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Overview of Food Aid Provision in Scotland

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OVERVIEW OF FOOD AID PROVISION IN SCOTLAND

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1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- 1.1 It has been estimated that more than 500,000 people in the UK are reliant on emergency food aid¹. However, in Scotland, as in the rest of the UK, determining the exact scale of food aid provision and the dynamics of its demand remains problematic. In part this is due to the diverse and often informal nature of food aid providers.
- 1.2 This report presents findings from a scoping study commissioned by the Scottish Government, conducted in September 2013. The study's aim was to provide insight into the extent of food aid provision in Scotland and understand more about food aid providers' operations, monitoring systems and client bases. An additional aim was to explore the extent to which figures published by the Trussell Trust, a large network of providers of foodbanks, are representative of the Scotland-wide situation. A final aim was to examine the potential for monitoring the impact of welfare reform on food aid demand and provision.
- 1.3 The types of food aid that were the main focus of this study were provision of food parcels and provision of meals. Those providing food parcels included organisations operating a formal referral system, such as Trussell Trust foodbanks², and more informal services encompassing also those who provide food parcels on an ad hoc basis as part of other charitable operations. Those providing meals included any place where free soup, sandwiches or hot meals are available, such as at hostels/day centres/community cafes. The term 'soup kitchens' has been used to collectively refer to such provision, although it is acknowledged that some of these places would not describe themselves as 'soup kitchens' per se.
- 1.4 The provision of free school meals, state-provided food vouchers for disadvantaged mothers of babies and small children, and 'meals on wheels' services available for free to people over 65 who need personal care were excluded. Free meals provided in rehabilitation centres and supported accommodation were also excluded.
- 1.5 The study covered eight selected locations: Glasgow City, Dundee City, Inverness, Fort William, Stirling, Falkirk, Kirriemuir and Forfar.

Key Findings

- 1.6 **Provision** - Food aid provision in Scotland is delivered by three key types of organisations: local independent organisations; larger national organisations, such as the Salvation Army and the Missionaries of Charity; and finally, churches operating a Trussell Trust foodbank franchise. Most food aid providers have a connection with a religious institution. Several providers offer both food parcels and hot meals.
- 1.7 Table 1 shows that 55 providers of food aid were identified across the eight locations covered by the study. Between them, these 55 providers delivered 36 food parcel services and 38 meals services.

¹ Cooper, N. & Dumpleton, S. (2013) *Walking the Breadline: The scandal of food poverty in 21st century Britain*. Church Action on Poverty & Oxfam.

² Foodbank is used here to refer to a place for which food parcel provision is the main function.

Table 1: Food aid provision across the eight study locations

Location	Number of food aid providers		
	Total	Providing food parcels	Providing meals
Glasgow City	35	26	27
Dundee City	12	3	9
Inverness	1	1	0
Fort William	1	1	0
Stirling	2	2	1
Falkirk	2	2	1
Kirriemuir	1	1	0
Forfar	1	1	0
Total	55	36	38

- 1.8 Trussell Trust foodbanks form only a part of the food parcel provision in Glasgow City but are substantial providers of food parcels in Dundee, Kirriemuir/Forfar and Falkirk and the sole providers in Inverness. They will also be the sole providers for the Fort William area when a new Trussell Trust foodbank opens in Lochaber in October 2013.
- 1.9 **Who is using food aid?** The study's findings suggest that 'soup kitchens' in Scotland are used mainly by homeless people who also tend to have long-standing issues, such as substance dependency or poor mental health. Foodbanks are mainly used by people who are housed but who have little or no income.
- 1.10 Unlike other locations, Glasgow City also has a third category of clients: destitute migrants. This group tends to be homeless or threatened with homelessness and mainly comprises asylum seekers whose application for asylum has been rejected. Destitute migrants use both foodbanks and 'soup kitchens'.
- 1.11 Users of Trussell Trust foodbanks are to some extent different from the profile of people using non-Trussell Trust affiliated foodbanks and food parcel services. The Trussell Trust has more clients experiencing a one-off crisis and fewer clients who have long-standing issues. This difference is more marked between Trussell Trust foodbanks and 'soup kitchens'.
- 1.12 The study's findings suggest that it would not be possible to produce a Scotland-wide demographic profile of the client base for food parcel services or 'soup kitchens'.
- 1.13 **Growth in demand** - Increased demand has been observed by all providers interviewed for this study (food parcel services and 'soup kitchens'). The study's findings suggest that the substantial rise in the number of clients experienced by Trussell Trust foodbanks between October 2012 and October 2013³ is broadly indicative of the trend observed by other food parcel providers who participated in the study and, therefore, is likely to be broadly reflective of the situation across Scotland. Our findings suggest that future Trussell Trust data can be extrapolated (with some caution) onto other food parcel providers.

³ The Trussell Trust reported in October 2013 that "Whilst there are now double the number of foodbanks open this year compared to this time last year, numbers given emergency food have increased threefold". The Trussell Trust (2013) *Tripling in foodbank usage sparks Trussell Trust to call for an enquiry*. Salisbury: The Trussell Trust.

- 1.14 Although 'soup kitchens' that participated in the study also observed a growth in demand, Trussell Trust data should not be generalised onto this type of food provision due to its different client base profile.
- 1.15 **Reasons for demand** – Providers who participated in the study were in agreement that welfare reform, benefit delays, benefit sanctions and falling incomes have been the main factors driving the recent trend observed of increased demand for food aid. The findings suggest that Trussell Trust data on the chief reasons for referrals are largely representative of what has been happening nationally for other food parcel providers.
- 1.16 **Monitoring scale and changing provision nationally** - Monitoring the number of food parcels and cooked meals given out across Scotland would be possible, although regular updates would be required due to the rapidly changing landscape. It would be more challenging to determine precisely the total number of unique individuals supported, as only some providers record the client's household size and whether the client is a 'repeat user' .
- 1.17 **Monitoring the impact of welfare reform on food aid** – Only Trussell Trust foodbanks systematically undertake detailed monitoring. It would be difficult to 'sign up' non-Trussell Trust providers to undertake this kind of monitoring, as collecting such data would be an additional burden on them while being of no obvious benefit to their operations. Providing an incentive may overcome this barrier enabling collection of data with added precision regarding more 'traditional' clients who have long-standing issues.

Recommendations

- 1.18 The findings suggests that Trussell Trust data is a good indicator of general provision and demand trends and reasons for demand experienced by other providers of food parcels. This means that there may not be substantial added value in going beyond Trussell Trust data. If a greater degree of precision is required to understand the reasons for using non-Trussell Trust affiliated food parcel services, the recommended approach would be to conduct a regular 'snapshot' survey on a sample of clients from selected 'key providers'.
- 1.19 The Trussell Trust data is not regarded as sufficiently representative of the provision, demand and drivers of demand for those using 'soup kitchens'. If a greater understanding of the impact of welfare reform on this specific group of food aid clients is required, this would best be achieved through a small-scale study involving interviews with managers of 'soup kitchens'.
- 1.20 If a more in-depth understanding of the impact of welfare reform on demand is required (e.g. exactly which parts of the reform lie behind the rise in demand), the recommended approach would be to conduct a small study composed of focus groups / interviews with beneficiaries of food aid and with food aid providers.

2 INTRODUCTION: THE GROWTH OF FOOD AID IN THE UK AND SCOTLAND

- 2.1 The scale of food aid provision across the UK has increased exponentially in recent years. A recent report compiled by Oxfam and Church Action on Poverty, entitled '*Walking the Breadline*', estimates that more than half a million people are now relying on food aid in the UK⁴. Reflecting on a study carried out by Tesco, The Telegraph reported that in the UK - "an estimated 18% of the country were forced to skip meals, ask friends or family for food, rely on a foodbank or go without so their kids could eat in the last year"⁵.
- 2.2 The vanguard response to food poverty in the UK has been led by the Trussell Trust, a self-defined 'social franchise' established in 2004, which partners with churches throughout the country to set up foodbanks. Their vision is to provide a "foodbank in every community" and they are currently represented in all four countries within the UK⁶.
- 2.3 Figures published by the Trussell Trust indicate a sharply increasing level of demand for food aid in Scotland and other UK regions. In 2009, there was one Trussell Trust foodbank operating in Scotland. By October 2013, this had increased to 42 established and 17 in development⁷. The Trussell Trust themselves suggest that, in order to fully address the food aid problem in the UK, 750-1,000 foodbanks would be required⁸. As of October 2013, there are around 400 Trussell Trust foodbanks across the UK⁹. The number of foodbanks not affiliated to the Trust is unknown.
- 2.4 Recipients of food parcels have to be referred to a Trussell Trust foodbank by a 'care professional' who is working with them. Recipients can be given up to three food parcels; where they might need a fourth, or more, the care professional is required to make special arrangements with the foodbank.
- 2.5 In terms of the number of people fed by Trussell Trust foodbanks in Scotland, statistics published by the network reveal that in 2011/12 three of the Scottish foodbanks provided emergency food relief to 5,726 individuals. Over 2012/13, 11 new Scottish Trussell Trust foodbanks opened and together the 14 foodbanks provided emergency food to 14,318 men, women and children¹⁰. Between April and September 2013, 23,073 people in Scotland were referred to the Trussell Trust, comprising 16,465 adults and 6,608 children¹¹. Across the UK, the Trust has seen a two-fold increase in the number of foodbanks launched between October 2012 to October 2013, but has seen a three-fold increase in numbers of people given emergency food¹².
- 2.6 The Trussell Trust collects statistics on the reason for referral. These figures provide insight into the role played by changes in the welfare system in stimulating the demand for emergency food parcels. For example, the proportion of clients who used a Trussell Trust

⁴ Cooper, N. & Dumpleton, S. (2013) *Walking the Breadline: The scandal of food poverty in 21st century Britain*. Church Action on Poverty & Oxfam.

⁵ The Telegraph (2013) 'Government urged to act as food poverty hits 18% of the UK', 30th June 2013.

⁶ Lambie, H. (2011) *The Trussell Trust Foodbank Network: Exploring the Growth of Foodbanks Across the UK*. Coventry University.

⁷ The Scotsman (2013) *Food banks see five times as many Scots needing aid*. Accessed 14 November 2013.

⁸ The Trussell Trust (2013) *Biggest ever increase in UK foodbank use: 170% rise in numbers turning to foodbanks in last 12 months*. Salisbury: The Trussell Trust.

⁹ The Trussell Trust (2013) *Tripling in foodbank usage sparks Trussell Trust to call for an enquiry*. Salisbury: The Trussell Trust.

¹⁰ The Trussell Trust (2013) *The Growing Demand - Scotland*. Salisbury: The Trussell Trust.

¹¹ The Scotsman (2013) *Food banks see five times as many Scots needing aid*. Accessed 14 November 2013.

¹² The Trussell Trust (2013) *Tripling in foodbank usage sparks Trussell Trust to call for an enquiry*. Salisbury: The Trussell Trust.

foodbank due to a benefit change increased from 10% in 2011/12 to 19% between April-September 2013¹³. More than four in ten (43%) clients who received help during April-June 2012 were referred to Trussell Trust foodbanks due to problems with benefits; this had risen to 52% during April-June 2013 when welfare reforms such as the 'spare bedroom subsidy' (commonly known as the 'bedroom tax') came into life¹⁴.

- 2.7 Food aid is given out in many different forms and by a range of third sector organisations. These other sources include:
- Local foodbanks not affiliated to the Trussell Trust
 - Charities providing food to venues such as hostels, day centres, breakfast clubs and community cafes
 - Charities redistributing food from food manufacturers/retailers that would otherwise go to waste, e.g. FareShare.
- 2.8 Data from other food aid providers is not publicised in the same way as that from the Trussell Trust leading to uncertainty about the scale of provision and the dynamics of demand with respect to the wider food aid landscape.

3 ABOUT THE STUDY

- 3.1 Reflecting the Scottish Government's interest in tackling poverty (*Achieving Our Potential*, 2008), a team of researchers from Heriot-Watt University were commissioned by the Government to conduct a scoping study of food aid provision in Scotland. The study's objectives were to:
- Identify which organisations currently provide food aid in Scotland, their relative importance, their supply sources, their methods of operation and in what form they provide food aid and to whom. In particular:
 - Is the Trussell Trust a major player when the whole food aid landscape is taken into account? Is its client base typical?
 - How accurately do figures presented by the Trussell Trust represent what is happening with respect to food aid in Scotland?
 - Investigate how these organisations' logistics and operations in Scotland have evolved over the last few years.
 - Identify what data food aid providers currently collect on those who request food aid.
 - Identify what data food aid providers could collect routinely and reliably without placing an excessive burden on their resources and service provision.
 - Make recommendations on whether and how food aid provision and demand could be monitored in Scotland in the future, with a particular reference to how the monitoring activity could capture any impacts of welfare reform on the demand for and provision of food aid.

Research methods

- 3.2 The study focused on eight selected 'case study' locations: Glasgow City, Dundee City, Stirling, Falkirk, Fort William, Inverness, Kirriemuir and Forfar. These locations were chosen to reflect a varying scale (from large urban to small rural) and to cover various geographical areas of Scotland. Additionally, the first five locations were chosen because they have a high concentration of poverty as measured by the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation.

¹³ The Trussell Trust (2013) *The Growing Demand - Scotland*. Salisbury: The Trussell Trust.

¹⁴ The Trussell Trust (2013) *Increasing numbers turning to foodbanks since April's welfare reforms*. The Trussell Trust.

While less deprived than other cities and towns in the sample, Inverness was chosen to widen the geographical spread to include the Highlands & Islands.

- 3.3 In the initial stages of the project, the researchers sought to identify all food aid providers operating in the selected locales and subsequently contacted them with a request for an interview by telephone.
- 3.4 The interviews probed the respondents' supply sources, logistics and methods of operation (including developments in the last few years), the profile of their client base, their current monitoring systems and the scope for expanding such systems.

Scope and definitions

- 3.5 The study focused on 'food aid providers', meaning formal and informal food parcel providers, places where free meals are available, such as at hostels/day centres/community cafes, charities that redistribute food from food retailers, as well as organisations that provide food parcels and free meals on an ad-hoc basis (as part of other charitable operations). The provision of free school meals, state-provided food vouchers for disadvantaged mothers of babies and small children, and 'meals on wheels' services available for free to people over 65 who need personal care were excluded. Free meals provided in rehabilitation centres and supported accommodation were also excluded.
- 3.6 Throughout the report, the term 'foodbank' has been avoided unless it was a term that the food aid provider used to describe themselves (e.g. 'Glasgow SE Foodbank'). The logic behind this decision is that throughout the course of research a number of organisations were identified which operate an ad-hoc, small-scale food parcel provision and for which food aid is a minor rather than a major part of their overall function. It was considered that the term 'foodbank' would be misleading when referring to such providers as this term naturally brings connotations of a place for which food aid is the main function, and which provides such aid on a certain scale. Therefore, the term 'food parcel provider' is used most commonly throughout the report.
- 3.7 Similarly, the term 'soup kitchen' has been used as a short-hand for any place where free soup, sandwiches or hot meals are available. It is acknowledged that some of the places providing such a service would not describe themselves as 'soup kitchens' per se.
- 3.8 'Informal' providers are defined as those which do not require a formal referral from a professional or an institution, whereas 'formal' providers are regarded as those which only accept formally referred clients.

Study limitations

- 3.9 The study had three limitations. Firstly, as a scoping study, it did not cover the whole of Scotland, which meant that the national scale of food aid provision could not be determined.
- 3.10 Secondly the study was able to glean views of only a selection of the food aid providers in Glasgow City.
- 3.11 Thirdly, the food aid landscape seems to be very dynamic (particularly in Glasgow) and, therefore, it cannot be assumed that the number of food aid providers identified in each of the eight locations will remain valid, even within weeks of the publication of this report. Similarly, the volume of food provided and the number of clients may rise considerably (going beyond a seasonal peak at Christmas) even within a short time from when the report is published.

4 GLASGOW CITY

Methodological note

- 4.1 In order to map food aid provision in Glasgow City, the researchers used online searches followed by enquiries with 'key informants': The Trussell Trust, Glasgow City Council Social Work Department, FareShare and Glasgow Destitution Network. Subsequently, all identified food aid providers were contacted by email with a request for feedback on the completeness of the list of providers. Glasgow City Council carried out a similar mapping exercise early in 2013. However, the list of food aid providers resulting from that exercise (see Annex) needed a considerable update, reflecting the dynamism of the food aid sector in the City.
- 4.2 The researchers have a high level of confidence that the list of providers in Glasgow City is comprehensive, although it is possible that one or two providers have not been identified. In addition, one or two providers on the list may not be operational any more. Although the researchers attempted to contact all identified providers, some did not respond and second-hand information from other providers had to be relied on.
- 4.3 Due to the large number of food aid providers operating in Glasgow City, the researchers were able to interview only a sample of them. Eight semi-structured telephone interviews were carried out with 'key players' in food aid provision across the City. The eight providers interviewed for this project represent seven food parcel services and three 'soup kitchens'.

Food aid landscape in Glasgow

- 4.4 As of mid-September 2013, 35 organisations were identified as providing food aid in Glasgow City, see Table 2, between them delivering 26 food parcel services and 27 'soup kitchens'. These figures do not include FareShare Glasgow, a project of MoveOn. FareShare does not work directly with individuals but provides food to organisations who work in the field of food poverty. FareShare Glasgow supplies more than 70 tonnes of food to its six Community Food Members per annum, and between January and September 2013 it provided food for 32,000 meals. All six Community Food Members are identified as FareShare members in Table 2.
- 4.5 Due to a large number of 'soup kitchens' in Glasgow City, the researchers could not probe the exact scale of the provision of cooked meals across the City.

Trussell Trust foodbanks in Glasgow

- 4.6 As of mid-September 2013 three out of the 26 identified food parcel providers in Glasgow City belong to the Trussell Trust network. Of these three, one (Glasgow SE Foodbank) is well established, one has recently emerged (Glasgow NW Foodbank launched in April 2013) and one is very new (Glasgow NE Foodbank opened in September 2013). The fourth (Glasgow SW Foodbank) is expected to be operational before Christmas 2013.
- 4.7 With respect to individual providers, Trussell Trust's Glasgow NW Foodbank is one of the largest food parcel providers in the City. It ranked as equal second out of the 17 who provided the study with data in terms of the number of parcels distributed per month (220-260). For comparison, the top provider distributes an average of 350 parcels per month. However, it is worth emphasising that even the largest individual provider of food parcels in Glasgow City cannot be described as 'dominant'.

Table 2: Food aid providers in Glasgow*

Organisation	Service	Food parcels	Meals	No. of parcels per month	Number of meals	Address	Postcode	FareShare Member
Queen's Park Baptist Church	Beacon Centre		Soup Kitchen			180 Queen's Drive	G42 8QD	
Bridging the Gap	Bridging the Gap	Food Parcel	Soup Kitchen	22*		St Francis Hall, 405 Cumberland St	G5 0SE	
Partick South Parish Church,	Cafe 25:35		Soup Kitchen			259 Dumbarton Rd	G11 6AB	Yes
	Food Parcel & Soup Kitchen	Food Parcel	Soup Kitchen	DNA				
Central and West Integration Network	Central and West Integration Network	Food Parcel	Soup Kitchen	110-120**		Garnethill Multicultural Centre, 21 Rose St	G3 6RE	Yes
Chanan	Chanan		Soup Kitchen			Tower Block, 162 St Vincent Lane	G2 7LQ	
Glasgow City Mission		Food Parcel	Soup Kitchen	200*		20 Crimea St	G2 8PW	
Club 170	Club 170		Soup Kitchen			Queen's Park Parish Church	G42 8QZ	
Crossroads YCA	Crossroads YCA	Food Parcel	Soup Kitchen	DNA		Govanhill Free Church, Belleisle St	G42 8HJ	
Destiny Church	Destiny Angels	Food Parcel		350*		32 South Portland St	G5 9JL	
	Destiny Church		Soup Kitchen (Mobile)			Cadogan St	G2 7AB	
Emmaus	Emmaus Outreach		Soup Kitchen (Mobile)			Cadogan St	G2 7AB	
	Emmaus Outreach		Soup Kitchen (Mobile)			Balvicar St	G42 8QU	
FARE	FARE Food parcels	Food Parcel		DNA		Bannatyne House, Drumlanrig Ave	G34 0JF	
Give Take	Give Take		Soup Kitchen (Mobile)			Cadogan St	G2 7AB	
Govan and Craigton Integration Network	GCIN Destitution Project	Food Parcel	Soup Kitchen	25**		Pearce Institute, 840 Govan Rd	G51 3UU	
Greater Maryhill Foodbank		Food Parcel		DNA				
Greater Pollok Integration Network	Greater Pollok Integration Network	Food Parcel		4.5**		Flat 1, 70 Kennishead Ave	G46 8RP	
Loaves and Fishes***	Loaves and Fishes		Soup Kitchen		40 per week	St Patrick's Church, North St	G3 7DA	
Lodging House Mission	Lodging House Mission		Soup Kitchen			35 East Campbell St	G1 5DT	
Missionaries of Charity	Missionaries of Charity		Soup Kitchen			186 Braidcraft Rd	G53 5DZ	
New Life Church	New Life Church	Food Parcel	Soup Kitchen	DNA		Shettleston Rd	G31 5JL	

Table 2 continued

Organisation	Service	Food parcels	Meals	No. of parcels per month	Number of meals	Address	Postcode	FareShare Member
Positive Action in Housing		Food Parcel		110*		98 West George St	G2 1PJ	Yes
Preshal Trust	Feeding Programme	Food Parcel		DNA		8 Aboukir St	G51 4QX	
Rokpa Trust	Kagyusamyedzong Glasgow	Food Parcel	Soup Kitchen (Mobile)	DNA		7 Ashley St	G2 7AB	Yes
Salt and Light Bus	Salt and Light Bus		Soup Kitchen (Mobile)			Waterloo St	G2 7DA	
Salvation Army	Salvation Army		Soup Kitchen			Laurieston Centre, 37 South Portland St	G5 9JL	
	Easterhouse Foodbank	Food Parcel		15**				
Sharpe Memorial Church	Soup Kitchen	Food Parcel	Soup Kitchen	DNA		12-14 Burgher St	G31 4TB	
St. Rollox Church	St. Rollox Church	Food Parcel		80-100**		9 Fountainwell Rd	G21 1TN	
The Humanist Society	The Humanist Society		Soup Kitchen (Mobile)			Cadogan St	G2 7AB	
The Marie Trust	The Marie Trust	Food Parcel	Soup Kitchen	90-120**	30 loaves per day	32 Midland St	G1 4PR	Yes
St Columba's Church	The Shiloh		Soup Kitchen			300 St Vincent St	G2 6RU	
The Society of St Vincent De Paul	Frederic Ozanam Centre		Soup Kitchen			9 Bridgegate	G1 5HX	
		Food Parcel		DNA				
Trussell Trust	Glasgow SE foodbank	Food Parcel		168*		42 Inglefield St	G42 7AT	
	Glasgow NW Foodbank	Food Parcel		220-260*		Blawarthill Parish Church, Millbrix Ave	G14 0EP	
	Glasgow NE Foodbank	Food Parcel		96 people in first 2 months of operation				
Unity in the Community++	Food Parcel	Food Parcel		80-150**			G4 9HZ	
Vineyard	Storehouse	Food Parcel		240**		4 Linden St	G13 1DQ	Yes
Whiteinch Church of Scotland	Love Whiteinch Foodbank	Food Parcel		90**		35 Inchlee St	G14 9HQ	

- Based on most recent figures

** - Average

DNA - Data Not Available for this study

*** - Loaves and Fishes have a foodbank in East Kilbride and a meal service in Glasgow City. At the East Kilbride foodbank they distribute on average 120 parcels per month.

++ - Unity stopped providing meals when they moved to new premises but are hoping to re-start the service. They were providing 35 meals per week

- 4.8 When all three Trussell Trust foodbanks are considered as one provider, the volume of food parcel aid provided by them (estimated to be approximately 20%) constitutes a minority of total City-wide food parcel provision. This figure is somewhat speculative, as data was obtained from 17 out of 26 food parcel providers. At the same time, however, it is an informed estimate, as respondents suggested that the volume of provision being delivered by the nine food parcel providers who did not engage with this study is considerably smaller than the provision from the 17 for whom data was obtained.
- 4.9 It is worth noting that the Trussell Trust's share of food parcel provision City-wide is likely to increase when the third Trussell Trust foodbank in the City, Glasgow NE, and the fourth one, Glasgow SW, become more established.
- 4.10 It is worth emphasising that Trussell Trust foodbanks do not offer cooked meals at all and, therefore, it would not be appropriate to attempt to estimate their share in the provision of all food aid, i.e. that including food parcels and cooked meals.
- 4.11 It has been emphasised by some respondents, not affiliated with the Trussell Trust network, that Trussell Trust foodbanks are different in character from the rest of food parcel providers in the City in three respects:
- (1) Trussell Trust foodbanks operate a formal referral voucher system and only very few clients are self-referred. The second biggest food parcel provider was the only other respondent provider who uses referral vouchers. This provider, however, also accepts self-referrals which constitute around 50% of its client base.
 - (2) The Trussell Trust client base is not 'traditional' as it includes very few homeless clients or destitute asylum seekers. Linked to that, some non-Trussell Trust respondents believed that an average Trussell Trust client tends to experience a one-off crisis (e.g. transition in benefits) rather than long-standing issues.
 - (3) Food aid is the sole function of Trussell Trust foodbanks. All non-Trussell Trust respondents, including 'key players', emphasised that, unlike the Trussell Trust, they carry out wider operations such as provision of meals, clothing distribution, signposting, emotional support and other functions.
- 4.12 Regarding the second point above, it seems that the reason behind the suggestion that Trussell Trust foodbanks have more clients experiencing a one-off crisis than clients with long-standing issues is that the Trust, unlike other food parcel services, restricts support to three consecutive food parcels. This is intended to prevent dependency (longer term support is available at the discretion of the foodbank manager)¹⁵. This does not mean, however, that other foodbanks do not see clients experiencing a one-off crisis, for example, half of all clients who use services of the second largest food parcel provider in our sample are one-off clients.

¹⁵ The Trussell Trust (2013) *Tripling in foodbank usage sparks Trussell Trust to call for an enquiry*. Salisbury: The Trussell Trust.

- 4.13 With regards to recent and future expansion of the Trussell Trust network, all existing Trussell Trust foodbanks in Glasgow have been set up ‘from scratch’ rather than established food parcel providers ‘becoming’ Trussell Trust foodbanks. None of the food parcel respondents expressed the intention to join the Trussell Trust network.
- 4.14 A respondent representing a Trussell Trust foodbank said that in the future she expects to see more distribution points of existing Trussell Trust foodbanks being set up rather than new self-standing Trussell Trust foodbanks.
- 4.15 Non-Trussell Trust affiliated respondents thought that the Trussell Trust network will probably grow further. The reasons suggested for that included (1) the existence of a need underlying the demand; (2) the fact that Trussell Trust have been quite pro-active in their expansion; (3) that there are advantages to the Trussell Trust model, e.g. some supermarkets are already tied to the network and, therefore, new foodbanks can take advantage of that immediately; (4) that the Trussell Trust does a “good job” in fulfilling a need for those who want to start a service but do not know how to do it.

Operations, supply sources and changes in demand

Clients

- 4.16 From the interviews it became apparent that there are three distinct types of clients in Glasgow City: homeless White Scottish people who tend to have long-standing issues, such as substance dependency or poor mental health; destitute migrants (this group also tends to be homeless or threatened with homelessness and mainly comprises asylum seekers whose application for asylum has been rejected); and White Scottish people who are housed but who have little or no income.
- 4.17 All but one provider interviewed for this study do not put any restrictions on who can use their food aid services. However, as stated by a respondent from Glasgow Destitution Network, some providers are ‘orientated’ towards destitute asylum seekers and refugees (according to this respondent, this includes Bridging the Gap, Central and West Integration Network, Govan and Craigton Integration Network, Greater Pollok Integration Network¹⁶, New Life Church, Sharpe Memorial Church, St Rollox Church and Unity). The high number of such providers reflects the fact that Glasgow is the only asylum seeker dispersal point in Scotland.

¹⁶ However, somewhat contrary to this, the respondent from Greater Pollok Integration Network said that their clients are predominantly White Scottish.

Referrals

- 4.18 Respondent providers spoke of several routes of referral, including self-referral and signposting by Glasgow City Council Social Work staff, health professionals and health visitors, addiction services, homelessness charities, Money Advice centres, Housing Associations and Jobcentres.
- 4.19 Two respondent organisations, who operate a formal referral voucher system (Glasgow SE Foodbank and Storehouse), stated that they do not choose which professionals to work with and work with anyone “who wants to work with them”.
- 4.20 While the study did not specifically ask food parcel services about the typical frequency of clients’ visits, it seemed that only Trussell Trust foodbanks have record management systems allowing for answering this question precisely. The Storehouse, the equal second largest food parcel provider interviewed for this study, reported that around 50% of clients come just once but some have used the service as many times as 40. As for Trussell Trust, information provided by Glasgow SE Foodbank shows that the vast majority of clients are not repeat clients. Only 50 of the 1,200 clients who have used the foodbank since April this year used more than one voucher, and only 11 used three or more vouchers. This data fits with the respondents’ opinion that the client base of the Trust’s foodbanks is less ‘traditional’ and consists mainly of people experiencing a one-off crisis.

Demand – latent, changing and underlying reasons

- 4.21 Some respondents thought that there are people in need who are “under the radar” and consequently do not get referred to food aid providers. As one interviewee put it, “It’s a hard thing to say you need food”. Another interviewee pointed at the fact that there is unmet need in those poverty hotspots where there are no foodbanks or where foodbanks are unable to meet the demand.
- 4.22 All respondents (including meal providers) spoke about a rise in demand for food aid in the last two years. The respondent from Glasgow SE Foodbank said that her foodbank fed 682 people over 2012/13 but it had already fed 1,200 between April and August this year. Similarly, the Storehouse has observed a four-fold increase in demand since 2012. Some respondents expressed a particular concern over the fact that their services feed an alarmingly high and growing number of children. One provider has decided to include nappies in its emergency food parcels.
- 4.23 Of relevance in this context, one respondent thought that there was a good number of ‘soup kitchens’ in Glasgow catering for homeless people but a problem meeting demand for food parcels from people who do have housing but are living on very low incomes.
- 4.24 As for the reasons behind this recent rise in demand for food parcels and cooked meals, the majority of respondents pointed at the changes to the benefit system. The ‘bedroom tax’, benefit sanctions and benefit transfers resulting in payment ‘gaps’ were thought to be the main three reasons for clients not having enough income to buy food. Some also spoke of their

clients being forced to use food aid because of not having enough working hours (or having lost overtime). One respondent observed that the rise in demand may partly be attributed to growing awareness of foodbanks among potential clients, mainly due to foodbanks being highlighted in the media and to the 'word of mouth' spreading wider and wider.

Funding

4.25 While the interviews did not actively explore providers' funding arrangements, those respondents who mentioned the subject said that their income comes from sources such as their own charity shops, Glasgow City Council grants and financial donations.

Supply Sources and Stock Management

4.26 With regards to supply sources, respondents listed the following (in no particular order):

- FareShare
- individual donations
- corporate donations
- supermarket collections
- donations from schools
- overspill from other food aid providers

4.27 This last route of sourcing food shows that there is a degree of cooperation between food aid providers in the City. Relevant in this context, only one interviewee thought there is competition for supply between food aid providers.

4.28 Some respondents said that they do not run out of food donations but sometimes their stock is low and, therefore, stock level is a constant concern. One respondent food parcel provider had to limit the geographical scope of operations as its volume of stock was not high enough to meet all demand. However, the second largest food parcel provider in our sample stated that the organisation has enough supply to increase the operations but is restricted by a limited number of volunteers.

4.29 All food parcel providers interviewed for this study sort and store food on their premises.

Monitoring systems and scope for their expansion

4.30 The interviews revealed a picture of robust monitoring among Trussell Trust foodbanks and a patchy record management among other food aid providers.

4.31 Trussell Trust foodbanks are obliged to record age, ethnicity, household composition, reason for referral and the number of parcels provided to the client. Some of the non-Trussell Trust providers just keep a note of client's name and address. At the other end of the spectrum, one provider records age, gender, household composition, reason for referral and frequency of visits but not ethnicity or nationality. Another provider records all demographic information but not all clients have a record.

- 4.32 All organisations interviewed keep records of the number of food parcels and meals provided every month. Most keep records of the number of their volunteers.
- 4.33 When asked about the possibility of expanding their monitoring systems, most respondents said that they do not see the need for that as their systems “do what they [respondents] want”. In general, respondents do not want to collect data that is not relevant to their operations. One respondent stated that she is “interested in feeding the hungry, not collecting data”.
- 4.34 Respondents were sceptical about the possibility of arriving at a Scotland-wide, reliable demographic profile of the client base. Most importantly, some suggested that “good recording costs money” and, therefore, many providers (particularly smaller ones) would not want to expand their monitoring systems. Additionally, as provider organisations differ in many respects, no monitoring system would “fit them all”. Also of importance, some respondents said they would be reluctant to pass on client records to the Scottish Government or other providers.
- 4.35 One respondent suggested that perhaps a count could be conducted in one month every year. According to this respondent, the organisation driving such an exercise would need to make sure that the client record form is simple.

5 DUNDEE CITY

Methodological note

- 5.1 An approach similar to the one employed for Glasgow City was adopted for Dundee City, Stirling, Falkirk, Fort William, Inverness, Kirriemuir and Forfar. Through online searches, providers of food aid were identified and the ‘*Dundee Drop-In Services*’ pamphlet was useful in confirming information on food aid in the city¹⁷. The collated information represents all food aid providers operating in Dundee City at the time of this study.
- 5.2 Following email enquiries, telephone interviews were carried out. Four interviews were conducted with Dundee-based food aid providers and a further four interviews covered the other study areas. Additional phone calls were made to acquire specific information relating to the number of people who were accessing food aid provision in the more rural areas and to check on services provided. In total, six of the interviews represented food parcel providers (formal and informal) and the other two interviews were with charities involved with food aid. Of these charities, one (FareShare) is not considered a ‘food parcel provider’. They supply food to organisations which provide food aid. The second charity is one which is involved with local communities and offers information on food aid provision in the city.

¹⁷ The Dundee drop in services ‘DDI2013’ leaflet is entering its second run of publication, supported by Dundee Council, NHS Scotland and the Hillcrest Group. The leaflet details information on the Health and Homeless Outreach Team (HHOT), the substance misuse service and drop in centres for food.

Food Aid landscape in Dundee City

- 5.3 Food aid provision in Dundee City is diverse and interconnected. The number of people accessing the various sources of food aid available throughout the city is increasing. The spectrum of food aid accessible in Dundee City ranges from shelter and meals provided daily for residents through The Salvation Army to the informal provision of a weekly meal, through projects like the Parish Nursing Drop In Clinic. Of the 12 food aid services identified in Dundee, see Table 3, 11 are run by faith based organisations, two are provided by The Salvation Army and four currently provide food parcels. Food parcels only represent a small proportion of the food aid available. In Dundee, the two Trussell Trust distribution centres are the only food aid providers operating on a referral basis, all other food aid providers can be accessed informally.

Trussell Trust foodbanks in Dundee

- 5.4 Overall, the research suggests that the Trussell Trust, which currently operates two distribution centres in Dundee and, with plans to open a further three, represents a significant proportion of the food parcel community in the city but not necessarily the wider food aid community. In this respect, one respondent commented on how the growth of the Trussell Trust and the media attention has “highlighted foodbanking...and poverty [there is] more awareness about the whole food agenda”. Another interviewee commented that through foodbanking ‘there is definitely a need to be addressed’. A number of Dundee’s food aid providers were established in recent years, such as the Bus Stop Drop In in 2009 and the Bridge Community Project (run by Bethany Christian Trust) in 2012. Both of these services provide meals and support, with the Bus Stop Drop In primarily feeding people who have addictions. By comparison, the Eagles Wings Trust has provided a ‘soup kitchen’ since 2000. The Dundee Foodbank was originally part of the Discovery food programme, which began in 2005, becoming part of the Trussell Trust network in 2011. The other key food parcel provider in Dundee is the Food Cupboard which runs weekly from St Salvador’s church and is not affiliated with the Trussell Trust. This was also established in 2005.
- 5.5 The Trussell Trust’s expansion can be viewed as compatible with the existing food aid landscape. As one respondent, not affiliated with the Trussell Trust commented, “I don’t think it duplicates [other services], I think it is complementary”.

Table 3: Food aid providers in Dundee

Organisation	Service	Food parcels	Meals	No. of parcels per month	Average no. of meals per month	Address	Postcode
The Trussell Trust	The Dundee Foodbank: Office & Distribution centre	Food parcel		450 for all Dundee		Full Gospel Church, 58 Constitution St, Dundee	DD3 6NE
	The Dundee Foodbank: Distribution centre	Food parcel				Menziesshill Parish Church, Charleston Drive, Dundee,	DD2 4BD
The Salvation Army	Strathmore Lodge	Ad hoc food parcels	Meals for residents	12	700	31 Ward Rd, Dundee	DD1 1NG
	The Salvation Army Drop In		Soup kitchen		120		
Eagles Wings Trust	Eagles Wings Trust		Soup kitchen		400 - 560	213 Hilltown, Dundee	DD3 7AG
The Food Cupboard	The Food Cupboard	Food parcel	Soup kitchen	240		St Salvador's Church, St Salvador's St, Dundee	DD3 7EW
The Drop-Inn	The Drop-Inn		Soup kitchen		160	191 High St, Lochee, Dundee	DD2 1SX
Big Issue Drop In Club	Big Issue Drop In Club		Soup kitchen		DNA	Meadowside St Paul's Church, 114-118 Nethergate, Dundee	DD1 4EH
Parish Nursing Drop In Clinic	Parish Nursing Drop In Clinic		Soup kitchen		DNA	The Steeple Church (Church of Scotland), Nethergate, Dundee	DD1 4DG
The Bridge Community Project	The Bridge Community Project		Soup kitchen		80	The Friary, Tullideph Rd, Dundee	DD2 2PN
FareShare/Transform Dundee	Food redistribution	Beginning food parcel distribution			DNA	Unit 1, Block 22, Kilspindie Rd, Dunsinane Industrial Estate, Dundee	DD2 3JP
Gate Church International	Bus Stop Drop In		Soup kitchen		40	158 Perth Rd, Dundee	DD1 4JS
Graham's Soup Kitchen	Graham's Soup Kitchen		Soup kitchen		DNA	High St, Dundee	DD1 1TD

DNA – Data not available for this study

- 5.6 One of the key messages to emerge from the Dundee City based research is that the clientele differ between the more formal Trussell Trust foodbanks and the more informal food aid providers. One interviewee commented on how the non-Trussell Trust foodbank in Dundee, the Food Cupboard, has “a core of people who go”. Another observed that the Food Cupboard does “get people coming back...and new little groups of young people who are green and raw”. Such observations cannot be attributed to the Trussell Trust foodbanks as they provide three crisis food parcels, rather than regularly providing food aid to specific people. They have a different dynamic with clientele. Comparing clients who use the Dundee Foodbank with the Drop In Services, one respondent commented: “I think they might differ...many people who use the drop in... would never have the capacity to go and collect anything. I get the sense there isn’t a lot of overlap”.
- 5.7 Therefore, the statistics provided by the Trussell Trust are useful indicators and represent a percentage of those who use food aid, but they are not necessarily representative of the intricacies and complexity of the food aid picture in Dundee.

Operations, supply sources and changes in demand

- 5.8 Food providers are expanding and developing in response to increased demand for food aid, as the three following examples illustrate.
- 5.9 **FareShare/Transform** has been operating since 2001. Transform is an organisation based in Dundee which provides a range of services aimed at meeting the needs of vulnerable people. It operates the FareShare franchise in Dundee. As previously mentioned, FareShare redistribute food to organisations which then provide it to individuals. Transform provide both perishable and non-perishable foods. They support all of the Dundee area as well as Perth and Arbroath, redistributing over 200 tonnes of food annually, approximately 16 tonnes of food per month. It is anticipated that Transform will also expand into Fife and other parts of Scotland. Transform operate Monday to Friday and, through a recent Lottery funding bid, they are going to expand into also providing food parcels. Transform will deliver food parcels to people who are unable to get to foodbanks themselves to collect the food, which is the key operational difference between them and the other foodbanks in Dundee. The motivation for this is not just to provide to older people and disabled people, but also to assist those who cannot afford to travel to a foodbank to collect a food parcel. However, their operation is not without its challenges. Transform does not receive any direct funding and has to raise money entirely through bids and fund raising, which is particularly difficult with an organisation which is primarily volunteer run. Transform has also had to levy a charge on their food deliveries to their various food aid providers in order to cover petrol costs.
- 5.10 The Trussell Trust **Dundee Foodbank** previously provided food parcel deliveries until it became too expensive, compounded by an increase in demand for more food parcels. Efforts were, therefore, concentrated on expanding the foodbank. Currently, the Dundee Foodbank has two distribution centres, one in Constitution Street (open Monday to Friday, 10am-

4pm) and the other in Menzieshill (open Monday, Wednesday & Friday, 1-4pm). These distribution centres see “different clientele, but it is purely geographical. It sounds a bit glib to say it is a matter of convenience but it is”. The foodbank is expanding operations and it is anticipated that three additional distribution centres in the Strathmartin ward will be providing food parcels by the beginning of October¹⁸. This expansion helps to reach different people and those less able to access the two existing distribution centres.

- 5.11 The **Food Cupboard** at St Salvador’s church operates and distributes food parcels differently to the Trussell Trust Dundee Foodbank, as it does not require vouchers or referrals. Everyone who visits the church on a Sunday receives a bag of food. Its development has been much more organic since it began in 2005. The parishioners began to collect non-perishable goods and gave them out on an ad hoc basis each Sunday. Through word of mouth, the Food Cupboard began to grow and numbers continue to increase. Within 18 months around 25 people were coming each week and at the time of this study, there were around 50 people every Sunday. The general trend has been a continual increase in the number of people going to the Food Cupboard and 80 is the most they have had on any one occasion. Today the Food Cupboard also provides soup, home baking, pies, fruit and hot drinks for those who come for food parcels. Religious guidance is available upon request. Users tend to be regular visitors and assistance is not just food. One interviewee commented that it is “a safe place and a listening ear, people are shown respect, the sense of companionship, the friendliness is amazing”. Although the Food Cupboard is increasing the number of food parcels it distributes, it is not expanding geographically unlike Transform and the Trussell Trust Dundee foodbank.

Increasing Client Demand

- 5.12 The overwhelming response from food aid providers in Dundee City was that demand for their services was increasing, particularly within the last six months. A Trussell Trust affiliated respondent noted that their food aid service had seen “a substantial increase...almost double the provision from last year, somewhere in the region of an 80% increase”.
- 5.13 A number of interviewees ascribed the increasing demand for food aid to welfare issues:

“This morning I’ve had a delay due to switching from job seekers to employment support, I’ve had two sanctions...sanctions are something that only happened very very rarely. Payments have been reduced, it is definitely affecting more folk...as soon as you change benefits there is gap... there is definitely a knock on effect.”

“I suspect [food aid] has been increasing because of things like the bedroom tax, increasing because many people will have lost jobs in the recession, other people

¹⁸ The new foodbank distribution centres did open at the beginning of October.

will have got themselves in bother through pay day loans. There is a lot of concern about how people will cope. Part of it is that the benefits have never really gone up...”

“Welfare changes...there is often a muddle.”

- 5.14 A number of respondents noted that Dundee City has a high level of deprivation in certain areas of the city, therefore, welfare reform can only be part of the wider picture even if it does appear to have a significant impact on increased demand at present. Many of the food aid providers in Dundee also deal with people who suffer from additions, such as “beloved waifs” who are drug addicts and alcoholics, people who live chaotic lives.

Supply Sources

- 5.15 Supply sources in Dundee were described as “all fragmented”. In this context, one respondent suggested that:

“the [Trussell Trust] foodbank has a good system, an excellent system...and everyone wants to give to the Trussell Trust foodbank. People often raise food and it is the foodbank they give it to. Eagles Wings have to do a lot in fundraising...it would be useful for churches to have collections not always for the foodbank, but for these other services as well because they struggle.”

- 5.16 Certainly, the relationship that the Trussell Trust has with Tesco would suggest that they have some sort of dominance in terms of regularly accessing food. The Trussell Trust collect food at Tesco through national collections twice a year and typically have additional collections at other times in the year. Tesco give the Trussell Trust foodbank 30% of the value of all food they collect. The Dundee Foodbank has another 12 collections a year at Tesco Extra stores, with the most recent national collection raising 6.5 tonnes of food, described by a respondent as “stupendous amounts”.
- 5.17 Transform also has an expanding food supply, with relationships with Tesco, Asda, M&S and the Co-op, and supply is seen by one interviewee as “a little bit more secure now...supermarkets are getting more involved”. Typically supermarkets will give out food which falls within a particular ‘date code’ (food which they don’t sell after a certain period) and they pass it on to providers, such as Transform, to redistribute within date. Of note here is that Transform supplies perishable food as well as non-perishable items. In addition to food from supermarkets, the local community also supplies donations to food aid providers. Other supply sources for food aid providers include supporters of the related faith based organisations, local residents and food purchased with money raised through fundraising. The Food Cupboard does not see itself in direct competition with the Dundee Foodbank for supply, as they are different types of providers.
- 5.18 In response to the question of consistent food supply, it was suggested that government legislation could help to support food aid providers in the future. One respondent suggested that new legislation would also reduce landfill

waste and costs to supermarkets in just “one swipe”. This could be achieved by:

“telling food businesses to do something else with their food.....your first port of call would be to offer food to these [providers] before it goes to landfill, because Scotland sometimes feels like a backwater...I would love to see the Scottish Government getting involved with this.”

- 5.19 A number of respondents commented that, as they expected the food aid landscape in Dundee to continue to expand, such growth may put more pressure on supply sources, funding and overall operations.

Monitoring systems and scope for their expansion

- 5.20 With the exception of the Trussell Trust and Transform in Dundee, interviews with providers suggest that very little monitoring is consistently carried out by smaller, informal food aid providers. Transform are monitored by their suppliers and Transform monitor the organisations that receive their redistributed food. They have a database of information, but as they do not provide specific details on the end users of the food aid they provide, it would be difficult to provide monitoring which captured the impacts of welfare reform. One interviewee stated that “there is probably more that we could record, but I would be very wary about trying to record any more detail...I don’t think that could be significantly improved without changing drastically how we operate”.
- 5.21 With the smaller, more informal services, increased (or even more regular and detailed) monitoring could be problematic for their clients. One interviewee suggested that keeping only a regular count of those accessing the food aid service would be possible and preferable, rather than actively collecting client information. Detailed monitoring may even prevent people from going to receive food aid, as one interviewee suggested “it would discourage people...it is the anonymity [which they value]”. Others suggested that using focus groups and discussions with clients would, however, prove useful and informative, rather than using a formulaic approach.
- 5.22 Several respondents commented on the challenge of funding and how a greater level of monitoring may be possible if more funding was made available.

6 INVERNESS, FORT WILLIAM, KIRRIEMUIR, FORFAR, STIRLING AND FALKIRK

Sporadic food aid

- 6.1 Eight food parcel providers were identified in Inverness, Fort William, Angus (Kirriemuir/Forfar), Stirling and Falkirk. Of these, four were Trussell Trust foodbanks, three were Salvation Army and one was a Crisis foodbank. Seven of the eight food parcel providers are faith based. Food aid in these areas was found to be less diverse, more sporadic (i.e. less concentrated and more isolated) than in Dundee and Glasgow.

- 6.2 Details of the eight providers are presented in Table 4. To ensure interviewee confidentiality, these more sporadic food providers are not discussed in terms of individual area, but rather as a collective. They were found to exhibit similarities, therefore, collating information better reflects the general evolution of food aid in areas of Scotland where it is less prevalent.
- 6.3 Additional informal food aid providers were identified in the Kirriemuir area through interviews. These were two 'soup kitchens' (speculatively one in Montrose, which only runs in the winter, and another in Forfar which operates one day a week), however, no further concrete detailed information could be found when these providers were followed up. There was also a suggestion that a weekly 'soup kitchen' was operating in Inverness, this could not be confirmed either. It is suggestive, therefore, that there may be several other small, informal and irregular food aid providers in these areas.

Trussell Trust foodbanks

- 6.4 As Table 4 illustrates, the food aid available in less populous areas of Scotland is dominated by foodbanks, compared to larger towns like Stirling and Falkirk, where hot meals and food parcels are available regularly through Salvation Army centres. Respondents reported an overlap in clientele within the Stirling/Falkirk region, indicating that the same clients are using both the Salvation Army centres and the foodbanks (the opposite of the findings in Glasgow and Dundee where different types of clients accessed Salvation Army centres compared to foodbanks).
- 6.5 The majority of food aid providers in Inverness, Angus and Falkirk are Trussell Trust foodbanks, thus they are dominant within the foodbanking community and in these areas. Although they are a formal food aid provider, the distinct lack of informal food provision (especially in Inverness and Angus) would indicate that they are central to this food aid landscape.
- 6.6 Due to the size of Trussell Trust foodbanks in Inverness, Angus and Falkirk, the statistics published and collected by the Trust can be considered indicative of what is happening with respect to food aid in these locations. One comment reflects this, suggesting that although "they are just numbers, they actually say a lot about what is going on in people's lives out there". Another respondent suggested that, "I think what they record is pretty good given what others are doing or not doing". The lack of informal providers in these areas generally suggests that the food aid landscape is likely to continue to develop, whether informally or through the formal Trussell Trust system.

Table 4: Food aid providers in Inverness, Fort William, Kirriemuir, Forfar, Stirling and Falkirk

Organisation	Service	Food parcels	Meals	No. of parcels per month	Average no. of meals per month	Address	Postcode
Trussell Trust/Blythswood	Highland Foodbank	Food parcel		300+		Highland Deephaven, Evanton, Ross-shire	IV16 9XJ
Trussell Trust	Lochaber Foodbank	Food parcel		DNA		DNA	
	Angus Foodbank	Food parcel		60		Strathmore Christian Fellowship, Bridges Coffee House, 42 Bank St, Kirriemuir	DD8 4BG
	Falkirk Foodbank	Food parcel		317+		Unit 1 Tamfourhill Industrial Estate, Tamfourhill Ave, Falkirk	FK1 4RT
The Salvation Army	The Salvation Army, Forfar	Food parcel		35		Chapel St, Forfar, Angus	DD8 2AB
	The Salvation Army, Stirling	Ad hoc food parcels	Soup kitchen	12	1200+	19 Drip Rd, Stirling	FK8 1RA
	The Salvation Army, Falkirk	Ad hoc food parcels	Soup kitchen	80	DNA	Worship & Community Centre, 1 Woodside Court, Falkirk	FK1 5AN
Start Up Stirling	Start Up Stirling	Food parcel		32+		STEP, Unit 37, John Player Building, Stirling Enterprise Park, Stirling	FK7 7RP

DNA – Data not available

Influence of the Trussell Trust

- 6.7 The benefits of being associated with the Trussell Trust, and the support the organisation offers, are considered to be important to successful foodbanking. One project manager at a Trussell Trust foodbank suggested that the Trussell Trust were invaluable. One interviewee stated, “I would defy anybody to set up an independent foodbank [and] to be as far ahead as we are now...It cost us £1,500 to begin with and we’ve had about £8,500 back from Tesco”. In terms of guidance, experience and leadership, the Trussell Trust model for these foodbanks is seen as something laudable, another respondent sees it as “an excellent model, very well done...I wouldn’t know where to start, where to fix this. I suspect there has always been people who needed food, it is just they haven’t known where to go to get it, or it hasn’t been available”.
- 6.8 As a result of the combination of the Trussell Trust model, increased media awareness and assertive community engagement, these areas have an effective response to food aid needs. One respondent from a sporadic foodbank commented:

“I find it quite sad to think that it [Trussell Trust foodbank] is needed in the first place, there are so many foodbanks across the UK. But you also have to celebrate the fact that communities are coming together and want to do something about the need that they see, that they are being proactive about it and kind of taking ownership of it, which is really exciting... Why shouldn’t every town have one? The vision should be that it (foodbanking) is here for the long run.”

Operations, supply sources and changes in demand

Demand

- 6.9 Four of the foodbanks in Table 4 have been established within the last year, however, Inverness has had a foodbank since 2005, originally established by Blythwood which now partners with the Trussell Trust. These new foodbank figures are indicative in themselves of an increase in demand for food aid. Demand is increasing generally, and this has been reflected through interviewee comments. The Salvation Army have seen increases in the numbers of people they are feeding, “the last two years [numbers] have increased by two thirds”. The newly established foodbanks are distributing a significant amount of food. One of the Trussell Trust banks has “sent enough food out to feed one person three meals a day and snacks for almost 19 years” since they began operating in late 2012.
- 6.10 Respondents thought that changes in demand over the last year have typically been driven by changes in benefits and welfare reform policies. Concomitant to the rise in demand, food aid providers are noticing different, new clientele accessing their services in response to welfare changes. One respondent commented, “people who have never had problems before are coming”. For one foodbank, the top three reasons for referrals are currently benefit delay, benefit change and low income. There is uncertainty in when

welfare recipients will receive money and how much they will be getting. Interviewees also reflected on the effect of the 'bedroom tax', an increase in sanctions and increased referrals from the Scottish Welfare Fund. One respondent reflected on the flexibility of food parcel provision and how they can offer assistance and support to those awaiting a decision on benefit change.

“We'll undertake to feed the people until the decision is made. If the decision goes against the person and they don't get their benefits back, then unfortunately we still have to call a halt to it (food provision), we are only providing emergency food, we can't do long term sustainability.”

- 6.11 Another interviewee commented that “obviously welfare reforms are a big thing at the moment, but whatever the situation, people fall into crisis every day for different reasons and food provision is always going to be needed”. Although other types of crises are experienced by those who receive food aid, welfare reforms appear to be the current dominant reason for increased demand for food provision from sporadic food aid providers.

Operations

- 6.12 The foodbanks service the local community and provide food parcels directly from their premises; however, at least three provide delivery options. Some of the foodbanks deliver the food themselves, with foodbanks covering wider areas ranging from 112 to 850 square miles. Others provide emergency food parcels for redistribution through agencies in rural areas. As one respondent stated,

“It is a balancing act...it is completely volunteer run and there are particular operational challenges for these foodbanks which would not be experienced to the same extent by a city centre foodbank. Since October 2012 we've fed 710 people, which is small peanuts compared to some of the major cities, but it is still a large amount for our rural area...850 square miles...Being a rural foodbank has its own difficulties in getting the food out.”

- 6.13 One of the foodbanks is actively working to create more defined partnerships with community organisations across their area, encouraging the development of additional foodbank projects. Logistics are challenging, as one respondent stated, “a foodbank is about a lot more than handing out food...and there are people who are not served effectively”.
- 6.14 Several of these foodbanks have received support with their operations. Deliveries and logistics for one foodbank were made less complicated as they were “given a brand new Transit van by a local man back in March...the council have given us another 1800 square foot storage unit” for which they pay a “peppercorn rent”. Another foodbank discussed the difficulties experienced in finding premises and how they “didn't think it would be good

stewardship for a charity to be spending that amount (£17k, £35k)¹⁹ on renting a property". A company based in the area gave them access to one of their vacant properties to use for the foodbank, and at a heavily reduced rental rate. They also received help from local housing associations when they were getting the premises set up and ready to operate.

Supply Sources

- 6.15 Much of the supply for the food aid providers again comes from the local community, incorporating both supermarket collections and donations from individuals (motivated by religious and non-religious beliefs). In some areas it is notable that "most of the food comes from churches". For a number of the foodbanks there are no supply worries.

"No supply problems...companies and schools do collections and bring up the food to us."

"When we started this I thought the hard job would be getting donations of food, but the hard job initially was getting rid of it...people were incredibly generous. [With our] supermarket collections...we've had folk coming in who'll take a shopping list from us and leave a trolley full of food with us on the way out."

- 6.16 However, other food aid providers have noticed that they have experienced a slight decline in donations since the expansion of foodbanks in their area.
- 6.17 One of the foodbanks chooses to receive perishable rather than just non-perishable goods. They are supplied by local supermarkets and on the day of the interview they had "280 punnets of strawberries from Asda, but we got rid of every one of them to the Salvation Army, homeless hostels...we've had 600 trays of sliced sausage...we give them as an extra". As every foodbank is an independent charity, there is apparently some flexibility and scope for them to offer and operate additional services, such as distributing perishable as well as non-perishable goods (as long as it does not violate the terms of the franchise).

Monitoring systems and scope for their expansion

- 6.18 Both the formal and informal food aid providers agreed that welfare reform and changes in benefits were driving change in the demand for food aid. However, monitoring these causes effectively was seen to be potentially problematic. One respondent suggested that going into more specific detail about circumstances would be "difficult, there are so many things, it is a minefield". An interviewee from a Trussell Trust foodbank suggested that the responsibility for collecting this sort of information should rest with those who distribute the vouchers to the individuals.

"It is really their job to know what sort of a crisis it is...we can talk about numbers, the wider crisis type, but I think

¹⁹ The foodbank had identified and viewed two potential locations with rental values of £17k and £35k per annum respectively.

for us as a foodbank it probably would get a bit too personal. I think it would be easier for us to keep it kind of wider categories at the moment.”

- 6.19 It was felt that “it would be more challenging for smaller [food aid providers]...drop ins” in terms of how much detailed information they are able to collect. The informal, non-referral food aid providers would not necessarily have anyone responsible for referring the clients to the services available in the first place. Overall, it would appear that incorporating detailed monitoring on the impacts of welfare reform on food aid providers would be a complicated and complex process.

7 A CROSS-SCOTLAND ASSESSMENT OF THE POSITION OF THE TRUSSELL TRUST WITHIN THE FOODBANKING COMMUNITY

- 7.1 The Trussell Trust provides a considerable amount of data but does not claim its statistics are nationally representative. This section discusses to what extent the statistics published by the Trussell Trust are indicative of the provision and demand for food aid across Scotland. Additionally, a comparative analysis between the client base of Trussell Trust foodbanks and those of other food aid providers is presented.
- 7.2 This research indicates variability in the extent to which the Trussell Trust figures can be considered indicative of food parcel provision within the case study areas researched. In addition, not having data for the rest of Scotland, combined with the fact that Trussell Trust foodbanks are not the largest providers in all studied locations, means that it is not possible to estimate the share of Trussell Trust’s provision in the overall provision nationally. It has also not been possible to estimate the total volume of provision of food parcels in Scotland.
- 7.3 The total number of people supported via emergency food parcels in Glasgow is substantially higher than the Trussell Trust figures for the same area. As mentioned earlier, the volume of food aid provided by the three Trussell Trust foodbanks is estimated to constitute around 20% of all food parcel provision in the City. By contrast, the two Trussell Trust food parcel distribution centres provide two-thirds of all food parcel aid in Dundee City; is the only provider of food parcels in Inverness; is likely to be the only provider in Fort William, once it opens in October 2013; is the biggest food parcel provider in the Forfar/Kirriemuir area; is the dominant provider in Falkirk; but has no operations in Stirling. On this basis it is suggested that the statistics collected and published by the Trussell Trust can be considered indicative of the scale of food parcel provision in Dundee, Inverness, Angus and Falkirk and for Fort William once the new foodbank opens.
- 7.4 Trussell Trust statistics are more useful in providing an insight into the dynamics of demand for food parcels. In light of the information gleaned from our interviews, it is suggested that the growth in demand observed by the whole Trussell Trust network between 2011/12 and 2012/13 is a good indication of the trend in demand Scotland-wide. However, the study could

only establish generally, rather than precisely, by what factor the demand has grown among non-Trussell Trust food parcel providers. The researchers suggest that in the future Trussell Trust data regarding changes in demand is used as a general indicator of a trend experienced by other food parcel providers, rather than as an exact marker of the change they experience.

- 7.5 The study found some difference between the client profile of Trussell Trust and non-Trussell Trust foodbanks. The findings suggest that, while this difference may result in a somewhat different dynamics of demand experienced by Trussell Trust and non-Trussell Trust foodbanks, the general trend in terms of demand is the same for all food parcel providers.
- 7.6 Although the interviews suggest that the dynamics of demand for cooked meals has been similar to the growth in demand for food parcels, a substantial difference was found in the client base profile between Trussell Trust foodbanks and 'soup kitchens'. For this reason the researchers believe that these dynamics may not continue to be parallel in the future, therefore, it is recommended that future data from the Trussell Trust regarding demand for food parcels should not be treated as an indicator of the trend in demand for cooked meals.
- 7.7 Finally, Trussell Trust statistics pointing at welfare reform and benefit delays as the main reasons for referral have been echoed in interviews with other food parcel providers. It is, therefore, suggested that Trussell Trust data in this area is representative of the trend that food parcel providers have been experiencing nationally. It is reiterated that the study was limited in scope and, therefore, this could only be established in general rather than precise terms.
- 7.8 The interviews with providers of cooked meals in all eight locations also point at welfare reform as the main factor behind the growth in demand for meals. However, it is possible that other factors, such as trends in local service provision for homeless people, will also have an impact on this client group²⁰. It is, therefore, suggested that future Trussell Trust statistics regarding the role that welfare system changes and benefit delays play in fuelling demand should not be assumed to be an indicator of the trend experienced by 'soup kitchens'.

²⁰ <http://www.crisis.org.uk/pages/homelessnessmonitor.html>

8 MONITORING FOOD AID PROVISION AND THE IMPACT OF WELFARE REFORM ON FOOD AID

- 8.1 The aim of this section is to discuss whether (and how) the current and future monitoring systems could capture (1) the scale and dynamics of food aid provision across Scotland; and (2) the impacts of welfare reform on the demand for, and provision of, food aid in Scotland.

Monitoring scale and dynamics of food aid provision in Scotland

- 8.2 On the basis of our interviews, it is suggested that monitoring the scale and dynamics of food aid provision nationally would be somewhat challenging and not fully precise, but nonetheless possible.
- 8.3 The findings suggest that it is likely that all food parcel providers in Scotland record the number of parcels distributed every month, and some also record the client's household size. Therefore, it would be possible to conduct a Scotland-wide mapping exercise akin to the one reported here. Such a study would provide a list of food parcel providers, the size of their provision and relevant contact details. The data would ideally need to be updated on a regular basis.
- 8.4 Where a provider does not record client's household size, an approximate multiplier could be applied in order to arrive at the total number of people provided with aid. Trussell Trust statistics from Glasgow SE Foodbank show that the ratio for their client base is approximately 1 food parcel = 2 persons supported.
- 8.5 One limitation that would need to be considered is how to determine what proportion of the client base are one-off users, and what proportion are repeat users. While the Trussell Trust collects such information, the findings suggest that among other food parcel providers (and definitely among 'soup kitchens') this is rare. As Trussell Trust foodbanks tend to cater for a somewhat different clientele than other food parcel providers, it would not be appropriate to extrapolate the Trust's statistics regarding repeat users onto the whole cohort of food aid beneficiaries in Scotland.
- 8.6 With regards to free meals provided by 'soup kitchens' and similar outlets, monitoring the demand and dynamics of provision should also be possible. The findings suggest that the vast majority (if not all) 'soup kitchens' record the number of meals they provide. The difficulties that were encountered during fieldwork suggest, however, that it may be more difficult to map all 'soup kitchens' than to map all food parcel providers. It would also again be very problematic to establish precisely the proportion of 'repeat users', due to the lack of client monitoring data. Any such attempt would need to rely on 'soup kitchen' managers' own estimate.

Monitoring users of food aid

- 8.7 The findings from the interviews suggest that it would not be possible to develop a Scotland-wide demographic profile of the entire food aid client base. The main reason being that many food aid providers do not have a

need to collect this kind of information, have reservations about being intrusive or do not have means to record it.

Monitoring the impact of welfare reform on food aid

- 8.8 As should be clear from the discussion in the previous section on the Scotland-wide representativeness of the Trussell Trust's data, the findings suggest that this data is a good indicator of general provision and demand trends experienced by other providers of food parcels. This means that there is not much need to go beyond Trussell Trust data, unless more precise data is required about the impact of welfare reform on clients of non-Trussell Trust foodbanks. Specifically, there is a suggestion in the findings that the precision of Trussell Trust data may not be fully satisfactory when applied to a slightly different client base (although not to the point where Trussell Trust data would be misleading).
- 8.9 However, the findings suggest that it would be difficult to add to the monitoring already undertaken by the Trussell Trust, both in terms of the volume of monitoring and its depth. Crucially, it would be challenging to achieve a necessary 'buy-in' from food parcel providers, mainly because (1) expanding record-keeping would put additional burden on them; and (2) having this information would be of no benefit to them in their operations.
- 8.10 What seems realistic and achievable would be to conduct an annual or twice-yearly 'snapshot' survey of clients from a sample of selected 'key players' in food parcel provision. Such selected providers could ask their clients a single question about the reason for referral (or self-referral) using the set of answers employed by the Trussell Trust for the sake of standardisation. To minimise the burden on food parcel providers, the survey could run for one week. Results from non-Trussell Trust providers could then be merged and compared with results from Trussell Trust foodbanks (who undertake such monitoring anyway). It is suggested that some form of incentive might need to be offered to non-Trussell Trust foodbanks by those driving the exercise.
- 8.11 In order to acquire a more in-depth understanding of the impact of welfare reform on demand for food parcels (e.g. exactly which parts of the reform lie behind the rise in demand) a small study composed of focus groups / interviews with beneficiaries of food parcel aid and with food parcel providers could be carried out. This could run alongside the 'snapshot' survey.
- 8.12 With regards to monitoring the impact of welfare reform on demand for meals in 'soup kitchens', for practical reasons, it is believed to be less feasible to administer a survey analogous to the one above. Further enquiries would need to be made with 'soup kitchens' and day centres to scope how realistic it would be. However, what would certainly be feasible is carrying out interviews with managers of 'soup kitchens' who are likely to have an insight into the role that welfare reform plays in driving demand for their services.
- 8.13 On the basis of the findings, monitoring of the impact of welfare reform on demand for food aid (both food parcels and meals) would need to be thoughtful with regards to the locations selected. Specifically, places such as

Dundee and Stirling are more representative of the rest of Scotland than Glasgow City. Glasgow City has a considerable population of destitute migrants (mainly unsuccessful asylum seekers) and, therefore, what happens to this group has an influence on the Glasgow-wide picture, but is not reflective of other places. For example, future UK Government policies may result in a smaller number of non-EU migrants being allowed into the UK, or in a smaller proportion of asylum seekers being successful with claims to remain. Such developments would have a bearing on the size of the population of destitute migrants. What this means is that findings from Glasgow cannot be extrapolated to other locations. However, because of its scale, the City should be included in any future study.

9 CONCLUSIONS

- 9.1 The aim of this scoping study was to consider the provision of food aid in Scotland by identifying food aid providers, to study their methods of operation and to recommend how demand and provision could be monitored. While the short timescale of the project meant that only a limited number of locations could be studied, nevertheless the research managed to map food aid provision in eight places. It covered locations exhibiting a wide range of characteristics, from large urban (Glasgow City) to medium-size urban (Dundee, Inverness, Stirling, Falkirk), to small towns (Forfar and Fort William) and finally to a rural location (Kirriemuir).
- 9.2 A large number of food parcel providers and 'soup kitchens' were identified in Glasgow city. Although much smaller, Dundee City also has a considerable number of food aid providers, particularly 'soup kitchens'. While the number of food aid providers is relatively small in Inverness and Falkirk, the volume of food parcel aid is high in these two locations. Stirling has few providers and a relatively small volume of food aid. Considering the size of their populations, Kirriemuir/Forfar and surrounding rural areas have a high number of providers and a high volume of food aid.
- 9.3 Food aid provision in Scotland is delivered by three key categories of organisation: local independent organisations; larger national organisations such as the Salvation Army and the Missionaries of Charity; and finally, the Trussell Trust franchise. Most food aid providers have a connection with a religious institution.
- 9.4 Foodbanks franchised under the Trussell Trust umbrella collect statistics on the number of food parcels given out, as well as on the profile of their clients, including the reason for referral. The statistics shows that 23,073 people in Scotland were provided by Trussell Trust with emergency food parcels between April and September 2013²¹. As this study did not map food aid provision in the whole of Scotland, it is not possible to state what proportion of food aid in Scotland is delivered by the Trussell Trust. However, the study has been successful in collecting evidence that sheds light on the

²¹ The Scotsman (2013) *Food banks see five times as many Scots needing aid*. Accessed 14 November 2013.

representativeness of recent Trussell Trust data regarding the dynamics of the demand for food parcels, and the role that changes in the benefit system are playing in fuelling this growth in demand. On both counts, the study's findings suggest that recent Trussell Trust data is broadly indicative of the situation experienced by other food parcel providers across Scotland. Between Spring 2012 and Spring 2013 the Trust has seen a 170% increase in demand. Over half of referrals were related to benefit delays or benefit change/withdrawal, an 11% increase on the previous year.

- 9.5 The interviews conducted for this research suggest that monitoring the size and dynamics of food aid provision is possible, as is monitoring the impact of welfare reform on food aid. The challenges with the former task include identifying very small providers, arriving at a valid 'parcel/household' multiplier and estimating the proportion of repeat users. The difficulties with monitoring the impact of welfare reform on food aid include engaging key food parcel providers in a 'snapshot' annual survey.

ANNEX: FOOD AID PROVIDERS IDENTIFIED BY GLASGOW CITY COUNCIL IN EARLY 2013

ORGANISATION	SERVICE	SERVICE TYPE	ADDRESS	PCODE
City Mission	City Mission	Soup Kitchen	20 Crimea St	G2 8PW
Lodging House Mission	Lodging House Mission	Soup Kitchen	35 East Campbell St	G1 5DT
Chanan	Chanan	Soup Kitchen	Tower Block, 162 St Vincent Lane	G2 7LQ
Salvation Army	Salvation Army	Soup Kitchen	Laurieston Centre, 37 South Portland Street	G5 9JL
Destiny Church	Destiny Angels	Food Parcel	32 South Portland St	G5 9JL
The Humanist Society	The Humanist Society	Soup Kitchen (Mobile)	Cadogan St	G2 7AB
Give Take	Give Take	Soup Kitchen (Mobile)	Cadogan St	G2 7AB
Frederic Ozanam Centre	Frederic Ozanam Centre	Soup Kitchen	9 Bridgegate	G1 5HX
Club 170	Club 170	Soup Kitchen	Queen's Park Parish Church	G42 8QZ
Vineyard	Storehouse	Food Parcel	4 Linden St	G13 1DQ
FareShare UK	Move On	Food Distribution	80 Coxhill St	G21 1HL
FARE food fayre	FARE Food parcels	Food Parcel	Bannatyne House, Drumlanrig Avenue	G34 0JF
Govan and Craigton Integration Network	GCIN Weekly Food Parcel Project	Food Parcel	Pearce Institute, 840 Govan Road	G51 3UU
Govan and Craigton Integration Network	GCIN Destitution Project	Soup Kitchen	Pearce Institute, 840 Govan Road	G51 3UU
Bridging the Gap	Bridging the Gap	Food Parcel	St Francis Hall, 405 Cumberland St	G5 0SE
Central and West Integration Network	Central and West Integration Network	Food Parcel	Garnethill Multicultural Centre, 21 Rose St	G3 6RE
Greater Pollok Integration Network	Greater Pollok Integration Network	Food Parcel	Flat 1, 70 Kennishead Ave	G46 8RP
Trussell Trust	Glasgow SE foodbank	Food Parcel	42 Inglefield St	G42 7AT
The Wayside Club	The Marie Trust	Soup Kitchen	32 Midland St	G1 4PR
		Food Parcel		
Missionaries of Charity	Missionaries of Charity	Soup Kitchen	186 Braidcraft Road	G53 5DZ
Emmaus	Emmaus Outreach	Soup Kitchen (Mobile)	Cadogan St	G2 7AB
Glasgow Simon Community	Cafe Simon	Soup Kitchen	19 Dunaskin St	G11 6PG
Cafe 25:35	Cafe 25:35	Soup Kitchen	Partick South Parish Church, 259 Dumbarton Road	G11 6AB
Crossroads YCA	Crossroads YCA	Soup Kitchen	Govanhill Free Church, Belleisle Street	G42 8HJ
New Life Church	New Life Church	Food Parcel	New Life Church, Shettleston Road	G31 5JL
Sharpe Memorial Church	Sharpe Memorial Church Soup Kitchen	Soup Kitchen	Sharpe Memorial Church, 12-14 Burgher St	G31 4TB
	Sharpe Memorial Church Food Parcel	Food Parcel		

Beacon Centre	Beacon Centre	Soup Kitchen	Queen's Park Baptist Church, 180 Queen's Dr.	G42 8QD
Unity in the Community	Unity in the Community Hot Meal	Soup Kitchen	Landsdowne Parish Church, Gt Western Rd	G4 9HZ
Unity in the Community Partick South Parish Church	Unity in the Community Food Parcel	Food Parcel	Landsdowne Parish Church, Gt Western Rd Partick South Parish Church, 259 Dumbarton Road	G4 9HZ G11 6AB
	Partick South Parish Church Soup Kitchen	Soup Kitchen		
Partick South Parish Church Destiny Church	Partick South Parish Church Food Parcel	Food Parcel	Partick South Parish Church, 259 Dumbarton Road Cadogan St	G11 6AB G2 7AB
	Destiny Church	Soup Kitchen (Mobile)		
Ropka Trust	Ropka	Soup Kitchen (Mobile)	Cadogan St	G2 7AB
Emmaus	Emmaus Outreach	Soup Kitchen (Mobile)	Balvicar St	G42 8QU
St. Rollox Church	St. Rollox Church	Food Parcel	9 Fountainwell Road	G21 1TN
Whiteinch Church of Scotland	Love Whiteinch Foodbank	Food Parcel	35 Inchlee St	G14 9HQ
Glasgow Destitution Network	Glasgow Night Shelter	Soup Kitchen	Landsdowne Parish Church, Gt Western Road	G4 9HZ
Salt and Light Bus	Salt and Light Bus	Soup Kitchen (Mobile)	Waterloo St	G2 7DA
The Shiloh	The Shiloh	Soup Kitchen	St Columba's Church, 300 St Vincent Street	G2 6RU
Loaves and Fishes	Loaves and Fishes	Soup Kitchen	St Patrick's Church, North Street	G3 7DA

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