

# Food insecurity in Amsterdam Noord: experiences of infrastructural violence in an urban food environment

## Codebook

Theme	Subtheme	Description	Example
<b>Food insecurity outcomes</b>	Hunger	The experience of lacking sufficient food to meet dietary needs	“And then the children came in and the first thing they said was like ‘are we going to eat a toasted sandwich?’ And my colleague always said ‘yeah but we’re not going to eat a toasted sandwich every week’. And then they stopped [asking], but then she said ‘or are you hungry?’. Well, they just hadn’t eaten yet. So they came to the walk-in to first eat a toasted sandwich and then to talk to each other”
	Unhealthy diets	The experience of eating low-nutrient and/or processed foods due to limited access to healthier options	“Everything that is made in a factory is much cheaper than all that fresh and healthy food, so if you have less in terms of finances then you will go for eeh... well one plus one is two. You just have to put something on the table. You get more salt, more sweet things, all the E-numbers, everything there is. You just have to eat that, and of course it is also easy, and cheap”
	Shame/stigma	Feelings of embarrassment of judgement associated with living with food insecurity	“A lot of the time people are not aware of the benefits they are eligible to receive, and have a right to, so that they stay in a poverty spiral ... and a lot of the times that is because they are ashamed to go to social services”
	Stress	Anxiety and feelings of pressure caused and/or exacerbated by food insecurity	“Stress just causes so many health issues, like stress is bad for your body, that is just determined by hormones ... you’re only worrying about next week ... and then you have children and you just don’t have money again and they want things ... and if you’re hungry you just put something in your mouth, whatever you can find”
	Mental health	General descriptions of (intersecting) mental health issues or challenges related to living with food insecurity	“If you don’t have any energy, because you’re constantly thinking about a lot of other things, then you don’t have the energy to think of solutions ... and if you feel depressed or lonely, then that is what happens”
<b>Food retail</b>	Unhealthy food prevalence	The dominance of unhealthy and processed food options in retail food environments	“There is just a lot more unhealthy food on offer”
	Food prices	The affordability of food, particularly that of healthy (fresh, nutritious) options	“because of costs you are forced to buy more processed foods, you know, if you get tomatoes and an onion and paprika to make pasta sauce, well sorry but that pot [of sauce] is just a lot cheaper”
	Supermarkets	The role of supermarkets in shaping access to healthy and affordable food	“It is a fact that food in the supermarket, it is organized, it is presented like... it is made difficult all around to make a healthy choice”
<b>Urban development</b>	(Re)developments	Urban renewal and gentrification processes that can affect housing prices and shape urban (food) environments in <i>Noord</i>	“So then there are new houses being built but do current residents really profit from that? And there is relatively a lot of social housing in <i>Noord</i> but that also means that there is a relatively high amount of social housing that is being sold by housing corporations”

	Social exclusion	The exclusion of certain communities in <i>Noord</i> as a result of (re)developments	"Since 2015 I see myself that <i>Noord</i> is gentrifying. On the basis of financial situations there is a lot of social exclusion ... with hospitality or recreation that belongs to the middle class, but that is just not accessible to socially lower classes in <i>Noord</i> "
	Urban housing policies	The way in which urban and housing developments are designed, mandated and/or implemented by the municipality	"Within the social policy domain there is just always a lot of scarcity compared to urban development and sustainability ... in <i>Noord</i> there was just always something happening, but we [planners] always had a clear course now you see that happening in <i>Noord</i> "
<b>Welfare</b>	Formal food bank does not address food insecurity	The formal food bank, affiliated with the municipality, was not able to address food insecurity needs in <i>Noord</i> since COVID0-19	"Since Covid food insecurity has become a lot more visible. It was already there I think. But also it taught me that there is really large group that we [formal food bank] were not able to reach. That also consciously decided to not go to us. So as accessible as I thought we were, we weren't"
	Social services under resourced	Limited staff, resources and time for social welfare organisations that creates pressure on social and community workers	"As social worker you have to know so much ... you have to be very skilled in the work you do and ... I am not always sure whether their education or experience matches that and ... that it the fault of this [welfare] system and how we built that"
	Welfare system responds slowly to food insecurity	Government and/or municipal responses to food insecurity and related issues are too slow to keep up with their rise	"... there are towering high waiting lists, if you're talking about politics, and those are not solved"
	People distrust institutions	A lack of faith in welfare organizations in Amsterdam and/or the Dutch welfare system due to negative past experiences of experienced unjust barriers	"The fear is that you have to reimburse benefits, because you accidentally forgot to provide some form of documentation"
	Institutions distrust people	The view that welfare institutions in Amsterdam and/or the Dutch welfare system over-scrutinize or over-question people (potentially) eligible for welfare support	"Let's just increase the unemployment benefits. They are clearly not high enough for everyone. Just increase the amount of money. But they [government] just don't do that. The feeling is that people will abuse that, so it has to be kept as low as possible, so that nobody can abuse that. I am generalising a bit, but that is happening in politics, and it is a shame that it is to the detriment of an increasingly bigger group of people"
	Complexity	Bureaucratic and administrative obstacles that make it difficult for people to receive welfare benefits and/or food assistance	"I worked at the public health services of the municipality for a while. There we did research to the impact of poverty on the first thousand days of a child ... so then I looked into what you could receive, childcare benefits, this and that. It is so incredibly difficult. I studied Dutch language and Law. And I thought it was difficult. So that means that people in Amsterdam in a vulnerable position... how could they do this?"
<b>Community food banks</b>	Food distribution addressing welfare failures	Community-led charitable food banks mostly offer food assistance to people who either do not qualify for or choose not to engage with formal welfare programs and/or the formal food bank	"At some point we came to a construction, you can only qualify for an informal initiative if you have a rejection from social services that you are not eligible for the [formal] food bank"
	Sense of community	The social networks of support built around community food banks	"More just to also for a bit just have a good time together. And the bonding that then

		exists, you see that coming back during food distribution”
Autonomy and informality	The informal approach and grassroots nature of community food banks drives their attempt to stay independent from formal welfare organizations	“I am really glad that people without any kind of indication, without anything, can just walk in here, make conversation, and then I have the feeling that we can almost help them better than in all that time when I was [a social worker”
Fluctuating food supply	Inconsistent availability of food waste or funds to procure food to distribute in food parcels	“The food initiatives that distribute food, they are increasingly pressured, yes, because there is less supply, and that has to do with the fact that supermarkets are tightening their procurement”
Overburdened volunteers	Community food banks depend on volunteers who often themselves live in vulnerable positions	“I noticed that ... a part of these initiative coordinators needs support themselves, and goes to the food bank themselves, figuratively speaking”
Insecure locations and funding	Community food banks depend on temporary locations and lines of funding that are not guaranteed	“So there is just a fixed group of people ... for who there are not enough facilities ... and they can very well go to the informal initiatives and therefore you have to consider giving more space, whether that is financial or physical locations, and more acknowledgement that they [initiatives] form a very good buffer for society, but they are just in so much stress about whether they can continue ... so if you can alleviate just a fraction of that and accept that not everyone has to go to formal social services than you can create better collaboration between formal and informal ... what will make the scarcity [of resources] go away”