

Environment, Religion and Food Waste

A Comparative Case Study on Public Policies

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Abstract

Food waste is a complex environmental issue which necessitates an interdisciplinary approach to understand the variables affecting people's behaviour. This dissertation focuses on the food waste in the consumer stage and studies behaviour-change policies. In this respect, two different campaigns on food waste prevention: 'Love Food Hate Waste' managed by Waste Resource and Action Programme (WRAP) and 'Don't Waste Your Bread' managed by Turkish Grain Board (TMO) are compared cases to find out the influence of cross-cultural differences in campaign's communication. The debate in the literature on relation between ecology and theology is studied to examine the role of religion in environmental behaviour-change policies.

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1. Introduction

Food Waste is a significant environmental problem in various ways. While the food that has been thrown out is rotting and decomposing in the landfill it emits various greenhouse gases mainly methane and nitrous oxide which further the effects of climate change. Keeping and feeding livestock also contributes to climate change (Stuart 2009, IPCC 2003). Moreover, the world population is now approximately 7 billion people and it is estimated that by 2050 the world's resources will not be sufficient at this rate of consumption (IPCC 2003). Therefore, sustainability of natural resources is vital for continued existence. However, food wastage means that some of the food being produced is not being used and this obviously means that fertile land is being wasted; land that can be used for another purpose. With the same logic, water used in irrigation, fertilizers, labour, transportation and even refrigeration are also wasted (Ahlmén 2002, Carlsson-Kanyama 1998, FAO 2010). And according to Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO 2011a; 2011b) one-third of all food (1.3 billion tonnes) produced is wasted worldwide. The most significant amount of food wastage appears to be the consumers (Griffin et al. 2009). As a consequence, a few policy interventions and campaigns to prevent food waste in households have started to emerge. Such policy interventions and campaigns to promote sustainable consumption are the subject of recent scholarly debate.

However, these studies fail to illuminate how such policies differ in southern countries with different sociological preferences. To clarify, Inglehart and Baker (2000) argue that there are many differing variables to development in 'non-Western' countries: social and personal values, culture, religion, economics, and political system. These variables necessitate peculiar ways of development for each country. By interpreting this understanding of peculiarities into behaviour change policies, I argue that societies have comparative advantages to each other in terms of changing their behaviour to a more environment-friendly way. Tristram Stuart (2009) narrates an incident in his book. He ate a bowl of pilau in the city of Kashgar where Muslims of Turkic origin mostly live. The owner of the restaurant, Abdul, warned him to clean his bowl, meaning that he should eat it all without leaving any food. Stuart says that there were four or five grains of rice left in his bowl. He attributes this consciousness to the Islamic culture and religion of the society, and cites the most popular food waste related verse of the Quran in the beginning of this chapter: "Eat and Drink: But waste not by excess, for Allah loveth not the wasters" (Quran 7:31; cited in Stuart 2009, 200). This is the reason that this research investigates an Islamic society and questions the role of Islam in changing its behaviour regarding food waste.

To this end, a comparative case study shall be conducted to reveal how two different states carry out policies regarding food waste. The cases that are analysed are the 'Love Food Hate Waste' (LFHW) campaign in the UK (WRAP 2007a) and the 'Don't Waste Your Bread' (DWYB) campaign in Turkey (Turkish Grain Board 2013). Main area of focus on these two different cases is the factors affecting both the policy-making. This study offers the hypothesis that it is best for different governments to execute their own campaigns customised according to their local variables which would facilitate a successful and long-lasting change. At first look, the main focus seems to be economic concerns of the public in

both cases. The secondary emphasis is on the environmental aspect of food waste in the UK; whereas religious and/or cultural motives come secondary in the Turkish campaign. This dissertation tests this hypothesis. The next chapter shall present why this study is important and how it can fill the void in the literature. Additionally, it shows the correlation between values and behaviour change policies is justified through the history of the invention of ‘the modern state’.

2. Justification of Study

The economic and political importance of the individual during the feudal era Europe and the contemporary state (the modern state) are profoundly different. The individual gained importance for the state throughout the process of modernisation. The life and security, health, education and lastly wants of the individual gained importance as the concept of citizenship was founded and all of these became public affairs (Walzer 1989; Castles 1998). In this context, people’s concern over such issues rises by the day they are getting informed and becoming aware of the climate change and depletion of natural resources, pollution and so forth. As a consequence, they demand the governments to act in response to these global scale environmental challenges. In parallel with these more and more people consent the results of these actions and their willingness to give up certain things from their lifestyle scales up (Dunlap and Scarce 1991). This is how state’s penetration into people’s daily decisions is justified. As an example people are imposed to pay fines due to not recycling properly in Britain (Derbyshire 2010) that is a perfect example of how the state seeks to influence the private sphere (even to people’s household rubbish). Thus, it is interesting to research on the state, spending from the public budget, to make a family cook a dessert at their home which is made from stale bread.

By the same token, this view helps us explain the decline of secularism in public policies (Inglehart and Baker 2000; Minkenberg 2002). Because religion and religiosity has deemed private in the enlightened thought and, thus, it has been the norm that the state should not interfere with religious choices. However, a great deal of personal choices concerns the public now. For instance, if a rotting lettuce emits methane in a landfill, which is 25 times more harmful for the atmosphere than CO₂ (IPCC 2013), because somebody has put it in the refrigerator inside a plastic bag and then had to throw it away on the next day as it has gotten limp and soggy, then this behaviour is a public concern; for his/her action has global consequences. In the same way, if one restrains oneself from such behaviour and cares to store that lettuce responsibly just because one’s religion commands to do so, then this act is a public concern as well; because that one’s behaviour has global consequences too. Therefore studying the role of cultural values, religion in particular, in environmental campaigns is justified. It promises to open up a new field of experimentation in a time when environmental campaigns are contented with being followed only by sympathisers and people with financial motives.

Nevertheless, the role of religion is rather untouched especially in the context of Islam in Turkey.

“Secularism is, no doubt, an important issue in our time, but the Turkish fixation with secularism has markedly impoverished the study of religion, for religious studies have thereby been drawn out of their necessary context of psychological need, cultural meaning, ritual behaviour, societal values and institutional setting”
Mardin (2006, 226)

This shows the reason why the social aspect of religion in Turkey has not necessarily been touched upon by the literature, let alone the religion’s potential role on environmentalist intervention on behaviour. Yet, there is a considerable amount of work on Islam and ecology in the overall literature. For example the series of Religions of the World and Ecology by Harvard Divinity School successfully depicts how religions could offer the necessary support on the environmental issues.

It is worth noting the structuralist criticism against behaviour-change policies arguing that putting the burden on the consumer without changing the market structure would not solve any problem. Furthermore, Values-oriented approaches proved ineffective in the last couple of decades (Holt 2012). Baring this in mind, the problems of behavioural-change policies shall be explored through the next chapter. Literature on different methods of policy interventions and campaigning will be analysed. Benefits of a values-oriented approach will be revealed and the debate on ecology and theology will be studied. Then the methodology of the research will be explained and interviews made with the personnel working for either of the campaigns will be analysed along with the official data of the campaigns. In addition to the analyses, it is discussed that these campaigns seem to be ambitious about further improvement and going international, which is the right thing to do from an environmentalist perspective. Finally the research shall be concluded with a summary and the proposed hypothesis will be assessed in the light of evidences.

3. Literature Review

Decisions shape human behaviour. There are two aspects of our contemporary decision-making which make studying on policy interventions on sustainable consumption so compelling. First, it is often misunderstood that people imagine themselves during their decision-making process as rational actors, considering all of the related facts, assessing possible outcomes and calculating the best course of action. Crompton (2010) refers this classical line of thinking as the “enlightenment model of human decision-making” and calls it incomplete. Because this model of decision-making suggests that if only people knew the naked truth and had the full information they would make the optimal decision. However, information about facts and calculated outcomes has only partial influence on decision-making. There is an increasing amount of literature advocating that people’s judgement is mostly shaped by emotions and values. It is becoming more and more apparent that people often make non-conscious decisions affected by on-site conditions, cultural and religious values. Factual information is filtered through values. The receiver of the message may either reject it, in case the facts challenge her/his identity and values or accept it, only by twisting it in a way that it will be compatible with her/his identity (Crompton 2010; Desai 2011; Dolan 2002; Kahan & Braman 2006; Hallsworth 2011; Hausman and Welch 2010; Minkenberg

2002; O'Neill 2010; Rose and Dade 2007; Selinger and Whyte 2011; Thaler and Sunstein 2008).

Kasapoğlu and Turan (2007) present Social Learning Theory by citing Bandura (1977) and test the theory on secondary school students. The idea is the direct relationship between knowledge/attitude and behaviour dictates individuals to practice what they have learnt in their social sphere. However, it is observed that the students do not behave in accordance with their knowledge, for example, they know they should prefer glass when drinking water, yet they do not. It is clearly seen that attitudes do not necessarily shape behaviour, which is often called the 'action gap' problem (Hines et al. 1987; Schultz et. al. 1995; cited in Kaiser et. al. 1999; Shove 2010). The authors conclude that there are social, cultural and economic variables influencing the behaviour. Additionally, smoking and drug use are common examples of this sort. People smoke knowing that it is harmful for their health and well-being. Hallsworth (2011) also demonstrates this presenting a case in New York where calories of the food should be seen in the menus of the restaurants due to a government regulation. The upshot is that the calories purchased did not change showing that despite being informed customers preferred to keep on consuming food that contain high level of calories. Therefore informing the audience with only factual data does not necessarily facilitate a change.

Uncertainty is one of the most notorious obstacles in dealing with environmental problems and changing attitudes and behaviours. It is argued that scientific evidences on environmental issues such as climate change are mostly proven facts as they have been recognised by many states and international institutions. Hence science is the ultimate tool that disperses the clouds of uncertainty around environmental issues (Ekins et al. 2008). However, as it was previously discussed facts are not useful in changing attitudes. For example, there is a mounting scepticism in the public about climate change (Whitmarsh 2008; Crompton 2010). At this point, intrinsic values are put forth as a hope to combat against uncertainty (Biel and Garling 1995). It is found that people with pro-socially oriented values and an internalised sense of community choose to practice positive environmental behaviour despite the ambiguity. They dismiss the arguments of uncertainty against environmental concerns.

In this respect, it is argued that values are actually the determinants of behaviour-change (Bayram 2012; Biel and Garling 1995; Brown and Kasser 2005; Crompton 2010; Evans et al. 2012; Minkenberg 2002; Rose and Dade 2007; Stern 2000). Minkenberg (2002) investigates which approach, values-oriented or rational-choice is better at explaining religion's impact on public policies and its success at achieving change. He observes that the sociological literature has been departing from a socioeconomic orientation. It is widely admitted that economy is important, albeit not everything (Klingemann et al. 1994). Therefore, scholars do not turn a blind eye to cultural and religious variables anymore. He concludes that a values-oriented approach is more convenient for analysing cultural and religious impact on public policies. To further the argument, it is possible to draw advantages from cultural factors when constituting theories of public policy. Therefore, including values as a factor into the equation brings benefits for policy research, especially for comparative policy research (Fink 2007).

However the study of the influence of values to behaviour is complex as people behave in a certain way for various different reasons and they might change their behaviour for different reasons as well (Rose and Dade 2007). Inglehart and Baker (2000) were seemed to be rare among the scholarly community as they argued that the development path of non-Western societies needs to be unique to their culture and tradition. Therefore non-Western cultures should take the variables that are unique to them into consideration in policy-making. When the scope is narrowed down to social policies and interventions such variables become even more significant. Cultural, social and individual values in different cultures are therefore crucial in behaviour change policies (Stern 2000). This brings us to the second aspect of contemporary understanding of decision-making that decisions made with self-interested motivation are not compatible with the environmental causes.

People tend to value things around them but the substantial point regarding behavioural policies is whether these values are intrinsic or extrinsic (instrumental) (Bayram 2012). Therefore it is impossible for a campaign message to be values-free according to Crompton (2010) because any communication implies provocation for either one of the two types of values. Extrinsic values are self-interested values aiming career goals to gain popularity or aiming at financial success. It would not be an overstatement to argue that these are the values indicated in Hobbes' (1651) "Leviathan" and Hardin's (1968) "Tragedy of the Commons". These two assume that human in nature is selfish and egoistic. The former explains the state of nature through selfish values and the latter explains the reckless exploitation of common resources. Not surprisingly, promoting the self-oriented values concurrently causes people to care less for others and care less for bigger environmental concerns.

Biel and Garling (1995) claims that humans may not be self-interested in nature; on the contrary they may choose to cooperate in the environment of scarce resources; if only they are pro-social in their value-orientation. Sheldon and McGregor (2000) put this theory into practice with an experiment on two groups of people with distinctive extrinsic and intrinsic orientation of values. It is found that extrinsically-oriented people fare better on an individual level of analysis; but on a group level of analysis the group with intrinsically oriented participants do better. The reason is that intrinsic values are associated with friends, family and community, care for others and care for the environment, which incline people with pro-social/communal value orientation to do better (Brown and Kasser 2005; Biel and Garling 1995). Evidently, these two types of values are opposite to each other. As an example, when one is concerned with the well-being of poor people in one's community and helps them generously then one cannot be aiming for financial success at the same time. Therefore behaviour-change policies in the area of environment should expunge extrinsic values and encourage intrinsic ones. In other words, communication of these should not be purely economic and it should induce the intrinsic value of community and environment.

Moreover, in Brown and Kasser's (2005) research, subjects with high rate of subjective well-being (happiness) have also reported ecologically responsible behaviour. This is related to the subjects' intrinsic orientation of values. Indeed if people correlate their personal well-being with the collective wellbeing, then being ecologically responsible would obviously make

them happier (DeYoung 2000). Brown and Kasser (2005) also cite that in addition to the sense of family and community, environmental activism produces happiness (Eigner 2001, Sohr 2001). If happiness is the ultimate pursuit, then why not design the campaign accordingly so that it would be compatible with the public's way of life? In fact, it is pointed out that the lack of literature on the factors that might foster both subjective well-being and ecologically responsible behaviour (Brown and Kasser 2005).

An important point that needs attention is that it is erroneous to melt the intrinsic and extrinsic values in the same pot with the anthropocentrism and ecocentrism. For example ecocentrism is often associated with the intrinsic value of nature. It is argued that environmental problems can only be solved in the long-run by attributing an intrinsic value to nature in lieu of the conventional anthropocentric approach (Kortenkamp and Moore 2001, Bayram 2012). This argument is certainly valid and fairly plausible. However, these two groups of concepts do not coincide. Namely, a campaign message may encourage intrinsic values, which are anthropocentric in essence. For example, sense of community is an intrinsic value; while encouraging people to assist the development of community is an anthropocentric approach. In this case intrinsic value is attributed to the community. Indeed, anthropocentric approach attributes intrinsic value to human beings (Bayram 2012). Moreover, values of helping others and the sense of community are a convenient way of canalising intrinsic value of human to a sustainable cause.

3.1.Social Change

Evans et al. (2012) study the long-term effectiveness of behaviour-change policies and note that damaging the environment is not something desired for. Individuals are not intentionally inclined for unsustainable consumption. Instead, people follow such an environmentally damaging pattern of consumption because it is an integrated part of the social order, it is a common practice and they are the 'practitioners'. Culture is, therefore, stressed in the practice theory as the habits and everyday practices of society are defined by it. In this context, policies and their efficacy in changing environmentally harmful behaviour (practice) are analysed. Legislative and financial regulations are just a 'requisite framework'. In other words, these only provide the necessary environment for other primary intervention methods to enhance the cultural transition. Mainly, the most substantial features of a policy intervention should be persistence and timeliness. In order for a policy intervention to be successful in the long-run and achieve an everlasting change on the targeted behaviour, the intervention should be in a constant continuum and should be implemented according to a certain agenda. Eventually the process would facilitate a soft transition in cultural norms of consumption.

According to the Maslowian theory there are 3 groups of people in society in terms of their values. The settlers are engaged with lower tiers of needs in the hierarchy of needs which are physiological, security and love and belonging needs, but mostly they are security-driven. Prospectors are esteem-driven; so they are the group in the society that desires esteem, self-esteem and esteem from others. Yet the most important group here is the pioneers. They are the masters of the top tier of 'self-actualisation' (Maslow 1943, 1954). Rose and Dade (2007)

articulate that pioneers are the 'Inner Directed' segment of society. They are the ones who are concerned about the world poverty, environment and society. Furthermore, they are innovators, that is, they are open to changing their behaviours and trying new things more than any other group in society. The authors' claim is that behaviour change is derived by values as beliefs and motivations are the determinant of people's behaviour. Values determine what, how and when behaviour would change. At the last step the behaviour shapes opinion.

In addition to Maslow, Kohlberg's (1958, cited in Crain 1985, 118-136) theory of moral development deserves attention. He has found in his studies that there are six stages in an individual's moral advancement. In the sixth stage, as the 'self-actualisation' stage in Maslow's theory, the individual experiences the last phase of being in a perfectly ethical constitution, where a universal principle of justice, absolutely impartial and respectful to everything on earth, is practiced. Similarly with Maslow, Kohlberg accepts that the attainment of the last stage is too rare and it is too difficult to render it. Another example of a theorist of perfect morality, which is among the classics of Muslim philosophy, is Ibn Hazm whose quote: "Do not use your energy except for a cause more noble than yourself" (Ibn Hazm 11th cent., I.5) reminds us of Crompton's (2010) conceptualisation of environmental problems as 'bigger-than-self problems'.

The notion of inner directedness of pioneers in the Maslowian theory should be emphasised. There is no doubt that inner directedness coincides with the notion of intrinsic values. Pioneers value the environment, others and the community for their sake. Returning back to Rose and Dade's (2007) article, it is suggested that the policy should be directed at pioneers, for they are most open to change. Then prospectors would adopt the change as they long for esteem from others. Lastly settlers would follow the prospectors eventually. Nolan et al. (2008) acquiesce this claim in their study of normative social influence. It is concluded from their experiment that the 'people are doing so' implication in campaign communication is the most influential. Therefore it is actually possible to change the whole through changing some.

Heylighen (1992) criticises this kind of Maslowian approach of categorising people according to some statistical data. It is not the proper application of psychology to stratify personal values and form policies accordingly. Instead, the aim should be to improve people towards a better state of mind. World Wildlife Fund (2008, 2009) demonstrates a similar discussion in its report, where it supports the values-oriented approach against market-oriented, money-saving, financial incentive strategies. Behaviour-change policies should focus on values that are determinants of human behaviour in lieu of such unsustainable changes. In other words, campaigns aiming at behaviour-change should not compromise a long-term sustainable change for a short-term effective change. The discussion deepens where the question rises whether to work on certain existing values or to influence people towards more desired values. It is concluded that:

"There is extensive experimental evidence showing that pro-environmental behaviour is related to certain values and aspects of identity, and that these can be meaningfully managed through a range of interventions. Many of these

interventions will draw, of course, on techniques with which today's environmental campaigners are already very familiar" (WWF 2009, 60).

From another perspective, human needs are indeed substantial to sustainable consumption. Basic needs and luxury needs, those needs which are not indispensable for human existence should be identified. The indicators of such classification vary by culture and geography (Dolan 2002). Dolan cites Foucault (1978) when he links the cultural dimension to consumption within a power relation. Foucault presents culture and religion as a disciplinary power that control individual lives (sexuality in particular). This conceptualisation puts symbolic meanings on objects and it is well-known that religion is symbolic (Lindbeck 1984). It would not be an over statement to say that symbolic understanding (of food in particular) attributes an intrinsic value on things. In general, intrinsic value is the tenet of all the main religions. Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism and so forth all consider everything on earth to be inherently sacred. Followers of Taoism and Hinduism value nature and approach meticulously to earth (Economist 2007, Chapple 2000). Monotheist religions naturally believe that everything on earth and above the earth is created by God. Therefore creations of the beloved God are to be loved for the sake of God. Barnhill and Gottlieb (2001) acknowledge that various religious beliefs over the globe form a basis for the intrinsic value.

3.2.Ecology and Theology

The popular verse of Turkish folk poet Yunus Emre exhibits this love, "we love the creatures, due to the Creator". This hints the philosophy that nature is a community and humans are a part of it. Every individual in the community is interdependent to each other (Passmore 1995). This holistic approach to nature blends the notion of "self" into nature. As it was previously stated, defusing human from the nature and self from the others are the root of the environmental problems. On the other side of the coin, religion seems to be holistic regarding nature and humans. It stresses the intrinsic values of things. For example, in the verses of the Quran regarding food waste (Surah Al-A'araaf 7:31, Surah Al-An'am 6:141), it is repeated that not to waste; because Allah does not love the ones who waste. So the reason for not wasting is the loss of Creator's love. Furthermore, hadiths regarding food mostly deal with wasting food, sharing food and the attitude towards eating food. The prophet condemns leaving even the smallest amount of food in the plate and eating too much.

In none of these admonitions regarding extravagance neither the book nor the prophet refers to saving money, a healthy diet or any other instrumental value. There is a philosophical guidance implying that everything is the creation of Allah and what humans eat is bestowed by Him. Therefore we should offer kindness to food, we should be respectful while we eat, we should share it with the poor, and on top of all we should not waste. Hence the philosophy surely attributes an intrinsic value to food. If we conceptualise ecocentrism as valuing the nature to be an end in itself, it is possible to regard Islamic perspective on food as ecocentric as well. This philosophy is applicable to all Abrahamic belief systems (see BBC Religions). Yet there are criticisms on religion's adverse effect on ecology.

Some argue that monotheistic religions are anthropocentric and believe that everything on earth is created for the benefit of human beings (Toynbee 1972, White 1967). Even though some of these critics advocate for abandoning religion as a remedy, some partly blame religion on contemporary environmental problems; they advocate the idea that religions can have a positive effect when reinterpreted from an ecological point of view (White 1967). It should be noted that the idea of interpreting and reassessing the religions in a 'greener way' is advocated for by many scholars; some associate it with the 'deep ecology' or some call it the 'spiritual ecology', or others 'ecotheology' (Barnhill and Gottlieb 2001; Afrasiabi 2003; Foltz et al. 2003; Tucker and Williams 1998; Hessel and Ruether 2000; Tucker and Berthrong 1998; Girardot et al. 2001; Chapple and Tucker; 2000).

Grim and Tucker (2014) argue that religion contains what science lacks in persuading people to become more green. To clarify, it is not a substitution for science but a complementary knowledge. They cite from Heidegger's (1977) ideas on science and technology that these put an excessive demand on the environment and natural resources and technology should be 'spiritually in hand' (Heidegger 1977, 2). The means of achieving this control lies within religion. Thereby, religion is integrated with the culture, it is spiritual and as the previous discussion on Foucauldian sense of religion indicated, it has a moral force (power) on people. It seems that there is a noteworthy movement in American academia that interprets and reassesses religious worldview in order to develop a positive force that deals with environmental problems. I argue that these studies should be examined by scholars that study Islamic texts so a similar scholarly debate would emerge. Islam is the second largest religion, it is more intertwined in the daily decisions than other religions and it already has a philosophical setting for pro-environmental discourse. "Islam is the religion of over one billion people – roughly one-sixth of humanity. One of the major 'universal' faiths, it is practiced in virtually every country on earth" (Foltz 2003, XXXVII-XXXVIII). He continues to stress the importance and urgency to articulate the 'Islamic environmental ethic in contemporary terms because Western-style conservation efforts do not fit all cultural and philosophical traditions (Foltz 2003a).

Afrasiabi (2003) refutes the criticisms of Islam having a negative influence on people's approach to the environment. He summarises Nasr (1968, 1981) and recognises that Islam is anthropocentric as human value is central to the Islamic thought. Humans are so essential that they are the stewards/vicegerents of God on Earth. This is the origin of Islamic humanism and the Muslim dream of being a perfect human, an exile on earth. Achieving this is only possible through understanding the nature and 'practicing good and prohibiting evil'. I believe this somewhat evokes the Maslowian sense of perfect human. However, Afrasiabi (2003) himself finds this notion too utopian and calls for a new theology. That is the deconstruction of all anthropocentric concepts and an ecotheological interpretation. Foltz (2003b) maintains that the debate of whether the religions are originally eco-friendly and whether they need to be rediscovered or reshaped is of no value. He urges that the world requires Muslim communities to realise the value of our environment and act to save it.

4. Methodology

This research is based on a comparative case study, which are formulated in a similar systems design. That is, two different cases of state's initiative in two different countries have been compared. Influence of values, both social and personal, is the independent variable. Cross-cultural differences; namely the cultural and religious motives in Turkey and environmental concerns in the UK with reference to its policy formulation have been analysed. States' policy interventions are the dependent variable. Isolation of the effects of the independent variables is the most significant factor when laying out a similar systems research design. Thus other variables such as political systems, economic level of development and so on and so forth should be eliminated. Therefore conducting in-depth interviews was seen suitable for the research. The method would provide long and deep answers which allowed the researcher to validate his findings. Additionally, follow-up questions were effectively used to obtain clear answers during the interviews.

According to the initial research plan personal interviews were going to be conducted in two phases. The first phase consisted of interviews from officials responsible with the formulation and execution of the public campaigns in question. In the second phase was compiled of interviews by people who were influenced by these campaigns. There were potential concerns expressed in the proposal, unfortunately, the concerns about interviewing the public was problematic. First and foremost, the sample size was not large enough to make an inference about the general public. There were limitations to justifying such data in the research as it was difficult to make interviews with individuals from adequately varying social strata, background, region and so forth. In the end the researcher would have only been able to do interviews in Ankara and Istanbul while in Turkey and London while in the UK - and the respondents would have only been university students and some neighbours in London.

Secondly, there were already existing surveys done by the campaigns and the results of these surveys are available to the public. After going through this readymade data, it was obvious that the planned interviews with the public would be redundant. Lastly, these interviews would be time-consuming. The initial research proposal used open-ended questions continuing into follow-up questions and probes, this is because people tend to answer culture related or religious questions cautiously. In this respect, surveying through emails, social media or even through the phone was not an option. Therefore it was concluded that the time would be better spent interviewing officials and research into the literature.

Six interviews were made in Turkey. The interviews were conducted in May and July 2014. There were two trips to Turkey in order to conduct face-to-face interviews with officials in the Turkish Grain Board (TMO): one in May and the other in July. The first trip was more successful than the later one. Initially I requested an interview with one of the campaign coordinators, which he declined, but he directed me to a number of his colleagues. His assistance was crucial as without his support I would not have been able to find interviewees because I lacked the necessary rapport. The success of the trip was depended on his support.

It is my conclusion that a gatekeeper is required to make such interviews especially with public officers.

After the first round of interviews I was given the opportunity to interview a top ranking official within the Turkish Grain Board. So I travelled back to Turkey; but unfortunately the high ranking official had withdrawn from the interview presumably due to job security concerns. On the side of Waste and Resource Action Programme (WRAP) and LFHW campaign, two interviews were conducted: one in June and the other in August 2014. Many of my initial requests for interview were rejected due to having no time. According to their responses to my requests there were many other researcher students who requested interviews from the organisation and the responses stated that all the information could be found on their official website. It is apparent that there are limitations in conducting interviews; that is, a level of rapport is required to conduct interviews with public officials and without a gatekeeper a researcher probably will be rejected by the campaign officials.

Evidently, I could only manage to meet high ranking WRAP officials in August by accompanying a visiting team from the Turkish Grain Board (TMO 2014). It was fortunate that TMO sought to propose the creation of an autonomous body that would deal with the prevention of the food waste to the government and took WRAP as a model. To this end, a team of three people were sent to the UK to participate in constructive meetings with relevant institutions including WRAP, Tesco and West London Waste Authority. Owing to the fact that I kept in contact with people I had interviewed previously, I had been informed of their intentions in to the UK. Consequently a significant extent of qualitative data was gathered by attending these meetings. This data was essential to both the findings and international policy implications chapters.

In addition to the interviews and meetings, primary data was gathered by observations collected while participating in campaign events. I visited stalls of LFHW campaign in a couple of food festivals and a smoothie distribution event. Official websites of both of the campaigns and managing organisations (WRAP and TMO) have been checked throughout the research and various types of data was gathered including campaign posters, videos, advertisements, their research findings, founding memorandums etc. Survey results of each campaign were especially useful for the study. Additionally, Friday prayer sermons were acquired through the website of the Presidency of Religious Affairs of Turkey. Those campaigns' social media (Twitter and Facebook) accounts have been followed throughout the study. Secondary data was reviewed through the university library.

5. Findings

Both of the campaigns were initiated because of the strategic and economic conditions. Participant 9 (P9 2014) (TMO 2014) told in the meeting with TMO that the European Union (EU) directorate ruled fines to member states if they do not achieve the minimum requirements. Thus the UK government estimated and it was seen more cost effective to invest on environmental policies instead of paying fines. That is why WRAP was founded in 2000 and the LFHW campaign was started after “The Food We Waste Research” in 2007 (Int. 8 2014; WRAP 2007a). This is the year when the global food crisis emerged. There is a strong link between the escalating concerns for food security and such policies to prevent food waste (Int 8 2014). Participant 2 from TMO stated; they could not manage to import grain from any country despite having all the money due to the global crisis (Int. 2 2014). That is when Turkey conducted a survey as the first step in its food waste prevention campaign (TMO 2008, Int 2 2014). Experiencing a food crisis in such a global scale taught these two states to be careful about what they do with their food resources. Hence it is fairly important to note before analysing these campaigns that food security concerns is the driving factor behind in both of them.



Figure 1: Campaign Logo (WRAP 2014a)

The “Love Food Hate Waste” campaign aims to reducing and preventing food waste across the UK. It is just another action front of WRAP in its war against waste and promotion for recycling. WRAP is a not-for-profit company limited by guarantee that means that it is entirely funded by several governments and governmental bodies (the UK-DEFRA, Scotland, Wales, EU etc.). It operates across the UK to promote sustainability in all stages of the economy. They work in four different areas of society: food waste reduction, resource efficiency in the economy, sustainable products and recycling. To these end, WRAP operates as an umbrella organisation for various programmes, projects and campaigns. It works with businesses and the government to install a circular economic model. It works with the retail sector under the Courtauld Agreement for decreasing waste and resource efficiency and also promotes the repairing, re-using and recycling of products. It communicates with the public and encourages them to be sustainable in their daily life. In this context the “Love Food Hate Waste” campaign is WRAP’s communication project with the public (WRAP 2014b).

It is safe to argue that most of WRAP’s communication is based on factual data. They conducted a qualitative research in 2013 to identify which ‘true’ information was most effective in their communication. For example, two of the questions directed at the respondents asked “which of the following true facts would make you try to throw less food

away are most motivating?” (WRAP 2013, 43) and “what type of information would you find most useful to help you reduce and recycle food waste?” (WRAP 2013, 45). The importance of factual evidence in reaching the audience was confirmed during the meeting in August 2014 (P10 2014). It was deemed crucial in both cases of communication with business (production and retail) and households. That is why the LFHW campaign mostly delivers factual information in its communication. Additionally, it was also emphasised during the meeting that the audience wants things to be easy so the campaign offers assistance in easing the trouble of being responsible while consuming food. However, in light of the discussion above the information derived from the literature presented is challenged as it discourages a campaign approach on delivering facts to the audience (Crompton 2010; Hallsworth 2011; Minkenberg 2002).



Figure 2: Money Saving Toast (WRAP 2014c)

At first sight, the outlook of the campaign promises a recognition and appreciation of the intrinsic value of food. The name or the motto of the campaign “love food hate waste” adjures to praise food only because it has a value in itself. It does not say ‘don’t waste’; instead it contains an idea that if people love food intrinsically they will eventually hate waste and so there is no need to construct an imperative sentence. Notwithstanding the prima facie it is observed in depth analysis that “you can save money by not wasting food” and “you can save the environment by not wasting food” are two main messages, the latter being secondary. Thus the campaign communication is highly focused to household economics while it also touches on the environmental impact of food waste as well. According to a survey conducted by WRAP most people are motivated to reduce food waste by the possibility of saving money (WRAP 2013a; 2013c). “Three reasons largely account for consumers’ concerns: a waste of money, a sense of wasting “good food” and a general sense of guilt. The environment is a much weaker, and secondary, concern” (WRAP 2007c, 3).

The campaign encourages the prevention of food waste by emphasising the household budget and prices of food. The cost of food is repeatedly pointed out and according to the website;

average household can save up to £700 a month (WRAP) by reducing food waste. The campaign organises various events to encourage people not to waste food. Most recently they distributed smoothies in Birmingham and are carrying out a '10 cities' event at the time of writing. (WRAP).



Figure 3: Vegetable Lovers Think Green (WRAP 2013c)

There are campaign officials present at most of London's food related festivals and meetings. They are usually there standing behind the stall introducing equipment that can be handy in reducing food waste in homes. For example, they show how to use measuring cups for cooking rice, portion scale for spaghetti, and clips for opened packages, and weekly meal planners. Then they explain how these can help save money. They are also present at religious community events such as the London Jewish Food Festival 2014. It is the same stall, same posters and flyers and the same tools. There is no diversity and flexibility in their communication with different groups; whereas,

When I have visited the LFHW stalls in festivals, officials introduced their little tools to prevent food waste. There was never an answer to the question: "why should I not waste?". Only two of their posters (see above) imply indirectly that: "food lovers save money" and "fruit/vegetable lovers think green". The former one is more popular and visible. When they were asked during the meeting to expand on the idea behind their approach they confirmed what I have observed so far. Participant 10 (P10 2014) explained that it was found that people are conscious about the food waste. People are aware that it is bad for the economy and the environment but they deny that they too are wasting at their home (WRAP 2007b). Therefore the campaign needs to show people that there is food waste everywhere including in their own kitchens. A promotion event was given as an example; people were shown at the exit of supermarkets that they do not throw away one of their three shopping bags just outside the supermarket; so why would they throw it away at home by wasting food.

Participant 11 (P11 2014) added by pointing out the diverse culture that makes up the British society. He claimed that there are many communities in the society almost all of which have different values. Choosing any of these values to promote the campaign would offend the other groups who hold different values. Therefore the campaign is limited to emphasise only the household economic aspect and the environmental aspect, which is less influential. At this point Turkish officials added during the meeting that their campaign combines different

messages and as an example their posters indicate that not wasting bread allows more schools for children. WRAP officials were impressed and asserted that it was a brilliant idea. Then P11 expressed his view that it is natural to form campaigns according to cultural differences. Indeed, there are different communities with different values within the British audience. Evidently, the campaign opens up a stall at Highgate, London which is a poshest neighbourhood at Saturday and then the same stall is present at a Jewish Food Festival at the next day. These seem to be two distant communities with different values and this limits the campaign communication because its messages should reach both of these communities.

P7 (Int. 7 2014) stated that, Muslim communities disregard the message as they claim that they already are thrifty about food because they believe it is a sin to waste food. Such a stance should be carefully interpreted as a denial. Their declaration does not guarantee that they do not waste; on the contrary this proves the point made earlier; the message is not compatible with the receiver's identity and so, it is either ignored or refused. In worst cases as Crompton (2010) suggest the message further alienates the audience. This theory adds up to the findings about people's disposition to deny that they do waste (P2). Nevertheless the statement of Muslim communities hints the potential in this community to be encouraged. Thus it would be beneficial for the campaign to deliver values-oriented messages.

It can be argued that the campaign work around preconceived limitations by acknowledging the discussion on the 'perfect person', who is self-actualised and is acquainted with the nature; a person who values the environment intrinsically. It was noted in the meeting (P10 2014) that there were 'local champions' who voluntarily promote the campaign and this apparently had contributed substantially to the cause. When analysing the concept and its role for the campaign (WRAP 2008; 2013c; 2013d; 2014d; 2014e), it became obvious that these volunteers were pioneers in the Moslowian sense or as Kohlberg described the: people with internalised ethical principles. However, the Turkish campaign frames its communication to appeal intrinsic values in a significantly different way.



Figure 4: Campaign Logo in Turkish and English (TMO 2013c)

The official title of “Don’t Waste Your Bread” campaign is “Prevention of Bread Waste Campaign”. There were two studies done (TMO 2008; 2012) before the campaign started in 2012 (the results are published in the early January of 2013; but it is cited as 2012 in this study to prevent complications) and there was a third study in 2013 that monitored the effectiveness of the campaign. After observing a drastic increase in waste from 2008 to 2012, the DWYB campaign was initiated by a meeting where the prime minister himself gave a speech (TMO 2013) and the prime minister's office issued a memorandum designating Turkish Grain Board (TMO) as the lead institution in charge of the campaign. TMO

administers the campaign is the subsidiary organization of Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock and then ultimately is under the control of prime minister's office. The memorandum also assigned tasks to several other public institutions including Presidency of Religious Affairs (Int.1 2014; Int.2 2014; Int.3 2014; Int.4 2014). Bread is the most consumed and the most wasted food in Turkey. According to the "Bread Waste Research" conducted for TMO in 2013a 92.7% of the population regarded bread as the most basic food. Attendants in apartments bring bread early in the morning. There is always bread on the dinner table even when the meal does not require bread. Bread plays a major role in Turkish nutrition and culture. Consequently bread has its own economy.

There are numerous bakeries that are not visible with big ovens that supply the huge demand along with several big factories. Big municipalities manage these factories and they are branded as "Public Bread". These public companies also support the campaign with their whole bread and whole bread snacks (IHE 2014, AHE 2014). There are structural problems in the supply stage due to the poor productivity and high competition among bakeries, not to mention the hospitality sector is a rising threat as well (Int.2 2014). It is worth noting that the campaign strives to deal with bread waste in all sectors; yet the focus of this study is on the household level behaviour-change so the production and retail sectors will not be further analysed.



Figure 5: For Bread, Ekmeleddin (Aljazeera 2014)

In Turkey, bread is more than baked flour; it is a symbol of culture. It symbolizes the sacredness of food. It is the symbol of fertility. It is the symbol of God's grace. Bread is also the symbol of hard earned sustenance; the sustenance that, according to the philosophy of Islam, "we all should be grateful to Allah for He is the one who gives" (Int.1; Int.2; Int.3; Int.4; Int.5; Int.6 2014). One of the campaign posters even touches on this point, "bread is the sweat on your forehead" which is a Turkish idiom (TMO 2013a, VIII). One of the candidates in the 2014 presidential elections had adapted bread as his motto; "for bread, Ekmeleddin". He, at the same time, uses the synonym of bread which is "planting". Accordingly all the respondents echo acknowledgment of the significance of bread in the culture. It was also noted in the memorandum issued by the prime minister's office regarding the campaign (Official Journal

2013). It was also indicated in the prefaces of the 2012 and 2013 research results (TMO 2012; 2013a). Therefore, the symbolic meaning of bread gives a strong meaning to the campaign.

In order to investigate the extent of this implication a question was asked during the interviews: “Is it adequate to be campaigning solely on bread to reduce its waste or is there a need for a more general campaign on food waste?”. All of the answers added up to the same point. They admit and accept that it is not enough. A wider campaign on food waste would be a bigger leap forward in the prevention of food waste. Albeit due to the fact that bread is culturally significant and means more than what it actually is, they hope that this would bring a greater result. Since “bread” is synonymous for “food” in general; “food” which is given by God, Godsend, blessing, it is anticipated that society would perceive the message in a general sense (Int.1; Int.2; Int.3; Int.4; Int.5; Int.6 2014). It is safe to say, food waste reduction was implicitly targeted in the policy-making. The intrinsic value of bread in the culture is thereby recognised and promoted by the campaign.



Figure 6: To Many More Centuries (TMO 2013d)

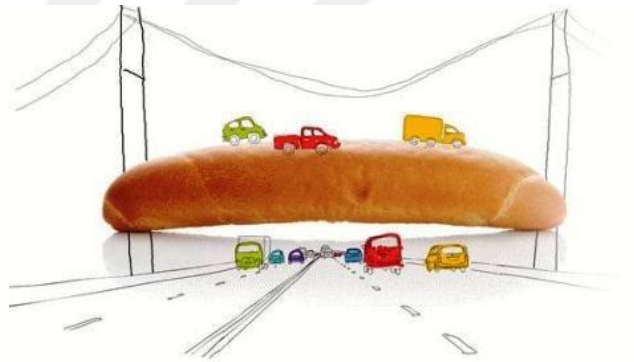


Figure 7: Tens of Bridges Could Be Built (TMO 2013e)

When the posters of the campaign are analysed it is seen that self-interested economic values play a relatively insignificant role. Whilst P2 (Int.2 2014) thinks that economic concerns come primarily yet the campaign diversified the context of messages to maximise longitudinal influence; others stated that the economic content is just to instantiate the issue of bread waste for better communication purposes (Int.3 2014; Int.4 2014). Posters of the campaign mostly indicate communal results such as “500 schools can be built”, “500 kilometres of motorway can be built” or “tens of thousands of houses can be built if we do not waste our bread” and so on and so forth whereas the UK campaign gives exact numbers, but only in reference to the household. “Turkey needs more schools, more hospitals, more airports, and more motorways” type of messages addresses the sense community (Int.3 2014). In fact, the idea is to stress the effects of bread waste to the national economy instead of the household as it is in the WRAP’s campaign. It seems the DWYB campaign encourages intrinsic values; yet the campaign makes a final manoeuvre and signals the return of followers’ behaviour by pointing out schools and bridges and so appealing to people’s self-interests. Still, there are purely intrinsic messages for example figure 6, which is patriotic. The year 2023 depicted at the end of a road made by pieces of bread; this is significant because it is the end of the first century of the Turkish Republic. The resemblance of bread as

a birthday cake and the flag as a candle is a creative touch. This must be interpreted as not wasting bread is associated with progressive patriotism.

The issue of appealing to self-interested financial motives of the audience has been investigated quite adequately. Some of the respondents have contributed to the discussion by looking at these issues from a different angle. That is, if one is reluctant to save money; then one does not need to care for preventing waste. In other words, if saving money is not a priority than the campaign does not speak to that person. The praise of property and taking it more precious than the values of community and nature that is brought by the capitalist line of thought is the root of the problem of food waste (Int.2 2014; Int.4 2014). It is probably an overstatement to attribute the root cause of the problem to capitalism; yet it is safe to recognise that this mentality is essential to the problem. Paying for a commodity gives the buyer right to do anything with that product. Therefore paying for food may be regarded as owning the right to throw it out. Nobody would buy tons of bread and throw it out for no reason; this is an extreme example. Nevertheless, people buy more than they need and only think about the wasted money when they throw out the excess, not the wasted food itself. In the case that the buyer is not concerned with money they waste food without even thinking.

Promoting instrumental values leads to less concern for global issues in the long-run (Crompton 2010). This disposition of opting for financial success rather than caring for others and for the environment is enabled through money focused campaign communications. Eventually this paves the way for the self to be at the centre and take root making the behaviour change unsuccessful in the long-run. Although it is argued throughout the study that promoting intrinsic values provide a sustainable social change, nonetheless the Turkish case holds a risk due to being a government institution. P3 (Int.3 2014) underlined the structural aspect of the campaign that she believes is a drop back. She notes that they are not a civil society organisation or a non-governmental organisation nor a private company. She says, “We are a government institution after all”. She insists that they are dedicated to this goal and are going to work until the waste hits zero; yet there are limits: “we are obliged to halt or slow down when it was commanded so” (Int.3 2014). This characteristic of being a governmental organisation contravenes the principle of persistency that Evans et al. (2012) regards as absolute requisite for a permanent impact. Such nationalistic messages alienate the public from being global-minded and being aware that this is a global issue.



Figure 8: 500 Schools Could Be Built (TMO 2013f)



Figure 9: Eat, Drink; But Don't Waste (TMO 2013g)

Narrowing down the issue to a national scale means that environmental aspect of the problem is next to non-existent in the campaign communication. There were diverse answers on this issue by the respondents. P1 argued that environmental awareness in Turkey is mediocre so making it difficult to have an influence as environmental messages do not speak to people (Int.1 2014). P3 (Int.3 2014) points the lack of factual data as the reason for environmental messages to remain on such a low level. P2 (Int.2 2014) suggests that the environmental aspect is about the food waste in general; whereas they only work on preventing bread waste. He also confesses that “we give weight to other aspects such as the economy and religion. We already express that waste is a sin in our religion and if we can ensure this consciousness the environmental side of the issue would be solved. The value of those precious resources we have comprises the environmental aspect already”.

Hereby it is time to discover the role of religion in the Turkish campaign. To begin, one of the poster quotes a food waste related verse of Quran which I previously quoted, “Eat and drink, but do not waste” (Surah al-A'araaf 7:31). It is vital to note that the Turkish word equivalent for waste is ‘israf’ which is the exact Arabic word used in this verse of Quran. Hence the word ‘israf’ is originated from the influence of religion on Turkish culture and not surprisingly linguistically has religious connotations. When searching for the word, ‘israf’ on Google most of the results are related to Islam. Even when warning someone in the most casual environment, the phrase “don't waste...” or any sentence starting with that has a religious connotation.

As it has been asserted so far the influence of religion on people's daily life should not be regarded separately from the culture. It is seen that the Qur'anic word ‘israf’ has penetrated into the language and the culture. This is why the government has given tasks to the Presidency of Religious Affairs to support the prevention of bread waste campaign. In this respect, there were 2 waste related Jumu'ah (Friday Prayer) sermons in 2013; one is in 25th of January and the other is in 20th of September (Int.5 2014; DIB 2013). All Muslims are

obliged to perform this prayer at the mosque where they all meet each other and listen to the sermon. This sermon is issued by the Presidency of Religious Affairs of Turkey. The first one is titled as “The Behaviour Which Allah Does Not Love”. In the first part of the speech some verses of the Quran and hadiths about waste are cited. The second part is interesting where the speech continues to stress the gravity of waste and states: “we consume everything recklessly; time, land, possessions, wealth, nature and the environment” (DIB 20013, 1). Surely this point is pivotal to the research and it can be related to the scholarly debate on ecotheology to show that there is an ongoing effort to use religion to influence a positive change on the environment.

The speech continues with a sound linkage to the bread waste by purporting its value in Turkish culture: “However, we waste such a blessing (bread) that it has an exceptional value in our civilisation. The blessing that we waste is the most important, most precious, and the greatest of them all; it is bread. In our culture bread is the most precious *rizq* (sustenance bestowed by Allah) and it deserves all the reverence there is” (DIB 2003, 1). Then it continues to illustrate cultural significance of bread with the same examples given by the interviewees: “when we spot a crumb of bread on the ground we immediately grab it; then we kiss it and make it touch our forehead. Afterwards we carefully put it over a wall. We even avoid stepping on breadcrumbs. Additionally we have a spirit bond with bread: we swear to bread” (DIB 20013, 1). The cultural value of bread has been repeated by all of the Turkish respondents. They all recognised the cultural value of it and even claimed that it is a symbol for all the food that is bestowed by God (Int.1 2014; Int.2 2014; Int.3 2014; Int.4 2014; Int.5 2014; Int.6 2014).

In the third part the speech underlines the message ‘do not waste food while others starve’ and gives examples from the regions of world where people are in dire need of food. Then it explains how sinful it is to waste food which is, again, is bestowed by Allah. It should be noted that the mind-set of caring for other people who are not fortunate enough to have food has been implied by most of the respondents (Int.2 2014). When probed accordingly to find out if this disposition has a connection with religious beliefs some of them answered positively (Int.1 2014). P6 (Int.6 2014) expressed that empathy is integrated into the religious worldview and adduces the popular hadith, “he who sleeps contentedly while his neighbours sleeps hungry did not believe in my message” which is also cited by P2 (Int.2 2014). P4 (Int.4 2014) states that this has to do with universality, impartiality and humanism. This is why the effects of climate change and resource depletion on people live in other countries is highlighted by the respondents rather than the intrinsic value of the environment itself. The implications of this are twofold.

First, the distinction between intrinsic value-orientation and ecocentrism is illustrated. The religious world view is anthropocentric as it takes human value and humanism at the centre. Still, caring for other people whom you have never seen; contemplating on others when eating and sympathising with the poor with a humanitarian mind-set is an intrinsic value-orientation. Second, this shows that religion has a positive motive on imposing intrinsic values. Yet, this type of framing is not seen in the campaign’s communication. It is possible that the campaign officers refrained from publishing negatively framed messages due to the

findings that it has a poor or adverse effect on behaviour change (O'Neill et al. 2013; Van de Velde et al. 2010).

Lastly, the last part of the sermon commences with the verse of Quran: 'Allah does not love wasters' (6:141) because wastage is an ultimate disrespect to the blessings of Allah who is the Ar-Razzāq ['For Allah is He Who gives (all) Sustenance' (51:58)]. 'in that day, you will be questioned for all that is given to you' (102:8)' (DIB 2003, 1). This illuminates the intrinsic value of food that should be cared for with compassion due to the belief that it has been provided by Allah. This idea was also articulated by P6 (Int.6 2014) from the DWYB campaign who wrote a brochure titled "World Without Waste: A Happy World" as a preacher (Int.6 2014, TMO 2013b).

P6 (Int.6 2014) expresses the Islamic thought that individual has to mind for three dimensions in its behaviour. There are her/his relations with God, others and the environment. A Muslim has a responsibility in its relation with the environment; because it is God's creation. P6 points the verses in Quran where God juxtaposes evidences in nature for His existence and generosity and condemn those who are not thankful for his blessings. Thereby she contributes to the above discussion by saying that a Muslim violates her/his relation with Allah if she/he violates her/his relation with the environment.

P6's (Int.6 2014) thoughts are similar to a Foucauldian sense of understanding of religion. Religion, as Foucault (1978) argues is a disciplinary power over the individual. She asserts that religion is unique in a sense that unlike other forms of influence religion is normative. It commands the right behaviour or the right way of conduct regarding food and wastage of food. P6 gives a hadith as an example in which the prophet commands 'if you have a sapling in your hand during the apocalypse, plant it'. Of course it is figurative but the right behaviour is normatively narrated in the plainest way. This power of religion coincides with what Tucker (2014) suggests as it has a moral force on individual which is the potential to move the community.

While analysing and interpreting the survey results of TMO, relying on the socio-cultural and political background of Turkey, a point is in need of being regarded as exceptional. Within the scope of the research conducted in 2008, 2 out of 1549 households choose "weakness in faith" as the reason for wasting bread in the survey, in 2012 7 out of 1589 households choose "lack of religious sensitivity" and in 2013 2 out of 1589 choose the same option as the reason lying behind bread waste is in correlation with the lack of religious sensitivity. It should be noted that the question is open to multiple choices. At this point, decontextualizing is necessary to expound the relevant results. Initially, as asserted throughout the paper, religion (Islam) should play an effective role as an incentive in reducing food waste due to the socio-cultural and political background of Turkey. However, the outcomes of these researches propound that religion is considered as insignificant as a causal agent. The reason lying behind this is highly correlated with the configuration of Turkey's secular background.

Turkey's secularisation process that started in the first years of the Republic strived to establish an alternative culture and ethics. This has led to a counter Islamist movement (Göle,

1997, Mardin 2006). Göle (1994) explores that RP's (Welfare Party) establishment played a significant role from a sociological perspective. According to Göle, RP, an Islamist political party, feared that a non-compliant society without respect for Islamic ethics was emerging and that this would lead the Turkish people to become less sensitive especially about issues such as waste, bribery, or pornography. Mardin (2006) articulates that religion should be regarded as a cultural phenomenon. This is why it has survived the long decades of securitisation (laicism in the context of Turkey) of society. However, the heavy scrutiny over religion in the social life is yet to fade away. In the 20th century laicism in Turkey did not only regulated state affairs but also dominated the social sphere. Over time was internalised and the society transformed from an Islamic conservative scope to a more modern and secular one and Turkey's relations with the European Union developed. Now, people refrain from commenting on other people's religious sensitivity and try to evaluate issues from alternative ethical views. Therefore, the decontextualisation of the TMO survey participants' answers on religious sensitivity about bread waste should be done by taking this relevant information into consideration.

6. Further Discussion and International Policy Implications

In the Prime Minister's speech that started the DWYB campaign (TMO 2013) implied that Turkey is developing. But he noted that welfare and development should not be measured only through production and consumption (which is more or less GDP); civilisation and beliefs cannot be measured from the level of welfare and development. He declared that such materialistic approach causes society and individuals to lose their human values over time. Welfare and development is achieved not only through satisfying the needs of body but also through satisfying spiritual needs. According to the PM, it can only be achieved by conserving ethical and religious values. The speech contains all of the above mentioned aspects; except the environment. Although there is no trace of an environmental concern in the speech; it is, yet, promising that the end goal is positive for the environment.

Lastly this sentence from the PM's speech requires attention: "We cannot be a nation that wastes more as its income increases" (TMO 2013). Considering the growing environmental concern that developing countries experiences the same environmentally harmful process of development which the industrialised countries had disregarding the notion of sustainable development and ecological wellbeing, this approach forms a quasi-solution by putting forth a responsible understanding of development. Industrialised societies are the biggest contributors of food waste at the consumer stage and Turkey seems to be determined not to be one of them (FAO 2011). In the light of this view it would be promising to conduct further research on the question that, can Turkish case be an inspiration for other countries with common Muslim values?

WRAP's LFHW campaign is already internationally licenced and it works internationally on food waste providing expertise and advice (Int. 8 2014). There is a high executive responsible for the international side of WRAP. Evidently, the meeting with the visiting team from TMO is regarded as such. They provided expertise and advice for the Turkish organisation and even offered to franchise their brand. DWYB has been extended to an international dimension too; it is praised by the FAO and declared as the first food waste prevention campaign initiated by a public institution. The campaign presented itself in a conference on food waste in Romania in April 2014. The respondents are happy with the interest shown at the conference (Int. 1 2014; Int. 2 2014; Int. 4 2014). Bahar (Int. 2 2014) asserts that the campaign draws attention with its cultural and religious messages. When the hinterland of both of these campaigns taken into consideration, it is not difficult to see the potential of the UK's campaign to spread across (at least Europe) and this does not necessarily require a study. However, a study on Turkey's international influence on this area would further discuss the arguments raised in this dissertation.

Table 1: Comparative Advantages

Comparative Advantages		
	WRAP / Love Food Hate Waste	TMO / Don't Waste Your Bread
Organisation	Not-for profit company limited by guarantee	Public economic enterprise
	More autonomous	Less autonomous
Expertise	It was founded earlier in 2000 and brought together people with expertise. They have been improving their expertise so far.	Its primary mission is to regulate the grain market. The campaign is an attached responsibility in 2012.
Market Cooperation and structure	Good cooperation with the producers and retailers. The market is composed of a small number of companies.	Some cooperation with the producers only. Market is competitive with scores of producers. It holds a regulative power.
	Based on the idea of 'circular economy'. Operating recycling facilities including anaerobic digestion facilities for food waste.	Infrastructure is limited. No system of recycling.
Campaign Communication	Household economy focused. Environment comes way later.	National and household economy comes first; it is not focused. Cultural, religious and humanistic messages come later.
	Limited diversity and flexibility in campaign messages and framing of messages.	Diverse messages and flexible according to the audience.
	Factual data and information based self-oriented financial messages. Some inspirations from values.	Values-oriented. Cultural and religious values play a crucial role.
International Stage	The campaign is licensed internationally and it works internationally on food waste providing expertise and advice.	It is praised by the FAO and declared as the first food waste prevention campaign initiated by a public institution.

7. Conclusion

The study has taken the Inglehart and Baker's (2000) perspective as its basis of arguments. They found in their article the belief that modernisation is only possible through the 'Western' process by assimilating themselves into the 'Western' ways, is not viable. They give the East Asian example of achieving economic success through their unique culture and tradition. In the case of success in conserving the ecology and changing people's behaviour accordingly the prominence of cultural values significantly increases. I would call these differences (borrowing the concept from economics), comparative advantages of countries in terms of behaviour-change policies. As seen in the table I, WRAP has the advantages in organisation, market structure and expertise; albeit this study is focused on the communication side of campaigns so these advantages were not analysed extensively. Rather, the focus was on the advantages of a values-oriented approach.

There is mounting evidence that values are the real determinant of behaviour. It is shown that there is a thin line connecting facts and attitudes to behaviour; some even argue that behaviour shapes opinion. Additionally, campaigns promoting self-interest values such as financial benefits fall short in achieving a long-term sustainable change. It even furthers risk people becoming more self-centred and careless for the environment. The inadequacy of facts to move people and the unsustainability of self-centred approach lead to the conclusion that values-oriented approach that promotes intrinsic values is better at achieving a persistent change. As the audience of DWYB has a common value particularly on bread and generally on food, the campaign has an advantage to be able to design a values-oriented communication.

Promoting intrinsic values influences society in two ways: i) It pushes intrinsically motivated people within the society who are the pioneers in the Maslowian sense to change their behaviour. This, in theory, would eventually trigger a long-lasting total change in the society. ii) This would prevent individuals to further alienate and disintegrate themselves from both other people and nature. Discouraging extrinsic values such as financial motives and selfish benefits and promoting intrinsic values such as the sense of community, caring for the poor and other people and caring for the environment would improve the society ethically and morally. Thus the advantage of DWYB having a suitable social setting for a values-oriented approach pays off. The campaign manages to change the behaviour of a population which is relatively less concerned about the environment.

The cultural and religious factors that facilitate such an advantage are investigated through the debates on ecology and theology. There is a considerable amount of work in the literature that questions the theology from an ecological perspective. It is a surely useful debate that promises to find a way around to the issue of moving people with insufficient environmental concerns. However, apart from the abstract debate, the role of religions in behaviour-change policies is yet to be studied.

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Appendix A





Department of Geography Research Ethics Screening Form King's College London

Please Note: Filling out this *Geography Research Ethics Screening Form* does NOT constitute *College Ethics Approval*.

This *Geography Research Ethics Screening Form* will help you to determine if you must submit a *College Research Ethics Application* to the *College Research Ethics Committees* before starting your research, under the guidelines for working with human participants set out by the Social Sciences, Humanities & Law Research Ethics Sub-Committee (SSH/RESC), and the Geography, Gerontology and Social Care Workforce Research Unit Panel (GGS/REP).

In order to complete this process, please

- (a) Familiarise yourself with the professional research ethics guidelines of *The British Sociological Association*: <http://www.britisoc.co.uk/equality/> (Statement of Ethical Practice)
- (b) Read "Which kinds of research require ethical approval through the KCL Research Ethics Committees?" (p. 2 of this form).
- (c) Answer the questions in Table 1 below, sign the form and also obtain the signature of your supervisor.
- (d) Return the signed (by both you and your supervisor) *Geography Ethics Screening form* to the Geography Department office and KEEP A COPY which you will place in Appendix 1 of your IGS/dissertation.
- (e) If ethics approval is needed (answering 'yes' to question 2 in Table 1), you must apply for college ethics approval through the appropriate *College Research Ethics* committee, and **not start ANY research** (including preliminary 'trials') until ethics approval has been granted in writing.

Table 1. Department of Geography Research Ethics Screening Questions.

1) Have you read and familiarised yourself with the professional research guidelines of <i>The British Sociological Association</i> ?	Y Yes L No
2) Does your research "involve human participants" and/or "raise other ethical issues with potential social or environmental implications"?	Y Yes L No

If you answered 'No' to question two, you do not need to submit your research for ethical review. If you answered 'Yes' to question two, please use the flowchart on <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/ahum/index.aspx> to establish your risk level and where you need to apply (see Table 2).

Table 2. Three levels of risk for project types, and how to obtain College Research Ethics clearance.

Project type	How to submit?
Low risk:	Can be reviewed using an on-line process. The process includes guidelines and prompts to help ensure your project is low-risk: http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/lowrisk/index.aspx
Moderate risk:	Should be submitted to the Geography, Gerontology and Social Care Workforce Research Unit Panel (GGS/REP): http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/apply.aspx
Uncertain risk:	
High risk:	Should be submitted to the Social Sciences, Humanities and Law Research Ethics Sub-Committee (SSH/RESC): http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/committees/ssh/highrisk.aspx

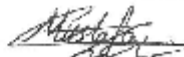
In all cases, even if 'no' risk, you **MUST** sign and return this *Geography Research Ethics Screening Form* to be kept on file with the Department Office, and if an Undergraduate or Masters student, submit a copy of this at the end (as part of Appendix 1) of your IGS or Dissertation. In cases where there is low, moderate or high ethics risk, you **MUST** complete the *College Research Ethics Application* at least one month before you intend to start your research and obtain written approval from them **BEFORE** carrying out any research.

Carrying out research without ethical approval by the College Ethics Committee may result in a charge under misconduct regulations as "action that deviates from accepted institutional, professional, academic or ethical standards will be regarded as misconduct and an infringement of these regulations" "Academic regulations, Regulations concerning students & General regulations" B3 – 1.1, King's College London. You should note that your research will not be covered by the College's insurance until you have completed the College ethical review process. This means that unless you receive ethical approval for your research, if a participant makes a legal claim regarding the research, then you would be personally liable. It is **your responsibility** to submit your research for *College Ethical Review* in good time to carry out any research.

Provisional IGS/dissertation title: Environment, Religion and Food Waste: A Comparative Case Study on Public Policies

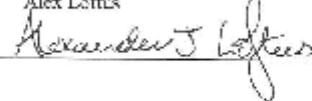
Student Name: Mustafa Salih Özet

Student Card No: 1348787

Student Signature: 

Date: 19.03.2014

Supervisor Name: Alex Loftus

Supervisor Signature: 

Date: 20/3/2014

3 RISK ASSESSMENT FORM AND ASSOCIATED DOCUMENTATION

After reading through ALL risk categories, please select RISK TYPE A or B below.

RISK TYPE A

You are only eligible for RISK TYPE A if all of the following are true:

- Your work takes place within college premises or home or within organizations/premises that have their own clear risk assessment in place.
- Your work involves ONLY library/archival data or existing on-line/other data.
- Your work WILL NOT expose you to risks greater than in everyday life.

DECLARATION: I have considered ALL categories in this form and I declare that I am undertaking a student project/dissertation where: a) NONE of my research will be outside of college premises or home or organizations/premises that have their own clear risk assessment in place; and b) it does not involve ANY of the risks identified in ANY of the categories of this risk assessment form. Should my research project change, such that there are new risks involved, then it is my responsibility to resubmit this form after completing an assessment for Risk Type B.

SIGNATURES OF PERSON FILLING IN A RISK ASSESSMENT AND COUNTERSIGNATURE

A. Person filling in this risk assessment

Name (Typed or printed in BLOCK letters):

Signature:

Date:

B. Countersignature and date

(Students – Research Supervisor; Research Staff – Project Leader; Academic Staff – Head of Department)

Name (Typed or printed in BLOCK letters):

Signature:

Date:

Print this page in triplicate; the three copies signed and countersigned, and lodged with:

- (1) Your supervisor.
- (2) The Department Office.
- (3) One for retention by yourself.

For UGT and PGT students, this signatures page of your risk assessment must be included in Appendix 1 of your dissertation.

RISK TYPE B

Fill out THIS PAGE and ALL OTHER PAGES in this form.

DECLARATION: I have considered ALL categories in this form and have indicated which risks apply to me that are greater than in everyday life and normal activities (writing yes/no for every section). Where I have answered 'yes' then I have also indicated the degree of risk from 1-5 (1=low, 5=high) and, where appropriate, added notes or comments relating to the level of risk. I have identified and added any additional risks not explicitly covered by this form in the final section.

SIGNATURES OF PERSON FILLING IN A RISK ASSESSMENT AND COUNTERSIGNATURE

A. Person filling in this risk assessment

Name (Typed or printed in BLOCK letters): MUSTAFA SAJJAD WAZI

Signature:

Date: 07/05/2014

B. Countersignature and date

(Students – Research Supervisor; Research Staff – Project Leader; Academic Staff – Head of Department)

Name (Typed or printed in BLOCK letters): ALEX COTTON

Signature:

Date: 07/05/2014

All pages in this form should be printed in triplicate; the three copies signed and countersigned, and lodged with:

- (1) Your supervisor.
- (2) The Department Office.
- (3) One for retention by yourself before fieldwork commences.

For UGT and PGT students, this signatures page of your risk assessment must be included in Appendix 1 of your dissertation.

For work outside of the UK, please do not forget to obtain insurance in accordance with College regulations (application form <https://internal.kcl.ac.uk/about/ps/finance/treasurers/insurance.aspx>).

Research Ethics Office
King's College London
Rm 5.2 FWB (Waterloo Bridge Wing)
Stamford Street
London
SE1 9NH

8 April 2014

TO: Mustafa Salih Özet

SUBJECT: Approval of ethics application

Dear Mustafa Salih,

KCL/13/14-287 – Environment, Religion and Food Waste: A Comparative Case Study on Public Policies

I am pleased to inform you that full approval for your project has been granted by the **GSSHM** Research Ethics Panel. Any specific conditions of approval are laid out at the end of this letter which should be followed in addition to the standard terms and conditions of approval, to be overseen by your Supervisor:

- Ethical approval is granted for a period of **one year** from **8 April 2014**. You will not receive a reminder that your approval is about to lapse so it is your responsibility to apply for an extension prior to the project lapsing if you need one (see below for instructions).
- You should report any untoward events or unforeseen ethical problems arising from the project to the panel Chairman within a week of the occurrence. Information about the panel may be accessed at:
<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/committees/sshl/rep/index.aspx>
- If you wish to change your project or request an extension of approval, please complete the Modification Proforma. A signed hard copy of this should be submitted to the Research Ethics Office, along with an electronic version to crec-lowrisk@kcl.ac.uk. Please be sure to quote your low risk reference number on all correspondence. Details of how to fill a modification request can be found at:
<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/modifications.aspx>
- All research should be conducted in accordance with the King's College London *Guidelines on Good Practice in Academic Research* available at:
<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/iop/research/office/help/Assets/good20practice20Sept200920FINAL.pdf>

If you require signed confirmation of your approval please email crec-lowrisk@kcl.ac.uk indicating why it is required and the address you would like it to be sent to.

Please would you also note that we may, for the purposes of audit, contact you from time to time to ascertain the status of your research.

We wish you every success with this work.

With best wishes

Appendix B

Participant Acronym	Number of the Interview	Name	Role in the Campaign
P1	Int.1	Muhammed Akbaba	Campaign Coordinator
P2	Int.2	Mustafa Bahar	Head of the Department Managing the Campaign
P3	Int.3	Ayşin Şenses	Head of PR
P4	Int.4	Hamit Dayanır	Campaign Coordinator
P5	Int.5	Bayram Demirtaş	Official at the Presidency of Religious Affairs who Manages the Communication with the DWYB Campaign
P6	Int.6	Lütfiye Gülay Bilgin	Preacher at Çankaya of of Mufti who Prepared an Extensive Brochure for the DWYB Campaign
P7	Int.7	Anonymous	-
P8	Int.8	Anonymous	-
P9	-	Steve Creed	Director at WRAP
P10	-	Estelle Herszenhorn	Head of Food and Drink Programme at WRAP
P11	-	Anonuyous	-

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

REC Reference Number: KCL/13/14-287



YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Environment, Religion and Food Waste: A Comparative Case Study on Public Policies

I am a student researcher at King's College London, MA Environment, Politics and Globalisation. I would like to interview with you for my research on public policies on food waste and the role of religion. You should accept only if you want to; choosing not to share your opinion/knowledge will not have a negative result for you in any ways. Please read the following parts carefully before making the decision and feel free to ask me if anything is not clear or you would like more information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The aim of the study is to find out the role religion plays in formulating public policy interventions concerning food waste. So far, economic aspect and environmental aspect to a lesser extent of food waste has seen to be influential on people. The results of this study would provide us with the adequate information to rethink religion's role in environmental policies. Given the Earth's limited capacity to supply resources and the climate change; this is a much needed improvement.

Why have I been invited to take part?

I am interviewing with key personnel taking charge in the making and implementation of public policies on food waste.

Do I have to take part?

Participation is voluntary. You do not have to take part. You should read this information sheet and if you have any questions you should ask the researcher.

What will happen to me if I take part?

In this study you will be asked questions related to government's policies to reduce food waste. You will read this information sheet and be asked to sign a consent form first. Then we will arrange a meeting to have an interview at a time convenient for you. The interview will take approximately half an hour. With your permission, the interview will be recorded and these recordings will be deleted after transcription. You are free to terminate the interview at any time and withdraw any data you have provided thus far without stating any reason.

What are the possible risks of taking part?

There is no known risk for you in this study. Your main loss will be the time you donate for the interview. It is possible that you may find some of the questions concerning your beliefs too personal. In that case you can cease the interview at any time without stating any reasons.

Will my taking part be kept confidential?

The collected data contain information about your identity and the institution you work for. I will not reveal the names of any participants. However, the name of the institutions you work for or the projects that you take part in may be linked to your identity. The data you provided will be held securely until the research is finished. You are free to withdraw your data from the research until 15.08.2014 which is two weeks before the date it will be submitted.

The UK Data Protection Act 1998 will apply to all information gathered within the interviews and held on password-locked computer files and locked cabinets within King's College London. No data will be accessed by anyone other than me.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The study will be submitted to King's College London as a master's dissertation. It will be published on the KCL's website.

Who should I contact for further information?

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact me using the following contact details:

Mustafa Salih Özet
Department of Geography
King's College London
Strand Campus
London
WC2R 2LS
mustafa_salih.ozet@kcl.ac.uk

What if I have further questions, or if something goes wrong?

If this study has harmed you in any way or if you wish to make a complaint about the conduct of the study you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information:

Dr Alex Loftus
Senior Lecturer
Email: alex.loftus@kcl.ac.uk
Tel: +44 (0)20 7848 7159
Department of Geography
King's College London
K7.36 Strand Campus
London WC2R 2LS

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering taking part in this research.

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.



Title of Study: Environment, Religion and Food Waste: A Comparative Case Study on Public Policies
King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref:

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each box I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes mean that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element I may be deemed ineligible for the study.

Please tick

☐

Please tick

1. ***I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated [08.04.2014: 2] for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and asked questions which have been answered satisfactorily.**
2. ***I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to [15.08.2014]**
3. ***I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the UK Data Protection Act 1998.**
4. ***I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the College for monitoring and audit purposes.**

☐☐☐☐

5. Anonymity is optional for this research. Please select from the following 3 options:

a. I agree to be fully identified

☐

b. I agree to be partially identified

☐

Your name will not appear anywhere in the study. However, other personal information such as your age, occupation and the institution you work for will be visible.

c. I wish to remain anonymous

☐

6. I agree to be contacted in the future by King's College London researchers who would like to invite me to participate in follow up studies to this project, or in future studies of a similar nature.

☐

7. I agree that the research team may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would/would not be identifiable in any report).

☐

8. I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I wish to receive a copy of it.

☐

9. I consent to my interview being audio/video recorded.

☐

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Interview Question Guide

Q1.What is your role in this campaign?

Q2.What is your personal purpose in working to prevent food waste?

Q3.How did the campaign initiate? What was the driving factor?

Q4.What do you think is the most important aspect of food waste? Is it the economic aspect? Is it the environment? Or else?

Q5.Which aspect of food waste do you think is the most important for the general public?

Q6.Which aspect of food waste are you emphasising in your campaign? Why?

Q7.Has the campaign been successful so far?

- a. What changes would make it more successful? How can the campaign be improved?

Q8.Do you think that religion has played a role in the making or the execution of this policy?

- a. If yes, how?
- b. If no, do you think that religion can actually play a role?

Q9.Do you think that your campaign can have an international influence?

Sample Transcripts of Interviews - Interview 3

- ❖ Thank you. First of all; could you briefly give information on your campaign called “Don’t Waste Your Bread”?

Actually, the full name is “Preventing Bread Waste Campaign”. The campaign had been initialized by Turkish Grain Board (TMO) after the evaluation of statistics and public surveys done during years 2008, 2012 and 2013. The decision of such a campaign was decided after seeing the increasing gap between numbers acquired in 2008 and 2012.

There are excessive number of people suffering from severe hunger; too many people in lack of nutrition. Therefore, it turned out to be impossible not to initialize such a social responsibility project.

- ❖ What is the particular your particular role within the campaign?

I am working on communicating the campaign with the outside world. I am the Press & PR officer of the Turkish Grain Board, therefore, rather than dealing with the duties and responsibilities that should be carried within our institution, I introduce the campaign to the public via symposiums, meetings, media tools etc.

- ❖ Then, you should be the one who is mostly in touch with the public?

Yes, I am the one who carries all information outside to people. Not only within the campaign, but also the organizations done within the institution including press conferences, symposiums, lectures and all the other events are organized by me.

- ❖ Ok, but do you believe ‘Don’t Waste Your Bread’ campaign is enough or is there a need of other campaigns related with food waste in general?

The original aim of this campaign was to draw attention to food waste by pointing out bread waste; since bread is a significant value for the Turkish society. We see bread as “blessed”. For instance, if we see a slice of bread on the floor, we “bless it’s lucky stars” and put it somewhere high. We swear on bread, treat it holy. Therefore, if we had started the campaign by remarking food waste in general, we would not be able to gather the same attention of people. However, I would of course support the idea of working on new social responsibility projects regarding waste; not only in Turkey but all around the world.

- ❖ Which striking dimension of waste did you used the most while communicating the campaign with the public? Was it an issue of economics, ethics or sacredness of bread itself?

The answer of your question changes in line with the situation you are in. It is possible that we evaluate the campaign from a perspective encapsulating ethics if we are in a meeting held by women or if we are in a press conference. On the other hand, you gather attention around the sacredness of bread if you are mentioning about the campaign in a mosque at a Friday Sermon. With academicians environmental and economic dimensions are discussed. Or while presenting the campaign at schools to children, we emphasize the great effort endeavoured during production. Namely, we tried to cover all dimensions including the religious, social, economic, environmental etc. We evaluated all with various perspectives in different platforms.

- ❖ The billboards and banners you have published mostly give messages related with the Turkish economy. Do you believe that this is the most significant dimension the public attaches importance to?

No, let me put it this way... When we first started our journey, we realized that the numbers are not very catchy for the public. In one of our posters for instance, we gave economic statistical numbers and stated; “542.000 tons of wheat is wasted with the bread you throw away in a year”. After observing the reactions, it was realized that it is catchier if we say “500 schools or 500 km of roads could be constructed with the wasted bread you throw away”. With such an attitude, people tend to think and elaborate on the issue by saying; “Oh, we need more schools, airports, hospitals in Turkey and if I do not waste than contributions to both my country’s economy and my own budget would make life easier”.

- ❖ Which dimension do you believe is the most important one?

I have too many different duties related with the campaign. There are various numbers of dimensions I have to deal with, I have presented the campaign in many different places over and over again etc. So after a while you start to internalize the results of the campaign. I always mean “my institution and my department” when I use the words “me” or “I”.

For such reasons, I am very sensitive on and influenced by the examples given about bread waste including; “1200 tons of water is used for making 1 kg of bread”. I always have to keep in mind that wasted bread cause an increase in greenhouse gas emission. Mouldy bread used in feeding animals effect their health for instance. These are all heart-breaking, harrowing dimensions of the situation.

- ❖ The campaign is still ongoing. Do you have any plans of changing the messages you give within the context of your campaign? Or any developments?

We are neither a civil society organization nor a private company. We are a public institution after all. Therefore our capabilities are not limitless. The activity is in correlation with our executives. Can we sustain the campaign? Of course we could but there is never a final aim in reducing the waste. However, sometimes things become a part of government policy. You are told when to stop or warned when to slow down. On the other hand, developments are always possible; so many dimensions could be added: the international dimension for example.

- ❖ Does this mean you would like the project to become international?

Of course; actually a part of the project already became international, but I am not sure if you are interested in those manners or not.

- ❖ Sure, you may explain anything you believe that is convenient.

Maybe you have heard of it or I might have spoken about it before, I am not sure; however Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations used our campaign as a sample. They presented Don’t Waste Your Bread project as the most extensive campaign accomplished by a public institution’s initiative and showed our campaign as an example to other countries from all around the world. Between 1 to 4 April, a meeting in Romania held by FAO on waste and we were invited. We explained 50 ministers from different countries

what we do about problems of waste. We encountered compliments and positive responds. I believe at this point, we obtained favourable outcomes in the wake of international approaches we are planning to realize.

- ❖ Other than this, are there any other countries preparing such campaigns in inspiration of yours?

I do not know. There aren't any I've heard of. However, there are many countries who make good compliments on our campaign and raise the point that they should also do something similar with the problems they encounter about waste too. On one hand there are people suffering from hunger, and on the other hand you have countries fighting with obesity correlated with food waste. Fighting with obesity gives good contribution to a country's economy and if we look at it from a different aspect; the government needs to increase its expenses on health to resolve such problems.

- ❖ We spoke about religious manners used during the campaign while trying to reach people. Do you approve this? Was it successful? How did it affect the project?

Of course. We attend some programs including women shows, cooking shows, conversation groups etc. People who attend these kinds of TV programs contribute either by phone, text messages or mails and religious manners are mostly touched upon. We mostly encounter with discourses and reactions involving "What a pity!", "Isn't it a sin?", "It is a sin to throw away bread" or "Bread is blessed". The results about effectiveness increase in high correlation when religious manners are used although I am not very sure about the sustenance in line with waste in religion.

Let me speak of my personal opinion: ok, bread is a significant value and something precious and sacred in the eyes of our society. However, in my opinion, this chair is just as important as the bread since it also has a long production course needing labour force; for both, effort is put and there is an economic process. Everything we consume is precious, even a small pencil has an economic value. That is to say, the sin committed is the same with everything we waste. Therefore, can we say that the religious and humanitarian dimensions are one within the other?

Certainly. We as a Muslim society evaluate the issue from such a perspective, but for example bread with wine is an important value of Christian societies too. I am sure every religion has discourses disapproving waste. Religion increases the effects, but it is of course intertwined with humanitarian dimensions of the issue.

- ❖ As far as I have observed, you do not put any emphasis on environmental effects while trying to reach the public. What is the reason behind it?

Actually no, we do put emphasis on the environmental outcomes as much as we can since we don't have any solid data in our hand about such manners. As I have mentioned before, water waste, greenhouse gas emission rates, and fertile soil loss are also subjects of our campaign. However, there aren't enough researches for us to use on the subject with given statistical information. Therefore yes, we may say environmental manners are emphasized less in our campaign.

Interview 6

- Thanks again for accepting to do this interview.

It's my pleasure Mr. Mustafa

- Could you briefly introduce yourself please?

I graduated from the Faculty of Theology of Ankara University. I did my masters and PhD in the same faculty of the same university. During my PhD, I studied the effects of stemcell researches on theology and ethics. I worked at the Ministry of National Education for a long period of time and now I am a preacher at the Çankaya Office of Mufti.

- What was your purpose lying behind preparing this brochure in partnership of the Turkish Grain Board? What are your contributions to the 'Don't Waste Your Bread' Campaign?

Let me put it this way... Waste of food had always been a crucial problem. Even before the brochure, we had always given importance to this subject both within the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs and also in our preaches. But of course, campaigns related with the issue were organized by state institutions in cooperation with the prime ministry. Then we started to brainstorm on how we, as the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs, could contribute in such campaigns. After we had communicated with other institutions, we were informed that the statistical data and the negative effects of food waste around the world were not as persuasive as religious sanctions. Concepts such as the good deed or sin are much more influential terms in convincing people. Frankly speaking, we are undertaking the responsibility of using such influences of religion on people in order to reduce food waste. We wanted to analyse the sanction of religion on people about this issue. It really has huge effects on people. Because what we do is not only telling people not to waste their bread but also explaining them the religious perspectives on this issue, what does the Qur'an say about it, how did the Prophet Muhammed live without wasting etc. After speaking these kinds of issues with people, the practicability of the related subject increases.

- Okay, but do you believe –when compared with the economic or other dimensions under the campaign- the religious dimension is really more influential on the society?

My personal idea is that: statistical data like 'X number of people could be saved from starving to death if you hadn't wasted Y number of breads in a year' are of course influential on people. However, when the religious dimension is combined, that enforcing power I have mentioned earlier makes the campaign extra operative. Such a feeling arises in people: 'yes, I have the economic power to live such a way and this is my property and correspondently I have the right to spend my money however I want to'. This is what the system we live in imposes us; the religion commands. Therefore the following saying is pretty substantive at this point: Capitalism says poverty is something global; in contrast religion says livelihood is global. There is distinct division in between these two. Evaluating poverty as something global seems like a normal thing to do; people automatically think that there may be people

starving in Africa or other 3rd world countries. However, when you argue that livelihood, sustenance of human beings is and should be what is global, people start to think about not wasting their bread, believing the bread you are wasting is actually the right of those people dying of poverty. That feeling is transferred to people easier via religion. This is or logic in this campaign and I observe that it is quite effective.

- Than it seems like religious and humanitarian scopes are intertwined with each other; the message of “there are people suffering hunger in Africa; but you are wasting what they need” is given by using religion, isn’t it?

Yes, not only using statistical data or giving information about the state economy, but also arising the feeling of empathy within people. Empathy grows attention towards statistical data and economic dimensions. That empathy is the primary focus that should be leaned on. Because religion has an answer about people thinking about Africa as a continent far away and seeing the right not to care about those people in them. Religion says “He is not a Muslim who goes to bed satiated while his neighbour goes hungry” There are children out there, lives, people... When you individualize the issue, it gets easier to feel the real aim and make everything more applicable.

- In your brochure for instance, you touch upon the environmental dimensions of waste; there are messages about recycling etc. What is the relationship between environment and religion according to you? What is the relationship between environment and this campaign?

Our religion gifts us the relationship between us and Allah. You as a human being worship God, pray and do whatever you can do. But there is also a relation between human beings with other human beings. According to our religion, this is also something very important. Our religion gives so much significance to ‘Rightful Share’. Your relationship with Allah does not end after you do all your prayers, fast etc. You should also be good with the environment. You should keep the environment clean, you shouldn’t pollute the air, you shouldn’t harm it etc. For example, Allah says “if you have the time, be certain to plant a tree, even if Doomsday starts to break forth.” This is something incredible. All Muslims should be environmentally conscious. Harming your relations with other human beings, trees, and animals also harms your relation with Allah too. A good Muslim knows he should be environmentally-conscious; because God will test us on this. A Muslim should be conscious to everything around him/her. Because we love the created because of the creator. We see god in every single tree, green, animal; all are created by God just like human beings. We as Muslims have a great responsibility towards the environment. This is something that is ignored a lot. Focusing on just the relationship between Allah and the individual is not being a complete Muslim. Think of it as a compact program. When you ignore one side a problem occurs at the other. Therefore, the concept of waste was evaluated in a very general sense in the brochure. Waste of the environment, food, time, life, bread etc.; all are included.

- There is also clothing waste for instance.

Every single unused clothing in our wardrobes is equivalent to robbery in our religion. Reality is that; every food that is left rotting in the fridge and those we throw away are a seizure of the needs of those who are suffering from hunger.

- Then, do you think that this ‘Don’t Waste Your Bread’ Campaign is insufficient? Is there a need of policies focusing on food waste in general?

I think of this campaign as a starting point. Bread is a sustenance we consume the most. In our society bread is a must in all our meals. Compared with Europe for instance, we consume much more bread in our country; therefore we waste much more. But, is dealing only with bread waste enough? Of course not; but it is an important issue to begin with. Bread has a special place in our culture. For example, if we see bread on the floor, we kiss it and put it somewhere high and we let the birds come eat it. Bread is a blessed food in our culture, but we are starting to lose this awareness. We start to observe people throwing away bags of full of bread. They argue that animals are taking advantage of the thrown away bread, but I do not think so... I have never seen a dog or a cat out in the streets eating thrown away bread. People are using animals as a defence tool. This is not correct. It seems like respect to the blessed is something that is fading away.

- Giving away food which is edible by human beings is a type of waste too.

Correct, really. We should not buy more than we need. Even if they did buy, is it our mothers who know how to take care of the left away food? According to a saying of a well-known religious scholar, it is believed that the devil enters houses from the kitchen. If food is wasted in a kitchen, abundance leaves the house. People usually complain about financial difficulties. But, if we be more careful about not wasting, we would make a considerable amount of contribution not only to our own financial budgets, but also to our country’s economy.

- What else could be done to improve this campaign? What could be done to communicate with the people in a better way? How could more effective messages conveyed to the society?

Let me explain you our plans then. What are we going to do in the future? The role of women in this issue is very crucial: let’s face it, the boss is women in the kitchen. Yes, families should become conscious, but women becoming more self-aware is more important at this point. Classes intended to teach Qur’an to women are starting at September. We will be explaining them about the content of this campaign in detail. They will both be informed on the economic and humanitarian dimensions of food waste. Officials from state institutions will join us by visiting the participants of the classes personally. Recycling of bread will be discussed, recipes will be shared. TMO for instance is pursuing a great work on this issue. How can we recycle staled bread? For example, we are planning to organize a competition. Women will cook different recipes made with staled bread and winners will be awarded. This is a way of raising awareness. PSAs are being broadcasted on this issue. What we watch on the TV sometimes just stays in the TV. However, we need to visualize the significance of the issue and keep it on the everyday agenda of families. For example, there are Friday Preaches

at which we get the chance to communicate a large mass of people at once. Frameworks of preaches could be built around food and especially bread waste. In my opinion, we raise awareness maybe not in all but most of the people this way. This is my personal idea.

- A last question... Maybe it is out of your area of specialization but; there are Muslim countries around us just like us and there haven't been such campaign out there since now. Actually Turkey is the first promoter of the issue. Can Turkey be the pioneer of such campaigns within the region?

There is a mentality that believes one can change nothing by him/herself. I hear this from the women around. They tell me that what would change if they themselves get conscious about the issue? Our religion in this sense orders us this: as an individual, if I should take care of all my responsibilities, a domino effect occurs. Of course Turkey is not the only country who wastes. But when we are aware of the countries suffering hunger, we know that there is a great responsibility on us. Because the Qur'an says "Oh men of God, become brothers!" This is a very clear order. How could a human being sleep in comfort when their neighbour is hungry? We have a religion that says "He is not a Muslim who goes to bed satiated while his neighbour goes hungry". When we put all this on top of each other, I believe Turkey's role on this issue is quite effective in raising awareness on the subject. I do not know how the effects of this campaign will be in other countries, but we should do our best. I, as an individual did my best. Because we are beings who believe in an afterlife. When we stand up before Allah in the afterlife, we should be able to say 'I did my best'. We are responsible both from ourselves and for the ones around us. If so, I know the effects of it will lead way to its reflections around us.

- Do you have anything to add?

I would like to add: Allah orders us "Beautify yourselves for every act of worship, and eat and drink [freely], but do not waste: verily, He does not love the wasteful!" The Qur'an itself defines waste (israf) . In the Surah of Isra it says: "And do not make your hand [as] chained to your neck or extend it completely and [thereby] become blamed and insolvent." Meaning, do not be penny pincher (chaining hands around the neck is interpreted as being a penny pincher), but also don't be extravagant and waste. God is happy to see us utilise what he has created. Do not waste does not mean that Muslims have to be ragged and shaggy; there isn't such a thing. But we have to consider others while using the blessing he has gifted us. If we manage to sustain this balance and if we succeed to become conscious about the subject as individuals, we won't need much PSAs (Public Service Advertisements), brochures etc. Because by then, I will know what I should and should not do. I will know that I should in such a way because my religion requires it.

- Thank you.

Interview 7

1. What is your role in this campaign?

I am a waste prevention officer

2. Why do you work on food waste?

My Job requires me to reduce the amount of waste that is thrown away from households across north London. As food makes up a large percentage of what ends up in the waste stream

3. What do you think is the most important aspect of food waste? Is it the economic aspect? Is it the environment? Or else?

The environment I think is the biggest factor as, as our population increases land for growing food on becomes increasingly under pressure. We must use the land efficiently. At a household level economically speaking cost is the most important factor as the price of food rises, household budgets need to be leaner and better managed

4. Which aspect of food waste are you emphasising in you campaign? Why?

Both environmental and economic. Our presentation that we give to community groups focuses on

5. Has the campaign been successful so far?

Yes we have good results from our feedback surveys and often people stop by our events to tell us how useful the tools have been in cutting their food waste

- a. What changes would make it more successful?

A bigger impact on peoples thought process and values, more resources for bigger and more thought provoking events

6. Do you think that religion has played a role in the making or execution of this campaign?

We speak to community groups that often are formed by a religious connection. Islamic groups sometimes disregard our messages as they claim not to waste any food because it is a sin in the Muslim religion. Religion can play a role only as a way of targeting large numbers of people and instilling thrifty values.

Interview 8

Q1.What is your role in this campaign?

I head up the Love Food Hate Waste campaign and have been involved since it was started back in 2007

Q2.What is your personal purpose in working to prevent food waste?

I believe wholly in what we are trying to do with LFHW and am personally committed to this campaign. If I didn't work for it I would promote it (as I do currently) in my spare time

Q3.How did the campaign initiate? What was the driving factor?

We carried out the ground-breaking The Food We Waste research in 2007 looking at what the UK household is wasting – that showed us that we needed to take action

Q4.What do you think is the most important aspect of food waste? Is it the economic aspect? Is it the environment? Or else?

It's all of it – the economic (for households as well as local authorities for disposal costs), as well as environmental (resources and Co2e) and social (food poverty, time taken to grow the food we waste), food security

Q5.Which aspect of food waste do you think is the most important for the general public?

It depends on the individual. For some it's the money, for others the environment etc. From our research we know that money is the over-riding motivator and the others come below that

Q6.Which aspect of food waste are you emphasising in your campaign? Why?

Money as the hook but then talking to people about the other aspects once we have them engaged

Q7.Has the campaign been successful so far?

Evidence based, independent, positive and working direct and through a range of partners. It helps people where they are in their lives not where others think they should be

- a. What changes would make it more successful? How can the campaign be improved?

More resources! More people would make the world of difference

Q8.Do you think that religion has played a role in the making or the execution of this policy?

We work with a range of partners, including faith based organisations, who tailor the campaign to their members. In that way yes.

Q9.Do you think that your campaign can have an international influence?

It already does – the campaign is licensed internationally and we work internationally on food waste providing expertise and advice.