because the offer in the counter always needs to be more than what could be bought. I mean it’s a psychological issue, no one wants to have the last piece. Always needs to be the best piece out of 100 others. It’s calculated in the price and that is from the point of view of...Since then on...I mean I cannot forget that. I mean...Seeing, I cannot actually put it into...I cannot say if it was 100 kg, 200 kg or whatever, but it was an immense amount, the whole meat section of this whole supermarket was just thrown in boxes because there was new stuff coming in. So, fresh stuff replaced the two-day-old stuff or whatever. So….I wouldn’t say that the app changed my perception in that, not at all.” (Otto, Annex 2, p.12)

Otto explains how he found himself in an unusual situation many years ago. He attributes his awareness of the food waste problem to personal experiences such as the one he retells. Otto was not the only TGTGer that attributed personal experience.

Penelope talks about her mother's insistence on not wasting, Rita talks about growing up in Cuba and Zayn, about his job and education. Most of the TGTGers interviewed in this project felt the need to describe how the app did not really have much of an impact in terms of bringing awareness to the problem of food waste, but worked more as a medium to facilitate the performance of their care for the problem of food waste on an everyday basis.

On the other hand, Diego expresses in the following statement how he feels Diving shaped his perception of the problem:

> "So it reminds me a lot when I was a kid and I was with my uncles and grandparents in the village. So we would go and pick the food and we would go home and we wash it and we cleaned it and we put it in boxes and then we say okay, let's eat this food...because we have a lot of grapes, and let's do something with grapes. So it's all these processes, actually are kind of the same (28.49). Here I go, I pick up the food, I wash it, I put it in boxes, I clean it...It just reminds me of what I was doing when I was a kid...You take care of food, you take care, you think of what you are eating, you think: What do you have? It's not just I buy, I eat, I buy, I eat. It's more about all these steps, taking care of it and, Yeah... (29.20). Treating it like something, like it's alive, it came from nature...Yeah." (Diego, Annex 1, p.15)

In the passage above, Diego repeats some of the patterns observed within the analysis section. He compares Dumpster-diving with the routines he experienced as a child when harvesting fruit with his family. Diego breaks down both routines in such a way that the listener can draw parallels between them. Moreover, Diego specifies that all these processes enable him to take care of the food, to stop and reflect on what he eats. He also claims he can think in terms of what is available and break the mindless patterns of consumption through what he describes as only buying and eating in endless loops. The steps are essential to Diego; they allow him to remember that food is not a simple object sitting on an aisle but often an object from nature.

This extract from Diego's interview is particularly useful to observe how many Dumpster-diving practice elements he articulates. Firstly, he manifests how he has broken the logic of unreflective consumption ('I buy, I eat, I buy, I eat); he can now start thinking about availability. Secondly, Diego sees no difference in value between freshly harvested grapes and the food he retrieves from the Dumpster. In other words, he can see the food value regardless of the context of where he found it. Thirdly, he connects food with nature. That is to say, an orange to Diego is not only an edible object inside a net, but a piece of nature that requires resources and effort to grow. The most significant of these practice elements manifesting in Diego's interview is that he attributes them to the Dumpster-diving practice.

In this vein, it can be argued that Dumpster-divers are more prone to attribute their sensitivity towards waste to the aforementioned practice within the scope of this project, while TGTGers are less likely to attribute their awareness to the app. Though TGTG offers a product in a similar material state, Diving does not force the consumer to face the Food Supply Chain's wastefulness. Therefore, it allows some consumers to believe this food surplus can be recycled through consumption, creating an illusion the supermarket waste is being significantly reduced. With this in mind, I do not mean to undermine the good work that TGTG is doing. TGTG is an excellent tool for small businesses to reduce their everyday waste and reduce cost. As I have shown in the first and second parts of the analysis, it grants multiple resources for Individuals & Businesses to understand food waste as a problem framed within Climate Change – and prevent it. They do more than their share to explain that food waste is not only the pile at the end of the supply chain, but that it is present in every stage. Buying a bag from TGTG might delude some consumers into thinking the supermarkets are tackling their waste problem, but this was not reflected in my interviews with TGTGers.

The Divers interviewed here were acutely aware that supermarkets continue their problematic purchasing strategies despite now selling a couple of food surplus bags every day. TGTG does not force anyone to face the reality of the issue; it does not force its user to consume in a significantly different manner. But it attaches symbolic value to the disavowed surplus food that could quickly end up in the bin minutes after the TGTG buying period ends. To demand an equal level of care in the practitioners' lives for these two practices is not equitative. Divers are challenging every single way of consumption they have been taught throughout their lives. Agamben argues "The Exception appears in its absolute form when it's a question of creating a situation in which juridical rules can be valid" (p16). The relation of exception is not simply the object –the uncommodity – but the whole circumstance of consumption. It's the freedom of the Diver to break into the bin space, to take from the supermarket without a monetary transaction.

Conversely, TGTGers are challenging images of who gets to eat surplus food and the importance of freshness. No small feat, but far less radical than jumping inside a supermarket's bin. TGTG allows less disruptive images of fighting food waste, and this cannot be glossed over. As we observed in the analysis section, Images matter. Practice Theory has enabled this project to focus on the importance interviewees place on how they see themselves and the performers of practices. These Images encourage or deter people from engaging in practices. The polarising nature of immersing one's body in garbage bins would likely dissuade many individuals from getting surplus food through Dumpster-diving. As discussed in the "Images of people" section, Divers had to rethink their preconceptions of who eats from the trash and where the limit of edibility lies.

Meanwhile, what TGTG facilitates is a simple way to consume uncommodities recast as food in need of saving – without the need for all the emotional and physical labour that Divers do. In other words, the Image offered by TGTG does not clash with the images that consumers have of themselves. Moreover, TGTG has the potential to enhance the Image of the consumer-citizen powered by the logic of Commodity Activism. Mila, a TGTGer, reflects:

> “It's nice to realise that you can live just from the food waste (31.57) like it's been a couple of months and I've been living on food that mostly would have been food waste...So why should I go to the supermarket and buy? I don’t see the point anymore...I have a much better feeling from this. It feels like individuals can really change something. (Annex 2, Mila & Marko p.25)”

Mila, a TGTGer invested in exploring multiple ways of engaging with food surplus, feels empowered by the possibility to access this foodstuff via TGTG. She claims, “individuals can really change something”. It is aside from the point to discuss if individuals can or cannot achieve change, but the fact she feels agency in the face of “something” that could be either the food system or climate change is not minor. Mila’s sense of empowerment as a consumer has led to volunteering in other food waste initiatives and exploring the market for other ways to acquire rejected food. In some ways, coming into contact with a practical way of acquiring food surplus like TGTG led her to further reflection on the food waste problem. While this was not a ubiquitous sentiment in the TGTG group of informants, but rather a rare one, Mila’s reflection should also be examined. Most TGTGers, when asked about other Food Waste initiatives, mentioned other market solutions such as GRIM, which sells ugly vegetables and fruit, or Banana, which sells ice-cream made with Banana that has also been discarded due to aesthetic standards. Hence, most informants' access to the food waste issue is through the market's lens.

It could be argued that, like TGTG, the market solutions mentioned above represent “weak sustainability” approaches. According to Mourad (2016), weak sustainability approaches focus on optimising current forms of production while ignoring long-term effects. Meanwhile, strong sustainability strategies focus on long-term planning and significant production and consumption changes (Mourad, 2016). As mentioned in the analysis section (Section 2.c.), to an extent, TGTG enables businesses to continue wasteful practices by allowing them to profit from the surplus they produce instead of discarding it, in addition to reducing the amount of food they technically waste and allowing consumers to engage with products that border the edibility limit. Thus, creating space may allow consumers to question their own biases and wonder what constitutes commercial waste. The image of waste TGTG allows consumers to consider that waste is not only made up of food that has gone off, but, often, food surplus that still has some material value.

The importance of the Image becomes relevant to this project because food waste is a problem framed within Climate Change. Therefore, identifying and reproducing Images and actions that are beneficial to address and enhance visibility to Climate Change issues is of the utmost importance. As discussed in the Object section, the uncommodities do not materially change from practice to practice. Rather, what changes are the circumstances of consumption and, with these circumstances, the whole perception of the object.

Concluding Remarks

This project has provided insight into how Dumpster-divers and TGTGers experience different forms of engagement with uncommodities. We have observed how Dumpster-divers reshape their perception of uncommodities to see their material value independently of the context in which they were found. Moreover, we observed how both Divers and TGTGers are invested in not wasting the food they have either bought or retrieved from the Dumpster by developing strategies to minimise wastage. Both groups showed a similar understanding and knowledge of the food waste problem. Divers attributed their awareness to their activity, while TGTGers offered alternative explanations for their knowledge and their capacity to value food surplus. Informants in both groups were also capable of identifying and addressing the fact that food waste is not a problem that can be solved by individuals, there are structural issues that need to be addressed. Nevertheless, they felt motivated to contribute and support solutions that address food waste from a consumer perspective.

Pending further research on a more extensive and more diverse sample, a similar research design could be useful to identify positive attitudes within sustainable food consumption. This could subsequently inform better narrations of waste that can sensitise individuals to more responsible food consumption. Needless to say, consumers are not responsible for the entirety of the food waste problem, and different sectors require different strategies. But that conversation is not within the scope of this project. The practices described in this project are only possible in this flawed food supply chain that produces surplus that can be recycled. There is no surplus for TGTG to sell, or for people to Dive for without this system's inefficiency: its excesses and its disparities.

By highlighting the practices of individuals engaging with solutions inside and outside the market scope, I am not suggesting that action from non-governmental actors is a replacement for government policies, but complementary. In a sense, this project hopes to show how different relations with foodstuff are indeed possible. The current food system needs to change to meet the current Sustainable Development Goals (FAO, 2018). This should come not only in new ways of operating within the supply chain, but also, alternative ways of relating to food. Learning from individuals

involved in what might be perceived as fringe practices can help put current practices into perspective while allowing space for new ways of thinking.

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Web resources & Images:

https://toogoodtogo.co.uk/en-gb (Online, October 2020)
https://toogoodtogo.org/en/movement (Online, October 2020)