

PARSING THE PALATE: A MIXED METHODS ANALYSIS OF THE
U.S. FOOD ADVOCACY NETWORK

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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The U.S. food system is afflicted by a variety of social, ecological, and economic predicaments including hunger, food access inequalities, soil and water degradation, and lack of community control over food. Scholars and activists agree that in order for U.S. food movement actors to affect significant system-wide change, players must bridge a multitude of issue areas and ideological differences. Despite thorough analyses of local and regional food systems, little research has been conducted on either national level advocacy perspectives or the ties that bind and divide food advocacy coalitions. This dissertation's central research question examines how the U.S food advocacy movement works to resist the hegemonic domination of the national food system by state and corporate actors. To answer this question, this project develops a social network analysis of 71 national-level food advocacy actors, compiles web-based issue and tax data, and conducts 36 semi-structured interviews with senior food activist staff. Social movement literature and Antonio Gramsci's concepts of counter-hegemonic movements and wars of position inform the findings and reveal the national food movement's nascent propensity to unite cultural and class struggles to create significant pressure for systematic change in the U.S. food system. Additionally, this research tests existing theoretical work related to the

food advocacy network and distinctions between interest group and social movement type organizations. This dissertation reveals that despite most activists' conviction that a constellation of agri-business and state policies dominate the U.S. food system, significant network rifts, framing dilemmas, strategic conflicts, and resource complexities prevent national food activists from generating a robust challenge to hegemonic food system actors.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In June of 2014, the World Food Prize was awarded to Dr. Sanjaya Rajaram, a plant scientist whose genetically modified wheat varieties are planted in 51 countries around the world and who is credited with increasing food production and significantly reducing global hunger. The prize is awarded annually for the development and application of agricultural biotechnology to increase crop yields, resist insects and disease, and tolerate climate change. Award sponsors include the Gates Foundation, Wal-Mart, and Monsanto, DuPont, Cargill, Syngenta, and General Mills corporations and is presented at a ceremony held in the U.S. State Department.

Three months later in September 2014, the Food Sovereignty Prize was awarded to the Union of Agricultural Work Committees of Palestine and Community-to-Community Development of Bellingham, Washington. This annual prize is awarded for grassroots support of farmers, fishers, indigenous peoples and landless workers efforts to rebuild the relationship between people and the land, and food producers and those who eat. Sponsored by the Small Planet Fund, WhyHunger, the Presbyterian Hunger Program, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, and the U.S. Food Sovereignty Alliance this year's honorees were recognized at a ceremony held in Des Moines, Iowa.

The contrast between in these awards starkly illustrates two distinct visions of the U.S. food system. The former is driven by corporate and industrial players advocating private enterprise and genetic science as solutions for widespread hunger, environmental

degradation, and other food system crises. The later emphasizes public control, holistic ecosystems, and prioritizes human health over private profit (Friedmann 2005:229-267).

Harriet Friedman (2005:229-267), a prominent food systems theorist, argues that food advocacy movements are crucial players in this conflict. In the same way social movements have influenced agricultural policy throughout history, so too today's food and farming advocacy organizations and their alliances have an opportunity to determine whether national and global food policies are driven by private or public interests and if they serve human and environmental, or profit driven priorities. This dissertation examines the urgent question of how U.S. food movements are finding their voice amidst the high stakes struggle over the future of food.

Problem Statement

Most food system scholars and activists agree that the U.S. food system is broken. Abundant news reports document agricultural, environmental, and nutritional crises ranging from the depletion of water resources and overuse of synthetic pesticides, to the rising population of food insecure households and growing rate of childhood obesity. Recent research suggests a multitude of potential causes including corporate monopoly over food-production (Clapp and Fuchs 2009; Guthman 2011; McMichael 2005:265-299), global agricultural market structures (Friedmann 1987:247-258; La Via Campesina 2007:4), food access and farm-worker discrimination (Alkon and Agyeman 2011; Romm 2002:117-137; United Farm Workers 2006), and accelerating climate change (Chappell and LaValle 2009:3-26; McMichael, Powels, Butler, and Uauy 2007:1253-1263). Without changes in the U.S. food system, hunger, discrimination, and ecological crises are likely to escalate into ever greater threats to environmental stability and the health and

welfare particularly of poor and minority communities.

In response to growing systemic food and agricultural concerns, a complex of national-level advocacy organizations has emerged to campaign for changes in U.S. food and agriculture policies from a variety of system change perspectives and across a multitude of issues. Activists argue that these organizations form a food movement that has the potential to significantly influence the future of domestic food policy. However, unless these diverse organizations can find ways to bridge their manifold and sometimes conflicting perspectives on the causes and solutions to the U.S. food system crisis, there is little hope that a fractured movement can affect significant change. (Allen 2004; Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144).

Despite sustained analysis of local and regional food systems, scant research has examined the network structure or social movement dynamics among national food advocacy organizations. Food scholars and activists suggest that analysis of the food movement would provide insight into how national advocacy organizations understand the food system crisis and how it should be addressed (Morales 2011:149-176). This dissertation addresses this analytical lacuna through an in-depth examination of the structure of the U.S. national food network and the factors that influence U.S. food movement dynamics.

Sociological Contributions

Sociological theory and methods provide a particularly valuable set of tools with which to analyze the national food system. The last decade has witnessed a significant increase in the number of food and agriculture initiatives in local communities. Farmers markets, community supported agriculture endeavors, and urban gardens, once seen as quaint

projects supported by politically progressive communities have now become regular events accepted as a normal part of mainstream community life. Fast on the heels of this phenomenon, academic research has trained its vision on food studies through a variety of disciplinary lenses. Where business analysts examine food initiatives as local entrepreneurialism, social welfare advocates understand food projects as development programs. As public health workers imagine food efforts as opportunities to address community nutritional deficiencies, anthropologists approach food as artifacts that mold and are molded by cultures.

In contrast this project's sociological perspective offers two unique lenses through which to analyze the U.S. food system. First, although the previously mentioned disciplines provide interesting theoretical understandings of food projects around the U.S., Antonio Gramsci's macro-sociological concept of hegemony and a body of social movement literature provides insight into broader questions of power, organization, and strategy. Gramsci's examination of movements as one of the key forces that attempt to resist structural and cultural domination by government and capital actors provides a framework with which to more broadly understand the activities of national food advocates. Likewise, a rich diversity of social movement literature illuminates how local or regional food projects might be part of a larger food movement. Together, these theoretical perspectives allow scholars to ask questions such as: How is power allocated across the food production system? How do organizations view issues of justice? How do organizations' strategic approaches differ? And how do organizations attempt to frame their concepts in a way that creates bridges with potential partners?

Secondly, in addition to these theoretical perspectives, several sociological

methods are particularly valuable in illuminating these questions. Social network analysis provides scholars tools with which to reveal a movement's structure and understand how various organizations are connected to one another. Statistical analysis of financial, geographic, and ideological variables is used to analyze and test theorized relationships among organizations. Interview methods allow researchers to triangulate qualitative data with network and statistical findings and elaborate on dynamic movement nuances. This dissertation's application of a mixed methods sociological perspective provides fresh insight into the U.S. food advocacy movement.

Dissertation Overview

Given industrialization and the powerful presence of corporations in the U.S. food system, the question at the center of this dissertation is: How does the U.S food advocacy movement work to resist the hegemonic domination of the national food system by state and corporate actors? In the chapters that follow I will examine the development of corporate power over the U.S. food system and, more specifically, analyze how national-level organizations work to “push back” against this dominant agricultural model.

How does one ascertain the degree to which the network of national food advocacy organizations functions to resist the existing corporatized paradigm of agriculture in the U.S.? This dissertation addresses this inquiry by asking two central questions. First, what is the network structure and relational dynamics of the national food movement? An examination of this question requires both an analysis of the network relationships that exist among the various actors in the U.S. movement as well as an analysis of the characteristics of these relationships. The network's topological structure and relationship dynamics are illuminated utilizing two methods. First, a social

network analysis of 71 food actors' membership in 30 national food coalitions reveals several valuable findings including, an overall topological map of the food advocacy network, description of which organizations are most central and most peripheral, and an illumination of which organizations tend to affiliate with or distance themselves from other organizations and groups of organizations. Although this network analysis provides an important portrait of the particular relationships among organizations, additional analysis is required to address how the movement's network structure might function to resist hegemonic domination of the U.S. food system.

Sociological theories relating to homophilous relationships, social change perspectives, strategic approaches to social change, and the risk of corporate co-optation of movement organizations through the use of corporate funding suggest several robust variables that can be leveraged in conjunction with the preceding network analysis. Therefore, this project utilizes statistical analysis of agricultural issue and system change perspective data gathered through content analysis of websites and financial data collected from IRS 990 tax forms to reveal the relationship of ideology, funding sources, movement strategy, and budget choices to network structure and dynamics. Pairing this statistical analysis with an examination of network relationships reveals how various ideological, strategic, geographic, and financial variables might explain the structure of the network and the degree to which the movement is or is not making an effort to resist hegemonic domination.

This analytical approach also provides an opportunity to address three additional food system and social movement questions that are prominent among scholars. First, is there a clear distinction between interest group and social movement organization style

approaches to social change? Second, does the theoretical category of “food system change perspective” provide explanatory value for discerning the structure or dynamics in the food movement? And third, should the food justice category of organizations be considered the key constituency in discerning the future direction of the U.S. food movement? In addition to providing insight into the overarching question of whether and how the food movement is responding to hegemonic forces, this analytical approach yields insight into these three questions.

This dissertation also pursues a second line of inquiry to examine the movement’s relationship to corporate control of the national food system, namely, how do the leaders of national food movement organizations perceive the character of the U.S. food system and how the national food movement advocates for change in the system? Data collected through 36 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with senior staff of national food advocacy organizations, coalitions, and campaigns provide first-hand qualitative insight into how movement leaders view the central crises are in the food system, and how the food movement operates in response to these problems. In particular, I ask leaders to describe what they perceive to be the central problems with the food system and how should they be addressed. I also ask leaders to describe the most significant challenges facing the food movement and what can be done to strengthen their collective efforts. These conversations yield an abundance of rich data that illuminate leaders’ perceptions of who controls the food system, how power is wielded, and the structure, goals, and relational dynamics at play in the U.S. food movement.

Finally, having pursued these lines of investigation utilizing social network, statistical, and qualitative analysis, I triangulate these approaches and return to this

dissertation's overarching question in hopes of providing fresh sociological insight into how the U.S food advocacy movement works to resist the hegemonic domination of the national food system by state and corporate actors.

As I enter this project, I bring several expectations regarding leaders' perceptions of the U.S. food system, the structure of the movement and the concerns that most strongly influence the movement's internal dynamics. First, given the intensity of advocacy work and propensity of staff to focus on immediate projects at the top of their agenda rather than "big picture" work (Allen, FitzSimmons, Goodman, and Warner 2003:61-75), I expect that relatively few leaders will have spend significant time examining the broader question of hegemonic domination. Further, because of the variety of organizational concerns, those leaders who have considered deeper sources of control in the national food system, will reveal a significant diversity of opinion and little consensus concerning the "causes" of the food system's crises.

Second, in regards to the national food network's structure, I expect to find organizations clustered together around similar issue concerns. Social theories related to homophily, or the tendency of groups with similar issue concerns to affiliate with one another, suggest that organizations with similar public agenda are more likely to form relationships with other like-minded groups (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001:415-444). Therefore I expect that food organizations who are interested in, for instance, farm-labor, organics, or hunger relief, will tend to affiliate with organizations that share their concerns.

Third, I expect questions of framing and resource mobilization to be central issues for the organizations I analyze. Given the diversity of food concerns present in the U.S.,

I expect that finding ways to create a sense of unity through some degree of shared framing will be a high priority for national food organizations. Further, recognizing the enduring struggle to raise enough money to pay staff, fund outreach projects, and cover the ongoing costs of facility and operating expenses, I expect concerns over how to fund organizations to be a significant question for national food organizations.

Summary of Research Questions

Central Research Question: How does the U.S food advocacy movement work to resist the hegemonic domination of the national food system by state and corporate actors?

1. What is the network structure and relational dynamics of the national food movement?
 - A. What is the topological structure of the national food network?
 - B. What ideological, strategic, geographic, and financial variables might explain the structure of the network and the degree to which the movement is or is not making an effort to resist hegemonic domination?
 - C. Additional Questions:
 1. Is there a clear distinction between interest group and social movement organization style approaches to social change?
 2. Does the theoretical category of “food system change perspective” provide explanatory value for discerning the structure or dynamics in the food system?
 3. Should the food justice category of organizations be considered the key constituency in discerning the future direction of the U.S. food movement?
2. How do the leaders of national food movement organizations perceive the

character of the U.S. food system and how the national food movement advocates for change in the system?

- A. What are movement organizers' perceptions of the cause and solutions for the U.S. food crisis?
- B. What are the movement organizers' perceptions of the food movement's structure and dynamics?

Chapter Outline

This dissertation is composed of six chapters. Chapter I provides a brief overview of the problems facing the U.S. food system, the goals of this project, research questions, and chapter outline. In chapter II I examine the crises facing the food system ranging from nutritional and environmental threats to racial injustice and farm-labor abuses. I also introduce the theoretical foundations for this project with a consideration of Antonio Gramsci's explication of hegemonic domination, social movement and social network literature, and scholarly work related to food system analysis. Chapter III describes this project's methods related to the U.S. food advocacy network, and its gathering and analysis of statistical and interview data.

In chapter IV I present my quantitative findings with a particular focus on network relationships and the correlation of statistical variables with organization's network relationships. Chapter V describes my qualitative findings with an examination of food movement leaders' perceptions of the U.S. food system and the structure and function of the movement. In chapter VI I return to my central research questions and discuss how my findings address the questions raised there. This chapter is followed by an Appendix containing statistical regression models, illustrations of social networks

among national food advocacy organizations, and other tables detailing this project's findings.

Every year millions of Americans and nearly a billion around the world go hungry. Hundreds of millions of workers are employed throughout the food chain and trillions of dollars are spent and made acquiring food and profiting from agriculture commodity markets. As public, political, and market actors struggle over the future food system paradigm, social movements once again find themselves struggling with how to understand the crisis, frame a response, unify diverse perspectives, create alliances, and generate the resources necessary to sustain their voice. This dissertation examines the structure and dynamics of the U.S. food advocacy movement as it joins the struggle over the future of food.

CHAPTER II

CRISIS, CONTEXT, AND THEORETICAL TRADITIONS

In November of 2014 Growing Power, one of the most prominent U.S. food advocacy organizations, will hold its biannual conference in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The gathering, expected to host more than 2000 participants, illustrates both the urgency and diversity reflected in the national food movement. In addition to prominent keynote speakers such as Will Allen and Michael Pollan and more than 100 workshop leaders, conference theme tracks range from the use of aquaculture to address community hunger needs, to national food policy, from urban agriculture to growing green economies. The gathering reveals both the growing interest in food issues and the complex of intertwined food and agriculture concerns present in the U.S. food movement.

This analysis of the national food movement requires situating the actors in their contemporary and historical context as well as three intersecting theoretical traditions. In this chapter I begin by outlining several of the most significant crises facing the U.S. food system and begin to examine how food movement organizations propose responding to them. I extend this exploration by reviewing a brief history of the food movement in the U.S. and illuminate several threads that connect contemporary food movement with its antecedent events. I then turn to three traditions that provide the theoretical grounding for this project. I begin with Antonio Gramsci's macro-theoretical counter-hegemonic framework and its framing of resistance to dominating hegemonic control over political structures and civil discourse. Second, I review several central social movement traditions that inform my subsequent analysis of the national food movement. Finally, I introduce food system analysis literature that specifically addresses the hypotheses I will

examine in the following chapters. Together this review of the food crisis, the historical context, and review of theoretical traditions provide a robust foundation on which to pursue an analysis of the structure and dynamics of the national food movement.

Food Crises and Context: The Big Issues

What are the struggles facing the U.S. food system? Ubiquitous news reports parade an unending stream of food news through media sources. Rarely might a day pass without commentary related to American obesity rates, ecological impacts of fertilizer runoff, fast-food worker strikes, or a salmonella outbreak found in packaged spinach. The frequency of these reports risks both normalizing the harms caused by and the apparent instability of the American food system. The public's lack of awareness regarding the crises facing the U.S. food system is compounded by the hidden nature of abuses experienced by the food chain's laborers and the seemingly endless variety of supermarket choices. Although not intended to be exhaustive, in the following section I examine five of the main predicaments facing the U.S. food system. In each case I begin to explore how these issues are linked the broader concerns raised by food system theorists.

Food System Crises

Hunger, Nutrition and Obesity

American adults and children face a constellation of hunger, nutrition, and obesity crises. Despite humanity's ability to feed all the people on planet, more than one billion people on earth go without enough healthy and culturally appropriate food (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2009). In the United States, 17.9 million households were food insecure at some point in 2011 (an increase from 10.5 million in

2000) with a significantly higher percentage of single-parent, Black, and Hispanic households experiencing difficulty providing enough food for their families (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Andrews, and Carlson 2012). Children experiencing chronic hunger frequently experience learning challenges and are at a greater risk for emotional and behavioral issues (American Dietetic Association 2006:1467-1475). Although the U.S. Farm Bill provides a series of supports in the form of SNAP (formerly food stamps) and other safety-net programs, reductions in state and local funding, the 2008 recession, legislative changes which increased the federal poverty level (and subsequently the eligibility for aid), and political wrangling aimed at significantly reducing federal benefits illuminates the vulnerability of such programs designed to feed the nation's most vulnerable (Imhoff 2012).

In addition to increases in the percentage of hungry adults and children, Americans' nutrition has steadily decreased. Less than one percent of children and adolescents meet the minimum number of nutritional servings recommended by the U.S. Food Guide (American Dietetic Association 2006:1467-1475). Surveys report particularly inadequate iron, calcium, and fruit consumption accompanied by increased consumption of soft drinks and the discovery that french fries make up nearly 25% of children's vegetable servings (Lin, Guthrie, and Frazao 2001:8-17; Munoz, Krebs-Smith, Ballard-Barbash, and Cleveland 1997:323-329)

Paradoxically, increasing obesity rates accompany hunger and nutritional issues. Recent statistics note that one in three U.S. adults and one in six American children are obese (Kass, Hecht, Paul, and Bimbach 2014:787-795). There has been a clear increase in obesity in the last 50 years. Trend data show a "moderate growth in Body Mass Index

(BMI) since 1960, and then a marked rise in mean BMI beginning around 1980, with changes in height flattening out” (Guthman 2011; Power and Schulkin 2009). Similarly, childhood obesity has increased from 1980 to 2008 in children ages two to five from 5.0 to 10.4 percent, ages six to eleven from 6.5 to 19.6 percent, and ages twelve to nineteen from 5.0 to 19.1 percent (Ogden, Carroll, Curtin, Lamb, and Flegal 2010:242-249; Ogden, Flegal, Carroll, and Johnson 2002:1728-1732).

Authors argue that recent increased in obesity are the result of a multitude and often conflicting set of causes and proposed remedies. Recent government efforts have attempted to encourage healthier eating with mandatory food package labeling and replacing the government “food pyramid” with “MyPlate” nutritional recommendations. Michelle Obama’s “Lets Move!” campaign promotes increased exercise for children. Other approaches include polices that tax and restrict the sale of sugar-sweetened beverages in schools or prohibit the use of SNAP benefits for soft drink purchases (Kass, Hecht, Paul, and Bimbach 2014:787-795). In addition to government and legislative efforts to address obesity, private companies such as Weight Watchers, Jenny Craig and NutriSystem invest in and profit from a \$61 billion weight loss industry in the U.S. (Marketdata Enterprises Inc. 2001). Contrary to interventions that primarily target individual behavior, Guthman argues that increases of obesity have little to do with the commonly diagnosed weaknesses in personal health choices. Instead, blame should be laid at the feet of industrial agricultural policy and an emphasis on providing highly processed, cheap food supported by synthetic pesticides and growth enhancing chemicals that have changed the way bodies respond to their environments (Guthman 2011).

Addressing American's nutritional deficits and the escalating obesity epidemic is a high priority for many national food advocacy organizations as nearly half of the organizations studied here (34 of 71) describe it as an important focus of their work. However, significant differences of opinion exist among organizations with some arguing for charitable, legislative, or private approaches to addressing these health issues. Some propose educational efforts whereas others advocate for government intervention. Some contend that these public health crises are the central issue facing agriculture conflicts in the U.S. while others argue that nutrition and obesity are symptoms of a much larger conflict over U.S. food systems. Despite the shared conviction that American adults and children are suffering a dire public health crisis (with poor and minority communities shouldering a disproportionate burden), social movement organizations struggle with how to unite for meaningful change.¹

Food and the Natural Environment

Demographic models predict the human population will grow from its current count of just under seven billion to nearly nine billion by the year 2050 (Hanjra and Qureshi 2010:365-377). As governments struggle to provide adequate nutrition for this accelerating increase in human population, environmental scholars and activists argue that continued inattention to agriculture's environmental impacts will not only lead to continued ecological degradation, but consequential deterioration of food system capacity (Chappell and LaValle 2009:3-26; Flora 2010:118-128; Magdoff, Foster, and Buttel 2000). When examining the reciprocal relationship between food and the environment, it

¹ National food advocacy organizations such as the School Nutrition Association, Feeding America, and the Public Health Institute sponsor campaigns to address hunger, nutrition and obesity with healthy school lunch programs, networks of emergency food banks, and lobbying to maintain federal nutrition funding.

is appropriate to ask first, how agriculture and food affects the environment, and second, how the environment and climate change is likely to influence agriculture and food production.

Modern agricultural processes and global social developments have significant and enduring effects on the environment and the prospects for climate change. While not exhaustive, the following discussion outlines three of the most remarkable impacts, namely 1) the shift to industrial agriculture, 2) increasing meat and fish consumption, and 3) development of biofuels. First, modern industrial food production results in the creation of multiple environmental hazards. Lyson (2004) provides an overview of agricultural development in the U.S. and notes that the shift from a small farm to industrial agricultural model has led to significant environmental harms. Through the mid-20th century, notes Altieri (2000:77-92), crop yields were modest but generally stable. Agricultural production was safeguarded by multi-cropping to break life cycles of weeds and insects. Crops were rotated through fields with legumes to increase nitrogen fixation in the soil. These methods yielded increased biodiversity and an accompanying greater degree of disease resistance. Rotating crop plantings with livestock incorporated fertilizer nutrients back into the soil and allowed farmers to raise livestock feed onsite. Because of the smaller size of farms, higher multi-crop output, and interlocking systems of subsistence soil-maintenance, animal production, and crop rotation, fewer synthetic inputs were required and work was accomplished primarily with family and some hired labor. Environmental degradation was limited and nutrients were commonly cycled back into the soil.

The chemical revolution saw mono-cropping replace multi-cropping approaches. Reduced biodiversity and increased agricultural vulnerability to weeds, disease and pests necessitated intensified application of pesticides, herbicides, animal antibiotics, and growth hormones. Synthetic fertilizer replaced naturally occurring nitrogen formerly made available by rotated plantings of legumes. Livestock waste accumulates in massive feedlots making it unavailable for reincorporation as a soil nutrient. Pesticides, herbicides, antibiotics, hormones and manure become waste and threats to water supplies and the environment (Altieri 2000:77-92; Altieri 2010:253-266; Foster and Magdoff 2000:43-60; Power 1999:185-196). Additionally, agricultural scientists estimate that modern industrial food production processes account for an estimated one-third to one-half of all greenhouse gas emissions (McMichael, Powels, Butler, and Uauy 2007:1253-1263).

This revolutionary shift in American farming was accompanied by a “Green Revolution” promoted by industrial nations to developing countries between 1960 and 1980 in response to population growth and fear of global famine. The program was aimed primarily at Mexico and India in hopes of dramatically increasing wheat yields through the adoption of new varieties of high yield seed, stimulated by higher fertilizer inputs, and more intensive use of irrigation (Cleaver 1972:80-111; Perkins 1997) Proponents of industrial agriculture note the dramatic increases in production under the green revolution and advocate the continued use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides in conjunction with development of semi-dwarf cereals, and expansion of irrigation, policy incentives for industrial producers, regional specialization, and trade liberalization as

solutions for food security pressures (Altieri 2000:77-92; Flora 2010:118-128; Gregory, Ingram, and Brklacich 2005:2139-48; Parry, Rosenzweig, and Livermore 2005:2125-38).

Critics respond that the large quantity and high price of chemical fertilizer, the increased dependence on foreign inputs and patent-protected plant varieties, and the increasing debt burden acquired by poor farmers who cannot afford pay corporations for these seeds and inputs cripple sustainable local farming efforts. Such methods also yield chemical runoff that damages the environment, a dramatic loss of species biodiversity, and a loss of traditional agricultural knowledge associated with a particular geographic location (Altieri 2010:253-266; Foster and Magdoff 2000:43-60; Power 1999:185-196; Shiva 2000). Plans are underway for a similar green revolution campaign in Africa led by the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), under the auspices of the FAO, World Bank, IMF, Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research, and with significant funding by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144).²

In addition to the ecological impacts resulting from the shift from small farming to an industrial agricultural model, the anticipated increase in global meat and fish consumption is also likely to place extreme pressure on the environment. As populations become more affluent, their diets tend to diversify toward more animal food items (Hanjra and Qureshi 2010:365-377; Popkin 2003:581-597). China's shift to additional meat and fish consumption is expected to account for 43% of additional meat demand worldwide requiring a food production increase of 110% by 2050 (United Nations

² Several food advocacy organizations dedicate significant energy to monitoring AGRA including the Seattle-based Community Alliance for Global Justice that grew out of the 1999 WTO protests, and the Food Sovereignty Alliance which evolved from food activist conversations held during the 2010 U.S. Social Forum in Detroit.

Development Program 2007). Such increases are revealed in recent reports showing that 29 percent of all U.S. farms now specialize in beef cattle operations (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2014). With significant increases in affluence expected in India and China, the growing meat demand will likely trigger cereal and seafood shortages (as grains and fish are used to support industrialized animal and fish production) as well increased prices impacting the poorest nations (Hanjra and Qureshi 2010:365-377). Increases in meat and fish consumption places unique pressure on the global ecosystem because meat production's resource intensive process uses eight to ten times the quantity of nutrients and water per calorie as cereal and other vegetarian commodities (Shiva 2000; York and Gossard 2004:293-302). Intensified aqua-production also results in a net loss of food protein as one kilo of farmed shrimp production requires five kilos of wild fish that would otherwise be available as a local food source (Dunaway and Macabuac 2007:313-337). Beef production is particularly environmentally destructive resulting in deforestation, desertification, global warming, and soil erosion (Gossard and York 2003:1-9; Shiva 2000; York and Gossard 2004:293-302). Although increasing global population will demand increased food supplies, it is the particular social dynamic which links affluence with increased consumption of meat and fish that places extraordinary pressures on the global food system.³

A third interaction between food and the environment is seen in the anticipated development of biofuels. Although some authors suggest that biofuels are a long-term uncertainty and are not expected to significantly affect food security (Schmidhuber and

³ Although relatively few national food advocacy organizations are specifically dedicated to reducing meat and fish consumption, the Farm Animal Rights Movement actively promotes eating less meat for ethical, nutritional, and environmental reasons.

Tubiello 2007:19703-8), others argue that escalating global incomes in developing countries will result in increased energy consumption. This increased demand will drive biofuels to become a critical energy component where petroleum prices exceed \$55-60 per barrel (Naylor, Liska, Burke, Falcon, Gaskell, Rozelle, and Cassman 2007:31-43). The most recent one-year history of crude oil has ranged between approximately \$90-110 per barrel (Oilprice.net 2014). Although ongoing regional instability in the middle east are likely to keep prices relatively high, development of U.S. natural gas reserves accessed through the controversial use of fracking are likely to exert downward pressure on fuel prices.

Bio-ethanol is currently the most widely used biofuel and is frequently blended with or used as a substitute for gasoline. The development and use of biofuels sparks a lively debate among those concerned about its environmental impacts. Some argue that biofuel development could reduce fossil fuel consumption and subsequent CO₂ emissions. Others argue that the fuel inputs required to produce biofuel and accompanying deforestation caused by clear-cutting to create space to new grow crops (thus eliminating carbon sinks and producing additional CO₂ from burning trees) could offset or yield a net increase in CO₂ emissions (Farrell, Plevin, Turner, Jones, O'Hare, and Kammen 2006:506-508; Naylor et al. 2007:31-43). In the near term, increased use of biofuels is expected to be particularly stressful on food security. Current biofuel technology relies on conversion of food crops such as maize to produce ethanol. Technological development of processes that convert ligno-cellulosic biomass, such as wood-chips, switch grass, and crop residue, is at least 10 years away. A survey of seven recent price change models reveal that until new technologies are developed to process non-cereal biomass, bio-fuel

development will result in decreased food supply and increased food prices disproportionately affecting the global poor who are most at risk for food insecurity (Naylor et al. 2007:31-43)

Inasmuch as food production and consumption results in environmental degradation, climate change also impacts agricultural production and food security. Analysts argue that anthropogenic climate change will likely increase the quantity and size of extreme climatic events making farming more vulnerable and unpredictable (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2008; Gregory, Ingram, and Brklacich 2005:2139-48; Schmidhuber and Tubiello 2007:19703-8). Recent climate change models reveal that the effect of global warming on crop production will vary significantly depending on the level at which CO₂ emissions are stabilized and the economic development of the poorest countries. If carbon emissions are left unabated the resulting decreases in food production triggered by climate change may lead to significantly increased food prices and increased hunger (Parry, Rosenzweig, and Livermore 2005:2125-38). A comparison of climate change models suggests that at best (with robust economic activity and significant curtailing of carbon emissions) the global number of people experiencing food insecurity could drop to just over 100 million. At worst (under weak economic development and continued growth in carbon emissions) those suffering food insecurity could climb to over 1.3 billion (Schmidhuber and Tubiello 2007:19703-8).

Global weather models reveal that because of an expected increase in extreme climate events, rising temperatures in regions where crops are near their maximum temperature tolerance, and reduced precipitation where non-irrigated agriculture

predominates, those currently most vulnerable to food security will be most at risk for reductions in food production. Compounded by regional low-incomes and limited resources to recover from crop failures, global food production decreases are projected to disproportionately affect sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2008; Parry, Rosenzweig, and Livermore 2005:2125-38; Schmidhuber and Tubiello 2007:19703-8). Although some climate models suggest increased atmospheric concentrations of CO₂ will increase grain production (sometimes referred to as the “Greening Theory”), the effect is considered to be minimal even under optimal soil, temperature, and moisture conditions and may even cause reduced protein concentrations in some grains (IPCC 2001). In short, the intertwined relationship between agriculture and the environment reminds food advocates that their movement framing and strategy has as much to do with environmental activism as it does with food activism.⁴

Racial Injustice and Discrimination

Many American consumers take for granted that healthy produce and fresh fish are as close as the nearest Safeway or Market of Choice. Imagine however, if ones grocery options were narrowed to the nearest supermarket being located 10 miles away requiring two bus transfers or a corner convenience store whose produce section entailed rock-hard apples and bruised bananas.

The intersection of food and racial discrimination is rooted in the U.S.

Environmental Justice tradition that draws on an abundance of research revealing how toxic and hazardous waste exposure is disproportionately targeted toward poor

⁴ Among the food advocacy topics studied in this project, environmental issues were the most frequently cited. Several national organizations who are most active in food and environmental coalitions include Food and Water Watch, the Environmental Working Group, and Friends of the Earth.

communities of color (Bullard 1990; Pellow 2004:511-525; United Church of Christ 1987). The environmental justice paradigm argues that in addition to placing a high value on nature, avoiding decisions that risk environmental degradation, advocating for new ways of organizing social policies and economies to protect global ecology, issues of race, class, and other forms of institutional discrimination must be addressed (Taylor 2000:508-580). Food justice activists contend that a parallel crisis is occurring where non-white communities are being discriminated against, not in facing a disproportionate excess of toxins, but in facing a disproportionate lacuna of healthy food.

Recent developments in of food justice issues have moved in three directions. First, people of color and particularly African Americans have historically faced discrimination in receiving loans for farm improvements. (Alkon and Norgaard 2009:289-305). The 2011 Pigford settlement will award thousands of African American farmers \$1.25 billion in damages as a result of a class-action suit claiming that their agricultural loans were systematically discriminated against by the U.S. Agriculture Department between 1983 and 1997. Activists argue this discrimination has caused financial ruin for many black families and an overall reduction of the percentage of African American farmers in the U.S. from 14% in 1920 to 1 percent in 2010 (Lee 2011).⁵

Second, scholars have extended the framing of environmental justice to apply to food security. Using an analytical history that links disproportionate exposure to toxins to the racial makeup of neighborhoods, they illuminate a disproportionate *absence* of the environmental benefits of healthy and culturally appropriate foods. Consolidation

⁵ The National Black Farmers Association and the Black Farmers and Agriculturalists Association are two movement organizations at the center of the pigford campaign.

and leveraged buyouts of supermarket chains during the 1980s resulted in a flight of markets to the more profitable suburbs leaving urban core communities with few healthy or well-stocked food alternatives beyond the corner convenience store (Eisenhauer 2001; Gottlieb and Fisher 1995; Mayo 1993; Morales 2011:149-176; Morland, Wing, Roux, and Poole 2002:23-29). This “desertification” of communities (where quality food retailers are replaced with convenience stores selling highly processed foods) reveals a food justice concern based on an environmental justice frame (Gottlieb and Fisher 1996:23-32; Romm 2002:117-137).⁶

Industrial Agriculture and Farm Labor

The experience of farm laborers reveals a stark paradox in the U.S. food system. Although generations of families migrate through seasonal produce harvests laboring to deliver high quality strawberries and oranges to market, the same workers are among the lowest paid and nutritionally deficient populations in the country.

Agricultural labor and class analysis is a sociological staple for those who examine how food intersects with radical and social movements. Although it does not harbor a large agrarian population as a twentieth century Mexico or China, the U.S. agricultural system relies on millions of low-income and immigrant workers to harvest, process, and retail its food. Additionally, many of the central “peasant questions” raised by Wolf (1999) such as the monopolization of resources by a wealthy few resulting in increased government control and decreased life chances for a growing number of vulnerable poor are evident in 21st century American agriculture. Today’s activists who

⁶ Prominent national food advocacy organizations include Growing Power’s Growing Food and Justice for All program, the National Latino Farmers and Ranchers Association, and WhyHunger.

approach food from a labor perspective, note the central role played by farmers, farm-laborers, and those who work all along the food chain and continue to struggle with these twenty-first century threats to American agriculture. Turning first to domestic farmers, statistics reveal several significant trends.

First, although the number of acres dedicated to farming has remained relatively stable between 1900 and 1997, the average size of farms has increased from approximately 150 to nearly 500 acres as the number of farms has decreased from just under six million to approximately two million (National Agricultural Statistics Service 2009). These changes are the result of government price supports and national policies encouraging significant capital investment in industrial farming. Following Earl Butz's (former secretary of Agriculture under President Nixon), 1971 call "to get big or get out," farmers shifted to large-scale mechanized, mono-crop agriculture (Cowan 2011). Subsequently, farming has become concentrated in a smaller number of farms. By 2007, fewer than one percent of U.S. workers claim farming as an occupation and the largest 8.5% of farms account for 63% of agricultural sales (National Agricultural Statistics Service 2009; U.S. Environmental Protection Agency Ag Center 2013).

Accompanying these trends is an increase in the average age of farmers. Although recently released statistics reveal a slight increase in the number of young farmers between 2007 and 2012, the overall trend is toward a graying of the farmers whose average age in 2012 was just over 58 years old (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2014). Critics argue that together, these changes in farming threaten the stability of the U.S. agricultural system. The loss of traditional farming knowledge with the death of aging farmers, impossibly expensive costs of beginning a farm, consolidation of farming

into the hands a small number of mega-farms, and shift from agricultural diversity to industrial mono-cropping systems creates an undemocratic and precarious food system ill-suited to address fast-moving economic and environmental challenges (Family Farm Defenders 2014; Food and Water Watch 2014).⁷

In addition to the consolidation of control over agricultural production and its implications for small farmers and the American food system, activists argue that workers all across the food chain experience increasing economic and physical vulnerability. Workers in the American food chain include farm workers who harvest produce, food processors in locations such as poultry plants, distribution workers in warehouses, grocery store retail workers, and restaurant workers. Together, these sectors employ just under 20 million workers and account for nearly one in six American jobs (Food Chain Workers Alliance and The Data Center 2012).

Workers in food and agricultural jobs face an abundance of threats. Despite their significant contribution to the nearly \$28 billion fruit and vegetable industry, nearly three-quarters of migrant and seasonal farm workers who harvest produce in the U.S. are foreign born, 48% do not have legal working documents, and are among the poorest in the U.S. (National Center for Farmworker Health Inc. 2012). Additionally, although some communities endeavor to improve housing and health services for agricultural workers, the majority of workers and their families live in dangerous conditions. Recent studies report multiple violations of state housing code laws, crowded living conditions, and upwards of 30% of migrant workers living in “situations not meant for human

⁷ The National Young Farmers Coalition, the National Family Farm Coalition, and Family Farm Defenders are active in promoting national policies that draw young adults into farming, reform government subsidies that favor industrial agriculture, and highlight corporate efforts to influence farm legislation.

habitation (e.g. outdoors, in vehicles or in converted garages) (Colletti, Smith, Herrera, Herrera, and Flores 2007; Quirina, Quandt, Grzywacz, Isom, Chen, Galvan, Whalley, Chatterjee, and Arcury 2012:533-544).

According to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, workers at food processing industry, such as poultry processing face a multitude of hazards. Raising thousands of birds in large confined feeding barns exposes workers to organic dusts, industrial machinery, and microbes in animal litter, manure and dander. Workers in poultry plants that process thousands of birds for freezing and sale across the country are at risk for repetitive motion injuries, cuts, infection, falls, and accidental machine injuries (Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) 2014). A recent analysis of the poultry processing industry in Alabama reported that nearly three-quarters of workers reported workplace injuries. OSHA records reveal that in 2010, rates of non-fatal illnesses and injuries among poultry workers was 50% higher than those of all other U.S. workers (Fritzsche 2013).

Grocery, commercial food workers, and fast food employees make some of the lowest wages in the country. The current U.S. minimum wage of \$7.25/hour provides a full-time worker with \$15,000 income per year (U.S. Department of Labor 2014). Across all sectors food chain workers suffer from limited income with a median wage of \$9.65/hr. and paradoxically, high food insecurity because of an inability to purchase food. Additionally, relatively higher percentages of food system workers resort to public assistance, energy assistance, Medicaid, and food stamps programs (Food Chain Workers Alliance and The Data Center 2012)

In response to these challenges movement organizations have been organizing

workers at a multitude of levels. Headed by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) the “Making Change at Wal-Mart” campaign seeks to pressure Wal-Mart to increase its wages, abandon non-competitive practices and improve its commitment to workers, subcontractors, and the environment (Making Change at Walmart 2014). Organizers hope momentum developing from local walkouts and online campaigns will continue to increase pressure on the world’s largest retailer (Miles 2012). The Coalition for Immokalee headquartered in Florida has been organizing farm workers and gaining mainstream and student support for its Campaign for Fair Food program which lobbies fast food restaurants for increases in payments to produce harvesters. Pressure continues to mount on fast-food giant Wendy’s as McDonalds, Burger King and Taco Bell have all signed contracts to increase the amount they pay for tomatoes as a result of CIW organizing (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2014). Widespread walkouts and protests at 150 U.S. fast-food restaurants in May 2014 in an effort to raise their pay to \$15 an hour and form a union (Luckerson 2014). Organizers and researchers argue that in addition to gaining profits from low worker pay, the fast food industry benefits from pushing employees onto public assistance and effectively using taxpayer funds to supplement worker salaries (Allegretto, Doussard, Graham-Squire, Jacobs, Thompsom, and Thompson 2013; Fast Food Forward 2013).⁸

Food Safety and Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs)

According to Food Safety News foodborne illness and food recalls occur almost daily in the U.S. (Clark 2014). A sampling of reports between October 11 and 18, 2014

⁸ In addition to the Coalition for Immokalee Workers and the United Food and Commercial Workers, organizations such as the Food Chain Workers Alliance and the United Farm Workers actively support food and farmworker organizing projects.

reveals a salmonella outbreak in peanut butter, the norovirus spreading through school lunches in Indiana, recalls of tainted dietary supplements, and warnings of botulism in pumpkin seed pesto. The sheer size, industrial design, and complexity of the U.S. food system makes food safety a prominent issue for national food advocacy organizations. The U.S. Center for Disease Control and Prevention reports that every year approximately one-in-six Americans become ill, 128,000 are hospitalized, and 3,000 die as a result of food borne illness in the U.S. (2011). Diseases related to the production and importation of fresh produce appear to represent both the greatest percentage of food borne illness as well as account for the overall increase in outbreak trends (Sivapalasingam, Friedman, Cohen, and Tauxe 2004:2092-2353).

Addressing the increase of food borne disease outbreaks sparks controversy among businesses, government, and food safety advocacy organizations. The FDA Food Safety Modernization Act passed in 2010 “aims to ensure the U.S food supply is safe by shifting the focus of federal regulators from responding to contamination to preventing it” (U.S. Food and Drug Administration). Although this legislation is designed to enhance the FDA’s ability to hold producers accountable to higher food safety standards, critics are incredulous.⁹ For instance, food safety advocates argue that antibiotics are regularly overused on factory farms where producers utilize them to prevent outbreaks resulting from overcrowded conditions (Food and Water Watch 2014). Although the CDC recently acknowledged that overuse of antibiotics has resulted in some antibiotic resistant strains of food borne diseases, the report’s

⁹ Food and Water Watch, the Center for Science in the Public Interest, the Center for Food Safety, and STOP Foodborne Illness are active in monitoring U.S. food safety legislation and disease outbreaks.

recommendations focused only on the increased need for effective outbreak reporting and providing counsel for healthcare providers (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2013). Critics argue that in addition to providing new rules governing the use of antibiotics for drug companies, veterinarians and the food industry, the FDA should prohibit the regular use of antibiotics to prevent disease among animals confined in overcrowded feedlots and encourage consumers to reduce their exposure to antibiotic resistant pathogens by consuming meats labeled “organic” or “Raised without Antibiotics: USDA Process Certified” (Zuraw 2013). Although food advocacy organizations, government, and business may all agree that protecting public health is a worthy cause, they differ considerably on the way to pursue such a goal and who should shoulder the cost.

Beyond the general question of how to address the safety of the nation’s food system, the use of GMOs has become a particularly controversial issue. Critics argue that the development of genetically engineered seeds, plants, and animals places stress on the safety and stability of food systems in five ways. First, the use of GMOs allows corporations to patent seeds and animals and charge users for a necessary subsistence food item that had previously been free as farmers formerly saved their seeds from one year to the next. In addition to shifting what had been a public good into the private sphere and creating a new cost for agricultural producers, this maneuver becomes particularly pernicious when corporations pirate seed species (finding, patenting, and then reselling seeds that had previously been free to the community) and create “terminator seeds” (that are genetically modified to prevent fertilization) that force farmers to purchase new seed stock every year (Shiva 2000).

Second, patenting plant and animal species undermines local traditions of trading and cross-breeding seeds and livestock that are most successful in the local environment and thus create stronger strains more responsive to local conditions. GMO methods circumvent these processes and risk creating species that are unresponsive to local agricultural needs. Third, GMO seeds are controlled by corporations who frequently design them to require high levels of chemical inputs that must also be purchased from the same corporation that holds the patents on the seeds themselves (Shiva 2000, Altieri 2000, Altieri 2010). Such vertical integration of GMO processes erodes farmers' control and consolidates power in corporate structures.

Fourth, because the side effects of new GMO species are unknown, laboratory organisms can morph beyond their intended function and cause unintended consequences (Hanjra, and Ejaz. 2010). Termed the "Frankenstein Effect" this scenario has occurred in such species as the opossum shrimp in Montana and the Blue Tilapia in Florida where genetically modified species have inundated and decimated local fish populations (Shiva 2000). Finally fifth, genetically modifying plants to be "Roundup Ready" (a Monsanto brand of seed modified to resist certain herbicides) or to continuously emit toxins against certain pests, risks passing these traits on to weeds or insects that then become prematurely resistant to the chemicals or natural toxins. In short, the use of GMOs risks creating a new generation of super-weeds and super-pests (Shiva 2000).

The intensity of debates around the use of GMOs rose to a particularly high decibel in the fall of 2012 when voters in California narrowly rejected Prop 37 that

would have required food companies and retailers to label products containing GMO ingredients. Advocates argue that the election's result is less a reflection of voter sentiment than it is a measure of corporate fear and money. Thanks in large part to companies such as Monsanto and Hershey's, the "No on Prop 37" campaign outspent supporters \$44 million to \$7.3 million (Almendrala 2012).

In addition to the argument that the use of GMOs risks creating an endless cycle of science vs. the environment in a race to outpace adaptive insects and weeds, the threat of GMOs runs in three directions. Food safety advocates argue that creating plants and animals through genetic modification creates unforeseen risks to human health (not knowing how a given species will affect those who consume them). Environmental activists frame the GMO debate as a risk to environmental stability and the potential ecological threat created by introducing novel species into already vulnerable ecosystems. Finally, food system social scientists raise the concern that development of GMOs has enabled a significant shift of power away from farmers and local communities to hegemonic industrial enterprises.¹⁰

This brief review of five central food system crises reveal three important issues. First, food is everywhere. As a social, political, and economic issue, food crisis issues touch all of humanity with particularly troubling implications for poor and minority communities. Second, food is diverse. The multitude of issues represented here make social movement efforts to address agricultural issues

¹⁰ All of three of these concerns are represented and interwoven through the priorities of various national food advocacy organizations such as the Family Farm Defenders, the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, and the Wild Farm Alliance.

particularly challenging. Given this variety of concerns, movements understandably struggle to hold the public's attention much less craft a united voice among diverse and sometimes opposing perspectives. Third, food is power. Whether it be field laborers directly confronting farm owners over safety and wage issues or large corporations quietly injecting millions of dollars into GMO anti-labeling campaigns, food system research is first and foremost an analysis of how social, political, and economic dynamics are intertwined and woven into the fabric of the U.S. food system.

A Brief History of U.S. Food Movements

The food and farm movement in the U.S. has roots stretching back to the colonial era and is characterized by a myriad of intertwining of issues, conflicts, and ideological perspectives. In order to place the contemporary food movement into an historical context, this next section briefly reviews a series of historic episodes where the public and food organizers have responded to American food crises. As reflected in the previous section, the topics here are designed less to reflect an exhaustive history of U.S. food activism than serve as an illustration of how conflicts over food and agricultural remain an enduring feature of U.S. political and economic landscape.

The earliest U.S. food policies existed in the form of state laws enacted during the 18th century. These standards were designed primarily to regulate international trade by setting weight and measure standards for meat, fish, salt and flour and domestic rules to establish fair competition among food producers such as bakers (Janssen 1981).

Following the civil war, expansion of interstate trade, a multiplication of diverse state food oversight laws, and concerns regarding widespread adulteration of food, the "Pure

Food Movement” arose to lobby for federal food regulation (Janssen 1981). Pressure came from a constellation of state and federal food and drug officials, medical and farm lobby organizations, the National Consumers League, the General Federation of Women’s Clubs, and Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle’s* (1906) scathing account of working and sanitary conditions in Chicago’s meat packing plants (Young 2003). The 1906 *Pure Food and Drugs Act* (U.S. Congress) stands as one of the food movement’s earliest achievements and mandated fines and jail time for those convicted of the adulteration or misbranding of food or drugs.

Food movements continued to be active in the early 20th century as women’s clubs and some trade union leaders joined Eleanor Roosevelt and the Food and Drug Administration to lobby for strengthening the 1906 act (Janssen 1981). Public support for greater government oversight of the food industry grew in response to the publication of Kallet and Schlink’s *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs* (1933) and Lamb’s *The American Chamber of Horrors* (1936) which described the American population as subjects in food and drug corporation experiments and duped by deceptive labeling. The 1937 deaths of more than 100 people from the Massengill Company’s legal but untested sulfanilamide antibiotic sparked public outrage and hastened passage of the *Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (FD&C)* (Ballentine 1981; U.S. Congress 1938) . The FD&C has been frequently amended to address nutrition, dietary, and other food and drug concerns.

Such public campaigns reveal how government policy was framed by the public and leveraged by activists to regulate corporate control of U.S. food policy. These events reveal two distinctive historic shifts in structural and cultural food dynamics. First, in contrast to today’s staunch public support of the food industry, the mid-20th century

public appeared more eager to confront corporations over their food marketing activities. Second, food campaigns of the 1930s seemed to find a partner in government agencies whose primary goal was to protect public health. Today's activists, as will be examined later, suspect that government is more interested in supporting corporate power than public welfare. This historic shift becomes particularly important when analyzing the food system through Antonio Gramsci's concepts of hegemonic domination.

In addition to food safety issues, food movements through the 20th century responded to an abundance of other food related concerns. The Great Depression and Dust Bowl of the 1930's laid the groundwork for what would later grow into significant battles over the vision of food and farm policy in the United States. Declining farm prices in 1920-21 as a result of increasing global production and oversupply following WWI relief efforts led farmers to destroy crops and animals rather than pay the continued cost of their production (Poppendieck 1986). Meanwhile ripples from the great depression created millions of unemployed hungry. As advocates framed the paradox of hunger accompanying food oversupply as "breadlines knee-deep in wheat" progressive social movements and relief agencies were quickly overwhelmed by a flood of need beyond their means (Poppendieck 1986). The 1932 Farmers' Holiday Association's strike and demonstrations throughout the Midwest reached the ear of then presidential candidate Franklin Roosevelt. The 1933 Agricultural Adjustment Act (U.S. Congress) became part of Roosevelt's New Deal agenda and is known as the first U.S. Farm Bill with its policies regulating crop prices, hunger relief, soil erosion, farm credit, rural development, and international agricultural trade (Imhoff 2012; Poppendieck 1986). Additional federal food programs followed with the creation of the national school lunch

program in 1948, the food stamp program (known today as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program or SNAP) in 1961, and the nutrition program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) in 1972 (Winne 2008:199).

The U.S. labor movement and especially farm worker organizers also play an important role in the U.S. food movement's history. In 1951 the informally organized Bracero program became law and dramatically increased the number of Mexican agricultural workers in the U.S. At its height, nearly 450,000 immigrant workers labored for \$0.90/hr. and lived in squalid conditions that were described by Lee Williams, the Department of Labor Officer overseeing the program as "legalized slavery" (Galarza 1956). Despite attempts by Ernesto Galarza's Nation Farm Labor Union to organize workers in the 1940s and 1950s, it was not until Cesar Chavez's 1962 founding of the National Farm Workers Association (later the United Farm Workers or UFW) that workers began to develop a base of power. In 1965 a series of strikes at California grape growers tapped into a growing American openness to civil rights agenda. As a result of ongoing grassroots organizing and millions of consumers joining a grape boycott, the UFW grew to 50,000 dues-paying members by 1970 and had achieved wage increases, and the development of a health clinic, health plan, credit union, and cooperative gas station and community center (United Farm Workers 2006).

It would seem to be more than coincidence that the growth of the UFW, labor organizing, and grape boycotts came at a period of U.S. history when movement activism was quickly spreading throughout university campuses and the deep south. Tarrow (1989) theorizes that these cycles of contention are connected to political opportunities and provide diverse social sectors with creative strategies, collective action framings, and

mobilization incentives precipitating broad waves of movement activity. In the case of the grape strike, Chaves embraced Gandhi and Kings' nonviolent marches and economic boycotts to leverage public support and frame the unionizing movement as a civil rights campaign. The grape boycott and founding of the UFW during the same protest period as the U.S. civil rights campaign illustrates how movement activity proliferates during such cycles of contention.

Several conferences and policy events in the 1970s contributed to the growing attention to food issues in the U.S. and beyond. In 1971 President Nixon appointed Earl Butz as Secretary of Agriculture. Butz became known for his support of industrial agriculture, urging farmers to “get big or get out,” and encouraging farmers to ignore environmental concerns and plant commodity crops fencerow to fencerow. (Cowan 2011) In 1973 the U.S. government began subsidizing corn which activists criticized for making high-fructose corn syrup's inexpensive abundance a leading cause of obesity (Cowan 2011). The first World Food Conference is held in Rome in 1974 and declares that every person “has the inalienable right to be free from hunger” (United Nations 2013). In 1979 first World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development calls for nations to support agrarian reform and empowerment of small farmers to address world hunger concerns (United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization 1979).

In response to domestic support of industrial agriculture paradigms and global attention to hunger issues, movement organizations grew considerably in the early 1970s with the founding of several important food and farming organizations. Where Oxfam America (1970) and Bread for the World (1972) primarily addressed global needs through hunger relief campaigns, the Center for Science in the Public Interest (1971) and

Food First (1975) responded to domestic nutrition and injustices at the root of hunger. An abundance of local food organizations begin to appear such as California Certified Organic Farmers (1973) which is the first organization to provide organic certification, and the founding of the first community garden in New York by the “Green Guerillas” (1973) and begin to create community based and institutional avenues for citizens to learn about and participate in food activism.

The emergent environmental movement sparked in part by Carson’s (1962) publication of *Silent Spring* developed in response to a growing awareness of the environmental dangers posed by high technology, nuclear power, increasing use of chemical pesticides, herbicides and fertilizers and the growing awareness of toxic waste as a bi-product of modern industry. In the 1970s environmentalists’ concerns influenced the development of the sustainable agriculture movement and those who were organizing to address ecological farming issues such as chemical use, water and soil contamination, and promotion of organic production methods. (Allen, FitzSimmons, Goodman, and Warner 2003:61-75; Clancy 1993:251-294; Gottlieb and Fisher 1996:193-203).

During the 1970s several popular books and official publications sparked discussion of food system issues in the U.S. Frances Moore Lappe’s *Diet for a Small Planet* (1971) raised critical questions about the power distribution in the global food system while the Club of Rome publishes *The Limits to Growth* (1972) raising questions about the viability of economic models predicated on unlimited consumption of finite global resources. In 1975 *Eat Your Heart Out* (Hightower) energized the anti-corporate food movement and popularized the term “McDonaldization” with its criticism of corporate food enterprises. The publication of *Food for People Not for Profit* (Lerza and

Jacobson 1975) cogently articulated the connections among food shortages and rising prices, decline of small farms, increased use of agri-chemicals and production of unhealthy food, and national farm policy. 1976 *Radical Agriculture* (Baker and Merrill 1976) one of first promoters of organic and small scale farming methods. 1977 *The Unsettling of America* (Berry 1977) critiques the effects of industrial agriculture on rural America. This growing body of authors, though often differing in their particular understanding of the causes and solutions to U.S. food system crises, frequently agreed that the rise of corporate farming, reliance on energy-intensive technology, and other ecological damaging agricultural practices were doing little to address hunger and were instead setting the stage for serious social, economic, and ecological crises.

The 1980s opened a new chapter in the struggle between industrial agriculture and alternative food movement organizations. In 1980 the U.S. Supreme Court reversed a precedent that prevented the patenting of living organisms and laid the legal foundation for future genetic engineering of crops (U.S. Supreme Court 1980). In 1988 soybeans become the first crop to be genetically modified. Where early modifications were designed to increase production, more recent modifications were made to increase agricultural efficiency through developments such as resistance to the Monsanto Company's herbicide *Round-up*. Opposition to the growing use of genetically modified crops based on health and ecological concerns continues to drive organizations such as the Center for Food Safety and Friends of the Earth.

Cutbacks in federal and state safety nets significantly affected low-wage workers and resulted in increased hunger in the U.S. Between 1970 and 1990 including a 40% reduction of family benefits through the Aid to Families with Dependent Children

(AFDC) program (Clancy 1993:251-294). Beginning in 1981, the Reagan administration moved to significantly cut federal programs that served the poor and hungry including a Department of Agriculture effort to reclassify ketchup as a vegetable that elicited significant public outcry. In response, food organizations attempted to raise money and rally more volunteers to serve the longest soup-kitchen lines since the Great Depression (Winne 2008:199).

The 1980s also witnessed crises in farming policy that spurred the birth of new farm movement organizations. Small farmers, who had recently invested in new machinery as inflation increased the value of their land, soon struggled to repay debt when tightened monetary policy led to increased interest rates. Between 1984 and 1985 25% of all farm loans were delinquent and agriculture banks accounted for more than half of all bank failures that year (Constance, Gilles, and Heffernan 1990:9-75). Today the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (founded in 1986) is organized to support small farmers around the world who are threatened by large-scale agricultural industry (Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy 2013) and Farm Aid (founded in 1985) grew from a small farmer charitable concert to an established not-for-profit advocating on behalf of small farmers (Farm Aid 2013).

A significant wave of supermarket mergers swept the U.S. and world in the 1980s as corporations purchased alternative food producers and created lines of health food. (Friedmann 2005:229-267). Consolidation and leveraged buyouts of supermarket chains during the 1980s resulted a flight of markets to the more profitable suburbs leaving the urban poor with few healthy or well-stocked food alternatives beyond the corner convenience market (Eisenhauer 2001; Gottlieb and Fisher 1995; Mayo 1993; Morales

2011:149-176; Morland, Wing, Roux, and Poole 2002:23-29). In response, an abundance of urban farmers markets, community gardens and other food justice projects were born in an effort to bring healthy food back into these “food deserts” and support local urban residents’ efforts to control their local food supply (Alkon and Agyeman 2011; Alkon and Mares 2012:347-359).

Social movement literature provides a helpful lens through which to view these distinctive waves of contention around U.S. food issues. Legal rulings and federal policies of the 1980s can be viewed as a counter-movement effort sponsored by elite actors responding to widespread activism of the 1960s and 70s (McAdam 1999). In this perspective, federal policies seen as more favorable to producers than environmentalists and farm bills subsidizing industrial production as opposed to small farmers, are understood as a concerted effort by state and corporate elites to respond to progressive campaigns working to place greater control of the food system into the hands of laborers and elevate environmental, food security, and nutritional principles above profit priorities. These distinct periods in the history of food activism highlight the development of counter-movement actors reflecting alliances of state and corporate actors.

The 1980s also witnessed a multiplication of activist groups organizing around a diversity of food and farming agenda. The American Farmland Trust (1980) was formed to protect farmland from urban development (American Farmland Trust 2013). The Pesticide Action Network of North America (1982) advocates for the replacement of hazardous pesticides with ecologically sound alternatives (Pesticide Action Network of North America 2013). Slow Food (1986) was born in Rome and becomes an international

organization advocating for enjoyment of food and resistance to fast food restaurants and modes of consumption (Slow Food USA 2013). In 1982 the first of hundreds of city food policy councils was founded to analyze and design local food planning. In 1984 the first Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) program is launched in the U.S. More than 4,000 CSAs exist in the U.S. today (Local Harvest 2013).

A series of national and international events also give rise to increased interest in food issues and the birth of new movement organizations. The 1990s saw the growth of public demonstration against seed patenting with 500,000 farmers protesting at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) meetings in Bangalore, India and the birth of La Via Campesina, an international peasant organization that has grown to represent more than 200 million farmers on agricultural and food issues. While the U.S. congress passes the Organic Foods Production Act (1990) and the Nutrition Labeling and Education Act (1994), food safety concerns and a renewed outcry against industrial food production are sparked when four children die and more than 700 are sickened in 1993 after eating fast food burgers (Flynn 2009).

Reports in 1997 revealed that only 1% of American youth meet nutritional recommendations and in 1998 show that the percentage of overweight or obese adult Americans grew to 65% (Fryar, Carroll, and Ogden 2012; Williams 2010). Although the increasing obesity rate prompted many to argue that excessive weight gain is primarily the result of weaknesses in personal health choices, Guthman (2011) argues that industrial agricultural policy and its highly processed, cheap food supported by synthetic pesticides and growth enhancing chemicals stand to blame for the epidemic.

Organizations and coalitions addressing food issues continue to multiply in the 1990s with the founding of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (1993) advocating for farm worker safety and salaries, Growing Power (1993) developing gardening programs among urban youth, the Farm to School (1996) program working to educate children and bring healthy food into schools, and the Community Food Security Coalition (1994) forming networks among diverse food and farming activists

Over the past decade, food issues continue to generate public interest. Three popular books and two films bring food issues to the public with a particular focus on agri-business's food system influence and its implications for the nation's health: *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal* (Schlosser 2001), *Food Politics: How the Food Industry Influences Nutrition and Health* (Nestle 2002), and the *Omnivore's Dilemma* (Pollan 2006), and the documentaries *Supersize Me* (Spurlock 2004:100mins.) which explores the health results of eating only at McDonalds for one month and *Food Inc.* (Kenner 2008:94min.) that illuminates the industrial logics resulting in corporate profits at the expense of animals, workers, and consumers' health.

Contemporary perspectives on how the food system should be developed or changed continue to become objects of national and global debate. In 2007 the Nyeleni Conference in Selingue, Mali outlines a food sovereignty platform that declares that "Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than

the demands of markets and corporations (La Via Campesina 2007:4).¹¹ The food sovereignty statement stands in stark contrast to Monsanto’s reception of the 2009 “Company of the Year” and 2013 World Food Prize awards. While First Lady Michelle Obama plants the first organic garden at the White House, the public continues to struggle over corporate control of food supplies, causes of obesity, farm worker justice, domestic hunger policy, environmental effects of industrial agriculture, the viability of and value of food policy councils, community gardens, CSAs and farmers markets, food justice initiatives, the benefits of organic production, humane treatment of animals, the safety of genetically modified crops, the benefits and liabilities of food pantries, and dozens of other issues. Thousands of local organizations press these concerns and their diversity has created a myriad of sometimes sharp ideological differences among organizations’ perspectives on food system problems.

This brief snapshot of food movement organizing in the U.S. reveals several important dynamics. First, as reflected in the previous food crisis discussion, tremendous diversity exists among those who address concerns related to food and agricultural issues. This range of concern is further distinguished by distinct framings of the role of government and alliances between capital actors and national polities. Food safety, labeling, hunger, labor, environment, nutrition, racial justice, and industrialization were and remain prominent themes among activists. This would suggest that the challenge of uniting diverse food activists is not new to the national food movement.

¹¹ See Table 14 (see Appendix for this table) for a detailed description of the Food Sovereignty platform. Several U.S. groups including the U.S. Food Sovereignty Alliance, the National Family Farm Coalition, and U.S. members of Via Campesina’s North American Region actively incorporate food sovereignty principles into their organizing campaigns.

Second, from the earliest days of food activism, there existed a tension among labor, the public good, and food enterprises. These strains also appear to move through waves of contention where movements and counter movement struggle over control of this multi-trillion dollar marketplace that touches the lives of every human being on the planet. Whether manifested in the struggle to create laws governing the fair labeling of 18th century baked goods, activist inspired efforts to improve working conditions in 1906's Chicago meat-packing plants, or contemporary labor movements striking for better pay and safety, food and agriculture has always presented a platform for the struggle among workers who seek a safe and fair workplace, the public which presumes that the food they consume is safe and (relatively?) nutritious, and food companies whose survival is contingent on profit extracted from the food system.

Finally third, this history begins to reveal the degree to which corporate influence over food systems not only grows more significant over time, but also how presumably disconnected ideological food issues begin to take on political economic concerns. For instance, whereas some may continue to argue that obesity is a function of personal choice and withering willpower when faced with the choice of upgrading a Coke from 24 to 36oz. for only 25 cents, a growing number of activists and the broader public are becoming aware that weight gain may be as much the result of corporate strategy as a sign of personal weakness. Although many activists lament the exercise of corporate power over federal legislation (such as the farm bill's consistent support of corn subsidies that reduce the cost of high fructose corn-syrup and increase the profitability of soft-drink sales) others are beginning to pressure national leaders to back policy initiatives aimed at declaring poor nutrition a national public health emergency. This reframing of multi-

valent food crises from a series of personal problems to a complex of corporate profit tactics suggests that the public may be on the verge of rethinking the causes of many food crises. Such a reconsideration raises the possibility that civil society actors, wielding new political power, could leverage new political pressure on the state to reconsider its relationship with agricultural capital actors.

Theoretical Framing

This brief overview of major events related to the development of food and agriculture systems and movements in the U.S. reveals the need to examine the national food movement through a variety of analytical lenses. In this section I describe the theoretical frames I use to examine how the national food advocacy movement continues to respond to the contemporary crises that threaten the U.S food and agriculture system.

Macro-Theoretical Framing

In order to better understand the structure, strategies, and dynamics of the national food movement, it is important to examine the broad theoretical context in which the activists find themselves. In this section I introduce the concept of food regimes as a theoretical framework that provides insight into the political and economic relationships between global food systems and the state and corporate actors that control them. I then describe the work of Antonio Gramsci whose theoretical insight into the nature of hegemonic power and counter-hegemonic resistance illuminates the struggle over structural domination and civil discourse. Finally I will review social movement and food systems literature that I will use to analyze the U.S. food advocacy movement in chapters IV and V.

Food Regimes: Contemporary Agricultural Hegemon

The concept of food regimes is rooted in international political economy literature and illuminates the need for a nuanced food movement analysis. Krasner (1982:185-205) defines an international regime as an arrangement of “principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue-area”. Regimes are instituted among actors resulting in a series of beliefs, standards of behavior and specific action expectations that political economic actors adhered to.

The earliest conceptual formulation of the international food regime appears in the work of Hopkins and Puchala in a special issue of *International Organization* growing out of the April 1977 “Conference on Global Food Interdependence” sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation (1978). In it they begin by reviewing the five most pressing international food problems, namely: (1) global food shortages, (2) food price instability, (3) lack of reliable food imports, (4) low domestic productivity and significant poverty, and (5) malnutrition (1978:581-616).

Hopkins and Puchala define international regimes as “a set of rules, norms or institutional expectations that govern a social system. Govern, in the sense we use it, means to control, regulate or otherwise lend order, continuity or predictability” (1978:581-616). They argue that the global food regime in place in the late 1970s is a set of formal and informal rules and expectations and are empirically observable in the global food regime by noting: (1) the intensities and direction of flows of food transactions, (2) the forums and agenda where food issues are discussed, (3) the patterns of private and public investment in food problem solving, (4) the patterns of practice and institutionalization in private and public food negotiations, and (5) the rhetoric of

global food actors (1978:581-616).

Based on these criteria, Hopkins and Puchala argue that the regime is characterized by the following norms: (1) respect for the free market, (2) acceptance of national of adjustments imposed by international markets, (3) qualified acceptance of extra-market channels of food distribution (e.g. food aid), (4) avoidance of starvation, (5) free flow of scientific information, (6) weak support of national food self-reliance, (7) lack of concern for chronic hunger, and (8) strong support for national sovereignty and the illegitimacy of external market penetration (1978:581-616).

Hopkins and Puchala argue that the key players in the international food regime include the U.S., various international organizations, and multinational corporations and does less to serve the world's poor or hungry than it does to serve the national interests of the global food regime's players,

“The political forces shaping norms of the food regime are largely divorced from the majority of people most severely affected by problems in the global food system. These are the rural poor of the Third World. Food trade and aid, investment and information do not affect these people significantly since they are simply not part of the modern interdependent world...Global food interdependence requires collaborative policy efforts to establish rules for a new global food regime. Without such new norms, and appropriately compliant behavior, it is likely that the expansion of food production will occur haphazardly, and too slowly, with little attention to chronic hunger, little heed of environmental side effects, and little concern for distributive justice” (1978:581-616).

Global food regimes, complicated as they are, constitute an urgent challenge for the global community. Beyond questions of how the global food regime is structured, the power of the players involved, and the political and economic forces that influence the regime's inner workings, Hopkins and Puchala remind scholars that the lives of millions of people and the planetary environment is at stake.

Despite the 1978 special issue of *International Organization*, Harriet Friedmann is frequently credited with founding contemporary food regime theory. Her contributions, in partnership with Philip McMichael, extended the food regime analysis by incorporating an historical and critical political perspective. Friedmann and McMichael summarize food regimes as the distillation of political-economic struggles among a complex web of actors (states, corporations, social movements, etc.) over the formal and implicit rules of the global food system (Friedmann and McMichael 1989:93-117; McMichael 2009:139-169).

They posit a pair of food regimes that begin with a European centered regime that existed from 1870 to 1914 and corresponded with the culmination of colonialism and the rise of powerful nation states. This first food regime was characterized by privileging the demands of a growing European working class that desired wheat, meat, and tropical imports from colonies. Friedmann argues that the development of relatively inexpensive commodities displaced capitalist and peasant agriculture in Europe and increased the flow of settlers to the Americas (Friedmann and McMichael 1989:93-117; McMichael 2009:139-169).

According to Friedmann and McMichael, this first regime was replaced by a second that begins following WWII and was in place between 1945 and 1973. This

second food regime is characterized by U.S. hegemonic organization of global food systems and economies. U.S. domestic consumption emphasized mass-produced durable and frozen foods while developing countries' local markets were undercut with cheap U.S. imports. International food aid and development of a "green revolution" in southeast Asia were central to this second regime as U.S. producers relieved themselves of excess commodities, international markets became tied to U.S. food products, and new agriculture paradigms left developing nations reliant on U.S. chemical and mechanical industry (Friedmann 1982:248-286; Friedmann and McMichael 1989:93-117; McMichael 2009:139-169).

McMichael argues (not without significant debate among food regime scholars) that a third food regime began in the late 1980s (Burch and Lawrence 2009:267-279; McMichael 2009:139-169). Aside from the disagreement surrounding the presence or absence of a new stable food regime, McMichael details significant shifts in global food characteristics including the increase of meat consumption and incorporation of new markets into the protein chain (Brazil as a producer and China as a consumer), explosive increases in and monopolization of supermarket chains, and a differentiation between wealthy consumers of fruits and vegetables and poor consumers of highly processed calories (Alkon and Agyeman 2011; McMichael 2009:139-169). This "corporate food regime" is built upon a division of labor between the global North's production and exportation of staple grains traded for the global South's high-value meats, fruits and vegetables and is supported by free-trade policies and rhetoric and the expansion of the World Trade Organization's Agreements on Agriculture (McMichael 2009:139-169).

Additional dimensions of an alleged third regime include the integration of

energy and agricultural markets as bio-fuel production demands increased farming acreage, growing climate change concerns as industrial agriculture results in increased CO₂ emissions, threats to biodiversity and carbon sequestration through deforestation, and increased land and water pollution caused by growing use of synthetic herbicides, pesticides and fertilizers (Chappell and LaValle 2009:3-26; Clausen and York 2008:1310-1320; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2008; Gregory, Ingram, and Brklacich 2005:2139-48; Naylor et al. 2007:31-43; Parry, Rosenzweig, and Livermore 2005:2125-38).

In summary, the earliest conceptualizations of food regimes by Friedmann and McMichael posit food regimes as constellations of states, multinational corporations, and international institutions that use food as a commodity to pursue their domestic or organizational interests with little concern for environmental or social impacts. Their model pivots on a historical materialist construction of the world geo-political economic system and examines “the ways in which forms of capital accumulation in agriculture constitute global power arrangements, as expressed through patterns of circulation of food” (McMichael 2009:139-169).

Friedman (2005:229-267) describes this contemporary struggle as a competition between two competing visions of the future of global food systems. The new model will be dominated by either a Life-Sciences Integrated Paradigm that privileges biochemical and genetic science and corporate industrial control, or an Ecologically Integrated Paradigm that prioritizes holistic science of ecosystems and human health determined by the public sector in response to citizens’ needs. Echoing Hopkins and Puchala (1978:581-616), Friedmann challenges states and institutions “to create forms of

international co-ordination consistent with control by all people over their environments, nations and communities” (Friedmann 1987:247-258).

The food regime framework provides theoretical insight into the broad structures and conflicts unfolding among actors who compete over control and direction of food systems. In order to more clearly understand the multi-valent levels on which these competitions occur and analyze the dynamic relationships among hegemonic actors and those who resist the regime’s rulers, I turn now to Antonio Gramsci’s concept of the counter-hegemonic struggle.

Antonio Gramsci and the Counter-Hegemonic Struggle

Many of today’s food advocacy groups organize to frustrate corporate efforts to commodify food, extract profit, and expand markets irrespective of the human or environmental costs. In short, Antonio Gramsci (1971) contends that in addition to the economic subordination of life to the free market, capitalism maintains power over people and the planet through cultural hegemony. When the values of the bourgeoisie establish themselves as the common sense values of society, the masses are resigned to maintain rather than rise up against the system that imprisons them. According to Gramsci, working classes need to explore alternative values and develop a liberated cultural system in order to establish a just civil society.

Several concepts provide particularly helpful theoretical insight when examining the national food movement. First, Gramsci describes *hegemony* as dominating power exercised at two levels: civil society and political society,

These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of

“hegemony” which the dominant group exercises throughout society and

on the other hand to that of ‘direct domination’ or command exercised through the State and “juridical” government. The functions in question are precisely organizational and connective. The intellectuals are the dominant group’s “deputies” exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government (Gramsci 1971).

Gramsci explains how the bourgeoisie who, in a constant effort to extend capital’s power over the proletariat, utilize a network of intellectual leaders in legal, administrative, political, and cultural roles. These dominant leaders work to create consent for hegemonic understandings based on their prestige and privileged relationship to the world of production (1971).

A particularly important aspect of Gramsci’s formulation is his conceptualization of hegemony as existing both at the state and civil levels,

“For Gramsci, hegemony is understood as an historically specific *organization of consent* that rests upon - but cannot be reduced to - a practical material base...In Gramsci’s formulation, power is *both centralized* in the coercive apparatuses of the state and *diffused* across other institutional sites such as the church, the family, and the school.

Thus, consent is organized - and power is exercised - not merely through state policies and practices, but in civil society: a realm of activity distinct from the state and capitalist production in which many aspects of social and political identity (such as gender and ethnicity) are fundamentally grounded.” (Italics in original) (Carroll and Ratner 1994:3-26)

Hegemonic domination is powerful, therefore, not just because it operates to control the masses through the exercise of capital, the modes of production, and commanding powers of the state, but through contingent cultural constructions of everyday symbols and relationships that reinforce the power of the bourgeoisie and the state powers they control.¹² Gramsci (1971) described this combined cultural and political domination as an *historic block*, a durable multi-valent system where a class exerts control over society through the contingent relationships among a network of hegemonic actors (Simon 1982).

Social movements, whose work can frequently be understood as *counter-hegemonic* forces opposing systems of domination, become key actors in the effort to unravel these power networks. Carol and Ratner contend, “in this sense, movements may be viewed *prima facie* as agencies of counter-hegemony. By mobilizing resources and acting outside established political structures of state, parties and interest groups, movements create independent organizational bases a for advancing alternatives” (Carroll and Ratner 1994:3-26).¹³ Movements can therefore be conceived of as *counter-hegemonic* forces who operate to disorganize the consent systematically leveraged from the masses by the historic cultural-political bloc and become the network of actors

¹² Food advocacy literature and interviews with activists frequently reveal an intuitive awareness of these relationships. More than a third of the 71 organizations studied and nearly 60% of my interviewees described corporate power as a threat to the U.S. food system. Likewise, during interviews, some activists questioned the power of corporate control over media and cultural framings of food by asking “how is it that the most chemically laced food became known as ‘conventional’ and clean organic food is ‘weird’.”

¹³ Interestingly, Carroll and Ratner understand Gramsci to differentiate between social movements and interest groups apparently on the grounds that interest groups should be considered part of established political structures. This dissertation’s inclusion of food-related interest groups as part of the national food movement allows for a structural and ideological comparisons that will be developed in subsequent chapters.

“through which the balance of cultural power in civil society can be shifted and space won for radical alternatives, unifying dissenting groups into a system of alliances capable of contesting bourgeois hegemony” (Carroll and Ratner 2010:7-22).

Gramsci (1971) describes the work of educational reform of the masses as a *war of position*. In contrast to the preparation of underground commando units or a frontal assault on one’s foes, the war of position requires the moral and intellectual training of subordinate groups leading them to imagine and create radically alternative futures through the transformation of civil society. Although it “demands enormous sacrifices by infinite masses of people,” if accomplished it creates the opportunity for entirely new political configurations to emerge (e.g. Gandhi’s passive resistance) .

Hunt (1990:309-328) further details the process Gramsci outlines in creating a counter-hegemonic force. Fundamentally, alternatives to hegemonic domination are developed by the reworking or refashioning of existing hegemonic activities and concepts. Rather than attempting to inject a completely formed oppositional alternative to the existing hegemonic narrative into civil discourse, counter-hegemonic campaigns begin by supplementing existing systems of thought. These alternative discourses function in several distinct ways. First, concepts intended to challenge the existing system of domination serve to highlight “silences” and reveal obscured injustices. For instance, the women’s suffrage campaign illuminated the absence of freedom and liberty for half of the American population through the early 20th century. (Hunt 1990:309-328). Campaigns calling for women’s’ right to vote grew out of the awareness that this formerly unrecognized injustice undermined the nation’s democratic principles.

Second, Hunt argues that,

the most significant stage in the construction of counter-hegemony comes about with the putting into place of discourses, which whilst still building on the elements of the hegemonic discourses, introduce elements which transcend that discourse (Hunt 1990:309-328).

Having revealed that which was formerly mystified, alternative conceptual frameworks propose new visions of civil and political life and structures that seek to reform and rectify the injustices brought about by the existing hegemonic systems. These new frameworks do not necessarily negate or reverse existing values, but understand the counter-hegemonic program as a transcendent one. For instance, one might recognize the contemporary gay marriage movement as an example not of the repudiation of “traditional” marriage’s values of commitment and love, but the transformation and extension of these hegemonic concepts in a new direction. Replaced by these new formulations, previous hegemonic elements are exhausted and fade from the civil discourse (Hunt 1990:309-328).

The intellectual leadership of the war of position is also a crucial question for Gramsci who roots the development of intellectuals in contingent historical, political, and economic processes. In the broadest terms, hegemonic leaders, whose purpose is to serve as deputies for capital’s system of domination and perpetuate control over the masses, are contrasted with revolutionary intellectuals who facilitate the moral, theoretical, and practical development of the masses through critical self-conscious awareness. These intellectual leaders of counter-hegemonic forces remain closely connected to the people, engage in a dialectal process of empowerment, and endeavor to hold together practical action and theoretical reflection. Revolutionary leadership is complicated by the need to

be deeply connected to the mass of society, yet draw people beyond their current conceptions of the world (Gramsci 1971). Nevertheless, this intellectual leadership is a crucial aspect of the revolutionary process as the subjects of hegemonic systems begin to imagine alternative social systems.

Social movements and their intellectual leaders, therefore, become a constructive vehicle for the integration and mobilization of progressive class and cultural projects.

Carroll and Ratner reflect

as the twentieth century draws to a close and as capital now fully encircles the globe while penetrating the everyday world of most of humanity, this totalizing dynamic has generated a great variety of negative effects that can still give a socialist meaning and identity to various forms of resistance. On this reading, the struggle for socialism remains central to counter-hegemonic politics, but that struggle should not be viewed as the predestined mission of exploited workers. Rather, the ‘unifying principle of socialism’ may not be *class*, but *resistance to capital* (Rustin 1988:146-171). Social movements may or may not align themselves with some aspect of working-class identity, but in any case capitalism’s totalizing dynamic is likely to be a common extra-discursive factor in their multiform struggles (emphasis in original) (Carroll and Ratner 1994:3-26)

In the face of capital’s global insatiability and hegemonic domination of state powers and civil discourse, social movements which integrate class awareness and progressive cultural agenda can serve as staging grounds for the war of position across a multitude of contemporary issues ranging from GLBTQ and race concerns to environmental and food

causes. To the degree that activists can weave labor and capital concerns into their work among passionate actors, these diverse movements potentially become the organic intellectuals in a renewed counter-hegemonic campaign.

Gramsci's counter-hegemonic lens sheds light on how recent movements have worked to bridge ideological and political-economic campaign framing. Analysis of the relationships between labor and new social movement organizations in British Columbia, Canada reveal significant coalition networking and a willingness to partner in campaign development. Here, political-economy framing appears to provide a common language to unite diverse activists (Carroll and Ratner 2010:7-22). Examination of conflicts over Roundup Ready wheat and recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone usage in Canada illuminates the powerful counter-hegemonic influence partnerships of farmers, supply-chain partners, and academics can bring to bear on state agricultural policy (Andree 2011:173-191). The struggle between global capital (supported by international free-trade agreements, transnational corporations, and global financial institutions) and civil society groups (e.g. the World Social Forum and anti-globalization organizations) becomes clearer and sharper when viewed through Gramsci's counter-hegemonic concepts. The conflict between global capital and civil society organizations can be understood as a war of position where revolutionary leaders work to help social movement organizations reframe common understandings shaped by hegemonic domination, and imagine an alternative set of future social, political, and economic relationships (Butko 2006:79-102).

Some contemporary food activists are beginning to recognize and call for a more direct linkage between food activists who campaign for specific issues that are frequently

perceived as identity or cultural issues (such as food safety, environmental protection, or food justice) and labor organizations. Schiavoni (2009:682-689) notes that a recent Brooklyn Food Conference directly addressed broader food worker issues amidst their concerns for poor and minority access to healthy, local foods. Despite their reluctance to participate in national political change, California farmers readily acknowledge the need for widespread policy changes to address inequalities in the farming system.¹⁴ Here organizers struggle with the tension between supporting local entrepreneurial opportunities and advocating for more progressive policy initiatives. Nevertheless, Allen, et.al. (2003:61-75) call for a more ambitious exploration of how to link issues of justice, sustainable agriculture, and labor and civil rights.

Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces as blocs of actors who struggle over political-economic relationships and dominant civil discourse provides a robust foundation on which to build an analysis of the national food advocacy movement. The movement's attention to civil discourse, national legislation, and corporate and state relationships as well as its search for approaches to transforming society's food and agriculture narrative makes Gramsci's approach particularly salient. This macro-theoretical framework also resonates with food regime literature that highlights the role of social movements and civil actors as central figures in the struggle over the next food and agricultural paradigm. Here Friedman is worth quoting at length,

¹⁴ In this research, farm organizers described their reliance upon foundations and other funding agencies as a central concern. Because these agencies tend to support entrepreneurial projects that rely on traditional business models, agricultural organizers are reluctant to pursue projects that criticize neo-liberal food system principles. Subsequent analysis will examine the correlation between funding sources and likelihood that national organizations would take up radical food system change agenda.

The tension at the heart of the emerging corporate-environmental food regime is thus coming into view: states, firms, social movements, and citizens are entering a new political era characterized by a struggle over the relative weight of private, public and self-organized institutions. The key issue, therefore, for food and agriculture, and for reshaping governance at all scales, is democracy. That implies rethinking the meaning of public. Eco-logical public health must encompass the biosphere. An unequal contest is underway over the restructuring international institutions. Whether there will be a public sphere at the global level depends in part on the outcome of struggles between governments and non-governmental organizations promoting the Life Sciences Integrated paradigm, and those promoting the Ecologically Integrated paradigm (2005:229-267).

This dissertation contends that the U.S. food advocacy network is the contemporary counter-hegemonic effort to claim such a future. U.S. food movements, representing a diverse set of issues, system change perspectives, alliances, and movement approaches, seek to address hunger, environmental crises, and power inequalities as they operate in a context dominated by high-intensity monocropping, free-market ideology, and corporate monopolies.

Understanding food activists as opponents of hegemonic powers embodied in ever-evolving manifestations of global food regimes begins to illuminate the challenges facing U.S. advocates. In order to more thoroughly examine how the counter hegemonic campaign struggles against powerful agricultural actors, additional analysis of the movement's structure and strategy is needed. How the U.S. food advocacy movement

employs its resources, responds to political opportunities, and frames its message in response to this hegemonic challenge begins with an examination of social movement literature.

Social Movement Literature

Despite an abundance of recent food and agricultural system analysis in the U.S. relatively few projects have either examined food systems through a social movement lens, or employed social movement concepts to extend Gramsci's counter-hegemonic theorizing. Activists and scholars alike have called for more thorough study of food organizations in the U.S. in hopes of attending to this analytical lacuna and providing insight into the strategic work of the U.S. food advocacy movement (Allen 2004; Morales 2011:149-176).

The concept of a "food movement" in the U.S. is a contested term with various authors describing it as "a movement of movements" (Holt Gimenez 2011), a united movement with "no center of gravity" (Fisher 2013), and a fractured movement inhabiting "a big lumpy tent" (Pollan 2010). The movement's elusive search for consensus might at minimum acknowledge that amidst tremendous ideological and political diversity, the movement(s?) can claim some degree of connection and shared agenda. One of the central questions for this dissertation is therefore, what is it that simultaneously binds this movement together and prevents greater unity?

Scholarly research of social movements has benefitted from a diversity of analytical approaches. Early collective behavior, social strain, and deprivation theories developed into more sophisticated conceptions of movements based on their need to mobilize staff, participants, and financial resources. Framing analysis examines how the

particular ways movements communicate their central themes simultaneously create and restrict opportunities for recruitment and coalition building. Whereas Political Process theory sets movements in dialectical relationships with opponents and a broader field of actors, New Social Movement analysis privileges social-psychological dynamics over structure and organizational realities. Recent efforts to synthesize these diverse perspectives have enlarged the lens through which social movements are examined and understood. In this section I will briefly review several of the major streams of social movement thought and discuss how their contributions illuminate the activity of the national food advocacy movement.

Collective Behavior

Early social movement analysis focused on theories explaining the emergence of collective actions from periods of severe social strain and disturbance. Such actions occur less as a result of organized political activity than as a response to deeply felt grievances (Staggenborg 2011). Morris and Herring (1987:137-198) broadly characterize this perspective as existing primarily outside of institutional structures, emerging as the result of a rapid social change or dramatic events, and placing an emphasis on the shared beliefs or psychological state of the actors.

Under the collective behavior umbrella, various scholars have prioritized the analysis of how movements arise from ideology and construction of collective social meaning (Morris and Herring 1987:137-198; Turner and Killian 1987), the theoretical role of strains and cultural breakdown as precipitating factors for collective action (Smelser 1962), the increased likelihood that rapid social change (such as industrialization) will produce isolated and alienated individuals susceptible to movement

recruitment (Kornhauser 1959), and the potential motivation that grows from individual's sense that they are being deprived of social benefits relative to what they believe they deserve (Davies 1962:5-19).

Subsequent analysts have criticized central elements of collective behavior theories. Some respondents argue that cultural strains threatening to break down norms are an enduring social feature and not a rare event that spurs collective action. Others note that a high degree of connection among activists is far more likely to predict movement participation than isolation. Furthermore, subsequent research reveals that contrary to theorist's claims, a sense of deprivation doesn't predict participation but may instead result from participation (Staggenborg 2011).

Although many collective behavior theory claims have been criticized by or reconceptualized under subsequent theoretical perspectives, their emphasis on non-institutional responses to social disturbance can be witnessed in food studies. The global concern with food shortages is a case in point. In 2008 the World Bank's Global Food Price Index hit its all time high causing 42 deaths and more than 5,000 injuries in 51 food riots in Argentina, Cameroon, Haiti, India and 33 other nations (The World Bank Group 2014:10). As the global price index is again moving toward new highs, food activists struggle to explain the causes and prepare for the ramifications of widespread food shortages (Holt Gimenez 2009:142-156; Reese 2014). Despite this example of collection action stemming from social upheaval, other theoretical perspectives are more valuable for analyzing the U.S. food advocacy movement.

Resource Mobilization

The resource mobilization perspective developed in response to collective behavior

theories and questions the close linkage between public grievances and the development of social movements. Its examination of the various resources, network linkages, and oppositional tactics necessarily privileges political and economic theory over the social-psychological forces on which collective behavior models primarily focused (McCarthy and Zald 1977:1212-1241). Key foci of the resource mobilization perspective include: the financial and labor (staff and volunteer) resources available to a movement, the structure of social movement organizations (SMOs), involvement of external individuals and organizations, the flow of resources to and from particular SMOs, and the costs and rewards associated with SMO participation (McCarthy and Zald 1977:1212-1241). Resource mobilization theorists argue that, contrary to collective behavior theories, SMO, structure, development and leadership are crucial to the success of movement campaigns. Several resource mobilization hypotheses and concepts are particularly valuable for the analysis of the national food advocacy movement.

First, McCarthy and Zald (1977:1212-1241) distinguish between conscience constituents who do not personally benefit from movement efforts and beneficiary constituents who do. In some instances, mobilizing resources from conscience constituents (those who have little to personally gain from the success of a movement, but whom nevertheless identify with the cause) has been central to the success of a movement (Jenkins and Perrow 1977:249-268). This distinction between resources originating from those who directly benefit from the work of a movement and those who do not becomes an important issue in chapter IV where I analyze the correlation between the source of organizational funding and how central an organization is in the national food advocacy network. Per McCarthy and Zald's hypothesis, I contend that the source

of these resources will be significantly correlated with the linkages among SMOs.

Second, although SMOs may work hard to develop linkages between beneficiary and conscience constituents in hopes of maximizing their political effectiveness, these attempted linkages may inadvertently create tension within the movement. Such insider-outsider tensions have been illustrated across a wide variety of campaigns ranging from the civil rights to the counter-military recruitment movements (Friesen 2014:75-97; Marx and Useem 1971:81-104). This source of potential conflict will become important in subsequent chapters as I analyze the degree to which national food advocacy organizations experience tensions connected to the status of various constituents. I expect that such strains will appear among those who represent these differing constituency statuses.

Third, McCarthy and Zald (1977:1212-1241) contend that “older, established SMOs are more likely than newer SMOs to persist throughout the cycle of SMI growth and decline” (1212-1241) and draw on Gamson’s (1975) research revealing that older organizations’ professional development, constituent connections, and fund-raising experience leave them better prepared than younger organizations to weather movement cycles. Furthermore, resource mobilization theories argue that larger income flows and size of the organization will result in more professionalized and larger staffs. These contentions relating the age and size of organization to income and professionalization will become salient questions in my quantitative analysis of the food advocacy movement. Here I will examine how the age of organizations, their annual income, the source of their income, and the size and salaries of their staff correlate with one another. Although I expect that resources will have a significant influence on staff size and

salaries, I also suspect that there will be some important interactions among these variables. For instance, how might the age of an organization or overall income received be related to constituency connections? Might some (older?) organizations need to abandon some relationships so as not to alienate wealthy foundation donors? If so, might this mean that younger organizations who care less about losing big beneficiaries are able to be more connected to one another and to those who participate in a wider variety of issues?

In contrast to collective behavior analysis, the resource mobilization perspective gives analysts tools to examine movement activity through organizational and structural lenses. McAdam notes that the resource mobilization perspective presents several significant analytical improvements from the previous collective behavior models including: a political rather than psychological focus, a shift of movement attribution from irrationality to strategy, the inclusion of external actors as forces in movement dynamics, and the resource needs of organizations (1982).

However, as noted by McAdam (1982), there are also some significant shortcomings to this approach. First, despite its strength of analyzing organized campaigns, the perspective does not improve scholars' ability to predict the rise of social movements. Contrary to resource mobilization's implication that movements often rely on wealthy benefactors to provide previously unavailable resources implies that elites role in movement generation is primarily supportive. This overlooks the possibility that elites and other external actors can just as likely be working to co-opt or directly oppose a movement working to foster social change. Second, rather than waiting for injections of outside resources, aggrieved groups and existing organizations are capable of mobilizing

for organized action. Third, proponents of the resource mobilization model have inadequately defined the concept of resources. Rather than the sweeping contention any degree of money or moral commitment or friendship can serve as a resource, movement analysts must more specifically define this concept. Finally, its rejection of the collective behavior perspective's claim that cultural strain can trigger mass responses blinds it to the reality that crises do materialize in societies and movements do appear at some times and not at others (1982).

Political Process Theory

The Political Process model proposes that social movements are the product of an ongoing interplay of actors inside and outside of the movement and the ability of insurgents to seize upon opportunities appearing in their political context. Moving beyond an analysis of SMO structures, political process theory emphasizes the dynamic relationship among activists, their political environment, and elites who work to counter the movement's progress.

Scholars argue that social movements are in a constant state of flux as they move through cycles of contention resulting from political opportunities appearing in shifting elite and partner alliances, and state support or oppression (Tarrow 1998). McAdam (1999) argues that there are four factors which affect the generation and ongoing efficacy of social insurgency. First, the political system in which the social movement is imbedded must shift to create political opportunities for social movement action to occur. This is not to say that political systems create social protest, but that changes in relationships among actors in the political system create openings that movements can exploit. In order for these changes to improve the chances for success they must both

reduce the power discrepancy between challengers and the establishment and raise the costs of repressing the action of challengers.

Second, an organization or network must develop a degree of organizational readiness that includes the recruitment of members, development of leaders, creation of a communication network, and framing of incentives that create solidarity and overcome the free-rider problem. Third, when political conditions and organizational strength begins to suggest the possibility of movement success, members of protest organizations need to experience a degree of “cognitive liberation” which will draw large numbers of participants into the movement’s campaign. The subtle cues that catalyze this transformation of consciousness and behavior lead people to reconsider the legitimacy of the existing system, reassert their rights in the face of previous fatalism, and commit themselves to action in place of their former acquiescence.

Finally in response to the development of a challenge agent, new control responses emerge to influence the activities of the protest movement. Movements must find ways to organize themselves to exploit early victories and create the capacity for ongoing mobilization and struggle. In doing so, movements risk three dangers, namely, 1) oligarchization and the creation of a leadership class that places organizational maintenance above the group’s goals, 2) co-optation and the possibility of being controlled by external forces through strings attached to financial or other resources, and 3) dissolution of indigenous support as more energy is dedicated to the creation of external ties than continued development of internal capacity.

In addition to these foundational political process dynamics, McAdam (1999) proposes revisions to his model in the second edition of his book. Among the more

significant adaptations are the importance of recognizing that all actors in a political field respond to interpretive reframing processes (not just the social movement being examined), the need to examine the interactive relationships among actors throughout the course of the movement (not just during the generation of the movement), and the need to consider international factors (not just domestic relationships) when analyzing the interactions, strategic choices, framing, collective identity, and other dimensions of the social movement and its relationship with other actors.

Political process theory provides a valuable lens through which to analyze the U.S. national food advocacy movement. Although subsequent findings and discussion chapters will more thoroughly examine how this perspective illuminates food movement dynamics, several examples serve to highlight the theoretical linkages. Several recent developments reveal political opportunities food movements are working to exploit. For instance, national attention aimed at what is considered an obesity epidemic remains a central national health concern in part thanks to Michelle Obama's "Let's Move" exercise campaign and frequent visits to farmers markets and urban garden training programs such as Growing Power in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. School lunch organizations, farmers markets advocates, and public health agencies have seen this as an opportunity to lobby for legislative changes in school lunch menus, increased funding for farmers market programs in the U.S. Farm bill, and local laws limiting the size of soda portions. Other opportunities grow out of continuing concerns with climate change, national hunger rates, and stalled wages following the 2008 recession. Where lawmakers feel pressure to respond to these environmental and health threats, food activists have made efforts to exploit these opportunities by linking industrial food production with carbon emissions,

lobbying for additional SNAP funding to address food insecurity, and support food laborers in wage disputes with fast food restaurants and Wal-Mart.

Political process theory's question of how movement organizations respond to elites is also a crucial one for the food advocacy movement. Conversations with activists reveal that their relationship with elites is a complicated one. While virtually all acknowledge the importance of funding to pay staff and support their operations, they are equally ambivalent about their relationship with major funders and benefactors.

Interviewees described a widespread perception that elites and their financial support of food advocacy organizations ranged from beneficent to capricious. Some argued that corporations create and lavishly fund "front organizations" to support their industrial agriculture agenda. Others hesitate to accept large contributions from companies for fear that these will begin to influence their organizational agenda.¹⁵ Yet others describe how foundation funding is generally more supportive of specific and quantifiable local food projects than organizing or advocacy projects. These reflections suggest that co-optation is a central concern of food activists who, while needing financial support, are acutely aware of the potential strings attached to it.

Framing Theory

Political process theory provides valuable insight into the food advocacy movement by examining how external political developments and elite responses become central concerns of movement organizations. An important and sometimes overlooked element

¹⁵ Growing Power's 2011 acceptance of a significant contribution from Walmart was roundly criticized by national food activists Philpott, Tom. 2011, "Walmart Drops \$1 Million on Urban-Ag Pioneer Growing Power", Retrieved June 6, 2014 (<http://www.motherjones.com/tom-philpott/2011/09/walmart-drops-1-million-urban-ag-pioneer>).

in these approaches is the question of how movements and their participants formulate and promulgate key symbols and issues. Snow et.al. borrow Goffman's (1974) concept of "frame" as a process of interpretation that enables individuals to organize and articulate life experiences. They argue "by rendering events or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize experiences and guide action, whether individual or collective" (1986:464-481) and advance the "frame alignment process" to link together individual and movement organization interpretive orientations or interests which increases the likelihood of association or participation.

Scholars further refine frame alignment by identifying four types of distinct processes. *Frame bridging* reflects the process by which connections are made between previously unconnected frames of individuals or organizations. *Frame Amplification* energizes beliefs or values connected with a particular issue's frame. *Frame Extension* occurs when movements expand the edges of its primary framework to include secondary issues that are not central to the movement, but are consequential to potential participants. Finally, *frame transformation* is pursued when existing frames fail to resonate with cultural values or participant experiences and therefore require the abandoning of old and reframing with new concepts Snow et.al. (Snow, Rochford, Wordern, and Benford 1986:464-481) further. Together, these processes of collective action framing reveal the complex set of negotiations occurring within movement organizations as they articulate their goals, strategies and values in order to attract participants and resources (Gamson 1992).

In a subsequent chapter Snow and Benford build on these frame alignment concepts by focusing more specifically on the conditions which "affect or constrain

framing efforts directed toward participant mobilization” (1988:197-218). Social movements must constantly evaluate how their message increases the potential mobilization of adherents, garners support of bystanders, and undermines their opponent’s strategic framing. Three concepts are particularly important to understanding social movements’ efforts to connect with potential supporters. *Diagnostic framing* seeks to identify the problem the movement is addressing and the cause of the problem. *Prognostic framing* takes a further step by suggesting solutions for the identified problem and as well as particular strategies and targets for movement action. Finally, *motivational framing* suggests a sense of urgency and attempts to provide persuasive reasons to become engaged in the movement (Snow and Benford 1988:197-218). Together, these core framing tasks provide a conceptual structure for beginning to analyze how movements approach their issue of concern, how they formulate a potential solution, and how they inspire the public to join their cause.

Snow and Benford’s analysis of the 1980’s manifestation of the peace movement and its focus on nuclear disarmament campaigns provides a poignant illustration of both the framing process and the conflicts that occur among movement activists. Analysis of the framing of the campaign revealed four distinct diagnostic perspectives, namely that technology, politics, economic or moral issues were at the root of the problem. The multiplicity of diagnoses understandably led to a variety of prognoses and strategic proposals. Various segments of the movement suggested approaches and tactics that primarily grew out of their diagnostic frame. Those who understood technology to be the central problem suggested a variety of technological solutions ranging from embracing a version of Ludditism to highly technical responses. Likewise, those who saw politics as

the problem focused on a range of efforts from establishing local nuclear free zones to greater global institutional authority over nuclear stockpiles (Snow and Benford 1988:197-218).

The nuclear disarmament campaign also reveals challenges around motivational framing. On the one hand activists discovered that their references to the potential cataclysmic results of nuclear war raised the public's attention and motivated some to join movement actions. On the other hand the same message functioned to prevent others from participating because the use of apocalyptic framing numbed and discouraged others from working to prevent an event that seemed overwhelming and inevitable (Snow and Benford 1988:197-218). Together, the core framing tasks of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing provide both an analytical framework through which to one begins to grapple with why some movements engage the public at a certain time and place, and a tool to illuminate the internal contradictions and complex processes movements encounter when framing their movement's narrative.

These organizational framing concepts provide a robust conceptual lens through which to analyze the symbols and narratives generated and promulgated by social movements and their opponents. Framing theory becomes an important perspective through which to analyze the food advocacy movement. For instance, many of the activists I interviewed claimed that siloing (the choice to restrict the organization's focus to a narrow set of issues and resist partnering with others across ideological lines) is a prominent feature of the food movement. This circumscribed framing of issues has the potential to significantly fracture the national food movement. In chapter IV I test this

theory and discover instead that frame extension is common among food organizations that frequently focus on a multitude of food issues simultaneously.

Conversely, diagnostic and prognostic framing appear to explain a significant rift in the national food movement. For example, organizations who hold a food security perspective on the national food system argue that the problem facing the food system is that there is not enough food available to people who are hungry and that increased federal funding of SNAP and cooperation with food corporations will help feed the hungry masses. In contrast, organizations that hold a food sovereignty perspective argue the problem facing the food system is that large corporations, and the significant influence they wield over federal agricultural policy, drive down wages and increase poverty and hunger. Where food security advocates diagnose hunger as a problem with the quantity of food, food sovereignty advocates diagnose hunger as a problem of capital and corporate control. Hence, where food security advocates propose greater charitable involvement with corporations to alleviate hunger, food sovereignty advocates promote the reduction or elimination of corporate participation in the food system. Here, framing issues are essential in understanding a central feature of the national food movement.

New Social Movement Theory

Developing independently of the previously cited theoretical traditions, the New Social Movement viewpoint primarily originated in Europe and claims that peace, environmental, GLBTQ, and other movements primarily focused on identity issues are distinct from particularly class-based movement (e.g. the labor movement) (Mackenzie 2004:50-55; Staggenborg 2011). This focus on how culture and everyday politics influences movement development is evident in research that ranges from the

examination of the role of emotions in protest to the study of the Culture Jamming movement (Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001; Lasn 2009; Nepstad and Smith 2001).

A central theme and important contribution to new social movement theory makes to the field is its concept of collective identity. Scholars describe how shared experiences among groups of movement participants serve to forge a sense of collective agency and the belief that their work can affect social change. Social movements, therefore, are constructed not as static or stable organizations, but as fluid networks of relationships that must be nurtured lest tensions inhibit the likelihood of collective action. Constantly renewing collective identities produce cultural innovations that enhance movements' abilities to generate collective action (Melucci 1988:329-348; Snow 2001).

The importance of collective identity becomes evident in the national food advocacy movement in several ways. For example, Slow Food International founded in 1986 in Bra, Italy now includes an estimated 100,000 members in 150 countries including chapters in every U.S. state (Slow Food USA 2014). Originally founded as an association with the goal of supporting and defending good food, gastronomic pleasure and the slow pace of life it has expanded its focus to international campaigns against the use of genetically modified crops, support of bio-diversity projects, creation of national hunger-relief partnerships, and advocacy for fair-trade and sustainable agriculture projects (Parkins and Craig 2006; Slow Food 2014). A central Slow Food theme is the emphasis on connecting good local food with communities who eat together. This intentional connection between food activism (an effort to support local producers of regionally specific agriculture) is tied to relationship building among chapter members. Local Slow Food chapters (aka *Convivia*) who meet regularly to plan events and visit

local producers are considered communities who create and reinforce alternative views of agricultural production and the connection between farmers and consumers. In this corner of the food movement activists understand social movement advocacy and community building as deeply intertwined (Mackenzie 2004:50-55).¹⁶

Food movement activists also reflected on their longing for greater relationship development in the movement. One of the most frequently cited needs indicated by my interviewees was for more conference gatherings to get to know each other better. Newer activists sensed that they did not know senior leaders. Organizers from one issue sector felt that they didn't know advocates in other sectors. Although food conferences may provide a setting for joint policy development or strategic planning, interviewees described the opportunity for "face time" as the most important aspect of these gatherings. Several lamented the September 2012 dissolution of the Community Food Security Coalition specifically because the organization sponsored one of the few national gatherings that brought together advocates from across multiple issue sectors.

Recent social movement research has endeavored to integrate the structural perspectives of resource mobilization and political process theories and new social movement's emphasis on cultural and relational dynamics (Oliver, Cadena-Roa, and Strawn 2003:213-244). The political process model becomes more valuable when opportunities and threats are understood through the perceptions of actors (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001:387). The integration of a social network structural analysis with consideration of how activists are recruited into movements expands our understanding

¹⁶ Parallel understandings might be found in national food advocacy organizations such as Oxfam America or World Vision who sponsor campaigns to connect donors with recipients in an effort to tie social change campaigns to personal faith identities.

of the mobilization process (Klandermans 1997). An integrative approach which avoids bifurcating social-psychology and political structures enables one to more clearly recognize the culturally bound constraints and opportunities encountered by social movements and their participants (Polletta 2004:161-183).

Social Network Analysis and Social Movements

The study of social movements has elicited a rich variety of definitions which have focused on contentious politics, organizational structures, and ideological vehicles (McCarthy and Zald 1977:1212-1241; Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004:3-16; Staggenborg 2011; Tilly 1984:297-317). In light of this diversity, Diani (2003:299-319) proposes a definition that synthesizes prevailing perspectives by suggesting that social movements are “networks of informal interactions, between a plurality of individuals, groups or associations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity” (299-319).

Several elements of this definition are particularly salient for this project. First, Diani’s emphasis on movements as constituted by informal linkages reveals the benefit of analyzing movements’ relational structure in order to more clearly understand the alliances, rifts, and possible explanations for these movement associations. The national food advocacy network topography has been the source of a particularly heated debate among activists and scholars who argue that its range of actors make up a single movement (Fisher 2013), is better characterized as a movement of movements parsed by system change perspectives (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144), or is most aptly viewed as consisting of groupings of organizations with distinct issue priorities such as hunger, sustainable agriculture, etc. (Allen and Sachs 1993:139-168; Gottlieb and Fisher

1996:23-32; Nicholson 2011:9-20). Examining the network of national food advocacy groups will shed important light on the character of this movement.

Second, Diani's definition reminds scholars that movements may be constituted of individuals as well as organizations. Van Dyke and McCammon (2010:xi-xxviii) note that research into the relationships between movement organizations is particularly important because the assumption that movements are made up of homogenous actors likely masks the unrecognized tensions that can inhibit or fracture movement formation. These relationships will become particularly important given the diversity of food actors' ideological perspectives and how these networks create alliances and fissures across the broader movement network.

Third, the definition argues that movements may be engaged in conflicts of either political or cultural significance. Whereas popular conceptions of the food movement frequently dwell on a "foodie" stereotype representing middle-class access to fresh food, the majority of food advocacy organizations are actively engaged in political and economic battles rooted in race, class, labor and other structural agenda. Acknowledging the propensity of movements to focus on cultural or political issues becomes particularly salient for this research noting that one of the central food advocacy debates centers on the degree to which activists focus on the cultural or political aspects of the movement network.

Finally, Diani emphasizes the importance of a shared collective identity. Elsewhere Diani notes that shared identity need not imply homogeneity but instead recognizes the ongoing renegotiation of purpose and character that occurs among movement participants (1992:1-25). The presence of extensive network relationships

among food advocacy actors reflects just such an effort and highlights the need to closely examine how actor's identity framing is reflected in relationships across the movement network.

Although social movements have been studied through a variety of theoretical and methodological lenses, social network analysis offers a particularly valuable perspective into the analysis of movement structure and dynamics. In contrast to explanations that privilege discrete variables or categorical attributes to explain social processes, Emirbayer (1997:281-317; Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994:1411-54) challenges scholars to resist the categorical imperative and become more theoretically relational in their analysis. Diani (2000:387-406) observes that social movements are less interesting because of their interest in radical action, ideological novelty, or organizational forms but are instead distinctive because "they consist of formally independent actors who are embedded in specific local contexts (where 'local' is meant in either a territorial or social sense), bear specific identities, values, and orientations, and pursue specific goals and cooperation an/or mutual recognition in a bond which extends beyond any specific protest action, campaign, etc." (Diani 2003:299-319). Network analysis is valuable because it reveals how actors are embedded in their social context and variously connected to a diversity of partners. These relationships can then be analyzed to examine changes over time, map the interconnectedness of organizations, contrast actual relations among actors as opposed to theorized connections, or consider the forces that influence the development and dynamics of the movement's structure and activity.

Various scholars have utilized network analysis to examine a variety of movements. Phillips' (1991:755-782) linked her study of the Canadian women's

organizations network to assess the perception of movement effectiveness on national legislation. Sawyer and Groves (1994:435-459) utilized a similar approach to conduct an analysis of women's lobbying coalitions in Australia and discovered how differences in organizational philosophy and development of issue-specific coalitions appear to weaken network ties. Diani's (1995) examination of the network of 55 organizational actors in the Milanese environmental movement integrates individual activist opinions and involvement in the Italian Environmental movement to ascertain the nature of the connections among activist groups. Saunders (2007:227-243) analyzes London environmental groups to examine the nature of the connections among groups and discovers correlations between the type of organization and its propensity to share information and engage in collective actions. Together, these studies reveal how network analysis can be used to analyze a broad variety of movement questions and perceive dynamic social relations beyond the actions of individual organizations.

This dissertation utilizes social network analysis to map the topography of the U.S. food advocacy network via their participation in 30 national food coalitions. This method is valuable because of its ability to capture the conceptual strengths of the major theoretical perspectives outlined above. After exposing the linkages among national food the organizations I will utilize quantitative and qualitative data and analysis to advance explanations for these relationships. These findings begin to reveal how organizational identity, strategy, resources and other dynamics are related to activists' conception of the hegemonic food system and their efforts (or lack thereof) to undermine it.

In particular, this approach provides the opportunity to test four specific theories advanced by food system scholars and activists that propose how food movement

organizations' framing is reflected in movement relationships. Although each of these theoretical positions have their strong supporters, these models have received little if any empirical scrutiny. Whereas virtually every activist organization argues that in order for the movement to achieve its goals it must find ways to unite across its differences, without a clearer sense of what binds groups together or keeps them apart, there is little chance that greater unity and political efficacy will occur. Therefore this project's use of social network analysis in conjunction with ideological framing theory serves to benefit both scholarly analysis of the movement and activists' need for a clearer understanding of the relationships among fellow movement organizations. In the section that follows I lay the foundation for a social network analysis of the food advocacy network by outlining these various food system theories and specify the hypotheses to be tested.

Food System Literature

Food Advocacy Issues, Siloing and Value Homophily

One approach used to explain the structure and dynamics of a movement network is based on the degree to which organizations share a common framing of the problem and solutions addressed by movement organizations. Scholars suggest that similarities in organizational values is reflected in denser network interactions (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001:415-444; Saunders 2007:227-243). Analysis of network relationships based on value homophily has revealed how similarities in values facilitates increased interaction in the environmental movement and leads to organizational proximity and information linkages in voluntary organizations (Di Gregorio 2012:1-25; Galaskiewicz 1979). Network homophily can therefore be understood as the tendency of organizations to form linkages with other organizations that share a similar interest area.

A related idea that has been used to explain the structure of movement networks is the concept of siloing. Originally used as a term to describe the inability of information systems to function outside of their primary design space, the term has become a ubiquitous description of actors whose limited focus inhibits connections with different people or organizations (Sharp 2009:103-122; Wertheimer 2005:42). Evans (2012:1-7) specifically applies the concept to social movements when he entreats anti-globalization actors to “break out of ‘organizational silos’ that restrict individual movements’ focus to single issues and particular constituencies” (1-7). Siloing can thus be conceptualized as the propensity of similar organizations or groups of organizations to form bonds with one another while avoiding connections with those who do not share their interest areas.

Hypothesis #1: Organizational Siloing: National food advocacy network relationships are characterized by a high density of ties between organizations with similar food interest areas and, conversely, a lower density of ties between organizations with dissimilar food interest areas.

Food Advocacy Coalitions and Alliances

The preceding discussion concerning food system issues reveals the importance organizations place on forming partnerships to pursue their goals. Beyond the first hypothesis that focus primarily on single issues and the perspective of individual organizations, scholars recognize the readiness of organizations to form larger advocacy networks which share broader purposes in order to achieve their goals. These more expansive groupings emerge when movement organizations partner to work on one or more shared projects while still maintaining their own organizational structure (Van Dyke and McCammon 2010:xi-xxviii).

In response to increasing globalization and the reach of transnational corporations, activists recognize the need to create networks that extend beyond their regions and localized agenda (Keck 1998). Existing research into broad organizational partnerships has examined a variety of activist networks such as the environmental movement (Murphy 2005:235-250), labor movement (Bandy 2004:410-431), and gay and lesbian rights movement (Adam 1987). Food activists and scholars likewise recognize the crucial need to develop broad and lasting relationships among diverse organizations who champion diverse causes such as sustainable agriculture, hunger relief, social justice, and fair labor if they are to move the U.S. food system toward a more socially just, environmentally sustainable, and biologically nourishing future (Allen 2004; Altieri 2000:77-92; Nicholson 2011:9-20).

Two definitions of organizational partnerships are particularly important for this project. First, for my purposes, I embrace Van Dyke and McCammon's (2010:xi-xxviii) notion that social movement organizations often work together on common projects and issues while maintaining separate organizational structures. I therefore define *coalitions* as those formalized relationships that frequently encompass multiple goals, require long-term efforts, and expect organizations to commit to an ongoing partnership. Examples of these partnerships include the National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition or the Farmers Market Coalition. For this dissertation, national-level food and agriculture coalitions (n=30) are identified and analyzed as the events to which individual organizations (n=71) sign onto when structuring the initial two-mode network analysis matrix.

I further define *alliances* as a second conceptual grouping of organizations distinct from coalitions. As opposed to formally joined partnerships (e.g. through board

action, membership dues, or signing a policy support letter), alliances are networks of organizations whose grouping is suggested through a network analysis process. Organizations do not formally join an alliance, nor is there an expectation of partnership duration. Alliances are primarily discerned by observing which members of a broad network of actors indicate a commitment to an attributive criteria. For instance, scholars and activists consistently agree that a significant number of food advocacy network members are committed to social justice as defined by supporting poor and minority access to healthy food or advocating on behalf of farm workers. Despite the absence of an overarching “Social Justice Food Advocacy Coalition” few would deny that this frame of reference is strongly represented in the network and provides a compelling perspective on food and agriculture policy in the U.S. The concept of alliance, as distinct from coalitions, becomes particularly valuable when analyzing the relationships among a broader set of actors and testing several prominent theories regarding the structure and dynamics of the food advocacy network.

In the section that follows I introduce two methods for analyzing the relationship between food advocacy alliances and the U.S. Food Advocacy Network. First, I introduce four food advocacy alliance structures that are frequently described in food system literature as embodying particularly significant food framings. I then present four alliance competition configurations that food scholars and activists argue shape the central conflicts within the movement. Despite extensive discussion of these alliance configurations, few efforts have been made to empirically test their presence or robustness. In chapter IV I will utilize several statistical methods to analyze these alliance relationships and illuminate the degree to which they explain the structure and

relationships within the food advocacy network. Scholars and activists contend the following four alliances dominate national food advocacy discourse:

Foodies

One contingent of actors interested in food issues is colloquially referred to as “foodies.” Despite a popular assumption that foodies are only interested in gourmet and exotic foods, Johnson and Baumann (2010) describe foodies as embodying “an intricate intermingling of aesthetic and political concerns” (2010). Although much of their discourse is apolitical, when they do raise political framings foodies primarily invoke three food issues: privileging local acquisition of food, seeking out sustainably produced organic food, and valuing animal welfare (Johnson and Baumann 2010).

Energized by authors such as Pollan (2008), Kingsolver (2007), Schlosser (2001), and Nestle (2006), foodies are frequently interested in supporting sustainable agriculture, farmers markets, community supported agriculture, urban gardens, and local food policy councils. The foodie contingent has experienced significant growth in the past two decades and has likely spurred positive economic changes for local producers and ecological benefits for small farmers (Alkon and Agyeman 2011:1-20).

Despite a superficial interest in connecting producers and consumers, and a sentimental dislike large-scale agriculture, foodies generally do not embrace class or race issues in their framing of food politics (Pietrykowski 2004:307-321). Because this manifestation of the food movement is predominantly white, middle-class, and has the wealth necessary to purchase local organic food, broader social, political, and economic issues have rarely contributed to this alliances’ framing (Alkon and Agyeman 2011:1-20). Social justice, hunger, indigenous control of food systems, and exploitation of farm labor

are noticeably absent from foodies' political framing (Johnson and Baumann 2010). Although foodies' relative disinterest in political framing might make the consideration of a foodie advocacy alliance structure irrelevant for food movement analysis, their growing economic power, presence in food system analysis literature, and discursive approach which stands in stark contrast to other alliance framings merits their inclusion as an alliance structure, if for no other reason than to test later conceptualizations of the food network alliance conflicts introduced below.

Social Justice Advocates

In contrast to the foodie alliance's disengagement with food system injustices, an alliance of social justice advocates argue that the existing food system is fundamentally warped by race and class discrimination that impacts the production, distribution and consumption of food.

Institutional injustices are manifested through a variety of practices. During the 1970s and 1980s supermarket chains, in search of greater profit, closed urban food outlets and followed the middle-class from the city to the suburbs resulting in limited nutritious food for poor and minority inner-city communities (Eisenhauer 2001; Morales 2011:149-176; Morland, Wing, Roux, and Poole 2002:23-29; Slone 2004:49-50). Black farmers have historically faced significant discrimination primarily as a result of prejudicial government and private agricultural lending practices (Green, Green, and Kleiner 2011:47-64). Indigenous communities facing increased hunger and destruction of environmental resources reveal the intertwined relationship among history, race, environment, food, and political power (Norgaard, Reed, and Van Horn 2011:23-46). Today's U.S. farm-laborers, who are predominantly Latino, routinely face dangerous

working conditions, low wages, and, hunger (Brown and Getz 2011:121-146; United Farm Workers 2006). According to social justice advocates, if progress is to be made in creating a more socially just, environmentally sustainable, and nutritionally sound food system, actors must engage race and class injustices experienced by low-income and communities of color (Alkon and Agyeman 2011:1-20).

Sustainable Agriculture

A third alliance structure frequently described by activists and scholars advocates for a sustainable approach to agricultural systems. In broadest terms, James describes sustainable agriculture as “farming systems that are capable of maintaining their productivity and usefulness indefinitely” (2006:427-438).

Despite its succinctness and popular parlance, there is significant debate in the literature regarding what sustainable agriculture actually entails. Where some scholars argue that in a accelerated globalized context the term simply defies definition (Gold 1999), others contend “there seems to be more agreement on what is not sustainable: continued dependence on nonrenewable resources, excessive soil erosion, depletion of the ozone layer, reduction of biological diversity, economic inefficiency, increasing human population, decline of rural communities, and unjust social and economic developments” (McIsaac 1994:9-34). The challenge to clearly define sustainable agriculture is further complicated by the conflict that arises when approaching the question from an economic or ecological perspective. Whereas economists might privilege the question of how local, regional, or national policies should be designed to sustain the economic viability of agricultural enterprises (including those who might be particularly committed to practices that support biological diversity or the reduction of

synthetic inputs), environmentalists might privilege the question of how policies should encourage soil and water conservation or integration of biological pesticides (arguing that these will inevitably support long-term economic viability) (James 2006:427-438).

Food advocacy organizations appear to rarely engage in philosophical debates regarding the precise definition of sustainable agriculture. Additional research into these discursive subtleties would be valuable for examining the degree to which organizations privilege economic or environmental frames or which ecological priorities they incorporate into their goals and strategies. In order to facilitate an evaluation of the sustainable agriculture alliance, this project utilizes the following, albeit imperfect, definition of sustainable agriculture as a set of practices that includes “soil and water conservation; crop rotation, diversified crop and livestock farming; integrated pest management practices; limited use of synthetic herbicides, pesticides and fertilizers; low input agriculture; and organic farming” (James 2006:427-438). The sustainable agriculture alliance includes those organizations that are committed to these agricultural practices.

Hunger

Scholars and activists posit a fourth alliance structure composed of food advocacy organizations primarily focusing on addressing the immediate needs of the growing number of hungry Americans. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture 14.5 percent (17.6 million households) were food insecure and 5.7 percent (7.0 million households) experienced very low food security in 2012 (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, and Singh 2013). Food Insecurity is defined as “a difficulty at some time during the year providing enough food for all their members due to a lack of resources,” where Very Low

Food Security occurs when “the food intake of some household members was reduced and normal eating patterns were disrupted at times during the year due to limited resources” (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, and Singh 2013). These statistics reflect an increase from 2000 where 10.4 percent of Americans were food insecure, and 3.2 experienced very low food security. USDA research also reports that food insecurity was substantially higher for households with children headed by single women or men, Black and Hispanic Households, and households located in urban and rural areas, as opposed to suburban and exurban communities (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, and Singh 2013).

Food Advocacy organizations address food insecurity through projects such as responding to natural disasters with emergency humanitarian food aid, supporting national networks of food banks, providing food for school nutrition programs, aiding seniors through grocery programs, reducing and redistributing food that would otherwise be wasted, improving families’ access to government food supports, and recruiting private agencies to support hunger relief programs (Bread for the World 2011; Feeding America 2013; World Vision 2013). As opposed to previously described alliances, networks of hunger organizations less frequently examine questions of food quality (in contrast to foodies) and rarely engage environmental concerns or questions related to race and class inequalities. Hunger organizations and their theorized alliance focus primarily on how to get food to those who are experiencing chronic or catastrophic food insecurity.

Food Advocacy Alliance Competitions

Theorizing that the national food movement is structured as sets of alliances allows researchers to approach the network with a new set of analytical lenses. Beyond focusing simply on the question of how individual issue areas reflect relationships within the

movement, researchers are able to test how commonly conceived food alliances are related to the networks' structure. Scholars and activists contend that a series of competitions are occurring among these alliances. Given the four alliance structures described above, there would be potentially six combinations of competitive relationships reflected in the food advocacy network:

1. Foodies vs. Hunger
2. Foodies vs. Sustainable Agriculture
3. Foodies vs. Social Justice
4. Hunger vs. Sustainable Agriculture
5. Hunger vs. Social Justice
6. Sustainable Agriculture vs. Social Justice

However, only four of these competitions have been described or theorized by activists and scholars. Before describing these four rivalries in more detail, it is valuable to consider the two conflicts that are not present in food activist literature, namely: Foodies verses Sustainable Agriculture and Sustainable Agriculture verses Social Justice.

Although additional research would be required to reveal the precise reasons for the absence of these potential rivalries, one can discern some possible explanations. Because Foodies and Sustainable Agriculture frames share significant overlap in their commitment to organic production methods, these two alliances are likely to make similar choices on which national food advocacy coalitions and campaigns to join and would therefore be unlikely to be perceived as competitors.

Hunger and Social Justice advocates, while not necessarily sharing a significant commitment to the integration of race and class issues into their food activism, both

prioritize the need to address malnutrition and access to healthy food. Hunger advocates frequently approach the need for adequate food from a religious and charitable perspective arguing that government, business, religious, and other institutions have the moral obligation to feed the hungry and poor through safety net programs, corporate donations, or food banks. Social Justice advocates argue that the same set of organizations have both a moral and (to a greater degree) legal obligation to address the systematic discrimination that prevents poor and minority communities from having access to healthy food. Despite approaching the question from two different directions, their overlapping commitments likely explains why scholars and activists rarely mention the hunger and social justice alliance structures as rivals in the national food advocacy network. Having considered these two alliance pairs, it becomes valuable to consider the four alliance competitions that are more frequently named as influencing the structure of the U.S. national food advocacy network in order to test the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis #2: Organizational Alliance Competitions: National food advocacy network relationships are characterized by a high density of ties between organizations with similar alliance concerns and, conversely, a lower density of ties between organizations with dissimilar alliance concerns.

Foodies and Social Justice Alliance Conflicts

The first competition suggests that the U.S. food advocacy network can best be characterized by a competition between foodies and social justice activists. The tension between these two alliances within the food network is rooted in both their diagnosis of the food system's problems, and their approaches to remedying the situation. Foodies argue that the food system's problem grows out of an industrialized system that prevents

the production of nutritious food. Placing profit before public health, agro-business undermines local, organic, humane, and sustainable food production. Foodies respond to this threat by “voting with their forks” and purchasing (often more expensive) food in order to both support local food producers and create a more favorable market for nutritious food (Alkon and Agyeman 2011:1-20; Johnson and Baumann 2010). Social Justice advocates, while generally agreeing with foodies’ criticism leveled against agro-business’s role in creating an unhealthy food system, further argue that systematic race and class injustices present in the U.S. food system also make healthy food inaccessible to poor and minority communities. Food activists must therefore push for changes aimed at addressing race and class discrimination imbedded in the food system’s production, harvesting, marketing, consumption, financing, and ownership.

Social justice actors criticize foodies and frame a conflict between the two alliance structures based first on foodies’ apparent indifference toward race and class issues. While occasionally engaging in food politics, foodies rarely address systematic racial prejudice or how the high cost of healthy food leaves nutritious food inaccessible to many low-income communities (Pietrykowski 2004:307-321). Additionally, social justice advocates argue that the predominantly white and middle-class composition of the foodie perspective is a significant part of the conflict. “It consists of a group of ‘like-minded’ people, with similar backgrounds, values, and proclivities, who have come to similar conclusions about how our food system should change...The similar lifestyles held by (foodie) adherents are reflected in its movement narrative” (Alkon and Agyeman 2011:1-20). The conflict between the food movement’s foodie and social justice organizations is therefore both a function of the framing and identity of the alliances. In

chapter IV I will examine this conflict and assess the degree to which it appears in the relationships present in the U.S. food advocacy network.

Foodies and Hunger Alliance Conflicts

Food advocates and literature suggests a second alliance competition that structures the food advocacy network. Reflective of the disagreements describing tensions between foodies and social justice advocates, disputes over position and perspective dominate the relationship between foodies and hunger alliances.

Among other food politics omissions, foodies are generally unmoved by food security and hunger issues (Johnson and Baumann 2010). Foodies disinterest in systematic racial discrimination in the food system parallels their disinterest in hunger issues. Foodies' ability to purchase organic and local food leaves them disconnected from a reality where people go without food. Furthermore, their approach to system change which emphasizes a neo-liberal, market-based approach that calls consumers to purchase more organic food in hopes of creating greater demand and subsequent supply of healthy food contrasts with the hunger alliance's advocacy for a charitable and social safety-net approach to feeding the hungry (2011:1-20). Both their class positions and diagnostic perspectives on the food system place these alliances in opposition to one another.

Hunger and Sustainable Agriculture Alliance Conflicts

Activists and scholars contend that a third alliance structure sets anti-hunger advocates against proponents of sustainable agriculture and explains the structure and dynamics of the U.S. food advocacy network. According to this conceptual framing, alliances of organizational actors are separated by tensions between urban/rural and

consumer/producer issues (Allen 2004; Allen and Sachs 1993:139-168; Gottlieb and Fisher 1996:23-32). For example, whereas some advocates are concerned with access to healthy food for urban communities and emergency food for unemployed workers, others work to maintain family farms and search for environmentally friendly alternatives to synthetic pesticides. Clancy (1993:251-294) argues that the historical disinterest of agricultural advocates toward those concerned with hunger and poverty is the result of a myriad of ideologies, political decisions, misperceptions, and incompatible goals. Despite farmers and the poor benefitting nearly equally from farm support and food stamp programs, political battles frequently pit hunger issues against agriculture supports (Clancy 1993:251-294). Based on this perceived tension in alliance framing, scholars and activist leaders continue to call hunger and sustainable agriculture advocates to create linkages and build a more inclusive organizational network across their particular food system perspectives (Clancy 1993:251-294; Gottlieb and Fisher 1995).

The perceived competition between hunger and sustainable agriculture alliances with their focus on urban vs. rural and consumer vs. rural framings provides a second network structure to test against the food advocacy network as indicated by this project's data.

Sustainable Agriculture and Social Justice Alliance Conflicts

A final food alliance model advanced by the food politics literature proposes that the U.S. food network is divided according to promoters of sustainable agriculture verses social justice advocates. Building on the preceding discussion which examined sustainable agriculture and social justice in relation to other wings of the U.S. food movement, Winne (2008:199) reframes the alliance relationships. He argues that

sustainable agriculture and social justice represent two historical branches of the food movement and that the contemporary friction between them influences today's network relationships. One branch of the food movement was advanced primarily by well-educated and privileged whites that grew out of the 1970's environmental movement and was inspired by Earth Day, and writers such as Rachel Carson, Henry David Thoreau, and Wendell Berry. Another branch of the food movement was shaped by the civil rights movement, advocated for social justice, anti-racism, and neighborhood empowerment principles and was inspired by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, and Cesar Chavez (Winne 2008:199).

Various efforts have attempted to draw these players together such as the Community Food Security concept which attempts to bridge anti-hunger, sustainable agriculture and social justice priorities movements (Dahlberg 1993:75-102; Gottlieb and Fisher 1996:23-32). Although sustainable agriculture has worked to broaden its framing to include social justice, "in practice, however, the equity component has been systematically marginalized," leading Agyeman, et.al. (2003) to argue for a just sustainability paradigm that can "ensure a better quality of life for all, now, and into the future, in a just and equitable manner, while living within the limits of supporting ecosystems". Such efforts to create links between these alliance players are complicated by the organic agriculture's increasing profitability and industrialization resulting in a deprioritizing of progressive politics (Alkon and Norgaard 2009:289-305; Guthman 2004) and the diverse framing approaches adopted by local communities (Alkon 2008:271-289).

The ongoing effort to wed sustainable agriculture and social justice concepts

reveals a enduring challenge to create network connections between alliances of organizations who struggle to unify two distinct perspectives on the U.S. food system (Alkon and Mares 2012:347-359). Does this conceptual framing explain the structure of today's food advocacy network?

Social Movement Organizations and Interest Group Politics

To this point, this project's analytical framing has been drawn from the work of food scholars who focus on issue areas and alliance structures. A third theoretical framework that is valuable to consider is the effort to differentiate between social movement organizations (SMOs) and interest groups (IGs).

An ongoing discussion among social movement scholars pertains to the distinguishing characteristics of and relationships among different forms of collective action such as large scale revolutions, political parties, gang activities, and social movements (Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004:3-16). The relationship between SMOs (e.g. the Occupy or environmental movement) and IGs (e.g. the National Rifle Association or the ACLU) are frequently described as sharing interests in influencing general social behaviors as well as accomplishing specific policy objectives (e.g. rolling back Roe v. Wade or advocating for more stringent gun control). Some argue that because of the difficulties of clearly differentiating the categories and scholarly habits of conflating the groups, the categorical distinction between SMOs and IGs is an artificial and outdated one (Burstein 1999:3-21; Gamson 1990; Saunders 2007:227-243)

However, Snow et.al. (2004:3-16) argue that there is value in carefully defining these players and distinguish between them based on three characteristics. First, whereas IGs tend to be recognized by their relative position to government or policy, SMO

activity frequently extends into other institutional settings and engages multiple authorities. Second, although IGs are seen as established players within the political system, SMOs generally do not wield a similar degree of political access. Third, IG's lobbying and other institutional approaches are contrasted to SMO's utilization of non-institutional tactics such as direct action protests or boycotts (Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004:3-16). Other scholars note additional distinctions including SMO's greater reliance on organizational members over IG's focus on large financial donations, SMO's less hierarchical structure as opposed to IG's corporate organizational model, SMO's proximity to grievances compared to IG's being located near seats of political power, SMO's relatively youthful age, and SMO's greater embeddedness in social networks and engagement in a broader range of issues than IGs. These characteristics suggest that while IGs generally have greater access to political power structures, they also tend to be less radical in their proposals for social and political change (Burstein 1999:3-21; Cisar 2013:616-620; Goode and Angus 2008).

Although Table 1 provides ideal types of organizational groupings, it is also important to consider how individual organizations might exist on a continuum between these types, and that organizations, over time, might be characterized as nearer one type than the other. The quantitative analysis in chapter IV of this dissertation utilizes regression analysis of the above variables with organizational network eigenvector scores revealing both a spectrum of organizational positioning and insight into which elements appear most strongly correlated with organizations' position. Whereas food scholars have focused on issues, alliances, and system change perspectives as a means to understand the relationships within the U.S. FAN, applying the theoretical distinctions

suggested by collective action theory and particularly the characterization of SMOs and IGs proposes another lens through which to understand the structure and dynamics of the U.S. FAN. The following hypothesis will be used to test this framework:

Hypothesis #3: Social Movement Organizations and Interest Groups: The national food advocacy network is characterized by social movement and interest group distinctions that correspond with organizational network centrality.

Table 1: Social Movement and Interest Group Distinctions

| | Social Movement Type | Interest Group Type |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Network Centrality | High | Low |
| Office Location | Non-DC | DC |
| Member Income | Higher | Lower |
| Highest Staff Salary | Lower | Higher |
| Years since inception | Younger | Older |
| Number of Issues | More | Less |
| Degree of Radicalism | More | Less |

Food System Change Perspectives

The first three hypotheses to be tested follow from assumptions that the food advocacy network is primarily structured based on organizations’ issue areas, the broader alliances that coalesce around groups of issues, and the distinction between social movement and interest group organizational types. Food system literature suggests a fourth model for thinking about the forces that shape the food advocacy network. Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011:109-144) examine how organizational perspectives on food system change differ among actors and where strategic partnerships are most needed in order to foster significant change in the U.S food system. In addition to their system change concept they highlight the particular importance of the progressive food advocacy perspective.

Food System Change Frameworks

U.S food advocacy movements embody a wide variety of responses to the contemporary food regime. Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011:109-144) propose a four-category framework which identifies food system actors by their main institutions, food model orientation, approaches to the food crisis, and key documents. In contrast to an issue-area focus, the system change framework identifies branches of the food movement based on their understanding of the problems with and solutions to the U.S. food system crisis. Their analysis resonates with Snow and Benford's (1988:197-218) social movement framing concept and their contention that diagnosing problems and providing a prognosis are among movement's most important tasks. After outlining Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck's theoretical framework, I will discuss the challenge to unite these diverse branches of the U.S. food advocacy movement and the unique role of the progressive branch of the movement.

Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck's framework comprises four categories of food system players nested within two overarching viewpoints. The Neoliberal (aka Food Enterprise) and Reformist (Food Security) perspectives are gathered under the Corporate Food Regime while Progressive (Food Justice) and Radical (Food Sovereignty) perspectives fall under a Food Movement umbrella.

Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck begin by describing the Food Enterprise perspective as embedded in the hegemonic neoliberal system dominated by the conviction that "human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2007). Driven by international

finance institutions (e.g. World Bank, IMF, WTO), monopoly corporations (e.g. ADM, Monsanto, Cargill), state farm policies (e.g. U.S. farm bill, the E.U.'s Common Agricultural Policy), and well-financed philanthropy (e.g. the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation) this constellation of actors promotes agricultural trade liberalization, expansion of global commodity markets, development of proprietary genetically modified agriculture, increased use of emergency food aid, and replacement of peasant traditions with high-technology farming techniques to solve global hunger crises (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144). It is against this global hegemonic food regime that the following three advocacy branches of the U.S. food movement work to make either minor or radical changes to the food system.

The Food Security perspective proposes minor reforms to the neoliberal hegemonic system without challenging the central principles of the corporate-driven, Food Enterprise system. In hopes of nudging food corporations, state policies, and global financial institutions toward less damaging behaviors, actors in the food security wing of the U.S. movement call on consumers to “vote with their forks,” encourage voluntary corporate self-regulation, and advocate for increased public financing of state safety nets as avenues to address food and agricultural crises (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144). Despite efforts to promote policies that support the rural poor, food security advocates remain rooted in an economic perspective built on the conviction that free market mechanisms can solve hunger and nutritional crises (Schanbacher 2010).

Although Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck place food security organizations (such as Bread for the World and World Vision) in greater proximity to the Food Enterprise perspective, I have included them as members of the U.S. food advocacy network in order to analyze

their relationship with other food movement players and their role in the broader U.S. food movement.

The Food Justice perspective injects a critical race and class analysis into the food system discussion. Alkon and Agyeman argue that “essential to the food justice movement is an analysis that recognizes food system itself as a racial project and problematizes the influence of race and class on the production, distribution, and consumption of food” (2011). This progressive trend, according to Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck is “grounded in an empowerment orientation in which the poor, oppressed and underserved assert their rights through the power of self-respect and community organization” (2011:109-144). Reflective of an environmental justice framework which applies a race and class critique to environmental harms (Bullard 1990; Commission on Racial Justice 1987; Mohai, Pellow, and Roberts 2009:405-430), food justice advocacy is particularly active in locations such as West Oakland, CA; South Bronx, NY; Detroit, MI; and Milwaukee, WI. (Alkon and Agyeman 2011:1-20). Food Justice scholars argue that in an effort to survive as a movement and growing commercial market, sustainable agriculture activists have formed partnerships with gourmet food industries that mask race and power dynamics which prevent poor and minority communities from accessing or developing healthy food systems food. (Alkon and Norgaard 2009:289-305). Food Justice advocates argue that attention to institutionalized race and class discrimination is crucial to the success of the U.S. food movement.

Contrary to the Food Security perspective which generally accepts the Food Enterprise framework while proposing minor reforms, and the Food Justice approach which advocates for a progressive reexamination of food system analysis through a

critical race and class lens, Food Sovereignty advocates argue that the central crises of the food system are the inevitable result of the capitalist system (Guthman 2011; Sen 1981). While reforms are laudable, and the need to address race and class injustices is undeniable, the real solution to food crises is found in the reorganization of food system through, among other things, the dismantling of corporate controlled industrial food monopolies, redistribution of land, and reestablishment of community rights over food, water, and seed resources (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144). Activists call for radical transformation of market based food systems in order to put “the aspirations, needs and livelihoods of those who produce, distribute, and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations” (La Via Campesina 2011). This radical Food Sovereignty perspective calls for directly addressing the system of capital that reframes food as a source of human life and community into a commodity used to create profit for corporate monopolies.

In contrast to food system theories that rely on single issue or issue alliances, the system change framework proposes that partnerships and rifts among food security, food justice, and food sovereignty frameworks best explains the structure of the U.S. food advocacy network. This proposal is expressed by,

Hypothesis #4a: Organizational System Change Perspectives: National food advocacy network relationships are characterized by a high density of ties between organizations with similar food system change perspectives and, conversely, a lower density of ties between organizations with dissimilar perspectives.

Chapter IV will test the elements of this hypothesis by comparing the density of linkages

within and among the organizations characterized by each of these perspectives. The results of this analysis will be used to compare how this set of theorized relationships explains the structure of the national food network relative to the previously hypothesized explanations.

Food Movement Unity and the Progressive Perspective

Food movement scholars argue that despite the many perceived rifts among organizations and alliances within the food advocacy network, in order to create change, fragmented relationships must coalesce to foster system-wide change. Amin (2011:xi-xviii) argues that a high degree of respect for ideological and political distinctions must be integrated into food movement organizing. “We are not in a situation in which a leading part alone can create a common front. It’s very difficult to build convergence in diversity, but unless this is achieved, I don’t think the balance of forces will shift in favor of the popular classes” (xi-xviii). Likewise, Allen (2004) suggests that “developing a food movement that works toward social and environmental justice requires developing a coherent vision that encompasses an understanding of the contradictions of the current system and includes all relevant constituencies in the movement” . Here, scholars envision a unified food advocacy platform that validates political diversity to produce systematic change.

Scholars simultaneously note, however, that the need for a greater degree of political activism is difficult for organizational constituents. For example, an examination of California food agrifood initiatives reveals that despite their conviction that systematic political and economic change is needed, few alternative food initiative leaders pursue activist work preferring instead to invest in foundation friendly projects

such as community gardens (Allen, FitzSimmons, Goodman, and Warner 2003:61-75). Unifying a network of organizations that, in addition to holding to diverse issue areas and system change perspectives, struggles with maintaining friendly relationships with its members and foundation funders, becomes very difficult.

As opposed to the vision of creating a movement with one common platform for systematic change, Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011:109-144) suggest the possibility of a different network configuration. They argue that the Food Justice or progressive trend is particularly important when considering the likelihood of significant change in the U.S. food system. “To the extent Progressive groups are enrolled in Reformist projects, the corporate food regime will likely be strengthened, the differences between the progressive and radical groups will deepen, and the food movement overall will be weakened. It is doubtful this scenario will bring a out substantive reform” (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144). Alternatively, they argue, if Food Justice organizations partner with Food Sovereignty groups, there is a greater likelihood that significant system-wide change could occur. While food movement organizations should find ways to engage daily problems of hunger and environmental degradation, it is the emphasis on progressive and radical partnerships leading structural change that holds the greatest hope for large-scale transformation of food systems and remediation of nutritional, environmental, social, and economic misery. Do existing network relationships reflect this structure? Do Food Justice groups represent a “swing vote” torn between Food Security and Food Sovereignty alliances? Although this is a provocative theoretical model, it has neither been empirically tested, nor compared to issue-area models in its ability to robustly explain the structure and dynamics of the U.S. food

advocacy network. The following hypothesis summarizes these concepts and provides a logic to test this framework,

Hypothesis #4b: Significance of the Food Justice perspective: Organizational linkages tend to, (1) be more dense among organizations who share similar Food Security and Food Sovereignty perspectives, (2) be less dense among organizations representing the opposing perspective, and (3) exhibit a similar degree of density between the Food Justice perspective and each of the Food Security and Food Sovereignty perspectives.

Food movement activists and scholars have proposed a variety of frameworks to understand the U.S. food advocacy network. Some contend individual issue concerns create rifts in the movement while others argue the food network can best be understood as a series of broader alliance structures. Whereas social movement scholars examine the distinctions between social movement and interest group types, food analysts propose unique system change perspectives as a framework to explain the relationships among network actors. Despite a wealth of theoretical proposals, little empirical analysis has examined the validity of these claims. Furthermore, sparse effort has been employed to connect Gramsci's counter-hegemony concepts to contemporary food movement concerns.

A mixed methods approach utilizing network, statistical, and qualitative analysis offers a robust examination of how the national food movement is organized to resist hegemonic domination of the food system as outlined by Antonio Gramsci, food regime concepts, and social movement literature. Each of these theoretical perspectives privilege the examination of movement unity, risks of co-optation, sensitivity to political

opportunities, and awareness of cultural and political dynamics. This project's mixed methods approach uniquely illuminates these concepts. A social network analysis of the national food network establishes the topological structure of the movement revealing degrees of network centrality and how organizations cluster together. Statistical analysis of financial and other variables reflecting reliance on hegemonic powers suggests the degree to which some organizations are more likely to be co-opted and examines how their degree of radicalism might be correlated to corporate and state support. Interview data collected from movement leaders further enriches these findings particularly regarding how leaders understand the structure of the food movement and perceive the challenges faced by those who seek to challenge the dominant food system and the hegemonic actors who support it.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

This dissertation collects, analyzes and integrates data utilizing three methodological approaches, namely, social network analysis of 71 national food organizations, statistical analysis of these organization's attribute data, and qualitative analysis of 36 semi-structured interviews with food advocacy activists. This mixed-methods approach not only allows for the triangulation of findings, but also provides a synergistic opportunity as various methods build upon the unique lens each brings to data analysis. In this methods section I describe my approach to data gathering, coding, operationalization, and analysis. The following sections outline first, how I created the national food advocacy social network, second, how I collected, coded, and analyzed attribute data related to food advocacy groups' issues, alliances, systems change perspectives, and collective action variables, and finally third, how I collected, coded, and analyzed this project's semi-structured interview data.

Social Network Analysis Concepts

As a research perspective, social network analysis privileges the assumption that relationships among actors are of particular importance. The acknowledgement that the linkages between entities are as important as the players themselves leads researchers to view actors in social systems as interdependent contributors and recipients of resource flows who are constrained or enabled by network structures which endure over time. Because the unit of analysis in this perspective is a collection of entities and the ties among them, this relational lens stands in contrast to research approaches that view subjects as independent or autonomous actors (Emirbayer 1997:281-317; Wasserman and

Faust 1994).

Network analysis is commonly utilized either as a descriptive or theory testing method. In descriptive contexts the structure of a network is captured and explained by describing its degree of density, the relationships among subgroups of actors, or the position of particular entities. In applied settings, this data could be utilized by, for instance, union organizers whose work would be aided by knowing who are the most central parties (and presumably most influential voices) in a local airplane production plant. On the other hand, the theory testing approach creates models which hypothesize expected network relationships and then statistically tests them against observed network patterns (Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson 2013; Wasserman and Faust 1994).

This project utilizes the latter theory testing approach. In my analysis I propose hypotheses derived from theories regarding how issues, alliances, collective behavior distinctives, and social change perspectives influence the structure and dynamics of the U.S. food advocacy network. In the sections that follow I will introduce several additional network analysis concepts and explain how I operationalize the above hypotheses.

Central to an examination of the food advocacy network are several social network analysis concepts namely: nodes, ties, groups, and direct vs. indirect linkages. Actors or nodes are the entities that compose a network and can be either individuals or organizations. Linkages or ties are the social relationships that connect nodes to one another and, depending on the analyst's research question, can measure any number of diverse relationships such as friendships, information exchanges, or shared sponsoring of a direct action event (Breiger 2004:505-526). For instance, if we were interested in the

relationship between individual students and their teacher, we might operationalize the connections between individual students and their teacher as the number of times students raise their hand to answer a question.

In this project, national-level food advocacy organizations are the nodes with ties being operationalized as joint participation in national food advocacy coalitions. In order to better understand the ties among national-level food-advocacy organizations three additional network concepts are helpful to discuss. First, ties among nodes can identify broader network structures and may be defined as dyads (ties between two actors), triads (ties among three actors), or other numbers of actors participating in groups and subgroups. In our classroom, we might discover a triad of a teacher and two students who raise their hands twice as much as all the other students. Similarly, several hypotheses proposed by food scholars argue that the food advocacy network can best be described by groups (alliances) of food advocacy organizations whose ideological framing prevents them from establishing linkages between their group structures.

Second, when preparing matrices used to analyze network data, scholars commonly distinguish between direct and indirect relationships between organizations. Whereas direct relationships exist where there is some immediate connection between actors such as an exchange of resources or a personal friendship, indirect links are “reasonably inferred from joint participation of two actors in the same set of events or activities (when this does not entail face-to-face interaction)” (Diani 2002:173-200). Although analysts must use caution when inferring significant relationships between actors by virtue of their shared membership in the same coalition, analysis of indirect linkages can be particularly valuable when direct relationship data is unavailable or

unreliable (Diani 2002:173-200). For this project, because the relationships among food advocacy organizations are mediated by their joint membership in national coalitions their relationships are considered indirect.

Finally third, network analysts frequently code direct or indirect linkages between actors into either one-mode (direct) or two-mode (indirect) matrices. One-mode matrices consist of a spreadsheet with the names of all the nodes across the top horizontal row and the same nodes listed in the same order down the first vertical column. Relations are typically coded in a binary (“1” if there is a relationship, “0” otherwise) or weighted (numerical scores from “0” or above or below related to a coding scheme, such as the number of times a student raised her hand) metric. For instance, a researcher who learns that Juan (aka child #3) considers himself a friend of Alycia (aka child #5) would enter a “1” in the cell at column 5, row 3 (in one-mode matrices columns are always the recipients of row’s sent ties). This would represent a “directed” relationship since the tie is only direction from Juan to Alycia. If Alycia reciprocated and considered herself a friend of Juan the tie would be “symmetrical” and the researcher would subsequently place a “1” in the cell a column 3, row 5. This data is then analyzed utilizing network analysis software to reveal relationships among nodes and groups of nodes (Breiger 2004:505-526; Wasserman and Faust 1994).

Researchers also employ two-mode (aka “affiliation”) matrices to create a spreadsheet with the names of all nodes listed down the first vertical column and “events” listed across the top horizontal row. Relations again are again typically coded in a binary fashion indicating if the node is connected to the event. For example, a classroom researcher may want to learn how sports connect students to one another and create a

two-mode matrix with students (nodes) listed down the first row and sports (events) listed across the top line. Because Alycia plays soccer and basketball and Juan plays baseball and basketball the resulting coding matrix would indicate a shared participation in basketball and reveal one network tie between them. Analysts frequently transform two-mode affiliation data into a one-mode matrix utilizing software that counts the relationships between each nodal binary and presents these the sum in the shared cell. In Alycia and Juan's case, if basketball was their only shared sport, the number "1" would appear in both cell 5,3 and 3,5 (the transformation from two- to one-mode data creates a mirrored result across the matrix's diagonal (which reveals the number of events that node joined) (Breiger 2004:505-526; Wasserman and Faust 1994). Having examined these foundational network concepts, we can begin to more closely examine the U.S. food advocacy network.

The U.S. Food Advocacy Network

Network scholars frequently face the perennial challenge of creating boundaries for network analysis designs. Whom to include and exclude from a project may be simple when studying an elementary school classroom, but becomes more challenging when attempting to discern who is and is not part of a national social movement. Network analysts generally describe the boundary setting process as consisting of a realist, nominalist, or a hybrid approach (Emirbayer 1997:281-317). A nominalist approach privileges an analysts' exogenous perspective by selecting which nodes to include based on an established criteria (Diani 2002:173-200; Knoke and Kuklinski 1982). For example, an analyst might choose a geographic location framed by mountain ranges as a way to identify which villages will be included in a network matrix. A realist approach

privileges a networks' endogenous perspective where nodes are included based on the relationships experienced by system actors themselves. (Knoke and Kuklinski 1982). For instance, a network matrix might instead be created by asking villagers who they trade with (and subsequently discover that mountains pose little threat to intrepid villagers). Many boundary creation approaches, however, draw on both of these approaches and create hybrid boundary-setting models. For instance, Saunter's (2007:227-243) analysis of London environmental organizations begins with a nominalist criteria to identify likely nodes and follows-up with a realist strategy that used a survey to identify actual network relationships. Diani (2002:173-200) describes a common hybrid or "relaxed realist" approach where researchers begin by identifying a likely set of actor nodes which meet an established nominal criteria and then utilize the nodes' links with other nodes to create a saturated network matrix through snowball sampling.

Creating the Network

My approach to creating the food advocacy network boundary reflects a hybrid model and entailed three stages. First in order to initially establish which organizations should be considered active in the U.S. Food advocacy network I compiled one year of online postings from two prominent food advocacy list serves (COMFOOD and Food_Justice) between October 1, 2011 and September 30, 2012 and identified the senders of the 4008 postings. Use of online data is becoming more commonplace as scholars discover the frequency with which organizations use the internet to develop relationships, organize events, and share resources (Adamic and Glance 2005:36-43). One year of submissions gave organizations significant time to make postings. Furthermore, congress' effort to craft the 2012 Farm Bill made this a particularly opportune time to collect data as the

listserve's political conversations were especially vibrant. However, by the end of September 2012, congress's inaction on the 2012 Farm Bill convinced most organizations that the bill would not be taken up until after the Nov. 2012 presidential election and conversation around the farm bill appeared to wane. During this time 117 actors posted on the two listserves.

Three categories of actors posted on these listserves: organizations, coalitions, and campaigns. I define organizations as those groups who generally have a 501(c)3 status, a mission and set of goals, and whose members are individual citizens. I define coalitions who likewise generally have a 501(c)3 status, a mission and set of goals, but whose members are organizations. Finally, I define campaigns as those who also frequently have a 501(c)3 status, and whose members are organizations, but whose agenda and life-cycle is more narrowly focused than coalitions. The primary distinction between coalitions and campaigns is that organizational members expect to engage in a longer-term and broader relationship when they join a coalition, whereas organizational members expect a more narrowly focused and often shorter-term relationship in campaigns. For example, organizational members of the National Family Farm Coalition can expect to participate in long-term efforts to bring change to U.S. farm policy, where organizational members of campaigns can assume that when the federal government has completed the Pigford legal settlement with black farmers who were discriminated against in federal agricultural loans, the campaign will disband. In short, individual citizens join organizations and organizations join coalitions and campaigns (Van Dyke and McCammon 2010:xi-xxviii). Although I collected data from both coalition and campaign lists, this project only analyzes organizational relationships derived from

coalition participation. Because coalition memberships imply a more significant organizational commitment, this approach increases the likelihood of gathering a more robust snapshot of network relationships. Future analysis would benefit from a comparison of this additional campaign data to the present coalition-based approach.

My original intent was to create a one-mode matrix among all food advocacy organizations and dichotomously code relationships among them. However, less than 28% of the organizations' partner lists were available online and follow-up phone calls revealed many organizations unwilling (not feeling comfortable distributing their ally lists) or unable (not keeping a specific list of partners) to share their lists. Because direct link data among food advocacy organizations were largely incomplete, I choose to analyze indirect relationships among the organizations mediated through their common participation in food advocacy coalitions.

Having collected a list of 117 organizations and coalitions I began recording and snowball sampling the organizational membership lists of each coalition. I also examined each organizational website in search of additional food advocacy coalitions to analyze. All organizational actors were subjected to a nominal criteria consisting of three elements used to discern if they should be considered part of the U.S. food advocacy network: 1) Is this a national-level organization? (as opposed to a local, state, or regional entity), 2) Is this an organization for whom food and agriculture is a central agenda? (Groups need not be exclusively focused on food, nor need it to be their top priority. However, to be included in the network, food, farming or agriculture needed to feature prominently in the group's mission, vision, or program activities), and 3) Is this organization engaged in policy advocacy? (as opposed to being primarily a service,

charitable, educational, or research organization). After exhaustively snowball sampling through websites (and conducting six phone calls with coalitions/campaigns whose membership lists were not available online), recording all membership lists in search of groups that meet the inclusion criteria, the network reached a saturation point yielding 82 organizations connected to one another through and 30 coalitions, and 21 campaigns that make up the U.S. food advocacy network circa 2012.

Once these organizations, coalitions, and campaigns were identified I created three two-mode (affiliation) matrices with organizations listed vertically in the first column and affiliations listed horizontally across the top row in an excel spreadsheet. I created these separate matrices in order to conduct comparative analyses between campaign and coalition affiliations. Organizations were coded with a “1” in the corresponding affiliation column if they were a member of the given coalition or campaign, and “0” if not. One matrix included the 66 organizations (80.4% of the total network of 82 organizations) linked through their campaign affiliations, a second included the 71 organizations (86.6%) linked through their coalition affiliations (see Figure 1; see the Appendix for all figures). And a third that included all 82 organizations linked through their combined coalition and campaign affiliations. 52 organizations (63.4%) were members of both networks leaving 30 organizations (36.6%) who were partners in one or the other. I then transformed each of the affiliation matrices yielding a one-mode matrix that summed the total number of common events in which each organization participated and revealed links between organizational nodes based on their shared participation in either campaigns, coalitions (see Figure 2) or a combination of both.

At this point in my research I made the decision to focus exclusively on the coalition relationships among organizations for three reasons. First, coalition relationships (as opposed to campaign partnerships) represent a more substantial relational connection among organizations due to their longer-term relational expectations. This characteristic is more likely to provide valid insight into organizational relationships than the inclusion of campaign networks. Second, my interviews with senior staff activists primarily focused on their reflections on being part of food advocacy coalitions as opposed to campaigns. This shared concern increases the compatibility of my quantitative and qualitative data to be analyzed in chapter VI. Finally third, relational data resulting from linkages among 71 organizations (see Table 2; see the Appendix for Tables 2-21 and 23) through 30 coalitions (see Table 3) creates an abundant set of network relationships that provide a robust foundation on which to build subsequent quantitative and qualitative data analysis.

Complete Network Characteristics

How does one analyze the characteristics of the national food advocacy network? In the sections that follow I will introduce the specific analytical approaches I utilized to examine the hypotheses outlined in the previous chapter. UCInet 6.0 and the NetDraw programs (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 2002) were used extensively to create network illustrations, generate and compare density statistics, and calculate centrality scores to be used in conjunction with statistical and qualitative data to illuminate correlations among network, financial, identity, and other variables.

For the purposes of capturing a snapshot of overall network characteristics, I utilized UCInet 6.0 to compute the network's overall density as calculated by the number

of ties in the food advocacy network divided by the number of possible ties $(n(n-1)/2)$. This score provides a statistic on a scale of 0.00 to 1.00 with a higher number indicating a greater number of linkages among nodes and provides a valuable baseline against which subset density scores can be compared.

Quantitative Data Collection, Operationalization, and Analysis

Once I collected the complete list of 71 organizations connected through food advocacy collations I gathered and operationalized data pertaining to each organization's agricultural issue agenda, preferred approach to changing the U.S. Food system, and financial condition. This attribute data will be correlated with network data to analyze how specific positions, change perspectives, and financial issues explain the structure of the U.S. Food Advocacy Network. In the following sections I describe how I collected, operationalized, and analyzed attribute data related to the organizational issue framing, alliance participation, organization type and finances, system change perspectives, and qualitative activist interviews.

Issue Framing and Organizational Siloing

The following procedure was used to gather and code agricultural and food issue content data from organizational websites between April and August 2013. I began by creating an excel spreadsheet with organizations listed in rows and issues listed in columns. I then generated an initial list of issue codes based on a random sampling of 15 of the 82 organizations. An intern joined the coding process and we divided the remaining organizations in half and continued the process by examining each organization's website and documented the presence and absence of food and agriculture issue priorities described in mission and vision statements, organizational principles, strategic plans or

key program areas. All codes were clearly defined, mutually exclusive, and represented an exhaustive list of all the issues named by the all the organizations. Organizations were coded dichotomously with a “1” in the corresponding column if they identified the area as a central concern, and “0” if not (Singleton and Straits 2005:622).

Each coder added new issue areas codes as new food system concerns appeared. The two coders met at the beginning, mid-point, and after completing the coding process for each of their assignments to conduct a full review of all coding decisions and resolve questions about how to code questionable issues. Although the use of multiple coders can increase the risk of miscoding certain issue areas, repeated consultations to clarify coding decisions provided the benefit of creating more robust coding categories and cross-checking the other’s work. This process yielded 47 distinctive agricultural issue areas described by the 71 national food advocacy organizations under examination.

Many of the agricultural issue topics were mentioned by few of the advocacy organizations. For instance, only three organizations named support of Country of Origin Labeling (COOL), five named humane farm-animal rights, and four named resistance of agro-fuel development as primary concerns. Rather than analyze every code, I noted those issues that were most frequently named by organizations. The top twelve issues that were noted at least 15 times are listed in Table 4.

I analyzed organizational issue data in order to test the following: *Hypothesis #1: Organizational Siloing: National food advocacy network relationships are characterized by a high density of ties between organizations with similar food interest areas and, conversely, a lower density of ties between organizations with dissimilar food interest areas.*

I tested this hypothesis using two methods. First, I created an excel spreadsheet that listed issue area codes for each of the 71 organizations. I counted the number of organizations who prioritized each of the issues areas and calculated the percentage of how many organizations had X or more linkages across these dissimilar food issue areas. Results are found in Table 5. The results of this tally reveal the degree to which network participants form linkages across issue areas and provide a basis on which to judge the contention that organizations are siloed.

Second, I used UCInet to calculate the density of ties among organizations with similar attributes and between those who share an attribute and those who do not. Results are found in Table 5. This subgroup analysis reports an E-I index that reveals the degree to which each issue area grouping forms an isolated cluster of organizations. These results are compared to one another and the overall network density to provide another method to assess the contention that organizations who share similar issue attributes are more likely to partner with homophilous organizations.

Finally, I created a set of network visualizations highlighting those organizations who do and do not participate in each of the 12 respective issue areas. Samples of these illustrations are presented in the Appendix as Figures 3 and 4 and identify organizations and do and do not identify hunger and labor as issue area priorities.

Network Alliance Structures

In order to analyze how food advocacy alliances explain the structure of the food advocacy network I created four network variables indicating whether or not each organization was a part of one or more of the four alliance structures described above (the Hunger Alliance, Sustainable Agriculture Alliance, Social Justice Alliance, and the

Foodie Alliance). I operationalized these alliance indicators by creating a list of food issue areas that reflect the character of each of the four alliances (see Table 6). For instance, because Sustainable Agriculture is concerned with protecting pollinators, climate change and the environmental effects of synthetic inputs, the organization was coded with a “1” indicating they were part of the Sustainable Agriculture Alliance, otherwise they were coded with a “0” for this alliance structure. All the organizations were coded using this process for each of the four proposed alliance structures.

This coding process required a degree of subjective judgment regarding the threshold at which an organization should be considered part of a given alliance. As noted in Table 13, each alliance has different numbers of code indicators (Foodies: 12, Social Justice: 8, Sustainable Agriculture: 8, Hunger: 5). Had organizations been judged to participate in an alliance if it identified only one indicator, virtually all organizations would have be categorized as participating in most alliances. In contrast, if an organization were judged to participate in an alliance if it were required to identify all indicators for the respective alliance, almost no organization would be categorized as participating in any alliances. Because neither of these approaches yield useful data, I chose a threshold that required an organization to identify approximately 20-25% of the codes before it would be considered a participant in the alliance. For example, this resulted in organizations being identified as part of the Foodie Alliance if they indicated more than two foodie codes among their priorities (likewise, Social Justice Alliance participants >1, Sustainable Agriculture Alliance >1, and Hunger >0). This resulted in different combinations of approximately 30-35% of the possible organizations participating in each respective alliance (see Table 7).

I analyzed organizational alliance data in order to test the following: *Hypothesis #2: Organizational Alliance Competitions: National food advocacy network relations are characterized by a high degree of ties between organizations with similar alliance concerns and, conversely, a lower density of ties between organizations with dissimilar alliance concerns.* Reflective of the previous analysis of organizational issues, I tested this hypothesis by creating an excel spreadsheet that listed alliance participation for each of the organizations. I counted the number of organizations who participated in each of the alliances and calculated the percentage of how many organizations had linkages across these dissimilar food alliance areas. Results are found in Table 8.

Second, I used UCInet to calculate the density of ties among organizations with similar alliance affiliations. Results are found in Table 9. As reflected in the previous issue area approach, this subgroup analysis reports an E-I index that reveals the degree to which each issue area grouping forms an isolated cluster of organizations.

Third, I created a table reporting the raw count and respective percentage of organizations participating in alliances according to the six theorized alliance competitions described in chapter II (see Table 10). This analysis reveals how many organizations participate in neither, one, the other, or both of the respective pairings of alliances and sheds light on the degree to which organizational alliance affiliation explains the relational structure of the food advocacy network.

Fourth, I created a table reporting the density of ties among organizations of respective alliance structures (see Table 11). In addition to the raw counts and percentages reported in Table 10, this approach examines the density of connections among organizations that participate in neither, one, the other, or both of the respective

pairings of alliances. This analysis illuminates contrasts between alliance group relationships and can point to those pairs of alliances that appear particularly close or distant from one another.

Finally, I created a set of network visualizations highlighting organizational participation in each of the four respective alliance areas. An example of these illustrations is presented as Figure 5 in the Appendix and identifies organizations that participate in neither, one, the other, or both of the respective pairings of alliances.

Organizational Type and Financial Data

Organizations' financial data was collected between April and August 2013 utilizing the Foundation Center's 990 Finder online search engine (Foundation Center 2014). The online system searches by IRS EIN (Internal Revenue Service Employer Information Number) or name of the organization and makes several of the group's most recent IRS 990 forms available for download in pdf format. The IRS requires that not-for-profit organizations file either a 990 or 990EZ form each year. Form 990 is typically used although form 990EZ may be used by organizations that claim less than \$200,000 in gross receipts and \$500,000 in total assets (Internal Revenue Service 2013). While the 990EZ form does not require the same degree of detailed information as form 990, both versions contain equivalent categories that allow for analysis of financial data regardless of which form the organization filed.

I began by creating an excel spreadsheet with organizations listed in rows and financial variables available from 990 tax forms listed in columns. An intern joined the financial data collection process and we divided the 71 organizations in half and began searching for and downloading pdfs of the most recent 990/990EZ tax form available for

each organization. The following financial data was downloaded and recorded into the excel spreadsheet including:

1. total annual revenue disaggregated into membership dues, program services, government grants, non-cash contributions, investment income, fundraising projects, royalties, rental income, and other contributions,
2. total number of staff, total staff salaries, benefits and compensation, and highest paid executive,
3. total annual expenses and net asset balances,
4. date of organization's inception,
5. organization's office location

Financial data from organizational 990/990EZ forms were gathered for 62 of 71 organizations (87.3%). Data for the remaining four organizations were unavailable for three reasons. Two organizations had been founded within the last year and had not yet filed a form with the IRS. Four organizations are sponsored by religious agencies and are not required to file 990 forms. Three organizations are sponsored by other agencies and do not file independent 990 forms. After completing the downloaded and recording process, the intern and I exchanged excel files and spot-checked each others' work on 20 random organizations to confirm correct data entry.

I analyzed organizational alliance data in order to test the following: *Hypothesis #3: Social Movement Organizations and Interest Groups: The national food advocacy network is characterized by social movement and interest group distinctions that correspond with organizational network centrality.* I tested this hypothesis by utilizing UCI.net social network analysis software to calculate the eigenvector scores for each

organization connected through the network of national food coalitions. The higher the eigenvector value, the more centrally located the organization is in the network, and vice versa. I then created an excel spreadsheet that recorded data related to characteristics that theoretically distinguish social movement organizations from interest groups (e.g. total annual revenue, staff salary, primary office location). Finally I employed open source R statistical software to run multiple regression analysis, generate R^2 and p-values for the correlations between eigenvector values and these organizational variables. Results are found in Table 12. The results of this analysis reveals the degree to which organizational centrality is related to organizational type (i.e. social movement organization or interest group).

Organizational System Change Perspectives

As described above, national food organizations tend to adopt one of three perspectives when advocating for change in the U.S. food system. These perspectives are closely related to the strategic approaches utilized by food activists. The Food Security perspective campaigns for change through incentive-based certification, food industry self-regulation, and efforts to persuade congress and business to reform corporate policies and federal legislation to create a healthier and fairer food system (Conroy 2007; Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144). Food security activists frequently prioritize congressional lobbying efforts in their campaigns to influence lawmakers on such legislative concerns such as the Farm Bill which is generally renewed every five years.

The Food Justice perspective privileges a critical race and class analysis and argues that food system change is predicated on confronting the food system's deeply ingrained institutional discrimination (Alkon and Agyeman 2011; Alkon and Agyeman

2011:1-20; Alkon and Norgaard 2009:289-305; Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144). The Food Sovereignty perspective argues the capitalist economic structure is to blame for U.S. and global food system crises and that solutions should be sought through the dismantling of corporate controlled industrial food monopolies, redistribution of land, and reestablishment of community rights over food, water, and seed resources (Guthman 2011; Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144; La Via Campesina 2011; Sen 1981). Both the food justice and food sovereignty perspectives tend to privilege grassroots organizing and direct action over lobbying campaigns.

Food system change data was gathered from organizational websites between April and August 2013. I created an excel spreadsheet listing the organizations identified as a member of the national food advocacy network as rows and the three system change perspectives as columns. I then examined the mission and vision statements, organizational principles, strategic plans, and key program areas of each's website. Based on the definitions described in Table 13 I identified each organization as holding a food security, food justice, or food sovereignty perspective on U.S. food system change. Organizations were coded dichotomously with a "1" in the corresponding column based on which system change perspective they held and "0" if not. Because subsequent analysis procedures required categories to be mutually exclusive coding progressed so that no organization could be included in multiple system change categories (e.g. an organization could not be coded as holding both a Food Security and Food Justice perspective).

In general, recognizing organizations that held food security perspectives was straightforward. However, because food justice and food sovereignty perspectives share

similar viewpoints on the need to address social injustice and seek systematic reforms in the U.S. food system, discerning between these two understandings presented an additional challenge (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011:109-144). To distinguish between food justice and food sovereignty outlooks, I utilized the following criteria. An organization was judged to hold a food sovereignty perspective if they met three of the following four criteria:

1) Did the organization name food sovereignty as their overarching system change perspective in their online organizational materials? Although in most cases naming the food sovereignty framework confirmed the organization's perspective, further analysis of mission and vision statements, organizational principles, strategic plans, and key program areas occasionally revealed that the organization did not meet the definition of food sovereignty summarized in Table 14. This contrast between organizational understandings of the food sovereignty concept and activities that reflect the perspective's policy position and social activism reveals a degree of conceptual uncertainty that will be investigated later.

2) Is the organization a member of one of the two most prominent U.S. coalitions that explicitly advocate for a food sovereignty system change concept, namely the North American Region of the international peasant's movement, La Via Campesina, or the U.S. Food Sovereignty Alliance. Membership in either of these broad coalitions suggests a significant commitment to the food sovereignty perspective.

3) Does the organization pursue a majority of the commonly agreed upon Food Sovereignty Principles (see Table 14)? Organizations that incorporate at least four of the six elements of the food sovereignty framework as outlined during the 2007 Nyeleni

Food Sovereignty conference are understood as significantly incorporating the concept into their system change approach.

4) Does the organization incorporate anti-corporate, anti-capital or resistance to neo-liberalism into its work? Opposing corporate control or broader neoliberal commodification of food and agricultural systems is a key feature distinguishing food justice and food sovereignty framing which makes this criteria valuable for discerning between the two system change perspectives.

This process yielded 51 food security organizations (62.2% of the 82 total organizations in the network), 18 food justice organizations (22%), and 13 food sovereignty organizations (15.8%).

I analyzed data related to organizational perspectives on food systems change to test the following: *Hypothesis #4a: Organizational System Change Perspectives: National food advocacy network relationships are characterized by a high density of ties between organizations with similar food system change perspectives and, conversely, a lower density of ties between organizations with dissimilar perspectives.* I tested this hypothesis by utilizing UCI.net social network analysis software to calculate the eigenvector scores for each organization connected through the network of national food coalitions. I then coded each organization according to its food system change perspective (i.e. Food Security, Food Justice, and Food Sovereignty). Finally I employed open source R statistical software to run OLS regression correlations to generate R^2 and p-values for the correlations between eigenvector values and system change perspectives. Results are found in Table 12 and Figure 6 that reveal the network relationships among

these alliance participants. The results of this analysis reveal the degree to which organizational centrality is related to organizations' perspectives on food system change.

Second, I used UCInet to calculate the density of ties among organizations sharing common system change perspectives. Results are found in Table 15. These results are compared across perspectives and to the overall network density and provide another method to assess the contention that organizations that share similar system change perspectives are more likely to form network linkages.

Qualitative Data Gathering, Coding, and Analysis

A significant theme related to the contemporary study of social movements is raised by scholars' call to integrate structural and cultural perspectives on social movements (Staggenborg 2011). Such can be seen in Klanderman's (1997) encouragement to link social network and social psychological variables and Polletta's (1997:431-450) urging to integrate cultural and structural perspectives. This dissertation undertakes such an effort by wedding a structural social network approach with analysis of ideological, financial, and qualitative data.

Sampling and Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews

In order to further illuminate the social movement and network dynamics among national-level food organizations I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 36 senior staff of the organizations, coalitions, and campaigns who are active in the U.S. food advocacy network (see Table 16). I conducted interviews with these activists for two reasons. First, I wanted to know how activist leaders understood the U.S. food system and the food movement's response to it. I was particularly interested if their perceptions of the food system and movement were similar or contrasted with existing

scholarship and my network and quantitative data. Second, I hoped that activists' experiences would serve to further illuminate the broad findings of my network and quantitative analysis and expose the structure and dynamics of the U.S. food movement in greater detail.

I emailed 65 groups (of the 131 total organizations, coalitions, and campaigns) with an interview request. Thirty one activists responded and I conducted and audio-recorded the interviews over the phone between June and October of 2013. An additional five face-to-face interviews with non-network food system leaders were conducted and recorded during conference meetings and on other occasions between June 2012 and December 2012. All interviews were transcribed between August and November 2013 and coded between December 2013 and February 2014.

I constructed my interview and coding strategy utilizing Schantzman's (1991:303-314) dimensional matrix concept. For example, his matrix for an explanatory paradigm moves through a logical process that leads participants to reflect on their experience from a certain perspective, in a certain context, under particular conditions, enacting specified actions, with resulting consequences (Schatzman 1991:303-314). As opposed to a disconnected or free-flowing interview protocol, this format frames the interview and data coding process as an effort to illuminate and document the underlying narrative structure of the subject's account. My interview protocol (see Table 17) included questions that began with participant's history of activist participation in their group and moved into their assessment of the systematic problems with the U.S. food system. The conversation shifted into an exploration of the structure and internal dynamics of the U.S. food movement, and concluded with a discussion of the movement's response to the

previously discussed problems with the food system.

This narrative process benefitted my research goals by inviting participants to construct their own story of how their personal experiences, perception of food system problems, and their organization's work, in the context of a broader food movement, seeks to address the aforementioned problems. This narrative format encourages interviewees to speak from their own personal experience, reflect on the broader food system and the food movement, and connect their group's work to these broader issues. With few exceptions this interview format resulted in a conversation that moved through a narrative process that began with a problem statement and concluded with a discussion about what should be done to address it. This process enabled me to pursue follow-up questions (e.g. "so how does your work with the food bank address your earlier concerns regarding the problems with charitable approaches to solving the food system's problems?") that reconnected to previous comments to further explore the connective logic of the interviewee's narrative. Interestingly, the structure of the conversation occasionally led interviewees to recognize how their proposed solutions inadequately addressed their perception of food system problems and resulted in an extended conversation about what this disconnect means for their organization and the broader food movement.

Interview Coding

After conducting and transcribing the interviews, I uploaded the text files into the dedoose (Dedoose Version 4.12 2014) online qualitative analysis software program. The use of computer supported qualitative coding programs have become more common in qualitative methods as tools to support researcher's analysis (Corbin and Strauss 2008). I

found the mixed methods design of the dedoose software particularly well suited to my approach that integrates qualitative and quantitative data.

I created a hierarchical coding matrix in dedoose reflective of my interview protocol (see Table 18). As I read each interview transcript I generated open codes that fit under each of the broader coding matrix topics according to the responses of the subjects. For instance, the reflection “Like, we need to figure out a way to bring it (our coalition’s work) to the anti-hunger, the nutrition, you know, go beyond just the sustainable agriculture world” was coded as an “intersectional need” under the “Movement Dynamics/Opportunities and Strengths” category. This approach allowed me to establish an overarching structure reflective of my narrative interview process while still allowing for significant coding fluidity and allow the interview data to lead in new and distinctive directions within the broader categorical matrix.

I read and coded each transcription utilizing a constant comparison process that either classified each coded excerpt under an existing coding category or created new categories to more distinctively reflect the excerpt’s meaning (Corbin and Strauss 2008). Excerpts were regularly coded with multiple coding tags as a result of the data containing comments that fit multiple categories simultaneously - such as an excerpt which reflected on the importance of “grassroots organizing,” “alliance framing,” and the impact of “different system change perspectives” were coded with multiple tags accordingly. Occasionally, particularly early in the coding process, I would divide or combine coding categories to better reflect the organization of comments. By the end of the coding process I sensed that I was reaching a high degree of saturation as I was rarely adding new codes to the matrix.

Statistical Analysis of Interviews

In addition to broad trends or specific concerns raised in activist interviews, I am interested in identifying emerging patterns that coincided or contrasted with my quantitative data. For example, in addition to gathering a lengthy list of excerpts regarding the evils of corporate control of the U.S. food system, it would be interesting to examine the attributes of the quotations sources' respective group. Are they primarily from groups with offices located outside of D.C.? Groups who identify with Food Sovereignty perspectives? Groups who hold central or peripheral positions in the network? etc.

The dedoose qualitative software program allows researchers to add descriptive variables to each coded interview and examine the resulting statistical analysis. I coded and correlated five descriptor variables with the number and content of interview excerpts in the dedoose program. I utilized the following descriptor codes to code the 31 of 36 interviewees who were members of the national food advocacy network:

1. 2-mode eigenvector score which indicates how central the interviewee's respective group is to the overall network
2. Group type - Organization, Coalition or Campaign
3. Number count of issue areas identified by the group
4. Whether or not the group's office was based in D.C.
5. System Change Perspective (Food Security, Food Justice or Food Sovereignty)

These statistical results are unlikely to be as reliable as the previously collected quantitative data because of the smaller sample size and how interviewees do not

necessarily reflect official organizational positions. Nevertheless, the ability to correlate interviewees with their respective organization's attributes provides additional insight into the dynamics of the U.S. food advocacy network.

Potential Sources of Error

I encountered several challenges during the interview and coding process that may have impacted my data gathering efforts. First, an issue related to my sampling technique. I conducted the majority of my interviews during the summer of 2013. In hopes of collecting a diversity of perspectives across a variety of group types these interviews were sampled through a process of choosing six beginning points from my alphabetized list of 133 national-level food advocacy organizations, coalitions, and campaigns and sending out an interview invitation to the next 10-12 organizations on the list. I received 31 positive responses through this process and proceeded to conduct semi-structured interviews with senior staff of these groups.

After transcribing the interviews I categorized all 133 groups according to their system change perspective (i.e. food security, food justice, or food sovereignty). I discovered that rather than collecting a broad variety of group types and perspectives, I inadvertently sampled a relatively high percentage of food sovereignty groups (75% of the total groups available) compared to food justice (22%) and food security groups (20%). This was likely the result of several factors. First, campaigns (which were dominated by a food security perspective) were often not available for interview since they were frequently designed as a sign-on letter. Second, several large food security organizations explicitly stated that they did not permit research interviews because of the burden these place on their staff. In retrospect, a purposive sampling method which

intentionally selected a more balanced cross-section of groups representing organizations, coalitions and campaigns holding different system change perspectives may have resulted in a more representative account of food activists' perspectives on the food system and movement (Berg 2007). My subsequent qualitative data analysis will need to be mindful of how this sampling disparity may result in a bias toward a food sovereignty perspective.

A second, concern associated with my interview data collection related to my interview method. Although five of my 36 interviews were conducted face-to-face, the remaining 31 took place over the phone. This approach had the advantage of reaching a significant number of subjects whose offices are located throughout the country. Face-to-face interviews with these interviewees would have otherwise been expensive and impractical. Nevertheless, in addition to occasional poor connections that left the conversation difficult to understand and record, phone calls lack the interpersonal connection that a face-to-face conversation allows. I sensed this dynamic on three occasions when, despite my informed consent preamble that included the assurance of confidentiality, subjects questioned me extensively regarding my research and if I had any financial or other relations with the U.S. food industry. In addition to revealing the degree to which some interviewees were concerned about releasing food movement information to U.S. food corporations, I believe some interview subjects were hesitant to share as openly as they might had we been sitting in a room together and had an opportunity to establish a personal relationship (Rubin and Rubin 2005). I attempted to establish greater degrees of trust by referencing previous conversations with food system organizations the interviewee knew, and by clearly sharing my research goals in the initial interview invitation. Although I don't believe this telephone interview approach

significantly inhibited the development of trust or my data gathering (as evidenced by the generally rich data collected even from those who were initially ambivalent about the conversation), future research should rely more heavily on face-to-face rather than telephone interviews.

Third, although my open coding method enabled me to stay close to the narrative data by allowing interviewees' comments to drive code generation, subsequent analysis of the coding process revealed some degree of coding confusion. The significant number of codes I was generating yielded multiple terms and phrases that became difficult to distinguish and occasionally overlapped resulting in some analytical confusion. Whereas an open coding process remains a valuable approach to working with this data, adding a pilot project, closer attention to the design of my interview protocol, or generation of a clearer list of anticipated codes would have likely strengthened my data collection process.

Forth, in retrospect, four interviews would have benefitted from a Spanish language translator. Although translated phone interviews would have been difficult to conduct, I sense that Spanish language aptitude is important for food advocacy research. A significant number of food issues including labor and farm-worker rights and health and nutrition issues are present and in some cases dominated by communities where Spanish is the first language. I was fortunate that my four subjects' English language skills were strong. However, future research into U.S. food system power and justice issues should prioritize Spanish language translation in order to genuinely hear the voices of all those participating in the system.

Interviews with senior staff of 36 of the 133 national-level food advocacy organizations

from across the U.S. provides an insiders view of the structure and dynamics unfolding within the movement. Integrating the previously described network and statistical data with rich qualitative reflections by activists allows this dissertation to both triangulate my analysis using data collected with a variety of methods, and more deeply examine the U.S. food advocacy movement's internal dynamics and political relationships.

CHAPTER IV

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

The previously described methods begin to reveal important insight to this project's four empirical hypotheses. In this section I present findings related to the overall network character, issue siloing, alliance structures, social movement group type, and organization's food system change perspectives.

Food Advocacy Network Character

The national food advocacy network is composed of 71 organizations linked together through participation in 30 advocacy coalitions who organize members in an effort to bring change to the U.S. food and agriculture system. Tables 2 and 3 list these organizations and the coalitions of which they are a part. Although the following subsections will examine results of various statistical analyses, it is valuable to note here that the overall network density (as a function of the number of actual ties among organizations via their coalition partnerships divided by the possible number of ties) is 0.290. This score reveals that between one-quarter and one-third of all possible ties in the network that could exist, actually do. Figure 2 illustrates this finding and further reveals a significant degree of connection in the core of the network and a periphery of organizations that are both less connected to each other and to those found in the core. Why are some organizations at the core and others at the periphery? Why are some more connected than others? Is it the result of food issue identification? Of alliance structures? Of proximity to grassroots members or political power? Of patterns of organizational assets? Of particular perspectives on food system change strategy? And finally, what does this mean for the scholarly analysis of social movements, the U.S. food

movement's organizational strategy, or broader questions raised by Gramsci regarding the possibility of resisting neoliberal hegemonic domination of the global food system? The following sections pursue a quantitative approach to these questions through the lenses of four hypotheses. I conclude with several observations that lay the groundwork for chapter V's qualitative analysis that will examine 36 interviews with senior staff of food system advocacy organizations.

Hypothesis 1: Issue Siloing

Hypothesis #1: Organizational Siloing: National food advocacy network relationships are characterized by a high density of ties between organizations with similar food interest areas and, conversely, a lower density of ties between organizations with dissimilar food interest areas.

This hypothesis examines the degree to which national food organizations are siloed, or tend to work only with other organizations that are focused on like issues. This is a significant concern for social movements both because it is the most prominent description used by my activist interviewees to visualize the national network, and because it is difficult to imagine how a national food movement could generate collective power without a high degree of cooperation among diverse organizations.

Are organizations siloed? The results of my analysis reveal that contrary to this proposition, organizations do not appear to maintain highly insular issue connections. Two statistical approaches shed light on this question. First, utilizing UCInet's E-I index function to calculate the percentage of ties (internal) among organizations coded as sharing a particular issue area (e.g. climate change, food safety, support of small farmers) and compares it to the percentage of ties (external) among organizations that do not share

this respective position. The E-I index compares the external and internal scores and calculates values on a scale of -1 (entirely internal linkages) to +1 (entirely external linkages). Results for the 12 issue areas are presented in Table 19. E-I index scores ranged from a high of 0.022 to a low of -0.311 with 11 of 12 issue areas scoring between -0.067 and -0.311. Random permutation tests reveal four issue area scores to be slightly significant suggesting that the scores for External to Internal linkage comparisons for organizations active in Climate Change, Food Safety, support of local farmers, and Food nutrition, to be unlikely in comparison to randomly generated dyadic linkages. These findings resonate with Krackhardt and Stern's (1988:123-140) findings noting that most organizational structures (11 of the 12 issue areas in this case) are slightly more internally connected than externally connected. Their analysis would suggest that those with the most positive scores (supporters of local food and those who work to resist corporations) share a "wider more organizational view of the world" (Krackhardt and Stern 1988:123-140) than those with the most negative scores (food safety, food nutrition, and anti-racism advocates).

But does this mean that food issue areas are siloed? Does the slightly higher degree of internal vs. external linkages among most issue area structures indicate that organizations tend to shun cooperation with organizations across issue area lines? E-I index scores yield ambiguous results. Slightly negative E-I index scores are to be expected and reflect the logic that groups are only understood as groups when their connections to each other are relatively strong. Because it is difficult to establish a clear E-I score at which an organizational structure would be considered "siloed" (e.g. -0.25? -0.33? -0.50?) it is ill-advised to claim that a structure is isolated if 55% of its ties are

internal and 45% of its ties are external. The E-I index scores for the food issue areas suggest that some structures with the most negative scores may lean toward siloing, while those with the lowest scores do not.

A second level of analysis sheds additional light on this question. In addition to calculating E-I index scores I counted the number of issue areas prioritized by each organization. The mean (3.732), median (3), and modal (3) statistics reveal that organizations themselves are not focused on only one or two issues and therefore do not appear to be siloed (see Table 19). Furthermore, Table 5 notes that nearly 85% of organizations are connected to more than one issue area, 69% to more than three issues, and 45% more than four issue areas. This high degree of connection among organizations that do not share food issue concerns becomes apparent when viewing the food network coded for the presence and absence of specific issue areas. For example network illustrations coded for Hunger and Labor issues reveals that although significant connections among organizations that prioritize these issue concerns, they also exhibit numerous linkages with organizations that do not (see Figures 3 and 4). Simply put, although organizational leaders might perceive food organizations as tending to associate only within their narrow field of concern, these network and statistical results suggest otherwise.

Hypothesis 2: Organizational Alliances

Hypothesis #2: Organizational Alliance Competitions: National food advocacy network relationships are characterized by a high density of ties between organizations with similar alliance concerns and, conversely, a lower density of ties between organizations with dissimilar alliance concerns.

This hypothesis proposes that alliances of organizations with broader framings of food issues partner to compete with one another across the national food network. In contrast to the previous hypothesis' suggestion that organizations are siloed within narrow issue areas, this framing theorizes that organizations ally around more comprehensive formulations of food issues, namely the Foodie, Social Justice, Sustainable Agriculture and Hunger Alliances (see Table 6). Reflective of previous concerns raised in the analysis of issue siloing, the degree to which the national network is fractured across alliance structures will have a significant impact on the movement's ability to organize and mobilize a system-wide change campaign.

I examine this question utilizing data described in Tables 7 through 11. First, it is reasonable to ask, "Are these alliance structures present in the overall network?" Table 7 reports the number of organizations who participate in each of the four theoretical alliances: 24 in the Sustainable Agriculture Alliance, 23 in the Hunger Alliance, 22 in the Foodie Alliance, and 20 in the Social Justice Alliance. Whereas particularly small numbers of participants might suggest the absence of an alliance altogether, these results reveal relatively large and relatively equal numbers of organizational participants across network. This suggests that the four alliance structures likely do exist and may represent meaningful structures of the network.

Furthermore, Table 8 reveals that just over 45% of organizations ally themselves with only one alliance. This finding suggests that because a significant number of organizations only participate in one alliance, perhaps organizations choose to join a specific alliance structure and that a competition ensues among configurations of food network alliances. However, data from this table also reveals that nearly one-third of

organizations were identified as participating in two or more alliances. For example, Figure 5 illustrates how significant portions of the network not only participate in either the Sustainable Agriculture or the Social Justice alliances, but large segments of the network also participate in neither and both alliances.

Moving beyond the question of the alliances' existence, data in Table 9 begins to examine how these alliance structures are connected to one another. In the previous section I analyzed the degree to which organizations are siloed around issue areas. A similar analysis of alliance structures reveals higher E-I index scores for the Social Justice (-0.161) and Hunger (-0.133) alliances than the Foodie (-0.028) and Sustainable Agriculture (-0.092) Alliances. Although these structures all have a higher percentage of internal ties than external ties (as seen in their slightly negative E-I index score), none rise to a level where there is an overwhelming indication of isolation from other alliances. Particularly negative E-I index scores might reflect an alliance that is highly insular and less likely to form linkages with dissimilar alliance participants. This inward focus could theoretically lead to rifts in the network. Alliance density scores are relatively weak and reflect only slight variation among the alliance structures. They suggest that the Social Justice and Hunger alliance participants have a slightly higher propensity to connect with like organizations within the alliance in comparison to the foodie and sustainable agriculture alliance participants who tend to form linkages relatively more often with those outside their respective alliance.

In order to more closely examine the relationships between pairings of alliance structures and analyze the possible existence of rifts within the network, I paired each of the four alliance structures with each other and conducted a comparative density analysis

on the resulting in six alliance dyads (see Table 10). Comparisons of the number of organizations participating in neither, one, the other, or both alliances might suggest where particularly visible competitions are occurring. Statistical results in four pairings results in almost identical results with nearly half of the organizations not participating in the alliance pairing, slightly under 25% participating in one or the other alliance, and approximately 10% participating in both. The two outliers highlighted in the table deserve additional scrutiny.

In the case of the foodie vs. the sustainable agriculture pairing, there is a shift from the number of organizations participating in one or the other alliances to participating in neither and both. This finding lends support to the argument that there is, on average, little conflict between foodie and sustainable agriculture alliances reflected in the lower number of organizations participating in one or the other alliances and an increase in those that participate in both. This is a logical result since foodies and sustainable agriculture advocates both share a commitment to GMO labeling and support of organic production. Interestingly, there is also a significant increase in the number of non-participating organizations (56.3% of the network) in comparison to the five other pairings. Future research might examine an explanation for this shift. I theorize that although there appears to be a reasonable distinction between the two, additional analysis might conclude that an abundance of connections between the foodie and sustainable agriculture alliances might suggest they are better examined as one alliance.

Conversely, in the case of the foodie vs. social justice pairing, the analysis reveals a slight shift resulting in a smaller number of organizations participating in both alliances and increased participation in one or the other alliances. This finding suggests that there

is potentially a greater degree of friction between foodie and social justice alliances than generally exists between the other pairings. This finding supports food activists and scholars who argue that the differences between foodie's eschewal of politics in favor of supporting farmers markets and community gardening puts them at odds with social justice advocates who actively engage the political concerns of labor, farmworker rights, and other causes. Although the results of this case vary somewhat from the other four dyads, the findings do not reflect a dramatic statistical shift.

Finally, I examined the density of ties among these same six pairs of relationships to illuminate possible rifts among alliances based on the percentage of specific ties with one another. Findings are described in Table 11. These density scores reveal the degree to which the respective alliance structures are internally connected in comparison to how they are connected to those who are not members of either alliance, members of both alliances, and those who are members of the competing alliance. I hypothesize that competing structures would reflect the following pattern: 1) Alliances would have a high internal density, reflecting a large number of linkages between organizations that share a commitment to the respective alliance, 2) Competing structures would reveal a lower density of ties between the respective alliances and the uninvolved or disinterested member of the food advocacy network, 3) Competing structures would claim the lowest density of ties between the two competing alliance structures reflecting alliance antagonism.

Table 11 describes the comparative density results. Three results are particularly interesting. First, the scores are consistent with the first contention of the competing structure hypothesis where in all cases, the internal density of each alliance across all six

pairings is quite high (ranging from 0.306 to 0.486). This would suggest that there are indeed a high number of linkages among organizations that participate within each of these alliances. Second, in all cases, there is a lower density of linkages between the respective alliance and those organizations that participate in neither alliance. And third, in all cases, the density of linkages between the alliances is lower than the density within alliances. These findings lend support to the claim that alliances structures appear to emerge and compete with one another across the national food advocacy network.

Several findings also speak a word of caution regarding this conclusion. First, although internal density scores of the respective alliance organizations are higher than those between alliances, the highest density scores in all but two of twelve cases are found between those of a specific alliance and those who prescribe to both alliances. This would suggest that despite their apparent preference to connect with organizations who connect with similar rather than different alliances, there is a simultaneously strong willingness to form linkages with organizations that participate in both. This is likely the result of the participants who are connected to both alliances in each dyad and their propensity to have a large number of linkages. This characteristic would explain why they are members of the “both” category (because they have prioritized an abundance of issues) and why they have a large number of linkages (because their large number of issues results in them participating in many coalitions).

Second, in order to discover the size of the difference between the internal and competitive density scores, I subtracted the competitive score from the internal score in each case, added the difference, and reported these in the right-hand column of Table 11. For instance, in the first case, the difference between the internal foodie density score

(0.486) and the density score between the competing foodie and hunger alliance (0.258) is 0.228. Likewise, the hunger density score (0.333) minus the competing score (0.258) is 0.075. Adding these scores together (0.303) reflects the total difference between the internal and competitive scores. The strongest of these distinctions exists between the Hunger vs. Sustainable Agriculture and Hunger vs. Social Justice pairings and the weakest between the Foodie vs. Social Justice and Sustainable Agriculture and Social Justice Alliances.

These results are particularly enlightening when compared to the results described in Table 10. In both approaches, I am probing for notable differences between specific pairs of alliances to test whether or not their relationships with one another might suggest competitions or fractures in the network. In both cases, findings suggest that certain alliances have a slight hesitancy to partner with each other. However, the results of the two approaches point to different pairs of competing alliances. Whereas Table 10 highlights a potential competition between Foodies and the Social Justice alliance, the results of Table 11 reveal these two to have the lowest density difference (0.083) and instead point to the Hunger and Sustainable Agriculture and Hunger and Social Justice alliances that are unremarkable in Table 10.

The result of this quantitative analysis of the hypothesis that posits the importance of alliance structures is meaningful, but not definitive. The strongest support for the contention that the food advocacy network is structured by competing alliances is found first, in the large number of organizations who only participate in one alliance. This finding suggests that organizations might be affiliating with one alliance and simultaneously rejecting others. Second, this analysis finds a high density of linkages

within alliance structures in comparison to the density of links between proposed competing alliances. This finding suggests that organizations within alliances are more interested in connecting with similar organizations than ones who join theoretically opposing alliances. Additionally, two other findings suggest sites of specific competitions.

First, as noted above, the high number of organizations present in the Foodie and Social Justice alliances and their relatively low representation in the both alliances suggest a competition might be present. Second, the large differences between internal and competitive density scores suggest competitions might be present between the Hunger and Sustainable Agriculture alliances and/or the Hunger and Social Justice alliances.

By way of contrast, although organizations do generally participate in only one organization, scores reveal minimal differences between internal and competing densities. Only slightly negative E-I scores reveal that internal connections only slightly outweigh external connections. While organizations may be only connected with one alliance they are still well connected to those of other alliances. Finally, comparisons between pairings of alliances and the finding that some alliances appear to be less connected to one another, reveal contradicting outcomes. For example, would a significant alliance competition exist between the Foodies vs. Social Justice Alliances one would expect corroborating scores on Tables 10 and 11.

This evidence equivocally supports the alliance structure hypothesis that contends that the food advocacy network is structured by a series of alliance competitions. In summary, competitions among alliances, while weakly suggested, do not appear to

explain the food advocacy network. Although there may be important theoretical distinctions between food advocacy alliances, this analysis does not reveal that any one or combination of the six possible pairings of alliance structures explain a high degree of fracturing of the national food advocacy network. Conversely, given the high degree of linkages existing among the alliance structures one could make the case, reflective of the previous analysis of issue area data, that alliance structures function to weave organizations together

Hypothesis 3: Social Movement Types

Hypothesis #3: Social Movement Organizations and Interest Groups: The national food advocacy network is characterized by social movement and interest group distinctions that correspond with organizational network centrality.

This hypothesis proposes that theoretical distinctions between social movement type organizations and interest group type organizations explain the character of the national food network. This issue is important as an opportunity to empirically test the contested distinction between these organization types in social movement literature using the national food advocacy network. Additionally, the result of this analysis might provide valuable insight into the character and structure of the national food network and movement.

Whereas Tables 13 and 14 present definitions of these food system concepts, Table 12 reports the results of multivariate regression analysis of organizational eigenvector scores and variables related to the theorized differences between social movement and interest group organizations. Recall that the central distinctions between these two types of organizations include 1) their degree of network centrality, 2) office

location, 3) income from organizational members, 4) amount of senior staff salaries, 5) organization assets, 6) years since inception, and 7) the number of food issues organizations prioritize.

Three models are reported in Table 12. Model one includes results related to both social movement type and system change perspectives. Model two reports multivariate regression results for only the social movement type variables. Model 3 reports multivariate regression results for only the system change perspectives. Findings regarding the system change perspectives will be discussed in the examination of hypothesis four in the next subsection.

An examination of model 2 reveals six variables correlated with organizations' network centrality (in the form of normalized eigenvector scores) in the direction proposed by the distinctions between social movement and interest group type models. First, having an office located in Washington D.C. was negatively correlated with network centrality and corresponded with a 2.611 reduction in organizations' eigenvector score. For every one percent increase in the percentage of expenses dedicated to highest staff salary, there was a nearly two point reduction in organizations' eigenvector scores. Likewise, as organizational assets and age increased their corresponding centrality score decreased.

Conversely, organizations receipt of a higher percentage of their income from members (as opposed to private or government grants) and a larger number of food issues are both positively correlated with eigenvector scores. For every one percent increase in revenue received from members, organizations' eigenvector scores increased by nearly six points. Furthermore, every food issue added to an organizations priority list

corresponded with a 3.2 point increase in organizations' eigenvector score. Table 12 also reveals that the variable related to the number of food issues is statistically significant with a particularly robust p-value.

These findings suggest strong support for the contention that understanding the distinction between social movement and interest group type organizations is valuable in understanding the structure of the national food movement. In summary, organizations characterized by SMO indicators have higher eigenvector scores and are closer to the core of the network. Conversely, organizations characterized by IG indicators have lower eigenvector scores and are found on the periphery of the network. This finding provides empirical support for the contention that there is indeed a meaningful distinction to be made between these two types of organizational types and the set of strategic, geographic, financial, and other variables that characterize these groups. Because social movement organizations and interest groups function in significantly different ways, food movement organizers would do well to take seriously this important characterization and its apparent effect on the structure, identity, and strategic choices made by members of the national food network.

Hypothesis 4: Food System Change Perspectives

Hypothesis #4a: Organizational System Change Perspectives: National food advocacy network relationships are characterized by a high density of ties between organizations with similar food system change perspectives and, conversely, a lower density of ties between organizations with dissimilar perspectives.

This hypothesis submits that organizations' particular perspective on food system change approach should be correlated with their degree of network centrality. This

distinction is important because it suggests that as opposed to issues, alliances, or particular geographic or financial characteristics, organizations' view on how the national food network should be changed has a significant effect on their location within the food movement.

I approach this question through a four step process. First, I utilized UCInet's External-Internal tie function to reveal the degree to which organizations holding one of the three respective food system change perspectives (i.e. Food Security, Food Justice, and Food Sovereignty) are connected to one another. Table 20 describes the result of this analysis and reveals a substantial difference between the percentage of internal and external ties (and subsequent E-I index score) between food security (-0.110) and the food justice (0.527) and food sovereignty (0.463) perspectives. This analysis suggests that organizations claiming a food security outlook are far more internally connected and insular in their coalition participation in comparison to food justice and food sovereignty organizations.

In order to further examine this dynamic, I utilize UCInet's density analysis tools and compare the linkages among the three system perspectives. Table 15 describes the results of this analysis and illuminates the degree to which perspectives are internally connected (as a measure of how organizations are partnered with other organizations of the same perspective) and externally connected (with organizations who hold different system change perspectives). These results are interesting for three reasons. First, when comparing across organizational perspectives, it becomes clear that food sovereignty organizations have a high internal density (0.848) suggesting that they are well connected to one another. This stands in particular contrast to the food security perspective whose

internal density is substantially lower (0.218). Second, an examination of the connection between respective organizational types reveals the food sovereignty perspective as most densely connected to other organizations (food security 0.370 and food justice 0.594) and food security as least densely connected (food sovereignty 0.370 and food justice 0.182). Finally third, the food justice perspective appears far more densely connected to food sovereignty organizations (0.594) than to food security organizations (0.182). Figure 6 illustrates these relationships with food justice organizations forming frequent linkages with food sovereignty groups. Also, food justice groups are primarily located on the left side of the figure, opposite the majority of the food security organizations located predominately on the right side.

Thirdly, after analyzing the E-I index and density statistics for organizations' system change perspectives, I examine the degree to which this perspective is related to organizations' network centrality. Model 3 in Table 12 reports the correlation of system change perspective and organizational eigenvector score. This analysis reveals strong and highly significant statistical relationships between system perspective and network centrality. In comparison to the food sovereignty position, being designated as a food justice organization results in an organization's eigenvector score dropping, on average, by nearly 18 points. Being designated as a food security organization leads to an eigenvector score decrease of 24 points. Figure 6 illustrates this dynamic as food security organizations form most of the periphery of the coalition network, food sovereignty organizations are found almost exclusively in the core, and food justice organizations are scattered but slightly more central than the food security organizations.

Taken together, these system change perspective findings reveal a significant positive correlation between eigenvector scores and Food Sovereignty and a significant negative correlation between eigenvector and Food Security perspectives. Correlation between eigenvector scores and the Food Justice perspective is less stark and significant. This suggests that organizations categorized as holding a food sovereignty perspective are much more centrally connected to the food network, food justice organizations less so, and food security organizations located disproportionately on the periphery of the network.

These findings also shed light on the related hypothesis contending that Food Justice organizations are particularly important to the network's structure.

Hypothesis #4b: Significance of the Food Justice perspective: Organizational linkages tend to, (1) be more dense among organizations who share similar Food Security and Food Sovereignty perspectives, (2) be less dense among organizations representing the opposing perspectives, and (3) exhibit a similar degree of density between the Food Justice perspective and each of the Food Security and Food Sovereignty perspectives.

This theoretical question is raised by Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011:109-144) who argue that the degree of connection between food justice and the other two food system change perspectives (i.e. food security and food sovereignty) represents a significant point of tension within the food movement. These findings begin to provide insight into this hypothesis. First, Table 20 reveals that although organizations holding a Food Security perspective are strongly internally connected, nearly three-quarters of organizations with a Food Sovereignty perspective are with those of other perspectives. This suggests that although. Table 15 reports that whereas network density among Food

Security groups is only 0.218, Food Sovereignty groups' network density is much higher (0.848). Together these statistics suggest that although Food Sovereignty groups are well connected with each other, they are also well connected to those beyond their perspective. In contrast, Food Security groups are neither well connected to each other nor to those outside.

Second, Table 15 also reveals that whereas Food Security and Food Justice organizations' network density is 0.182, Food Sovereignty and Food Justice organizations' network density is 0.594. This finding suggests that Food Justice organizations are much more strongly connected to Food Sovereignty organizations than Food Security organizations. Figure 6 highlights this dynamic by revealing the relatively close proximity of Food Justice and Food Sovereignty organizations in the network illustration. In summary, these findings portray a set of Food Security organizations who have relatively few network linkages, connections that are primarily insular, and only sparsely affiliated with Food Justice organizations. In contrast, Food Sovereignty organizations are both strongly connected to fellow sovereignty groups and, in comparison to food security organizations, have a larger proportion of connections to non-sovereignty groups. Food Sovereignty groups are also much more well-connected to Food Justice organizations. While this finding provides insight into the current state of relationships among organizations holding different system change perspectives, it is less helpful in answering the question related to how Food Justice organizations might represent an important strategic player in for the future of the food system. Chapter VI will explore this question further as additional data from interviews and theoretical analysis is brought to bear.

Conclusion

The preceding findings suggest four important issues that deserve discussion. First, contrary to activist's and food scholars' frequent claim of siloing, my findings reveal that organizations tend not to isolate themselves into food issue cliques. Likewise, although these findings suggest a greater propensity for organizations to ally with broader conflicting structures relative to issue areas, organizations tend to not isolate themselves into competing food alliances. Conversely, issues and shared participation in multiple alliances appear to be a significant avenue of cooperation among organizations. With the exception of an interest in the environment and climate change, no single issue appears to dominate the network (see Table 21). This finding would suggest that in regards to issues and alliance structures, the national food advocacy movement is better visualized as a web of intersecting food issue areas as opposed to a variety of densely affiliated cliques only loosely connected to one another.

Second, this research provides significant support for the social movement literature position that argues for a meaningful theoretical distinction between social movement and interest group type organizations. Although the variables analyzed did not appear statistically significant (with the exception of the number of food areas an organization claims) they all pointed in the directions theorized by movement scholars. These findings suggest that the national food advocacy movement's network structure appears to be influenced by a distinction between movement organization type. Whereas social movement type organizations are more densely connected and more central to the network, interest group type organizations are more loosely connected and more peripheral to the network.

In addition to providing empirical insight into the social movement literature's debate regarding this distinction, this finding suggests that food advocates would do well to tend to the genuine differences between the ways that organizations operate. Strategic distinctives (e.g. grassroots organizing vs. legislative lobbying) appear particularly salient to the discussion of network rifts. Rather than focusing primarily on particular issues or alliance competitions, these results suggest that movement organizations should give careful consideration to how their strategic decisions and the constellation of financial, geographic, and other variables related to group-types appear to prevent increased network cohesiveness.

Third, this project illuminates the correlation between system change perspectives and the national food advocacy network. My findings suggest that organizations' position on how the food system should be changed provides the most substantial and significant description of network position. Food sovereignty organizations' central and food security organizations' peripheral positions are more robust than issue, alliance, or movement type explanations. Furthermore, these findings are also highly correlated with previous movement type findings. These results are important for three reasons.

First, my conversations with activists and review of food advocacy literature reveal that most organizations do not think or talk about the movement in these terms. This finding suggests that moving the movement's conversation from issues to system perspectives would enable the movement to address the most salient sources of tension in the network. Second, because the system change perspective primarily engages issues of the power of capital over national food systems, it provides a useful platform on which to examine Gramsci's broader discussions of hegemonic control of public goods. Food

sovereignty organizations, which form a significant core of the national food advocacy movement, argue for a significant curtailing of capital's power over the food production system. Food security organizations, which are far more peripheral to the movement, argue for minor adjustments or partnership with dominant food corporations (as noted in Table 13 and 14). This apparent rift in the network explains the vehement conversations that occasionally occur among activists. And third, the high correlation between system change perspective and movement group type begins to answer the question of why food security groups are more peripheral and why food sovereignty groups are more central. These findings suggest it is based on organization's decisions around where to locate their operations (near grassroots efforts or near political power), where they get their money from (member donations or private/government grants), how they spend their money (on small or large staff salaries), and the number of issues they engage (broad or focused agenda).

Although chapter VI will explore the implications of these results further, these findings raise several broader questions. First, how does Gramsci's theoretical analysis of cultural hegemony place these results into a broader political and economic context? Findings highlighting the significance of access to political power, sources of revenue, and highly paid staff with connections to political players as an explanation for rifts in the national food network hint at how forces of capital impact the network's structure and players.

Second, how do these findings intersect with prominent movement theories and how might these results regarding funding sources, staff salaries, or office location shed light on movement framing, resource mobilization, or political opportunity theorizing?

For instance, whereas scholars and activists appear to focus on diagnostic issue framing (e.g. which issues are most important to address?), they appear less attentive to prognostic issue framing (e.g. what method will be used to address these?) In addition to the extensive analysis of the distinction between social movement and interest group type described above, social movement theory may well illuminate additional dynamics occurring in the national food advocacy network.

And finally, what do these findings mean for the strategic thinking of social movements' in general, and the food movement in particular? What opportunities or threats do these approaches, and these specifically indicated distinctions (e.g. office location, funding sources) suggest? As social movements struggle with increasing hegemonic pressures, escalating social crises, and a citizenry buffeted by growing income inequality, how might activists leverage a clearer understanding of their relational ties to create power for weary and overwhelmed public?

What do activists have to say about these questions? In the next chapter I will report my findings from three-dozen conversations with senior staff of the food advocacy organizations that struggle with these questions daily. In chapter VI I will return to my original research questions and present a series of findings based on this quantitative and qualitative data understood through the lens of prominent social movement literature and Gramsci's analysis of cultural hegemonic systems.

CHAPTER V

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

The previous chapter's quantitative analysis provides insight into several important aspects of the U.S. national food advocacy movement including the role of ideology and structural characteristics and the importance of several particular variables including the location of organizations' primary office, the salary of the highest paid staff, the organization's perspective on system change, and how these relate to organizations' degree of network centrality. In the chapter that follows I will examine how these characteristics can be used in conjunction with Antonio Gramsci's counter-hegemonic theories and social movement literature to illuminate the national food advocacy movement's structure and dynamics.

In this chapter however, I turn to the activists themselves and invite their experiences to bring another perspective to the movement's activities. Interviews with 36 senior staff of national food advocacy organizations and coalitions allows both a triangulation with the preceding chapter's analysis and a careful interrogation of the experiences of those absorbed in day-to-day organizational operations. These interviews provide a valuable glimpse into the micro-sociological inner-workings of the movement as a compliment to chapter IV's macro-structuralist point of view.

In chapter III I described the process I utilized to select interview subjects and noted several weaknesses in my approach. Despite the challenges I encountered conducting telephone interviews and the unusually high percentage of subjects representing the food sovereignty perspective, this sample of participants provides robust insight into the activities conducted and tensions present in the national food advocacy

movement. In the sections that follow I will briefly summarize some of the basic characteristics of the groups represented by the interviewees, present the subjects' reflections on the major problems facing and solutions needed to address the U.S. food system, and finally describe the participants' impressions of the national food movement's most significant challenges and the issues which require the greatest attention.

Descriptive Analysis

Table 22 below presents a snapshot of those with whom I conducted conversations, and compares my interviewee pool with data used in chapter IV's quantitative analysis and the complete set of organizations in the national food advocacy network. The table summarizes the respective number of organizations average age and the percentage of organizations with offices located in Washington D.C. tabulated according to food system change percentage. As reflected in chapter IV's quantitative analysis, food security organizations tend to be slightly older and more frequently have their offices located in Washington D.C. relative to organizations of other perspectives.

Table 22. Interviewee Characteristics Summary and Comparison

| | Security | Justice | Sovereignty | Total |
|--|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Interviewees | | | | |
| System Change Perspective (#/%) | 17/47.2% | 7/19.5 | 12/33.3 | 36/100 |
| Average age in years | 20 | 15.4 | 22.3 | 19.9 |
| Percent with offices in DC | 17.6% | 14.3 | 25 | 19.4 |
| Organizational Data used in Quantitative Analysis | | | | |
| System Change Perspective (#/%) | 40/64.5% | 12/19.4 | 10/16.1 | 62/100 |
| Average age in years | 36.4 | 23.5 | 33 | 33.3 |
| Percent with offices in DC | 40% | 8.3 | 10 | 29.0 |
| Total Organizations in Network | | | | |
| System Change Perspective (#/%) | 43/60.6% | 16/22.5 | 12/16.9 | 71/100 |
| Average age in years | 33.5 | 24.6 | 31.1 | 31.1 |
| Percent with offices in DC | 34.8% | 12.5 | 8.3 | 25.4 |

My interviewees also tended to represent organizations who were, relative to the overall network, somewhat younger and less likely to have their offices located in Washington D.C. This may be the result of being told by some large organizations (whose offices are located in D.C.) that they do not grant interviews to scholars on account of the time they feel it takes from their advocacy efforts. In some cases this forced me to turn to less restrictive organizations who were coincidentally younger and headquartered in other locations throughout the country. One might speculate that such organizations may be more eager to “get the word out” about their work in comparison to large organizations who are already well-known and in less need developing broader networks among academic or other communities. Although there is little time to develop this hypothesis here, it is also tempting to conjecture that the willingness to grant interviews might be a reflection of organizations’ prioritizing of network development more broadly. Regardless, I did not perceive this difference between my interviewees and the overall network’s characteristics to significantly impact the qualitative findings.

In addition to providing a basic description of the interviewees’ characteristics on which this chapter’s qualitative analysis is based, Table 22 illuminates another notable distinction. In comparison to those who hold a food sovereignty or food security perspective, food justice organizations are on average five to ten years younger. Although it is difficult to specify the cause for this age discrepancy, it is possible that food issue advocacy related to food security and resistance to corporations has attracted relatively more mainstream movement attention whereas race and justice issues have lagged behind. Furthermore because the food justice framework is closely tied to the environmental justice tradition (sf. Chapter II), the growing prominence of environmental

litigation based on racial discrimination in the early 1980s may explain the corresponding emergence of food justice organizations (Bullard 1990).

Reflections on the U.S. Food System

After gathering some background regarding my subjects' professional experience and personal interest in food and agriculture issues, the early portion of our conversations was focused on exploring how the interviewee viewed the U.S. food system, its problems, and what needed to be done to address the system's predicaments.

Food System Diagnosis

One of the first substantial questions I asked of all my interviewees was "how would you characterize the U.S. food system?" The question generally garnered a sigh, giggle, or comment such as "the whole damn thing is broken!" I soon realized that every one of my interviewees felt that the U.S. food system is riddled with problems, of which they could only address a small number. Although two interviewees identified positive aspects of the food system ("there are some great small farmers out there" and "industry has the resources needed to improve the food system") the overwhelming number of reflections on the food system represented a lengthy list of problems with the system.

Interviewees described an expansive variety of problems with the U.S. food system ranging from food safety and farm-worker justice to climate change and feeding poor communities. Rather than detailing a program list, I encouraged the interviewees to think deeply about the food system. After a few moments of sharing about their work and major projects, I asked each "what would you consider the root of these problems?" In response to this question, participants frequently moved beyond their specific agency's

projects to describe one of the following five areas as their central diagnosis of the problem with the U.S. food system.

Corporate Power and Consolidation

The most prominent response given to my question “what are the most critical problems facing the U.S. food system?” was a variation on concerns with corporate control of the food system. 22 of 36 respondents (61.1%) reflected that some form of corporate control, consolidation, structure of capitalism, or corporate efforts to speculate on land purchases were the greatest threats facing the U.S. food system. Although one might expect a particularly strong concern with corporation power from organizations that reflect a food sovereignty perspective, the responses were spread across the various perspectives. Of the organizations that cited corporate power as a problem for the food system, 40.6% of the responses came from interviewees representing organizations with a food sovereignty perspective, 40.6% from subjects of food security organizations, and 18.8% from participants of food justice organizations. The particularly significant number of responses from food security groups lends support to the contention that corporate power is a concern for the majority of the U.S. food movement.

Interviewees’ comments shed light on several different dimensions of corporate power. One subject summarizes the comments well when he reflects, “I think it’s broken. I think we have a very, very broken food system in this country that prioritizes the profit of the makers of food and the producers and the distributors of that food over the needs of the people eating that food.” Nearly all interviewees, in their own way, frame the food system crisis as a conflict between corporate goals of profit and activists

goals of creating a food system which prioritizes nutritional quality, accessibility, sustainability, worker justice, and survival of small farmers.

Some activists and farmers reflected on very personal encounters with corporate power. One described walking through a chili field in southern Texas talking with and field-workers when,

suddenly some people came to the field. They were well dressed and like professionals, like businessmen, and they started to check the product, the harvest, eh, the crop. So the farmer came to the field and I was asking who they were and she told me that were the ones buying the product. They were the processing company, the company, the corporation. And so we were realized that actually the farmers and the producers were no longer in control, but agriculture is controlled by corporations, by companies.

In this case, leaders among the field-workers and the farmer came to recognize that agricultural conflicts are less about struggles between workers and farmers but about the struggle between corporations and the rest of the production chain.

Activists perceive corporate consolidation across various sectors and issues to be a threat to the food system. In characterizing the system one interviewee notes, “So, I would consider it a consolidated model of food and agriculture, so that the food system is basically made up of relatively few corporations who are controlling both the growing and the production, meaning also the processing, of the food supply. So, it’s based around a profit mode of how to get food and agriculture done.” Another explains,

the largest obstacle is kind of how much power the industry has--the pesticide industry. It’s only a few big players, but together they have so much power, so

much money and so much voice and so much influence that it's a constant battle just to be heard, you know, in the face of their misinformation and in the face of their PR and just how much they've captured sort of ways people think about these issues.

Interestingly, this subject recognized both the structural and economic power wielded by corporations as well as the ability of corporate entities to control the civil discourse around food issues. Here food activists are faced with the challenge to counter corporate efforts to exercise control in both political and civil arenas.

Some leaders whose groups are active in farm bill issues see the fight over the federal legislation as primarily a conflict with corporations.

But that's what the farm bill does; their whole goal behind it is to provide cheap inputs for corporate agribusiness at taxpayer expense, and that's basically what the farm bill is all about. It's not really food security program anymore; it's more of like a corporate profit guarantee program (laughing). So I mean that's what's so bad about when the whole food versus fuel debate, because now the farm bill is being used to subsidize ethanol, or you know, was. And you know, biodiesel and I'm like geez, great, so now people are going to stop growing wheat to grow corn to make fuel for someone's SUV!" Or another who reflected on the campaign to allow SNAP benefits (formerly food stamps) at farm stands. "We've fought for years just to get SNAP to be used for farmers markets and then the local food and that's was like such a big fight because of food giants. All they want was to use their SNAP dollars at Wal-Mart; they don't want people taking it to a farmer.

Whereas some advocates see farm bill negotiations as a competition among a diverse array of interests ranging from SNAP benefits, to subsidies for particular crops, to policy shifts that support young or poor or minority farmers, other activists frame this legislation as an exercise in class warfare waged by capital interests.

One of the most recent developments in the conflict between food activists and corporation is the challenge of land speculation.

The most recent thing is the land grabbing, which we've been fighting and that's happening all around the world. What's happening is for this carbon credit from offsetting now, people are basically grabbing land and then putting in you know agriforestry, you know, "agrofuel plantations" whatever, you know. They get carbon credits, and with all this speculation going on with land, land grabbing is what it should be called, so... We've even had that happen in Wisconsin where we had Swiss hedge fund just moved in here and bought a thousand acres in a rural part of the state for \$7,000 an acre. Just to speculate with, and I mean, it's going throw farmers off the land because they can't afford to compete with that type of money. You know half the farmers in U.S. don't own their land anymore; they're renting it, so and they're up against these types of speculated, you know, commodities.

Such efforts reveal the interrelationship between ecological and agricultural conflicts with food corporations, the extension of commodification from crops to the land on which they are grown, and the implications for small farmers who already find themselves under pressure from forces that drive up the price of their land and livelihood.

However, contending with corporate powers can leave activist groups cynical and weary. One activist describes how a confrontation with Secretary of Agriculture Tom Vilsack at a state fair over a major study documenting corporate power was experienced by rural activists,

here these farmers put all this effort into speaking truth to power, you know, millions of dollars probably spent getting all those transcriptions, all the evidence, putting that all together and nothing happens. It's just sitting there. You know that's just a classic, and the farmers were all, Yep, see! Told you so! You know, it happens all the time. You write all these letters and do all the petitions. We can do all the lobbying and then corporate agribusiness scuttles it out from under us, so like why even bother, you know? So that's...we're always up against sort of that, sort of cynical fatalism of rural people, like you know, they're just going to be just run over, they're just road kill by the food giants!

Experiences such as these highlight the need for organizers to attend to both the ideological framing of issues as well as the motivational framing used to encourage participants. Although they may continue to be convinced in the cause, having their efforts “run down” by agribusinesses may sap organizational endurance and strength.

How do organizations feel they should respond to corporate power and threats to the food system? Activists reported the need to work in two directions. Some argue that in response to overwhelming political and economic power, “until we’ve built up kind of a counterbalance of political power it’s going to be hard to change that. So that is our ultimate goal to tackle those structural issues and we think we can with regulation and changes in regulations enforcing them.” Here, organizations understand themselves as

political forces that can eventually muster enough public support to make legislative and regulatory changes that will improve the food system.

Others argue that the response must also include a discursive response. In addition to structural efforts, the public must be engaged at a narrative and civic level.

So it's very important that we create a movement that is going to be really an alternative to what we have right now. Now, there's going to be always, you know, people are going to go buy, you know, fast food and junk food because sometimes they are the only things that are available. The challenge is how can we educate, how can we convince, how can we offer to the consumers a real alternative to what we have right now.

Activists argue structural, legal, legislative, political, and economic efforts to force the agribusiness industry to adopt less destructive farming practices and create space for small farming alternatives must work in tandem with strategies that help the public understand the nature of the food system crisis and the need to respond to it.

Biased Federal Policy

The most prominent food system problem concerning U.S. activists is the power of corporations over agricultural production and the impacts this has on farmers, workers, communities, and consumers. The second most frequently cited issue expressed by food system advocates was the role of the U.S. congress, federal policy, and international trade policies. 19 of 36 (52.8%) of interviewees described some form of government action as one of their foci. As described above, one might assume that activists who bring a food sovereignty framework to the table might be more inclined than others who are particularly critical of government policies. However, in the case of federal policy

concerns, food security organizers' comments made up nearly 52% of the overall pool of comments with reflections from food sovereignty advocates represented just over 45% followed by food justice activists' comments at slightly more than 3%. These results would suggest that food security activists might be better positioned in relation to federal legislatures to see food system issues through policy lenses in particular comparison to food justice activists. Among the concerns expressed by interviewees, two areas of federal policy received particular criticism: that food policies are biased toward corporations and biased toward food commodities. Four other areas of concern included criticism of international trade agreements, federal crop insurance policies, weak food regulations, and an ineffective congress.

The most significant concern expressed by advocates regarding federal policy was a perceived bias toward corporations and commodity crops based on the close relationship between government and agribusiness. Some activists search for ways to adjust the system to more fairly distribute federal resources to non-corporate food players. They argue that, if the federal system of food subsidies would be less biased toward corporations and commodity crops, small and organic farmers would be better equipped to compete in the marketplace. "Support in our federal government for this consolidated system creates an imbalance, which creates the price differential for organics. So we would contend that farmers could make this increasing profit that they do and the price could still be reasonable for everybody getting it. We believe that everyone should have a chance to eat organic." This effort to make adjustments in the system would hopefully provide economic opportunities for small farmers and result in less expensive organic food for consumers.

One interviewee represents the concerns of many when she describes her perception of the relationship among agribusiness, federal crop insurance, industrialized commodity support, small farmers, and public and environmental health.

If you look at the way our system is designed, it's primarily catering toward commodity production in the form of its subsidies and the kinds of research that gets funded, the crop insurance that's available and other sort of risk management programs that are available and then we don't have those kinds of safety nets for small and mid-sized growers who grow fruits and vegetables. So, um, I feel like it's a problem that there's just a bias in the federal policy that goes towards industrial production of commodities that are for agribusiness and we don't support the types of foods that would promote a healthy population or a healthy environment.

Activists frequently discussed the food system with this constellation of relationships in mind. Sometimes they focused on a food distribution system that favors the ability of large companies (as opposed to small local farmers) to move quantities of food to education districts for school lunches while others discussed how new crop insurance policies have eliminated conservation requirements that formerly encouraged farmers to leave environmentally favorable fallow areas in their field. Some describe campaign financing as the root of the problem as corporations (food and otherwise) are able to gain ever more power over the election process as others argue that the Department of Justice's negligible enforcement of anti-trust litigation toward food behemoths has allowed agribusiness to control the vast majority of today's national food production, processing, and distribution system. Some described a regulatory paradox noting, "you

know, in one corner of its mouth, the USDA is putting out good nutrition guidelines and sort of the other side of its mouth it's giving power to the corporations that are benefiting, profiting from this unhealthy system to create policy that perpetuates it." as others publish research detailing the collusion of government agriculture agencies with corporate food enterprises (Cornucopia Institute 2012:1-75; Mattera 2004:1-40). The root of these concerns is the conviction that large agribusinesses leverage federal policy in support of industrialized mono-cropping and high-profit commodity foods at the cost of small farmers, environmental sustainability, and public health.

Two other concerns appeared during my interviews that illuminate issues related to the perception of how federal policies are related to the functioning of the U.S. food system. The first is activists' frustration with an unusually ineffective congress and how the most recent farm bill reflects this beltway gridlock. A sampling of excerpts serves to illustrate,

I mean, seriously, I've talked to people who have been working on policy for generations and decades and they've never seen a more dysfunctional congress and it really is the roadblock to, I mean for our policy work, that's a significant roadblock.

...our politics have gotten so toxic, so such that we always sort of think that this time is the worst time ever. But I actually think this time is actually the worst time. (Laughs) I could be wrong, but I've been doing this for some time and it just feels like things are just so toxic.

You know, in terms of lobbying or like our policy work here in D.C., I mean, for right now in particular, I mean, the gridlock is an enormous challenge. I mean,

there's just not much happening in Washington and kind of to an extraordinary degree. For example, we work on the farm bill and you know, this is my second one I've kind of done full time, my third one I've paid attention to it all. People talk about how many farm bills you've survived, so it would be like these five-year cycles, right. And the old-timers who have done like six and seven farm bills are stunned by what is happening right now because it's so dysfunctional.

I would say, for me doing the policy work, the other one is just that Congress is, I mean it's a mess!

Activists recognize that the farm bill in particular is a politically challenging piece of legislation. As an omnibus bill, it is not only one of the largest single policy projects (\$489 billion over 5-years) but it encompasses concerns that are supported and opposed by both parties across both houses of congress. In the house, demographics are shifting seats to favor urban and suburban districts over rural districts. In the senate, predominantly rural states maintain significant political power rooted in rural constituencies. The SNAP program, which primarily favors urban communities, competes against financial support for small and beginning farmers in rural districts. This multitude of crosscutting political, congressional, and demographic interests makes the passage of any coalition-based legislation difficult. Attempting to negotiate a half-trillion dollar farm bill in a period of extreme polarization becomes almost incomprehensible.

It therefore came as a surprise to few that in the summer of 2013 republicans temporarily severed the SNAP program from other commodity, rural support, and environmental titles of the farm bill. Activists felt they pursued this strategy in hopes of

rupturing the compromise that had undergirded previous farm bill negotiations. Although the bill was finally approved and signed as a complete package reflective of earlier farm bills, some of my interviewees remained troubled. While relieved that “some farm bill is better than no farm bill” some argued that beyond gridlock there are some demographic and political changes occurring that raise fundamental questions about the future of federal farm policy.

Secondly, food and agriculture activists also view farm issues through the lens of international trade campaigns and disputes. Some work to oppose elements of the North America Free Trade Agreement, the Central America Free Trade Agreement and the work of the World Trade Organization. For example, one organizer describes the connection between international trade and U.S. food policy by noting how “taxpayers subsidized commodities crops are still dumping in our foreign food aid, which is a huge problem. These trade deals are going to make that worse and the Trans-Pacific partnership where there’s going to be basically flood Asia with our, you know, subsidized rice and all that and destroy farmers there and then we’re going to be flooded with the MPC coming in from New Zealand.”¹⁷ Activists I interviewed who discussed international free trade agreements viewed them as efforts to support large food corporation’s twin efforts to claim a greater share of the U.S. food system market, and wield greater influence over international food and agriculture systems.

International agricultural trade agreements also impact immigration and the families and communities whose livelihoods are disrupted by neoliberal policies. An

¹⁷ MPCs (Milk Protein Concentrates) are a dehydrated milk product that is inexpensive to ship, undergoes limited FDA regulation, and is considered by food activists to be an economic threat to small domestic dairy producers.

organizer who works on the U.S./Mexico boarder describes the impact of NAFTA on agricultural systems and workers in both countries. The ability of U.S. companies to sell products in Mexico below the cost of local production impacted, “peasants who were displaced at one point and who lost their land and lost their ability to produce their own food and now have to cross the border in order to work in agriculture. Most of the peasants in Mexico became landless after NAFTA in 1994. By 2002 more than four million peasants have lost pieces of land. So when they don’t have land, they have to sell their labor, their farm work, to others. So now the peasants in Mexico are the farm workers working here in the United States.” In response, activists decided what was needed was an economic alternative to neoliberal capital agricultural models. “So, we decided that we needed to not only fight against the greedy producers or politicians, but to fight the system. And we understood that that would require being part of a movement. So we started to contact La Via Campesina back in 1996; actually in 1998. And then from there we started to become closer to them, and in 2004, during the 4th International Conference in Itaiaci, Brazil, we joined La Via Campesina. Because we know that the solution to oppression of the farm worker lies on a different model of food production. And the farmers of La Via Campesina, the women of La Via Campesina, the indigenous people of La Via Campesina are fighting and working for a different type of food system than the current agricultural system.”¹⁸ These personal experiences with the impacts of international trade policies reveal the connection among neoliberal legislation,

¹⁸ La Via Campesina is one of the worlds largest peasant organizing groups. The four U.S. members of the group include: the Border Farm Workers Project, Farmworkers Association of Florida, the Rural Coalition, and the National Family Farm Coalition. A thorough description of La Via Campesina’s Food Sovereignty platform is found in Table 14.

immigration, and the U.S. food system. Here activists struggle to not only address the needs of those directly affected by agricultural legislation, but also support a movement that works to develop greater public awareness of a complex international policy.

Some interviewees also describe the venal relationship between government and agribusinesses as nearly beyond repair. One activist reflects “so I mean, there’s that whole thing like the government’s role in basically distorting our food system and you know the corporations and sort of the corruption in the government.” Or an interviewee who describes the relationship as

an unhealthy system, both for the environment and for people. Our obesity rates are huge and rising, and I think that can be attributed directly to the types of processed packaged foods that people are eating. Those foods in turn are subsidized by government supportive of corn growers and of the cotton growers and to multinational corporations, you know, agro-business that are then not only producing the inputs but also putting out processed foods, so it’s a very sort of incestuous, broken system that’s encouraging, um... disease I guess is how I would put it. And it’s certainly taking a toll on both human health and environmental health.

In this way activists perceive a straight line connecting corporations, government policy, a broken food system, and national public health. They argue that the influence of corporations on government through campaign financing, lax anti-trust enforcement, farm bill lobbying, and influence over regulatory agencies, gives them power to influence federal policy toward commodity crops over small farmers, friendly crop insurance

legislation, and international agricultural treaties that create market opportunities for transnational food companies.

Agricultural Industrialization

A third area of concern for my interviewees was the degree of industrialization and use of high technology in the food system. 14 of my 36 interviewees (38.9%) described that the use of genetically modified organisms, overuse of synthetic herbicides, insecticides and fertilizers, industrial farm machinery, and farming models based on intensive monocropping are to be blamed for the U.S. food system crises. While none of the subjects connected to food justice groups included these concerns in our conversations, 63.2% of those who raised this concern were from a food security perspective with the remaining 36.8% reflecting from a food sovereignty point of view.

Industrial agriculture is generally characterized as the dominant system of farming in the U.S. and is characterized by the large-scale intensive farming of single crops and animal production (aka monocropping or monoculture), more frequent utilization of genetically modified organisms, and supported by heavy use of chemical inputs used to replenish rapidly depleted natural soil nutrients and fight increased weed and insect populations no longer controlled by natural biodiversity (Union of Concerned Scientists 2012). During the interviews respondents described the problem with industrialization and high technology from a variety of perspectives.

Many food movement activists contrasted the high-output efficiencies of industrial agriculture with traditional farming approaches that operate more attentively to local resources and environmental needs. They also tended to link industrialization of farming with corporate consolidation and the commodification of food products in

service to profit. One subject described “the sterile, clean farming approach to agriculture is our root problem. In the short term it can yield high profits but in the long term, we lose our resources and we pollute our resources, and um, and we’re helping with the decline of other species.” Another activist described how the school food system is set up with “a huge infrastructure for schools to purchase kind of commodity crops or, you know, industrially produced nachos or chicken patties and things like that. The whole structure is there, so the default is this more industrialized system instead of the default being a localized, decentralized system.” She goes on to explain that the industrial design of the system extends from the farmer’s fields where large facilities are supported with government grants, where satisfying regulations are more of a hardship for small farmers, and where animal processing plants are designed for large numbers of animals. In short, the entire American food chain system is designed and supported with industrial agriculture models in mind.

Beyond the industrialized bias in the system’s design, activists described the ubiquitous use of chemicals and GMOs and their sense that corporations are systematically looking for ways to make their use the norm for American farming.

Additionally, I’d also really like to see the movement away from the use of heavy chemicals and genetically-modified foods. I was just at a farm 10 minutes ago, talking to one of the women who run the farm and they have a SCA program where they bring in local foods from other farms and she said, “you know, it’s so hard to find farms who don’t use chemicals here because even our extension program is pushing the use of chemicals in farming because all of their studies and all of their support comes from the big chemical companies, you know,

farming chemical companies.” And so the farmers are being given information about how to grow things only using chemicals and genetically-modified seeds. Here the connections among corporations, chemical inputs, the use of GMOs, and industrial farming models becomes apparent. Activists perceive their struggle not just in terms of trying to reduce the use of chemical inputs or prevent the use of genetically modified plants and animals in the food chain, but as a broader conflict with multi-national corporations operating in a system that prioritizes profit over human or environmental health.

Activists describe a myriad of negative effects that result from industrialized food systems,

I think we can say there is a lot of industrialized development of foods that ends up creating foods that are not as healthy and not as fresh. The systems that create them don't compensate farmers as well as they should and it kind of ends up hurting everyone along the food system path, because the workers aren't compensated fairly, the farmers don't make enough money off of their products and then the actual end-products are unhealthy and that cheapest food that we have available is generally not good for us. The lower-income levels in our communities end up with health-related diseases and issues disproportionately because they can't afford healthy, fresh food and we don't have a lot of support in the entire food system for those healthier, more sustainably produced foods that are compensating the farmers and so that's a difficulty that we have.

According to these advocates, this constellation of environmental and public health concerns are rooted in an industrialized food system that remains unconcerned with

nutritional and pollution issues as it produces food with great efficiency and significant profit for the corporations who profit from it.

Several subjects also described the importance of connecting with international efforts to find alternatives to the industrialized food model. One explained his organization's resistance to the increased use of high technology in farming systems,

And you know, right now there's something being proposed that's called smart agriculture and basically it's the corporations behind this concept. They are saying that it is the start of a so-called green economy. (They say) we need a new model of agriculture production that is based in technology. So, we have to be very careful because technology is not the solution to everything. In many regions of the world technology means more destructive industry.

Others understand that national food advocacy and the industrialization of agriculture and promulgation of GMOs are also tied to international treaties and U.S. foreign policy,

We understand that you can't talk about issues here without talking, you know, you can't talk about for example, GMO policy in the U.S. without talking about the market for GMOs in Africa. And those things are tied very closely together. You can't talk about pesticide exports without talking about international treaties. You know, all of these international mechanisms; treaties and free trade agreements and also just the actions and the subsidiaries of corporations are happening at that cross-continental level so we have to be able to think like that and be able to address these issues.

These reflections reveal how activists understand the industrialized high-technology network of global food actors are linked across institutions, sectors, and nations.

Pesticide and GMO use impacts farm-workers and the environment, U.S GMO policy impacts African food production, and the World Trade Organization has the power to impact agricultural policy in developing countries.¹⁹

In addition to describing their perceptions of the industrial food system model, activists noted how they see the public beginning to question this system. One interviewee described a recent successful campaign that resulted in the banning of methyl iodide's use on crops.²⁰ Others describe local support for small system agriculture as an alternative to industrial agriculture. And yet other food advocates explain how people are no longer satisfied with simply purchasing and consuming their food, consumers want to know where their food comes from and what is in it,

The biggest issue that we're concerned about is over-industrialization, you know, over-consolidation. Our primary source of foods here in the U.S. are factory farms, giant commercialized production facilities and increasingly, I feel like that's not where people want their food to come from. I work with people everyday who are interested in knowing how far their food travels, when it was picked or caught or killed, and even more so, who produced it. And we're

¹⁹ A recent example, on June 27, 2014, a coalition of food advocacy organizations circulated a petition to oppose the U.S. State Department's threatened withholding of \$277 million of development aid to El Salvador. Secretary of State John Kerry argued that although their 2011 Family Agriculture Plan (lauded by the United Nation Food and Agriculture Organization) has allowed El Salvador to reduce hunger and move from being 80% reliant on imports to being 100% self-sufficient in basic grain production, violates the Central America Free Trade Agreement by preventing U.S. transnational corporations from selling in the country.

²⁰ Methyl iodide was introduced to California agriculture as an insecticide and herbicide in 2011 but was withdrawn by the Arystra LifeScience company in 2012 following several law-suits contending human carcinogenic risks.

starting to get back to a place where people want to know their farmers, they want to know their fisherman, they want to know their, um, their cattle, and all of those things.

Although it is unclear how broadly this food narrative is shared throughout the American public, that consumers are asking this question suggests that a new food narrative may be emerging. In the face of efforts by corporations to silence those wanting to know that their food has been genetically modified (as evidenced by the millions of corporate dollars spent opposing petition efforts to label GMO food in states such as Washington and California), treated with toxic chemicals, or produced through mammoth industrial processes, the public seems interested in breaking the silence in wanting to know where their food comes from.

Conversations with national food advocacy leaders revealed a deep concern with industrial-style agriculture and the ubiquitous use of high-technology, synthetic herbicides, fertilizers and insecticides, and the expansion of genetically modified crops and animals. Beyond specific concerns related to these practices, most interviewees tied these issues to broader food system themes such as corporate control and federal policy. It is therefore reasonable to argue that these food activists understand issues such as international trade policy, the use of GMOs, and mono-culture industrial agriculture not as isolated concerns, but as a constellation of issues that were previously described by McMichael and Friedman as a neo-liberal “food regime” controlled by transnational corporations, enabled by federal policy, and guided by the profit motive that understands food as a commodity with little interest in small farmers, local control, or the health of

humans or the environment. National food advocates perceive it is against this alliance of players and capital interests that they struggle for the future of food in the U.S.

In summary three of these findings are particularly noteworthy. First, 75% of the 36 interviewees shared some reflection pertaining to corporate control, federal policy, or industrialization. This finding provides strong evidence that neoliberal influences on the U.S. food system are a significant concern for most in the food advocacy network. Second, despite the suspicion that those who represent groups with a food sovereignty perspective might dominate this narrative, or that inadvertent over-sampling of food sovereignty organizations may have skewed the findings, fully 50% of the comments made in regards to corporate control, federal policy or agricultural industrialization came from food security organizations (closely in line with their 47% representation in the sampling pool) with the rest coming from a combination of food justice and food sovereignty groups. This suggests that concerns with a constellation of neoliberal actors is not just a food sovereignty concern. And third, interviewees representing food justice groups contributed only 8.5% of the reflections concerning these broader neoliberal food system concerns and represents less than half of the percentage of those included in the interview sample or the complete network (see Table 23). This finding suggests that food justice interviewees appear significantly less interested in broader neoliberal concerns than either the food security or food sovereignty representatives.

Racial Discrimination and Labor/Farmer Injustice

The fourth food advocacy issue raised by activists during the interviews was a series of concerns related to racial justice, labor, discrimination toward rural communities and small farmers, and immigration. Although these topics might be considered distinct

areas, conversations with leaders of advocacy groups revealed a tendency to think of them as connected to one another. 10 of 36 interviewees (27.8%) described one or more of these issues as an important part of their work. Although these concerns were not raised as frequently as industrial agriculture, corporate control or federal policy issues, their presence illuminates another aspect of how activists frame the root problems with the U.S. food system. They also serve to illustrate a distinction among interviewees representing groups with different system change perspectives. As might be predicted, food justice groups disproportionately name workers rights, immigration and racism as a central concern for the U.S. food system. Whereas not quite 23.5% of food security interviewees describe these issues, 35.3% of food justice and 41.2% of food sovereignty groups consider structural racism, immigration, small farmers, and workers rights important problems in the food system. This disparity provides an important insight into why the food sovereignty and food justice portions of the network are more closely connected than food security and food justice organizations

My interviewees addressed these issues from several perspectives. Several leaders described systematic discrimination in the food system as an urgent need. “We think that the structural racism in the food system is also a major problem if our food system was founded on slavery and the exploitation of black workers and that the food system continues to exploit workers and communities of color is important.” Another leader explained that, “dismantling racism has become a very, very important conversation.” This subject went on to note that she thinks this is “less so on the more um, on the more foodie, upper-class white side of the food movement, which has tended to be the more visible side, I think, of the food movement.” Her impression resonates

with the previous discussion regarding the distinction between relatively progressive and conservative groups' dedication to social justice issues in the food system.

Another participant connected the presence of systematic racism in the food system with deeper questions power and how it is wielded through financial commitments to different sorts of food projects,

It's about this whole big picture of development and who's making decisions, you know, who's calling the shots. And so I think a lot of the funding of sort of food projects don't really address the core issue of who has the power, who's making decisions. And I think that's the challenge. These are the discussions that a lot of folks are having; like how do we... you know, yes, food is important, you know growing food is important. Yes, eating healthy food is important, but you know, as part of a larger project. You know, for example, dismantling racism has become, you know, I think the sort of hallmark, the struggle ... I think it's something that tells us that this is more than a network. That this is a movement because it's trying to grapple with issues of power relations and how to transform those.

For those who acknowledge it, the food system's systematic racism and discrimination is a function of both an historic legacy and a contemporary reality perpetuated by funders and others who control where money and energy can be directed. Although later sections will highlight activist's impressions of how funding sources impact food projects and the broader movement, these reflections reveal significant power struggles occurring around race and discrimination in the food system.

Despite its absence from most food system analysis literature and conversations regarding food justice, my interviewees described discrimination toward rural communities and small farmers as an important contributor to the food system crisis. One began our conversation noting that although people are accustomed to talking about food justice in terms of racial discrimination and poor and minority communities' inability to access healthy food, it was important for people to understand that rural communities are also experiencing discrimination,

Well, I grew up on a farm in central Minnesota. My dad comes from a long agricultural background in New England. I was growing up in a rural area, saw a lot of injustice going on, you know things like that. One of our neighbors committed suicide due to a foreclosure on their farm, and you know this was back in the 70's. I mean there have been multiple farm crises since then so and growing up I watched farmers disappearing and basically being told at school that I should get out. Go get a job working for a computer company or something. You know, farmers were stupid, that type of thing. A lot of prejudice against rural people...

I think that there is a shift away from an interest in those sorts of career paths and so, you know, it goes hand in hand with a decreasing ability to make a living at this. I think, you know, we see loss of farm land, and therefore, farming becoming more and more an expensive career to start and going hand in hand with a decrease in the education and other sort of cultural and government support for starting that career.

Food advocates frame the economic pressures experienced by small farmers as a function of both economic shifts and cultural assumptions. In an agricultural marketplace that privileges consolidation and constant expansion, small farming enterprises are seen as outmoded. In a career field that rewards technological aptitude, traditional rural knowledge is judged as archaic. Discrimination toward rural communities, therefore, is rooted in both economic and political structures that drive farmers to “get big or get out” and cultural assumptions that assume farmers have no place in a modern, high-tech society.

Activists note how these economic and cultural pressures have deep impacts on family and public life,

I would say the fact that farmers are working so hard to make a living, you know, the cost that they're receiving from most crops is not what it was 20 years ago so they have to work that much harder and for some it means planting that much more. When you used to get let's say \$10 for a bushel of this or that and now you're getting only \$5, then you have to plant twice as much or harvest twice as much to get the same money. So I think it's kind of an ongoing struggle. Yeah, not getting a fair price or a fair wage makes it really tough for them to even enjoy what was once a real draw for farmers and people living in rural environments. If you're working all the time and constantly stressed about finances, you can't be a strong parent or a strong partner or a friend or community member because you're so focused on the bottom line, but you don't want to sell out and you know, go work for the other guy so to speak.

Although some interviewees explained these small farm economic issues as the result of corporate consolidation and biased federal policy, they just as often framed them in terms of a justice issues and discrimination toward rural communities. For instance, when recounting a list of the types of groups they partner with to address food injustice, one activist included struggling small farmers with Alaskan indigenous communities and Florida farm workers. In this sense, the economic pressures and cultural discrimination faced by small farmers is similar to that experienced by other poor and minority groups participating in the U.S. food system.

In addition to perceiving systematic racism and discrimination toward small farmers, food system advocates described the abuse of farm-laborers as a third manifestation of injustice in the food system. Interviewees described inhumane treatment of farm-laborers, poor living conditions, wage theft, over-work, low wages and being forced to work with dangerous agricultural chemicals the chief threats. One interviewee also described problems with the immigration system as an important contributor to the injustice faced by laborers. As activists reflected on the dangers facing workers, two particular comments stood out. First, the interviewees were quick to make an explicit connection between farm-worker treatment and corporate profit-seeking,

...for the product and then the producers in order to make the investment, they have to lower the cost of production by paying the worker less or making the workers work more. So under this model of agricultural production, we always hears that businesses are trying lower the cost of labor, you know? Because there are no other line items that you can reduce. You cannot less for energy. Energy

is always increasing. You cannot go to a gas station or diesel place and say that you want to pay less.

...that it's often a choice, or it seems to be a choice, between paying workers a fair wage and you know, how did you price that, how that compares to the price of a tomato and that it's often the workers that are losing out.

...Corporations have so much control over our seeds and the industry. The fact that more and more smaller seed companies are being purchased, and then ah you know, suddenly these non-GMO varieties aren't available anymore and it's similar with markets and you know for dairy farmers, there are fewer and fewer cooperatives and they're all so big and there's ... you know, you don't see the price of milk going down in the stores very often, but farmers are getting less and less than it costs for them to produce it, similarly in livestock, poultry. And the retail margins, you know, we see the main profit not in the farmers hands or even always at the grocer's hands, but all those folks in between, so I would say corporate concentration is one.

Activists argue that because corporations must find ways to constantly increase profit, their incentive to reduce wages and overhead is shouldered by both farm-laborers and the owners and operators of small farms.

Second, in placing the blame for these dangers at the feet of corporations, activists also came to recognize a shared concern between small farmers and their hired help. One respondent specifically described how the common corporate enemy has even made strange political bedfellows of workers and small owners. He reflects how small farmers "feel such an alignment and empathy with farmer workers, especially migrant farm

workers, go from place to place and they very little control over the price and you know, it just puts them in a really bad place when they need a certain amount of money to live and they're not even paid a fair wage or a fair price for what their producer harvests.”

According to some national food advocacy leaders, the lack of control felt by small farmers and laborers creates opportunities to organize these two traditionally adversarial groups and place renewed pressure on national food system actors.

Socialization and Access to Healthy Food

In naming the root problems with the U.S. food system, my interviewees, overwhelmingly held the consolidating power of corporations, federal agricultural policy, and high-tech industrialization accountable for the crises facing the U.S. food system. To a lesser degree but still significantly, racial, immigrant, rural and low-paid worker discrimination is perceived to be a serious threat to creating a just food system. A smaller but still meaningful set of responses blamed the construction of personal appetites, food education, and financial access to healthy food. 9 of 36 interviewees (25%) described one of several issues related to people's socialization toward eating bad food or financial access to healthier food as a central problem with the food system. Most of those describing these concerns were connected to groups with a food security perspective (nearly 64%) with the remaining 36% divided evenly between groups representing food justice and food sovereignty perspectives.

Several interviewees reflected that the main problem with the food system is found in people's poor food choices and habits. Activists do not perceive these as simple individualistic decisions but as ones bound up in culture, convenience, tradition and habit. This activist suggests that when trying to convince people that they should find

ways to eat fewer animals, individuals must contend with a complex of social discourses and traditions that make it difficult to become vegetarian or even choose to slightly lower their consumption of animal protein,

I guess our biggest challenge is probably just, um, just dealing with the habit, you know, that we don't make our food choices as logically as we think we do. We make food choices for emotional reasons; we make food choices for reasons of convenience, for reasons of habit, for reasons for tradition and culture, for reasons of familiarity and so trying to pit morals against all of those barriers can be difficult. If it was just morals against one, it could be a little easier, but pitting morals against convenience and familiarity and culture and tradition and taste and you know all the of immoral small barriers add up and make it a lot of easier for one to eat products that might not necessarily add up with our own values."

This reflection suggests that activists consider habitual socialization into eating patterns is a powerful force. In this case, culture, habits, tradition and convenience conspire together to make alternative food choices difficult. Other activists speak in similar terms as they consider how to affect change in people's eating patterns in the face of powerful acculturating forces. This interviewee speaks of the strategic effort to imbed healthy eating at an early age,

"You know, if we want to change the food system, a huge piece of it is, and not to say that like I've written adult and teenagers off, but I've just found that when you work with kids, particularly farm to preschool where you get them at an early age and they grow apparent, they're going to be more willing to taste and you know, we just, our food system is gone so far in the wrong direction that we just need to

have a new generation and I think that school setting where, you know, many low-income kids that's the only place to eat their food. I just think that it's such a pivotal place to make change.”

Interestingly, this food activist connects the powerful cultural forces that shape food choice to class and industrial structures. Her efforts are specifically intended to persuade low-income preschoolers to learn to enjoy healthier food. Furthermore, she clarifies her reference to the food system having gone “so far in the wrong direction” as the result of food industries working to create food that sells well but is not healthy. Her effort to convince young children to eat healthier is a direct response to corporate efforts to convince people of all ages, that they should consume certain types of unhealthy food.

In addition to the power of cultural expectation, activists perceive that financial means is the main reason people choose to eat unhealthy food. Food movement leaders blame obesity and a whole range of illnesses connected to poor nutrition not on person food choices, but on financial instability.

...if we could see what the food system provides for us, that over the course of our lifetime we will become sick. You know, we'll become first of all, overweight and obese, diabetic, hypertense and die of cardiac disease. All of which are unnecessary and preventable diseases that are related the way in which we eat and our food involvement. Um, and just to make matters worse, even though it is possible to eat healthfully within this food system, there are such distortions within the food system that in order to be able to eat healthfully you need to be wealthy and so that means that the outcome of this system is inequitable.

It's a serious problem and something that certainly affects all people, but specifically children being born into circumstances that they can't control and their parents also not being able to afford to buy healthy, fresh, and of course, locally grown is a whole another component that when it comes to feeding a family wouldn't necessarily be high up on that list, so you know when you have a couple of dollars to spend are you going to spend it on a high-volume fast food meal or are you going to spend it on some vegetables that need to be prepared and maybe quantity might not be as much.

Although healthy food is available to many in the existing food system, the high expense creates nutritional inequalities across the nation and prevents many from accessing nutritious food.

Others however describe a system that is stratified geographically as well as financially. This interviewee describes a situation that has become known as a "food desert" where healthy food is simply not available for purchase anywhere in the area,

I know there's a woman at the health department and she's doing an assessment for parts of our county where there's not a grocery store necessarily but more of a convenience store, so looking at food deserts, which also surprise, surprise, happened to be some of the cheaper places to live and so how is income getting people locked into those food deserts. So even just whether they have the money or not, it's just not easy to access.

These two realities combine to make healthy eating while living on a parlous financial footing very difficult. When individuals and families do not have enough money to purchase healthy food they turn to inexpensive, highly processed fast food that carries

serious nutritional risks. Furthermore, their financial insecurity appears to frequently leave them living in geographic locations where healthy food is simply unavailable for purchase. Here food activists blame financial inequalities structured into the economic system, as opposed to personal decisions, for the increase in obesity and other crises found in the national food system.

Finally, other activists more directly blame developers of highly processed food for the nation's nutritional crises.

I mean, all those studies are coming out now, showing, you know, immigrants, children of immigrants live four years less than their parents. Why is that? Well it's because they're eating crap food when they get here and they get type 2 diabetes and obesity and all this. Like, so, I mean where's that food coming from, and you know, why? I've taken food science classes at the University. They teach you food has four attributes: Taste, texture, appearance and nutrition. And nutrition is always last. I guess texture and appearance is what sells food. Does it have the right mouth feel? Is it crunchy? Is it salty? Well that doesn't mean it's good food.

This interviewee blames the poor nutritional quality of contemporary food on scientists (presumably in the employ of agri-food corporations) who are less interested in creating popular enthusiasm for healthy food as they are in carefully designing food products that can be sold at a profit for the companies who market them.²¹

²¹ For a food designers inside view of the profit-driven, scientific process of developing new food products for corporations see Moss, Michael. 2013, "The Extraordinary Science of Addictive Junk Food", Retrieved June 12, 2014 (http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/24/magazine/the-extraordinary-science-of-junk-food.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0).

This set of interviewees' comments ties together three important elements and begins to illuminate the intersection of the cultural and structural dimensions of the food system. At one level, in contrast to rationally choosing one's food preferences, decisions about food are perceived by activists as being deeply rooted in cultural tradition and civil discourse. People grow up, are socialized, and *learn* to like what they like. Tastes are constructed by the society in which one lives. At another level, their preferences are significantly shaped by economic forces that make certain foods affordable and geographically accessible. Socially-constructed appetites aside, economic structures influence what people eat through the cost and accessibility of food. And finally, advocates reflect here (and in the previous discussion regarding the constellation of neoliberal forces) that corporations make certain foods more desirable by manipulating taste and texture in order to increase sales and profits.

In closing, food advocates' prognostic perceptions illuminate an intimate connection between structural and cultural forces. Structures of capital, industrial technology, and their relationship to federal policy and their collective impact on the economy are powerful in the minds of organizers. Likewise, a variety of civil discourses interact with and impact these forces such as the popular opinion that high technology is good and should be welcomed into our agricultural system, that farmers are "stupid" and quaint artifacts of a bygone food era, that people's food choices are primarily a function of personal rational decisions, and that synthetic inputs are safe and valuable additions to the food system. Leaders of food advocacy groups perceive that their campaigns must therefore address an interacting set of cultural and structural factors and must operate on both cultural and structural levels to restore a broken food system.

Food System Prognosis

Having explored interviewees' sense of the deeply rooted problems with the U.S. food system, my conversations turned to examining how organizational representatives perceived solutions to these problems. In response to my inquiry, I received and coded 24 different solutions being pursued by advocacy groups. After reviewing the comments, I discerned three broad categories of responses, namely; advocacy for federal policy changes, efforts to organize farmers and workers, and development of small-scale alternatives to industrial food models. In this section I will describe these responses and close with some observations regarding how closely they connect with interviewees' diagnostic framing.

Federal Policy Changes

My interviewee's most frequent response given to my question "What needs to be done to repair the U.S. food system?" was a variation on concerns with federal policy. 16 of 36 respondents (44.4%) reflected that some form of federal policy change is the solution to the problems that concern their organization. Of the organizations that cited federal policy 56.8% came from groups holding a food security perspective, 34.1% from food sovereignty groups, and the remaining 9.1% were food justice groups. Given the propensity of food security organizations to have offices in Washington D.C. their emphasis on policy change is consistent with the correspondence of the food security perspective with interest group approaches to political change (see chapter IV).

The variety of federal policies food groups work to change is broad. The most frequent element of federal policy that leaders sought to change was support for small farmers. Advocates argue that better access to tax deductions, crop insurance,

conservation dollars, lines of credit for beginning new farm projects, and health insurance would provide small farmers with a safety net equivalent to supports received by large commodity crop farms. Because small-farming startup is a high-risk endeavor, insurance companies are hesitant to provide coverage, or do so at a very high price. Other respondents described their work to shift additional federal support to organic farms that historically have received less federal attention than conventional enterprises. Yet others worked to expand federal programs that support beginning farmers with marketing training and infrastructure for rural communities to help them move into growing niche markets. One respondent shares,

there was a farmer, a small vegetable-producing farmer who was in her third, maybe it was her fifth year of farming, but it was her first year with her own farm and then they had just the worst series of storms that totally decimated her crop and it was just awful, and she didn't have insurance, because as a beginning farmer she didn't have the required documentation of, you need several years worth of proof that you've been producing before you can get insurance, so she just had to basically rebuild from nothing and she just didn't make any money that year and she was working 70-hour weeks.

Providing additional federal support for small farmers would begin to reverse the federal policy bias perceived by activists. Respondents frequently noted that their goal was less about handicapping large industrial farms (though some appeared happy to do so) and more about creating a greater degree of equity in what is perceived as an unfair subsidy system.

Small farmer advocates supported significant reform in what are known in the farm bill as counter-cyclical payments and crop insurance subsidies. Under the counter-cyclical program farmers are guaranteed a certain return on their crop by providing direct payments which, when added to income received from selling their harvest on the open market, would bring their income up to a target price set for each crop in the legislation. Crop insurance subsidies also provide money to offset crop insurance premiums. Activists argue that these payments disproportionately support industrial agriculture over small farmers. Changes to the 2014 farm bill reformed the program placing new caps on the previously unlimited amount of money farm owners could receive and were generally applauded by food activists. In this case, most advocates did not want to eliminate the program, but refocus it so that small farmers could take greater advantage of the price supports.

Yet another approach advocated by some leaders to leverage federal policy in support of small farmers, was to advocate for greater anti-trust oversight. Whereas some activists argued that subsidies that favor agri-business should be completely eliminated, others argued that,

...if you take that away and these corporations still control the markets, those farmers are going to go bankrupt in a heartbeat, and so you have to go out in the, you know, it's a crime that Kraft is making record profits in the middle of a recession. And the only way they're doing that is price gouging farmers and consumers, by controlling the market. And so we need the Department of Justice needs to take anti-trust action, needs to break up the food giants just like they broke up Ma-Bell.

Advocates argue that subjecting large agricultural corporations that control significant portions of the food system should be forces to additional anti-trust scrutiny would prevent market monopolies, would more equitably distribute federal farm-support dollars, and allow small farmers to more easily compete in the marketplace.

Environmental policies were a second area of federal policy change that garnered significant attention. In particular, a number of activists worked to protect and expand the farm bill's land and water conservation titles. These policies link certain of the farm bill's financial supports to farmer's environmental practices. For instance, in order to receive access to certain types of crop insurance or price guarantees they must protect wetlands on their fields, maintain a certain level of soil quality, and agree not to plant and harvest fence-row to fence-row and instead leave some wild-lands at their field's edges to facilitate greater biodiversity. On interviewee comments,

If I could change the farm bill, I wouldn't stop giving farmers money; I would just reallocate the way that they get money. So it would be to reallocate those funds for good practices that are put to the, you know, used on the farm instead of crop insurance, which is another way to, you know, farmers can just buy insurance to do bad farming. Um, ah yeah, but you know from our perspective, it would be great to take a lot of the money and then funnel it back into conservation. (We would say) "Oh, you want some farm bill money? Okay, well then you have to take really good care of your lands."

Activists perceive farm legislation as an important opportunity to connect federal agricultural payments made to farmers with environmental principles that protect farmlands and surrounding water and land resources.

Interviewees also briefly described three other areas of federal policy on which they have been active. First, advocates have been working to protect recent additions to farm bill titles that provide additional funding for healthy food, fruits and vegetables. One activist who advocates for healthier school lunches was particularly enthusiastic about recent federal legislative changes that allow for easier access to healthy, local food.

And the as far as school food goes, they recently redid the school food regulations for the first time in like 30 years and they include more fruits and vegetables and whole grains and they're really good changes to make them healthier meals. They have a whole bidding process where they have to do a request for what products they want and then they have to choose the least expensive one, but they made it so that they were able to express geographic preference. I think, you know, more changes to the regulations to include more fresh foods is a great idea and more geographic preference is also a great idea.

Changes in federal legislation can facilitate the movement of local and healthy food into large institutions such as public schools. Activists argue that these shifts, while still small, reflect public pressure to address the obesity crisis and other concerns regarding the quality of food available to children.

Second, several activists reflected on their efforts to protect the farm bill's SNAP program (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, formerly known as food stamps). Their work includes attempts to protect provisions that allow the use of SNAP at farmers markets (an inclusion approved in the 2008 farm bill over the protests of grocery

retailers) and prevent the program's funding from being significantly reduced.²² In general, food advocates would like to see increases in the SNAP program and continued encouragement to use the program to support small and local farmers and fresh foods.

Finally, advocates work to address international trade law in several ways. First, they are active in creating networks to support alternative organizations such as the Domestic Fair Trade Association that incorporates worker justice and environmental standards as part of its certification process to hold food producers to better practices.

Others work to prevent the implementation of global free-trade agreements contending, these trade deals are going to make things worse and the Trans-Pacific partnership where there's going to be basically flood Asia with our, you know, subsidized rice and all that and destroy farmers there and then we're going to be flooded with the MPC (see footnote number 17) coming in from New Zealand, so it's going to wipe out dairy farmers here, so I mean it's sort of a race to the bottom.

In addition to the fear that free trade agreements will harm small producers, other activists note that the long-term result of international trade agreements that benefit large corporations is particularly destructive to small and rural communities and result in the migration of millions of poor farmers in search of work,

Peasants who were displaced at one point and eh, who lost their land and lost their

²² Recent direct action events at Wal-Mart stores have served to highlight the continued role of SNAP in American labor politics and the economy. Labor activists argue that workers' wages are so low that 15% of Ohio Wal-Mart employees qualify for SNAP. Extrapolated across the country, Wal-Mart is estimated to receive \$300 million in taxpayer subsidies through SNAP to supplement their associates' salaries. The process becomes more complicated when Wal-Mart also works to prevent the use of SNAP benefits at farmers markets in hopes that recipients would instead use them at local Wal-Mart outlets. Kaufman, Alexander C. 2014, "Getting Walmart Workers Off Food Stamps Would Cost Customers Barely Anything", Retrieved July 8, 2014 (www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/04/09/walmart-workers-food-stamps_n_5092262.html).

ability to produce their own food and now have to cross the border in order to work in agriculture. Most of the peasants in Mexico became landless after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994. The North American Free Trade Agreement came into effect in 1994, in January of 1994. By 2002 more than four million peasants have lost pieces of land. So when they don't have land, they have to sell their labor, their farm work, to others. So now the peasants who used to work in Mexico are the farm workers working here in the United States.

Free trade agreements may rarely appear in the consciousness of most consumers who frequent farmers markets or buy from local producers, but many national food activists perceive international trade agreements as a serious threat to even (especially?) the smallest American communities.

Nearly half of the interviewees described changing federal legislation as one of their highest priorities and their main prognosis for a broken food system. The main thrust of their work focused on efforts to direct more federal support to small farmers who are perceived as facing extraordinary pressure from large corporations whose operations are favored by federal legislation. In their effort to support small farmers, national food advocates lobby for anti-trust action against large food companies, resist international trade laws that favor transnational agri-business, reform of federal direct subsidies that are channeled disproportionately to large-scale producers, and a myriad of other farm bill titles and legislative initiatives that shift attention from large to small food producers.

Besides the significant number of advocates who named federal legislation as an

important issue, interviewee's descriptions of their work provides rich insight into their movement strategies and their connections to their food system prognoses described above. Groups claiming the need to change federal policy as their key project described their main strategies as creating partnerships with like-minded organizations, drafting and presenting letters to congressional committees, directly lobbying individual congress people through organizational staff, and calling on their organizational members to make phone calls to congressional offices in their respective states. Frequent press conferences were held from the fall of 2012 through the winter of 2013 to highlight campaign letters and push legislators to include particular policies in the impending farm bill.

Advocate's preferred prognostic approaches utilized to address the food system diagnoses described above is remarkably consistent with their concerns related to the influence of neoliberalism on the U.S. agricultural system. Rather than describing a broad and disjointed set of legislative campaigns aimed at a disconnected list of issues ranging from international trade disputes, to SNAP funding, to farmers markets, advocates consistently described their work as an effort to support a class of small farmers and workers suffering under a complex of corporate competitors and federal policymakers. These efforts to use federal policy to resist the continued encroachment of corporations into national legislation and further impinge on small farmers and agricultural workers' ability to survive is consistent with the previous prognostic discussion that highlighted activists' concerns with corporate control, industrial methods, and federal policy bias.

Developing Small Scale Alternatives

In addition to legislative strategies, interviewees described a second response to the

problems they perceive in the U.S. agricultural system. 15 of the 36 leaders interviewed (41.7%) explained that creating and supporting small scale farming projects was one of the central strategies they employed to resist corporate industrial agriculture. Of those who reported this approach 65.4% represented a food security perspective, 26.9% held a food sovereignty point of view, and 7.7% expressed a food justice understanding. Groups supported a wide variety of particular approaches to these small scale alternatives to farming and agriculture.

Interviewees who advocated development of small scale food systems understood their work not only as an effort to reduce the scale of farming enterprises, but also as an exercise of democratization.

I'm in the local foods program, but that doesn't mean local in Minnesota; it means we want to promote decentralized food systems everywhere. So that's kind of our goal; it's not just about our own local food system but it's promoting those smaller-scale, human scale, food systems no matter where they might be and obviously we want see it in Minnesota but we also want to see them all over the country and all over the world...

So it's very important that we create a movement that is going to be really an alternative to what we have right now. Now, there's going to be always, you know, people are going to go buy, you know, fast food and junk food because sometimes they are the only things that are available. So we need to... The challenge is how can we educate, how can we convince, how can we offer to the consumers a real alternative to what we have right now.

In this case activists describe small-scale agriculture as “human scale” and view it as a

“decentralized” and “alternative” food system. In the minds of leaders, these stand in contrast to large-scale industrial agriculture run through centralized corporate planning that disconnects consumers from farm-workers and from their interaction with soil, plants, and animals.

Another fear cited by organizers is that existing varieties of crops will become extinct as commodity crops become more dominant. In order to both support biodiversity and the small farmers who utilize diverse heirloom varieties, some organizations work to document and save existing seed lines.

we’re working on this project called Ark of Taste which is basically trying to help smaller producers across the U.S. sort of um, keep a catalog of these foods that small-scale producers are producing, and furthermore, it is a catalog of foods that are in danger of becoming extinct, so by promoting these products we are definitely promoting, you know, smaller scale and trying to keep things diverse and basically the opposite of whatever these large industrial agriculture giants are doing.

In this case, activists understand biodiversity and farming systems that utilize a diversity of crops are understood as rivals to and partial solutions for industrial farming methods.

Other activists, aware of the degree to which agricultural systems in the U.S. have been designed around the production and delivery of commodity crops, work to design infrastructure to support small-scale farming operations.

So there aren’t very many certified facilities available around them and to do that they’d have to truck these animals hundreds of miles to be processed, which would be stressful for the animals and also would defeat the purpose of, you

know, if they want to sell into their local community. So that kind of thing, just the infrastructure that used to exist is now lost as support gets smaller producers. It's difficult. They have the same issue with smaller mills to do grains and different processing facilities for all different kinds of fruits, vegetables, grains, meats; there aren't those kinds of middle operations anymore. So that's a really big challenge, just infrastructure, and also the same challenge for smaller producers with delivery.

Advocates described infrastructure projects that include the development of processing co-ops that cater to smaller producers, and encouragement of niche markets and specialized crops whose popularity can demand the use of larger facilities.

Yet other leaders are exploring novel and relatively untested approaches to growing food in hopes of creating systems that are more environmentally sustainable.

Over the course of many years, we started looking for alternatives to this approach and one of the things we found was recirculating agriculture systems and as we did more research and learned more about recirculating agriculture, we found it could also be used to grow plants, so fruits, vegetables, herbs, flowers, all sorts of things. The more we learned, the more we realized that this was a very innovative sustainable approach to growing food and it could be used in all different places; urban areas, rural areas, hot/cold climates, indoors, outside, and um, so we started putting that forward as a possible alternative to ocean fish farming and also as a way to increase local, fresh food supplies.²³

²³ Recirculating agriculture is a closed loop farming system operating on land that uses recycled water to grow plants (hydroponics) and/or fish (aquaculture) without soil. The system can be nearly self-sustaining with fish waste fertilizing the crops, plants filtering

Although this project, like other small scale projects, might be currently understood as a means by which advocates can support small, independent farming, it takes little imagination to see how a successful recirculating agriculture system could be industrially replicated and potentially generate many of the same problems today's activists resist. In fact, one activist reflected "I'm not saying that they couldn't be large and commercial sized, but there are some pieces of it that keep it small scale, otherwise you'll have used too much energy or you had to use too much water and it won't quite be the green agriculture that, you know, most of us working on this hope it will be." A key question for these projects therefore is, if they flourish, can they remain in the domain of small-scale agriculture, or will they be co-opted by industrial agriculture?

An ongoing debate that appeared among my interviewees was the question of whether or not large-scale industrial agriculture was needed in the 21st century. Some argued, in line with fierce debates within organic and small-scale farming circles (Halweil 2014; Lewis 2011), that given contemporary research and advances in small-scale farming, large-scale agriculture was becoming unnecessary since small farming could feed the world utilizing a more diversified food production system. They also contend that the long-term environmental unsustainability of large-scale farming will make it too dangerous to maintain for many more years. However, more of the activists I spoke with advocate for a multi-layered system where agriculture operates across several production scales.

And so, again, why I'm interested in farmers markets as not as a solution but an important part of developing a more sustainable and more secure food system in

the water to send back to the fish-pond, and solar power providing electricity to power water pumps. Numerous test-sites are set up in urban communities throughout the U.S.

the U.S, is because of the simplicity. There's less chance for contamination; there's less chance for all the things that happen when you know and are involved in price changes and that type of thing. It's the interactions of a farmer growing something and selling it to a consumer. It's very simple and clear and allows people to keep track of where their food is coming from and what's in it.

Increasing the support for small-scale production creates opportunities to shorten the supply chain and provide consumers a clearer picture of their food's source.

Others argued that a multi-layered system not only satisfies consumer's food origin curiosities, but also provides a greater degree of production safety for the U.S. food system.

I don't think everything should be local. I don't think you should buy all your food at the farmers market. I think there needs to be varying levels and farmers markets provide the local support and support our local farmers and the local food system and there are levels as you scale up to varying industries, and I think that probably in order to feed everyone there probably does need to be some sort of large organization, maybe it's massive amounts of food, but they shouldn't be able to lock out everyone else. There should be room within the system for everyone. The diversity within the system is what is going to keep it healthy and sustainable.

(We need) equal support for local farmers within the government in terms of subsidies and insurance and credit lines. If we could provide the small farmers to our farming in a way that they could assist in their communities and good for the environment and that we could support them in the same way we're supporting

these larger corporations then I think we would start to see a little bit evening out within the food system.

Multi-layered is a good word because definitely there has to be backup. You know, having a strong local food system provides a backup for when something goes terribly wrong on the national level and the same happens the other way if there's a disaster or there's a flood, you need to be able to rely on other options than just your local area. So the security issue; that's definitely true.

These advocates argue that shifting financial and political support from primarily large food industries toward small and medium producers could increase the safety and security of the food system and invest in more environmentally sustainable methods.

Supporting small farmers in a multi-level food system allows for both the provision of large quantities of food for the U.S. population and also moves toward a more diversified food production system. It is difficult to know if these interviewees understood their support of a multi-level food system as a destination or a step on the journey toward a food system based primarily in small and medium scale models with a very limited role for large-scale industrial farming. Given most interviewees antipathy toward industrial agriculture, I would argue that many would favor a significant reduction in (if not elimination of) corporate farming, but consider this so politically and economically unlikely that they would settle for multi-level food system in place of the current system dominated by agri-business.

In addition to support for farmers markets, two additional small-scale farming campaigns were highlighted by interviewees. First, participants emphasized the need to support urban agriculture projects. One interviewee argued that rolling back local

ordinances preventing chickens in one's backyard, protecting community garden spaces, or allowing fruit trees to be grown in public spaces would significantly encourage the local, small-scale production of food for urban communities. "How do we promote urban agriculture, which has been criminalized in this country for decades, and you know, it's like it's becoming more popular but how do we change zoning laws so you can have backyard chickens and not be prosecuted or how do we decriminalize raw milk consumption in this country." Increasing the percentage of food produced in urban areas would address issues of food security and access as well as justice and power concerns as well.

Second, there appears to be growing attention paid to supporting young and beginning farmers. Given that the majority of small farmers are well above 50-years old, several movement organizations have begun to develop programs and campaign for additional support for young people and those who are new to farming through government lines of credit, availability to farm and health insurance, and access to reasonably priced land.

We help young developing farmers, so maintain farm land and help keep it growing by subsidizing their first few years of work, and then in turn, those subsidies pay for that farmer to produce food that goes to the food bank. So that was the Food to Bank On program which takes those new farmers and they know they have a steady income while they're learning. They get mentored by an older farmer so they can ask questions and make sure that they're doing things to the best of their ability.

Although urban gardening and support for young farmers did not garner extensive

reflection among interviewees, these projects represent the sorts of small-scale experiments and novel strategies that activists envision as part of a renewed U.S. agricultural system. College interns starting farms, city parks ringed by apple-trees, and school-yards sporting recirculating aquaponic systems are unlikely to replace corporate agriculture anytime soon. What these small-scale projects do represent is a new way of thinking about how communities and agriculture can relate to one another beyond the industrial system that is politically and financially favored by legislators and has come to dominate the social-psyche of the U.S. public. In this way, small-scale farming alternatives provide as much of a cultural challenge to corporate hegemonic powers as an economic or structural one. In contrast to an agri-industrial system dominated by a small number of elite power-brokers who operate on huge swaths of mid-western prairie and receive million of dollars of federal support, these small scale programs are run by households and community groups, between row-houses, and are financed by farmers market sales or shares purchased by co-op owners. Small-scale farming projects' greatest contribution to the alternative food system's cause may have less to do with their ability to replace agri-businesses as their ability to shift the public's thinking about how communities interact with the food they consume.

Organizing Farmers and Workers

The third theme that figures prominently in my interviewee's assessment of what needs to be done to remedy the U.S. food system is grassroots organizing of farmers and workers to place direct labor pressure on legislators and corporations. 7 of 36 respondents (19.4%) named organizing campaigns as an important element of their work. Although the overall number of those who prioritize labor organizing was notably smaller

than those naming other priorities (i.e. legislative change (44.4%) and supporting small-scale alternatives (41.7%)) it is particularly interesting that of those who identify this prognosis, none would be considered a food security group, 44.4% are food justice groups, and 55.6% would represent a food sovereignty perspective. This distinction among those who support labor organizing is consistent with theoretical definitions that contend food justice and sovereignty perspectives will be more interested in justice issues and labor organizing than food security groups.

Respondents described the need to organize two different groups of agricultural workers. First, they highlighted the importance of working with food chain workers. Advocates describe efforts to move beyond labor models where field-workers organize to campaign farmers for more money or safer working conditions (e.g. the UFW grape boycott in California led by Cesar Chaves in the 1960s and 70s) and instead are attempting to form alliances across groups that include migrant workers and fieldworkers as well as food processors, food shippers, cooks and food handlers. Although these categories of workers as diverse as poultry-processors and fast food servers, do not frequently directly work together, their position as workers in the long chain of food production puts them in a similar position in relation to those who own the majority of the food system.

A second category of workers interviewees highlighted as needing to organize is small-farmers. Food advocates tell stories of small farmers who, as opposed to choosing what they plant or raise on their farms, are controlled by large corporations under whom they sign contracts that require specific industrial hardware (often requiring the farmer to secure significant loans) and subsequently lose the ability to control their farm or

lifestyle. Interviewees spoke of advocating for farmer justice in contrast to food justice in describing the distinction between work on behalf of small farm owners and consumers who lack access to healthy food.

Beyond these two specific categories, several activists discussed the need to wed these separate organizing efforts into a united campaign.

...when we talk about the food movement and the issues that we're trying to change in the food system, we include the rights of food for our chain workers, and farmers, farm workers, the rights of different people from different cultural backgrounds, encouraging new beginning farmers, um, both in urban and rural areas, providing the technical assistance and access to different programs for these farmers or farm workers that are socially disadvantaged.

So we realized that the farm workers weren't fighting the farmers; we had been fighting the farmers for those years and actually, you know, they were not the main enemies because they were also victims in that system of agricultural production. So we started to research more about the liberal model of agricultural production and we realized that this model is controlled by corporations and that most, the, ah, producers and the farm workers are the victims. So we decided that, we realized that the only way could end oppression in these conditions in the field is by, you know, fighting against this model of agriculture production.

These interviewees' explanation is rooted in their understanding of food corporations as the common opponent of both food chain workers (migrant workers, food processors, and fast-food workers) and small farm owners. In both cases, industrial actors dictate working conditions and exert pressure on workers and small farmers to reduce costs and

absorb risk for the benefit of the corporation under whom they have contracted their labor. One interviewee described corporate efforts to blame a workers' campaign for higher wages as the reason large companies cannot pay small farmers more for their products. "And that's the classic story of how corporations will split, you know, middle employers and labor," she explained. In some cases, activists appear to be recognizing this corporate strategy and are beginning to search for opportunities to draw together small farmers and food chain workers into a common campaign to resist corporate pressure.

Before shifting our attention to the next section's focus on activists' perceptions of the structure of the U.S. food movement, four observations regarding advocates' prognostic perceptions of the food system are valuable. First, although several interviewees reflected on the need for additional consumer education, better emergency food distribution systems, and progressive certification systems, the most frequently mentioned efforts were those described above as legislative changes, small-scale alternatives, and organizing of farmers and workers in the food chain. These priorities suggest that activists are far more interested in working for tangible policy or program change than they are in convincing the public that change is needed. Few of the leaders I interviewed discussed the need to heighten the public's awareness of food system vulnerabilities as a priority. Although this will be discussed further in the subsequent chapter, the previous discussion of Gramsci's emphasis on the need for social change leaders to raise the public's critical awareness of hegemonic domination raises the question as to whether national food activists are doing enough to fight the "war of position" relative to neoliberal food forces.

Second, it is interesting to see how closely these prognoses (i.e. legislative campaigns, small-scale alternatives, and labor organizing) correspond with the diagnoses described above (particularly their concerns with federal policy, agricultural industrialization and farmer/farm-worker justice). On the one hand it is tempting to think of this as a uniting force for the movement with the prominence of these formulations serving as frame bridges that movement organizations use to unite their efforts. However, in addition to noting that not all organizations claim these priorities, there are distinctive differences among the types of organizations that tend to prioritize these respective outlooks. For example, representatives of groups who hold a food security perspective are more likely to describe legislative campaign strategies while those of a food justice outlook are more likely to value grassroots organizing. This diversity amidst a shared concern with a constellation of neoliberal policies and actors reveals the need for a nuanced analysis and sophisticated organizing strategy.

Third, some activists described their awareness of agri-business corporations and the larger neo-liberal system as a common opponent in the struggle to reform (or revolutionize?) the U.S. food landscape. These interviewees appear to be particularly attentive how this shift in thinking changes their framing of the relationship between small farmers and farm-workers and the implications for labor organizing across previous political rifts. This growing awareness created by a neoliberal system that has alienated both small farmers and food chain workers creates a political opportunity for organizers who could utilize this contingent occasion to create potentially robust partnerships across these traditional labor fault-lines.

Fourth, interviewees' focus on supporting small-scale agricultural and retail

projects harkens back to previous research that suggests why creating projects that push back against neoliberal forces is so difficult. Allen et.al. (2003:61-75) documents California farmers who, while acknowledging the need for legislative change, frequently pursue small enterprise projects because they were local, easy to communicate to supporters, and were supported by grant-making foundations whose mandates favor short-term, easily measured, and politically benign initiatives. Alkon and Mares (2012:347-359) examination of two progressive urban farmers markets and find that rather than challenging the food enterprise system, these venues serve to scale neoliberalism down to a neighborhood level and sometimes perpetuate class and racial discrimination. Because vendors are still bound by capital constraints, they need to find a market that can afford their food. Farmers markets are subsequently established in locations where consumers can afford the products and away from low-income neighborhoods that cannot. My interviewees enthusiasm for small-scale projects generally did not address these issues as most appeared to equate “local” with “alternative” thereby confounding issues of scale with issues of model. This inattentiveness risks either perpetuating similar neoliberal disparities at a local level, or opening small-scale projects to agri-business co-optation. For instance, one might wonder how long might be until recirculating farms are set up by Tyson Corporation on 1000s of acres of Kansas plains, flood the market with “mid-western fish” raised in aquifer fed pools? Organizer’s thinking about how to structure small-scale projects is a challenging and important question for those who advocate a re-organization of the U.S. food system.

Food advocates’ perception of the problems and solutions for the nation’s broken

food system provides valuable data that, when compared with the previously examined quantitative data, reveals insight into the structure and dynamics of the U.S. food movement. Before pursuing a discussion of how these findings address this project's central research questions, it is important to examine how activists perceive the forces at work in the food movement itself. The following two sections explore first, interviewees' experience with the structure of the U.S. food movement, and second, the dynamics that influence the operation of the movement.

Reflections on the U.S. Food Movement

The first portion of my conversations with activists examined their perceptions of the U.S. food system's central crises and what they believe needs to be done correct it.

These reflections revealed both a rich diversity of responses as well as a general consensus that addressing a neoliberal complex of corporate control, legislative policy, and industrial farming methods represents an urgent agenda for the U.S. food movement.

The second portion of my conversations with activists focused on their experience with the national food movement itself. Although these conversations ranged widely, interviewees' responses can be broadly categorized under three themes: perceptions of the movement's degree of unity or fragmentation, what changes are needed to strengthen the movement's cohesion, and a variety of other dynamic forces shaping the movement.

I address each of these in the sections that follow under the following headings

Prognosis, Diagnosis, and Other Movement Dynamics.

Food Movement Diagnosis

Chapter IV closely examined the structure of the U.S. food movement utilizing a social network analysis of organizational relationships through membership in thirty national-

level food coalitions. The quantitative analysis revealed a core-periphery structure that significantly correlated with several variables including the number of issues organizations prioritized, the location of organizations' main office, and the organization's perspective on food system change. This chapter's examination of activists' perception of the food system's structure and its degree of cohesion allows for triangulation with chapter IV's findings and nuanced insight into the system's topology, whether activists experience the network as unified or fractured, and the nature of these relationships.

An overarching dynamic expressed by nearly one-third of my interviewees was the sense that the national food movement was gaining popularity and was becoming a prominent cultural topic.

I myself am a young farmer, and so I don't have decades of experience, but um, from what I'm able to see it seems like we are in the beginning or the middle of a, I guess, a surge in interest in food and ah, so everything from local foods to quality foods, you know, sustainably grown to food justice.

I definitely think more and more people are more and more interested in knowing more about how their food is produced, and I think more and more people care about how their food is produced because they want to feed their families healthy food.

This sentiment cuts across all issue concerns and interviewees' perceptions of how united or fractured they found the national food network. In addition to likely providing encouragement to activists who frequently face well-financed opponents and narrow odds of success, the sense that a growing number of people are interested in food issues

probably heightens the urgency to develop a movement that can leverage the newfound publicity and popularity.

Unifying Forces

During my interviews with activists I recorded comments indicating whether they considered the national food movement more unified or more fractured. Did they feel that relationships among organizations within the network reflected a greater degree of cooperation or of tension? Although the subsequent discussion will examine their responses in more detail, a count of these comments illuminates their general perceptions. Of the 36 national food advocacy leaders with whom I spoke, 7 (19.4%) indicated they felt the movement was unified, 14 (38.8%) said they felt the movement was fractured, and 3 (8.3%) made conflicting comments that variously suggested they felt is both unified and fractured. These counts leave two impressions. First, movement leaders appear quite certain about their perceptions since less than 10% spoke about the movement being both unified and fractured. Second, interviewees were twice as likely to indicate they thought the movement was fractured as opposed to united. The following section closely examines interviewees' perceptions of what unifies and divides the structure of the network.

Among those who felt the movement was more united than divided, subjects described three reasons. First, leaders pointed to the abundance of coalition groups that link independent organizations together.

There's over 100 different groups that are members (of our coalition), and they decide on the policies that they want to support and it's sort of this mutual relationship where we can tell them what we're interested in supporting and they

can tell us what the specifics of what's happening on the Hill. So that's been important to our organization and has really opened my eyes as to what is going on the food movement and who is out there supporting it.

Coalitions provide opportunities for individual organizations to coordinate their efforts and generate a degree of partnership and unity among what might otherwise remain diverse and disconnected groups. Furthermore, shared coalition leadership and encounters with advocacy peers working on diverse food issues enable organizations to understand a broader political scope.

Beyond communication and organizing, food advocates indicated that specific partnerships draws the movement together as organizations pursue projects.

One example I have (of organizations working together), and this is an example both at Fair Food Network is a part of, but also to highlight what's happening outside of what we're doing, is there is something called the Food and Agriculture Policy Collaborative and it's a partnership of national and local organizations promoting food security and healthy food, healthy economies, all of this and so it's a partnership between Fair Food Network, the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC), the National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition (NSAC) and Policy Link, and we have a number of shared cohesive goals that even though our organizations are working differently towards this larger mission, we came together to list out four goals, you know, working to protect SNAP and support SNAP, increasing access to healthy food and having healthy food financing initiatives on a nationwide level, like what's happening in Philly with the fresh food from there, the incentive programs of course is the work of Fair Food

Network there and creating economies through this infrastructure that's needed, we think, for local and regional farm and food systems. So that is speaking on a nationwide level beyond what Fair Food Network is doing, but also as part of what our work entails.

Advocates argue that these sorts of partnerships move beyond legislative strategizing and information sharing. Specific initiatives that draw together staff, finances, and other resources across diverse food organizations serve to create partnerships and a sense of unity across the national food network.

Yet other activists considered the movement unified by ideology.

Yeah, I do think there is a food movement. A healthy food and farming movement is really how we refer to it. So it's all connected. I mean, obviously, the way we raise the food has a huge impact on the quality of the food. So, I believe there is a movement. I think actually that it's driven by women and I am happy to say that because I think that's what driving our growth as an organization. And there's certainly men out there farming and doing food in the same way that we are, but women in general have been responsible for purchasing food for their families and for caring for their families' health, so I think that driven a lot of the interest that has risen in organic and sustainable foods over the 10 years as the information comes out about how unhealthy our current food system is, more and more women in particular, are interested in finding alternatives, so out of that also, many women are beginning to raise food for their own families and began to raise food for markets and start you know, farming food sustainably as a business. So, um, I think women are the drivers behind this

movement as not only producers, but the women who purchase the food and also the women who staff the nonprofits like ours that are supporting the movement. In addition to this respondent's sense that the movement is united by a common idea of "healthy food and farming" she argues that women are prominent leaders in the food movement. Although this project is not specifically focused on women's leadership roles in the movement, three brief observations are worth mentioning. First, although the role of women was not a primary theme raised by interviewees, it was raised on three occasions as an important leadership dynamic. Second, my quantitative data collection included the sex of national food organization CEO's and revealed that nearly 30% of leaders are women. Third, this relatively high percentage of women CEOs (in comparison to approximately 5% of Fortune 500 and 1000 companies) is confirmed and complicated by an interviewee who hints at the intersectional race and gender issues in the movement. Her comment "yeah, white women pretty much run the food movement," suggests that women's leadership in the national food movement is vibrant, complex, and worthy of additional future examination.

In summary, respondents argued that the national food movement is relatively united, as a result of shared ideological commitments, specific programming partnerships, and memberships in coalition groups. Although several interviewees reported single instances of "regionalism" or "worked with their staff in a previous job" as additional explanations ideology and partnerships in coalitions or through specific projects were understood at the main forces uniting food organizations across the national network.

A small minority of leaders described the network as both unified and fractured. Reminiscent of previously examined literature that claimed the national food movement could best be described as a “movement of movements,” several food advocates provided nuanced descriptions of the network’s structure. Struggling to capture a sense of being both united and divided, one respondent conjured the image of an octopus (suggesting both unified and independent elements) reflected “I think that there is (a national food movement), but I think it’s, uh, it’s a little fuzzy, you know. I think it has a lot of tentacles to it, but I think that there is.” A similar sentiment is evident in another interviewee’s comment that considers the abundance of diverse food issues a strength of the movement.

So, you know, the beauty of the food system and food in general is that it’s so damn large that it creates this massive big tent that really food can meet so many different goals. It’s such a great vehicle for social change and help people meet so many of their goals that, you know, everybody is involved in it on some level. Another view is expressed by a respondent who argues that,

I think that the pieces for a movement around food are definitely out there. So it’s neither the case that there is no food movement, nor that the food movement has found itself and is, you know, swinging into full gear. We’re kind of on the road there. ... You know, Michael Pollan is, as I’m sure you know, has been talking about this for awhile saying that we’ll know when we have a food movement when we actually can have a policy that’s run, we can assert sufficient political force that we cannot be ignored and we actually move things here in Washington.

And as a movement we're not quite there, but there are all kinds of encouraging signs of it

In different ways, each of these respondents capture the sense that there are significant unifying forces behind the U.S. food network and growing optimism that the movement is gaining political momentum. Likewise these comments highlight a degree of diversity or discord that prevents the national movement from becoming a force on the national political scene. These potential rifts will become more evident in the section that follows where I more closely examine respondents' perception of the forces that create rifts in the network.

Network Rifts

As discussed above, nearly twice as many interviewees expressed the sense that the network of national food movement organizations was fractured as opposed to unified. In order to more deeply consider the nature of their perceptions and gather data that can be compared to my statistical analysis, I draw on the categories utilized in the preceding quantitative chapter. In the section that follows I organize food advocates' perceptions of the forces that create rifts in the structure of the U.S. food movement by noting if it is particular food issues, constellations of alliances, or system change perspectives that create rifts in the network.

Issue Framing

During my conversations with food activists, 4 of 36 (11.1%) claimed that differences among issue concerns resulted in fragmentation of the U.S. food network. This sparse number of statements implicating specific issue areas as the root cause for network rift

suggests that food movement leaders do not perceive individual food or agriculture issues as the key culprit in U.S. food network divisions.

Alliance Framing

In contrast, conversations with food activists revealed that 15 of 36 (41.7%) claimed that differences among alliances resulted in fragmentation of the U.S. food network. Food alliances were defined in chapter II as groupings of advocacy organizations based on their commitment to a set of food and farming principles. My analysis revealed the presence of four alliances, namely: the Foodie, Hunger, Sustainable Agriculture, and Social Justice alliances.

During my interviews I asked leaders if they perceived conflicts between alliance groups and if these created tensions in the U.S. food movement. In addition to the large number of respondents who believed that alliances influenced the structure of the food network, smaller numbers identified specific dyads they believed reflected unique tensions in the movement. Seven believed tensions between Sustainable Agriculture and Hunger alliances existed, four believed tensions between Sustainable Agriculture and Social Justice alliances existed, four believed tensions between Foodies and Social Justice alliances were present, and only two believed that tensions between Foodies and Hunger alliances impacted the network. Interestingly, in the case of Sustainable Agriculture and Hunger organizations, leaders' perceptions reflected similar findings revealed through the social network analysis presented in chapter IV. Here Sustainable Agriculture and Hunger organizations were revealed to have the highest difference in network density scores indicating that of all six possible dyadic combinations of the four alliances, these two had the largest number of internal connections combined with

smallest number of connections with each other. In this case, it appears that movement leaders intuitively perceive relationships revealed in the previous social network analysis.

One respondent's comments presents the cacophony of voices well when she says,

And, yes, there is definitely a movement, but it's really diffused and there's not necessarily certainty about just what and who it compromises in terms of who is involved... So there's sort like the "aggie" sector and the "foodie" sector and the public health people and the infrastructure people and the like anti-corporate people and the food justice people and the access people and the hunger people and they all sort of claim a little piece...

According to a significant number of interviewees, broad groupings of food alliance actors alternatively cooperate, compete, frame, and reframe food issues in an effort to "claim a little piece" of the broader U.S. food movement. My interviewees suggest that these broader sets of organizational alliances are the primary sources of tension within in the national food network.

Security/Justice/Sovereignty Framing

Finally, I examined the degree to which leaders perceive different food system change perspectives as the root of food movement fissures. During my conversations with food activists, 15 of 36 (41.7%) claimed that differences among system change perspectives resulted in fragmentation of the U.S. food network. Although this number is the same as those who described alliance structures, it should be considered with some skepticism.

Although I did ask a general question inquiring "what do you think might cause fractures in the food moment?" I also asked a specific follow-up question to solicit data concerning my interest in system change perspectives. This particular question undoubtedly led to an

inflated number of coded responses. Though impossible to specifically establish, I would estimate that the number would have likely been closer to 20% or 25% had I not asked the follow-up question. Bearing this in mind, two observations are valuable. First, nearly all the comments that discussed distinctions among system change types originated from interviewees who are connected to organizations who hold a food sovereignty perspective. This would indicate that this particular framework might be particularly valuable for those who advocate for food sovereignty principles as opposed to other perspectives.

Second, several interviewees who reflected on the food system framework also described some specific concerns they have with the concepts. One leader explained, that framework of food security, food justice, food sovereignty, is helpful, I think at this point, for helping to communicate, but I don't think it's actually as cut and dried and it almost sets it up as a hierarchy. I mean, it's like food justice is one step towards food sovereignty as the ultimate goal, and I think there's definitely, and I worked at a food bank, and like the whole food security, anti-hunger, I think does have a lot of problems of entrenching the current system, so that distinction is valuable in pushing food security people into, kind of, bringing them into more of a movement-based food justice. Food sovereignty framework is good, but to me, some of that is more of like, just the perspective you're coming from. How with your culture and background experiences, are trying to address these issues, so I think of kind of mapping out and illustrating those connections will help illustrate how it could end up looking a little bit more like that. It's really more of a web or network rather than a hierarchy.

This interviewee expresses a hesitancy to create a hierarchy where food sovereignty is held as a final goal for all food advocacy work. As an alternative, she appears to suggest the need for multiple interconnected systematic perspectives. Although this compromise might appear to be attractive to those who are working to draw together segments of the food advocacy network who are occasionally in conflict, the comment is particularly illustrative of another set of concerns shared by interviewees regarding the challenge of explaining what food sovereignty means.

Several interviewees reflected that food sovereignty can be a difficult term to explain. “I mean, if you walk out our front door in Washington D.C. and grabbed the first person on the street and said food sovereignty, odds are they would be like what are talking about, right? I mean, it’s just not the terminology they use.” In addition to the difficulty of explaining the term, other leaders described how the language is continually shifting.

You know, food sovereignty used to be a very international term. It wasn’t used domestically in the U.S. very much, but now we have this new U.S. Food Sovereignty Alliance and they’re trying to talk about U.S. food concerns within the frame, within the context of food sovereignty. So all of these things are very fluid; they’re changing around a lot. Food justice similarly is changing around a lot. It used to, again, like I said, be very specifically referred to concerns of open low income communities of color and now that’s evolving and I, uh, you know, I don’t know what it’s going to mean tomorrow. I’m not quite sure different people might think it mean different things today.

These reflections on the nature of food system change language poses no small challenge for food system advocates. The principled distinctions concerning how different organizations approach agricultural policy change in the U.S. were significant indicators in chapter IV's network analysis of the national food system. However, interviewees (a disproportionate number of whom were drawn from organizations representing a food sovereignty perspective), were both reluctant to describe these perspectives as central tensions in the national food movement, and when they did, were quick to explain how difficult it is to succinctly capture the meaning of the terminology. This apparent disconnect between the network analysis and interviewee data suggests that food advocates are struggling with several complex questions. Although they may believe strongly in the food sovereignty perspective, they grapple with how to explain it to potential constituents. Although they many long for a more "radical" agricultural vision in the U.S., they don't want to alienate potential partners. And although they may have a clear sense of what the language means today, they acknowledge that it changes as it moves through globalized iterations.

Corporate Co-optation

National food advocates described a fractured network as the greatest problem facing the national food movement. Additionally, my interviewees claimed that corporate co-optation of movement organizations and initiatives posed a second threat to agricultural reform efforts. Although only 7 of 36 interviewees (19.4%) named corporate co-optation as a serious threat to the national food movement, the comments offer a valuable insight into the efforts utilized by corporations to resist food movement efforts.

Some activists argue that corporations have adopted and reframed food initiatives for profit motives,

And now that's the other thing which is sort of sad to see happen. Like all these things were started by activists, you know people who care about social justice, so then eventually they get co-opted by corporations. Fair trade is a classic example, right? So now when you ask people about fair trade coffee, they think Starbucks invented the idea. And then I have to tell people, well actually no, Starbucks only does it because they make money. They could care less about fair trade!

Food advocates argue that corporations are quick to recognize the growing interest in the fair trade brand or the organics market and move to exploit the profit opportunity without a social or ethical commitment to the principles behind the project.

Advocates for maintaining or increasing federal funding for food stamp programs are surprised to find themselves joined by corporations (against whom they spend much time fighting) lobbying for the same government program,

And forty-something percent of all (Wal-Mart's) food transactions is food stamp related transactions. So they're getting a significant share of the multi-billion dollar federal program. Imagine that. I mean, look politics makes for strange bedfellows. Wal-Mart jumped in bed with me, right? I'm an advocate for food stamps. You turn around, their lobbying firms are presenting on how sexy the food program is and you're cringing. It's like, really? Wal-Mart, really? They're chasing dollars, right? They're chasing market penetration. They're trying to ensure they maintain that section of the balance sheet, right? And I'm sure they're trying to make sure 8-year-old children have a quality lunch. And I'm

sure they're trying to make sure people have access. And we end up at a hearing together on the same side for a government program. And I'm still throwing up. (Laughs).

Similar to those frustrated by corporate co-optation of fair trade or organics, activists who advocate for increasing federal safety net programs, are surprised and frustrated by corporate efforts to support such campaigns in service of profit over social justice.

A third instance of corporate co-optation described by interviewees is the use of significant grants to movement organizations and the sense that this prevents advocacy groups from advocating for more progressive policies.

Wal-Mart is committed to give a lot of money to fund anti-hunger groups, locally and nationally. It's a good business decision for them. They're the world's largest grocer. They make a lot of money. It makes sense for them. We are the recipient of a large amount of that, and I think there are some members of the community that believe that because we are the recipients of that money that they are essentially buying off us to not advocate for change.

The concern described here is that accepting corporate contributions creates relationships that, over time, can either steer organizations' advocacy efforts toward campaigns more favorable or at least less unfavorable for their donors. One interviewee who works at a group who regularly accepts large corporate donations patently denied their influence on organizational policy and counters that

I think when a donor says they're going to give "x" billions of dollars to fund anti-hunger work, what are you going to say? No? Right? So much good work is being done because large donors have stepped up and said for whatever reason,

whether it's because of corporate social responsibility or because it's a good tax write-off, or whatever, I don't care. I could care less. What do I care about is that they funded local advocates doing policy work. They've funded programs.

They've made sure that crops are on the road, getting food to places. Without that money, I don't know that the food movement, broadly characterizing including the hunger folks, would have as many resources.

Although large corporate donations undoubtedly create opportunities to increase food program funding, other interviewees express serious skepticism toward accepting such contributions. In response to a recent story reporting that a leading national food justice organization accepted a significant donation from a large corporation, one interviewee explains,

You know, so we've expressed some, um, disagreement with that. Yeah, we definitely, we do not agree with it. There are some corporations that we don't agree with taking money from and have opinions about some groups that have, though obviously recognizing the funding environment out there. But we just think that (accepting money from) corporations like Wal-Mart or Monsanto, would be far too damaging to our other relationships and there would not be enough good that could possibly come out of that.

These interviewees represent only a few perspectives on the question of accepting money from corporations but nonetheless begin to paint a complicated picture of how corporations relate to food advocacy organizations. While tempting to categorize organizational positions as either willing or unwilling to accept corporate donations, the last interviewee's disagreement appears based on weighing the programmatic benefits

with the relational consequences that could result. Business dollars therefore remain problematic for national food advocacy organizations that find themselves both suspicious of corporate motives and eager for financial resources.

In summary, my interviewees perceived the national food network as more fractured than unified and that the fissures were mainly the result of broad alliances of food organizations who tend to disagree with one another regarding the policies that should be changed to address crises in the food system. Among the most significant were tensions between the sustainable agriculture and hunger alliances. Specific issue areas were rarely described, as were system change perspectives that face some unique framing challenges. In the next section I will examine four prognoses or areas that food advocacy leaders described as important steps in addressing the rifts found in the national food network and building the strength of the U.S. food movement.

Food Movement Prognosis

Interviews with food advocacy leaders revealed an abundance of areas where activists felt work needed to be done in order to strengthen the food movement. Four major themes resonated with many of the interviewees, namely: the need to reframe food and agriculture advocacy, the importance of grassroots organizing, a call to attend more carefully to funding sources, and the impact of racial dynamics within the food movement.

Reframing Food and Agriculture

In response to the perceived rifts in the national food movement an overwhelming number of interviewees described the need to more broadly reframe food and agriculture advocacy. 25 of 36 interviewees (69.4%) responded to my question “what is most

needed to support the food movement” with a variation on a call for understanding the work of the U.S. food movement from a more system-wide perspective. Several interviewees described this in general terms,

And what I’ve come to learn is all of those segments in the food system are fragmented. So that’s where it’s at now, but they’re tipping towards some levels of convergence, um, because people have been doing a lot of intersectional work. You know, so I think that there is a really rich conversation happening about that now. And it’s been encouraged by many different other conversations, you know, just the experiences of I think very local, you know, grassroots kind of community struggles and also things like the Occupy movement and ah, you know and I, so I think that that conversations are happening, you know. I mean, it’s a lot of stuff! So, it’s fair trade, it’s safety issues, it’s labor issues, and conservation; it’s all types of frames in food. And advocates, for them to have a comprehensive approach to the food system, it is rare you’ll find them. It’s rare, because one, the issues are too large and too dynamic, and you would actually be shocked into a stupor if you had such a broad approach. So that’s why we need a profound level of synergy. This is why synergy is called for.

These comments reflect some leaders’ conviction that the food movement is “tipping toward convergence,” is benefitting from a better communication, and would benefit from more synergistic cooperation. Although clearly enthusiastic about a greater degree of partnership, interviewees also seem to recognize that this level collaboration does not currently exist.

Interviewees consistently named the challenge to speak to one another across various alliances as a central issue facing the national food movement. Additionally, leaders I spoke with also described two particular struggles that made greater cooperation difficult. First, advocates described their sense that large corporations are actively working to prevent greater collaboration among those who have a stake in changing the current food system model.

But it's a lot of our work is trying to build, to cross, you know, to bridge the gap between communities, trying to get consumers and farmers working together. And the industry wants to pit us against each other all the time. It's just classic divide and rule. So they want family farmers to be fighting with farm workers; they want consumers to think that the farmers are out to get them; they want U.S. farmers fighting Mexican farmers. I mean, it's a classic, you know, you can see this rhetoric of propaganda all the time in the media. You know always somehow competing, you know, against them and that's all designed to just make more money for the corporations.

Second, movement leaders sense that a lack of resources prevent organizations from developing partnerships that could allow for greater collaboration and a more coordinated effort to reform the American food system.

One other thing would be, you know, I wear a partnership hat too and I would say the challenge is just because you have all these organizations that are maxed out; it's just hard to build additional partnerships. You know, I'll go to a coalition meeting to learn about a new coalition, and I'm very personable, I'm extroverted, I am able to identify, oh he could be great to work on this and when you're in the

room, it's exciting but then when you get back to your desk and the other person gets back to their desk, it's like, okay, now we have real life and it's a primary obligation to our own organizations.

These reflections highlight several specific challenges faced by the national food movement as it attempts to more broadly frame agricultural issues and bridge some of the rifts they perceive fracturing the movement. The absence of funds and an active corporate counter-movement pose significant challenges for a movement that, without such resistance, struggles to find a common framework under which to unify and promote their agenda.

Nevertheless, some interviewees described specific framings that might draw the diverse movement together. Among the most frequently mentioned model was an effort to frame food and agriculture issues as a public health concern. 8 of my 36 interviewees (22.2%) argued that such a framework might represent the best "big tent" under which many of the U.S. food movement organizations might find a home.

This really does have to do with the public health, with how the tax dollar is utilized, with how the federal government needs to be more responsible with public resources, both national resources as well as fiscal resources. So that means that our key strategy needs to be one of activating the public, sort of connecting the public's interest with the issues of agriculture and the food system. Because if these are really an issue of connection then the bridge for us is public health. So we're in the early stages of actually implementing a strategy where we make public health the bridge to which we believe we can activate the public

around the question of why it should care about federal agricultural policies and their well-being.

According to this thinking, food issues can be tied to public health and could be leveraged as a campaign to pressure lawmakers to rethink both how federal money is spent and how food issues are considered. If millions of people are hungry or obese, do not have access to healthy food in their neighborhoods or school cafeterias, this is a function less of personal choice or unfortunate side-effects of the free market, but how government responds to a health crisis such as the H1N1 virus. Policymakers can therefore be called upon to create responses to a health crisis that create a context for healthier food availability.

Despite this relatively common framing, others expressed hesitancy toward linking food advocacy with public health.

So it's the public health folks, for example, really approach the issue of food through this public health lens and which totally informs, to my understanding, like what they think is most important about the problems in the food system; that for the public health lens, I believe and I don't come for that and so I am speculating a bit but, for public health folks, let's say the obesity epidemic is the thing, and it's also maybe to a lesser extent, it's hunger. And so if you come at it from like that is the problem, then that's going to give you a whole other landscape of what the solution is and where that has to come from, as well as like what's a, you know, is that saying you're only going to focus on obesity and you're maybe not going to focus on what some of the issues of structural

oppression are that are creating the obesogenic or whatever the word is, environments.

In this case, the interviewee argues that which framing food as a public health issue might create an opportunity to address some elements, it also risks overlooking some of the structural dimensions of the national food crisis. One might ask how a public health framing might address racial injustice, the ownership of the food system by a smaller and smaller number of large corporations, or the significant influence food industry has on policymakers? It is both hard to image how these structural issues might be addressed utilizing a public health framing, and how issues of obesity or hunger could be addressed without first facing these structural challenges.

This give and take occurred regularly during my conversations with food system activists around framings of food as a racial issue, an environmental issue, a small farmer issue, a public health issue and so on. Most of my interviewees were quick to recognize that while a common framework would be a valuable contribution to the national food movement's advocacy efforts, such a unifying theme was unlikely and perhaps impossible given the diversity of the players and issue areas.

I think it's kind of silly to think, oh man, if we could just all unite around one message and the most important thing, we would get there. I mean, there are certain things, like immigration reform is a good example of some really cool cross-sector organizing that's been happening across environmental work, across labor, food; I mean, that's been a really interesting cross-sector work, right? And for issues that are that big, I think it behooves people, but you're always gonna

have players who don't want to play that game and for whom it's not part of their fundamental workings.

There are plenty of people who would say that if we could just all unite around one issue, we would be making change right and left...it's a question of, you know, how you handle the big tent. Like, can you be a pluralistic, like, really diverse movement with a lot of different moving parts and still win. Um... well, if you want system change, I mean, I guess my take is like if you want system change you very well better figure out a way to make that work, because you don't change a system by boiling down or uniting over some meaningless broad message that doesn't actually get into the details of all the issues.

Moving beyond the search for a common set of issues that would unite the movement, other interviewees described reframing in terms of the need to hold together the variety of approaches to addressing food crises. One leader argues that the movement needs to find ways to hold together transactional work (such as direct efforts to feed the hungry) and transformational work (such as legislative efforts to change agricultural policy),

I find my personal framing is both and. You can't ignore some levels of transaction, right? I used to be against transaction, which is like passing out turkey sandwiches and stuff or feeding homeless people and soup kitchens and food pantries, right? But to a great degree, that's a reactionary food and food system work. We all have to eat, the tens of millions of us and the billions of us world-wide have to consume some caloric intake or we won't be able to maintain our bodies or survive. And what I found out is some levels of transactions are

necessary. I don't know to what degree; I'm still trying to figure out, but I think we should believe in it, and I do. I think it's important and people should eat and my approach to food is food is a human right.

Another interviewee calls leaders to reframe the food movement in a way that allows for "extremes." In this case, she is describing the need for more radical activists to welcome more mainstream lobbyists (and visa versa) in recognition that there are many roles that need to be filled in a movement,

I got to get in that piece about all the extremes being important. That's become a big deal for me, because we're out there in the public and I do think movements need to accept the different roles that they all have and accept the different roles that exist within the movement. People get stuck in their place and they say they're the only way to move and I'm pretty sure it's going to be a diverse way to move that we're going to get there and so, um, you know, so I think we should be less critical...

Yet others spoke passionately about the need for "deeper peripheral vision" or the strength found in a "movement of little movements."

deeper peripheral vision, right? So if I'm working in anti-hunger, right? It doesn't mean that somebody should be able to put me; I'm a hunger advocate, right? I'm working on making sure everyone eats, I'm working on agricultural missions, OxFam, and like what we call the food missions world-wide to feed poor people, give out oatmeal or make porridge, whatever, have to be been profoundly aware of the people working in food sovereignty, people working on food justice, people working on food security, because what it does is fully

contextualizes your work. And that's all sovereignty right? And then working on a food democracy or agriculturalist's or agrarian's control of the food system.

Trying to create a regional food economy, a regional food network, a distribution network, I've got to be aware of all the food tensions in anti-hunger activists and agriculture missions and whatever, because what ends up happening then is we don't conceptualize our work. I still have to become critically aware of your presence.

I think it is a movement made up for little movements and that's more a strength than a weakness, right? I mean, I think it's also important that we are all very able to focus on our, you know, play to our strengths and focus on our needs and at the same time we need to really this sort of higher level shared analysis and understand each other's issues even if we're not able to work on them, but really be in solidarity and understand them, understanding borders and the interconnections and how everything is tied together. So, I wouldn't really attempt, I wouldn't be that bold as to attempt to describe the different camps, but I think that concept is generally right, like there are a few different sort of niche issues and different camps working on them, and I think in practice, that's fine as long as we all are, like I said, we are all sort of, um, we share analysis and we share an understanding of the importance of each other's work.

And finally others call for a greater connection between urban and rural communities as an opportunity to tie together small farmers, farm workers, and consumers, and address food security and neighborhood development in struggling urban neighborhoods,

Where the most power is where the most important struggles are because of how our food system is organized. But, you know, I think there's in anywhere, like an alliance between the rural and urban alliances are the things that need to change. I mean, extremely powerful, you know alliances between farmers and workers and consumers and producers are extremely, extremely powerful.

You know, land in California is completely inaccessible; you can't farm. You just can't do it, like it's impossible. Whereas here, we do have a lot of land, a lot of vacant land in cities and that's more accessible than trying to farm in rural areas. And so, I think that we're starting to see this politicization, this, you know, political learning around the issue of land and I think that that's growing. And I think that has some potential to help create a kind of rural/urban alliance.

Such framings call organizations to respect the importance of one another's work within a "higher level of shared analysis." These interviewees appear to be longing for a framing of food system advocacy that leverages diverse organizational independence while sharing a common analysis of the system-wide threats facing the food system. These, and the preceding reflections on the need to reframe food and agriculture in a way that draws together disparate advocacy organizations, reveal the complexity of the food framing task. While leaders eagerly long for a more unifying theme under which to pursue their diverse agenda, how to capture a vision for the future of food that draws together a diverse set of movements and organizations remains elusive.

Importance of Grassroots Organizing

A second theme expressed by interviewees was the need to place a greater emphasis on grassroots organizing as a way to strengthen the national food movement. 19 of 36

interviewees (52.8%) described grassroots and local organizing as one of the most important agendas for food advocates. Several leaders explained why work with local groups and leaders is crucial for the movement,

But when you're in the grassroots community across the country, you're seeing people; you're seeing transformation; you're seeing shifts, that on the scale of one person or groups of 50 or groups of several hundred, that actually are, if you look at them in the totality, you'll see them at the grounds level or tipping point. So a lot of what's driving policy is the bottom up and the inside out from grassroots communities around the country and the world. And it's not so much top down from policy or advocacy or it's to the base, but it's the base pressing outwards, making frames and relationships and questioning.

So that's a big thing that we do and then really, the, like how we were founded, our philosophy is very much about supporting the grassroots and we usually call ourselves a grassroots support organization, which means that we work with organizations on the ground, very community based, and give them assistance in a variety of ways, whether that's technical support or some financial assistance and telling the story of what they're doing. We have some various peer-to-peer mentoring programs that we help, where we help groups really learn from each other, again, with that philosophy that the communities know best what is right for them and what will work for them and change coming from the ground up is the most lasting and sustainable kind of change that there this.

These leaders understand grassroots organizing as the way to impress local needs on federal policymakers and support farmers and communities' efforts to generate political

leverage over national leaders and legislation. Several leaders highlighted the burgeoning effort to organize farm laborers as an important development that should be built upon in the effort to influence food policy,

I think you're seeing a conversation around the issues of food workers and farm workers, you know, come to the forefront in the last couple of years in a way that was completely invisible before. You know, and I think that's in large part, you know, to determine this self organization of those workers. They have like the CIW in Florida, you know; that's been an amazing campaign against the tomato corporations and the fast food organizations, and you know. There's a big farm strike that's happening right now in Washington that's gotten a lot of media visibility, and the recent fast food strikes, and I mean, it's really astounding and I think that's really um, opening people's eyes to where our potential political power lies.

Recent well-publicized food and farm labor organizing campaigns are presenting new opportunities for food advocates and are gaining attention as workers call for better wages and working conditions in restaurants, fields, and food processing plants.

Despite these optimistic refrains, other organizers perceive significant barriers to emboldened grassroots organizing. One describes how a lack of resources slows the work of organizing,

I'm in organizing and it pains me where I see the holes of our working on grassroots. We just did a campaign to get an organic organization in each of the 50 states. We meet farmer groups mostly in districts that are important to something we're working on, you know, some leader that has a letter out that we

want to support; we do that kind of organizing, of getting out to the grassroots. I do think there's much more room for more outreach and I see a huge potential to do more. I have plans on how we get it done, but um you know, it moves slowly when you don't have the resources.

In addition to resource limitations, other interviewees explain the challenge of working on local projects that require national policy attention,

The problem that we run into is any sustainable agriculture work is that local work is federal policy driven. There's only a limited amount you can do to encourage or support sustainable farmers on the local county and state levels. There are initiatives out there. There is some movement on that front, but in general, you know, what kind of food is grown in our country, how much money people make for it, where it gets marketed, and any risk reduction that's available is dictated by federal policy, so you know, if a farmer can't get insurance to insure food crops that makes it a much riskier proposition and fewer people are going to be interested in taking that on.

Local organizing, explains this interviewee, is complicated because significant local and regional changes require national policy change. Sensing that local or regional policy change has relatively limited effect, potential leaders appear hesitant to invest energy in grassroots projects that promise few results.

Nevertheless, several interviewees contend that opportunities exist for developing new relationships by creating linkages between grassroots organizers and national policy leaders,

all of these base-building groups from all over these urban and rural groups doing wonderful food system work, education, dissemination, food justice, food sovereignty, seed saving, everything. But they weren't connecting with the advocacy groups in D.C. So, me, I spend all my time in Detroit with East Michigan Environmental Action Council and the Food Justice Task Force, but also about a third of my time is spent inside of the beltway with National Family Farm Coalition. So I hang out; I get this weird schizophrenic thing happening where I'm rural and urban at the same time!

I think for us it always a kind of a tricky balance being able to listen and be accountable to the needs of grassroots communities, and at the same time, really sort of build and wield power at the national or international level. So I think, one thing that, I don't know if I want to do it differently, but I want to do it better, is to be able to have that balance and really be authentic in both of those places. Really to be able to build power in both of those levels and also, most importantly, keep them closely connected so that the work that we're doing at the national and international level, the advocacy work or the policy change work is really very deeply and directly rooted in the needs of communities that are most affected.

Beyond searching for opportunities and resources to pursue grassroots organizing and create national-level collaborations, food advocates perceive a need to connect grassroots with national leadership. This potential relationship creates the opportunity to link local organizing energy with national policy initiatives to create political leverage rooted in grassroots communities and connected with the intricacies of federal policymaking.

Significant numbers of my interviewees feel additional emphasis on grassroots organizing is a pressing need for the national food movement. My conversations with leaders of advocacy organizations revealed that while vital local organizing is occurring, the effort is hampered by a lack of resources and the difficulty of working on local issues that are largely the result of federal policy. Despite these challenges, organizers also felt that the opportunity to connect local organizers with federal policy leaders presents a unique opportunity to connect grassroots efforts with national legislative initiatives.

Organizational Funding and Foundation Relationships

A third area that interviewees site as needing attention is funding and particularly the relationship between organizations and the foundations from whom they receive significant resource support. 18 of the 36 leaders I interviewed (50%) describe this as a significant need in the national food movement. Although the question of funding has been raised previously in reference to its effect on collaborative framing and grassroots organizing efforts, others with whom I spoke raised this resource question in broader terms.

Some spoke about the funding challenge in general ways saying “obviously we’re a nonprofit, so funding is always a challenge, and we are always applying for grants and administering grants and reporting them demands that that’s the life for a nonprofit, so it would be great from an administrative standpoint if our individual donor program was more robust and I hear a lot of others saying the same thing.” Many leaders acknowledged that the search for financial resources is simply part of the struggle for non-profit organizations.

However, when speaking with leaders, the conversation would quickly move beyond finances in general to the specific relationship between their organization and the foundations and large grants that they receive to operate their program. The majority of the comments made by interviewees during my conversations reference foundation relationships. Given that more than 90% of the financial resources of the organizations I studies are derived from foundations and other large philanthropic donations, it is no surprise that this is an important theme for national food advocacy leaders.

Several leaders acknowledged the important contribution foundations make to food organizing. In addition to making up the majority of most organizations' budget, interviewees acknowledge that foundations provide significant support for local food security programs, food banks, and more recently, urban gardening and community agriculture initiatives. Additionally, foundations "do a really good job at convening all of their grantees, like 25+ food system grantees, one or two times a year to kind of interact with one another." Large foundation grants that make up the vast majority of most national food advocacy organizations are seen as an important resource in food advocacy work.

Simultaneously, interviewees expressed serious concern about the relationship between funders and advocacy groups. "First of all, everybody who is kind of doing community-based food work is to trying to find ways that they don't have to rely on grants. Everybody realizes the unsustainability of the grant model, at least, you know, people are doing community projects. So they're all trying to figure out the holy grail and trying to figure out the hell they can fund themselves so that they can be more self-sustaining." Food leaders are quick to recognize how their reliance on grants leaves them

vulnerable to the whims of grant-makers priorities and the threat that funds could be withdrawn.

Besides the risk of funding altogether, leaders were also quick to describe how foundation funds tend to favor some projects over others.

I think the funding priorities have been for garden projects, urban agriculture, sort of access to food kind of things as opposed to food as one pillar in sort of a larger project to democratize our local economies, rebuild local economies. You know, create high-quality living wage jobs that don't pollute the environment, you know, putting decision-making control back into the hands of communities that have been disempowered essentially by structural adjustment and of the erosion of the public sector, capital flight from urban areas.

It's just the need for more collaboration and the need to do the kind of real political work that social movements do that is not attractive (laughs) for, you know grants. So I think what has happened is that foundations fund projects. They don't fund, political platforms or integrated political projects.

Foundations come and go. Foundations shift topics. They shift their program areas. You know, they're not a very reliable source of the funding over the long term. They obviously fund project works instead of general support, any kind of policy work is very, very difficult to get funded by foundations because they tend to be very skittish about that. Their lawyers tend kind of shy away from that.

Interviewees are quick to recognize that foundations' funding priorities tend to emphasize projects that are tangible and measureable as opposed to long-term efforts that work at justice and structural issues. These longer term efforts also often include addressing

politically charged topics about which foundations (and their attorneys and tax accountants) become anxious. Put another way, one national leader said “it’s a problem when you do advocacy because many foundations are gun-shy. They want to see social change, they want to see systems change but they don’t necessarily have the guts to put their money where their mouth is.”

What alternatives did my interviewees suggest? While none recognized an easy way out of this relational predicament, three alternatives were raised as part of our conversations. Some organizations chose to accept few if any large grants. Although they recognized this would necessarily limit the growth of their program, they saw it as preferable to the loss of control that accompanies foundation grants. Other leaders took a second approach and attempt to negotiate the path between grassroots and foundation priorities. “And you always want to find the balance, right? Of who are the funders who believe in what we believe in and will support us in that work so that we’re not doing work at these foundations, that we’re doing work that is dictated by our membership and by the people on the ground that want to make change.

A third alternative pursued by advocates is to seek new funding opportunities. Some would do this by adopting broader campaign frames mirroring those of the American Cancer Institute or by designing programs that can leverage government funds such as efforts to multiply the value of food stamps at farmers markets. Yet others work to reframe food issues as public issues and convince localities to change policies in ways to that support healthy food producers and food justice campaigns.

We need to figure out how to cultivate new funding sources. And whether that’s, like I said, related to health care or...Soda tax I think it could be another great

mechanism for making more happen. The local health tax works at the local level. We need to find ways to kind of make the case that what we're providing is real value to society and then you could be funded by public dollars.

Despite a lack of consensus among my interviewees regarding which of these alternatives might prove the best option, all agreed that questions related to how food activists fund their work and how advocacy organizations relate to foundations are central to the movement's future.

Race and the Food Movement

When diagnosing the cause of rifts in the national food movement, 7 of 36 (19.4%) interviewees named conflicts between food justice groups and other alliances as the cause for fractures in the system. As conversations continued, more than a third of the interviewees described addressing race issues as an important area that the movement needed to address. Taken together, these comments reveal that food movement activists perceive race to be a significant source of tension in the movement.

Um, you know I think just like you see this rift between the environmental movement and the environmental justice movement, you know. There has always been a rift, just by the nature of the fact that people who are working on these issues have very different life experiences and very different access and very different analyses and very different places they're coming from to this work. So even though many of us are coming to this same work, we're coming from different experiences, and you know, a lot of that is a function of race in the country, that is a function of class, of gender, of multiple sort of variables of oppression and I think that until we can all begin to understand each other's place

on that better, and that's why I think that, you know, justice in particular needs to be, you know, we need to be able to talk about racial justice in our food movement otherwise we don't have a food movement.

Yet others

I think also one big piece is that there is a facet; I wouldn't say the food movement, but a facet of the movement that is very, very focused on environmental issues to the exclusion of justice issues, and I think that's a huge weakness in our movement and the more that we can bring those two things together, the more people understand that you can't talk about one without the other. I think that's where we get to a more coordinated food movement.

So in America, we have this cascading legacy of race, class, of cultural privilege; this cascade. It colors everything we're doing, including food. So the food system when you really get inside of it, you can find it with class issues and race issues and gender issues, even probably more acutely, it's being confronted in the general population and the general culture because food is intellect. Food is culturally tied. Food becomes a profound, frame around quality of life. And so food becomes not only the path to quality of life but becomes an indicator of it as well. And what is happening is race fractures are profound in the food system.

Almost all the advocate work, they're really white. It's just shocking.

These interviewees reveal that race (and, described to a lesser degree, class and gender) is an important issue that they argue needs to be addressed in the food movement. Race is described here as formative experiences that shape activists' motivations and perceptions of problems, as a force that fractures the movement preventing greater coordination, and

as an indicator of how power is distributed among leadership throughout the movement. These reflections suggest that race intersects with the food movement at multiple levels.

Although difficult to quantify, that a minority but fervent number of activists voice this concern may be an indicator that race is indeed a crucial issue for the movement. In the face of these impassioned voices, that race was *not* named by 80% of the interviewees suggests that either this meager number of interviewees are merely misperceiving the role of race in the movement, or that the dearth of concerns lends compelling support to their awareness.

Several interviewees explain how their organizations are working to understand the dynamics of race in the food movement and intentionally design projects that address racial issues. One organizer observes that more racial minorities are active in local communities engaging in food justice work while more whites are involved in professional non-governmental organization work. He reflects that the rise of large urban food labor organizations in several regions of the country (frequently headed by Hispanic leaders) bodes well for the future of non-white leadership in the food movement.

Another national advocate described how their organization works to connect hunger-relief programs (e.g. soup-kitchens, food pantries) with food justice organizations (e.g. community organizing and farm-labor organizations) to design campaigns that develop local, (and frequently) minority leaders from within the community. These interviewees agreed that while race is a crucial issue for the movement and a disproportionate amount of power is held by white leaders, growing sensitivity among current leadership, demographic shifts in the nation's racial landscape, and the important role of black and Hispanic led organizations are helping to address the movement's struggle with race.

Other Movement Prognoses

In addition to significant comments regarding the need for clearer framing and additional attention to grassroots organizing, interviewees described two other efforts they felt would benefit the national food movement. Although none of these comments were mentioned by more than 20% of the interviewees, they are included here to illustrate the diversity of vision in the U.S. food network's leadership.

Several participants argued that additional cooperation with international food advocacy organizations would benefit the U.S. movement's work. Among these, La Via Campesina was most frequently mentioned. Although these interviewees applauded the idea of partnering with international groups, recognize the powerful activist work occurring around the world, and credit particularly La Via Campesina for generating the food sovereignty framework, they also expressed hesitation. Interviewees who had participated with international groups in the past noted how these collaborations can become mired in infighting. International conferences can be expensive to attend for organizations that are working on shoestring budgets. Connecting with international food organizing groups appears to be an opportunity that U.S. advocates are open to, but they currently do to appear to see how it would justify a significant resource investment.

Another need expressed by several interviewees was that the national food movement would become more politicized,

I just think that's one thing that's really crucial in this whole thing to bring about better food, and if you want to call it a movement or whatever it is, I think there's got to be more political action and more politically aware. I mean we have to make our legislators accountable to us because they are, and they're still in office

year after year, term after term, despite doing some really bad things against us. Even if it was unknowingly, they're hurting us by allowing the corporations to have so much power.

A number of participants felt that much of the food movement focuses on creating alternative food models (e.g. urban gardens, community supported agriculture) without addressing the broader systematic or structural dynamics below the surface of the industrial system. Some interviewees also argued that the U.S. movement could take a lesson from international food actors who have found ways to wed agricultural activism to political reform.

When asked what was most needed to strengthen the national food movement and address the challenges facing the U.S. food network, interviewees overwhelmingly focused on four complicated issues. First, the need to reframe the movement's message in a compelling way that can both create opportunities to build a shared system-wide strategy while allowing organizations the freedom to pursue their particular projects. Second, the need to invest more energy in grassroots organizing in hopes of creating a stronger base of local support. Third, organizational funding and particularly the relationship with large grant-making foundation. And fourth, the impact of racial dynamics throughout the national food movement. Although connecting with international organizations and steering the movement to become more politicized were also mentioned, neither appeared as frequently as the other four agenda.

These reflections follow my previous analysis in the first section of this chapter that identified how movement leaders perceive that problems with and solutions for the U.S. food system. In the final chapter of this dissertation I will return to my research

questions (chapter I), and utilize the food system, social movement, and macro-theoretical framing (chapter II), to discuss the social network and quantitative data (chapter IV) and the qualitative data presented here (chapter V) to illuminate the topological structure the national food movement, several key social movement dynamics at play, and how national food movement struggle with Gramsci's concept of cultural-hegemony as they work to develop a new future for food, farming and agriculture in the U.S.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This dissertation provides one of the first sociological examinations of the national food advocacy movement. Network analysis, statistical correlation, and semi-structured interview methods create a robust dataset used to analyze the research questions described in chapter I. This final chapter will return to these questions to illuminate the work of the U.S. food advocacy movement and address the project's central research questions, theoretical foundations, and proposals for future research.

Resisting Hegemonic Food Regimes

Antonio Gramsci describes hegemonic domination as enacted in both a state and civil arena with capital elites vying to control centers of executive and legislative power as well as administrative, cultural and political players. Movements can therefore be understood as actors who oppose systems of domination at both of these levels. Gramsci portrays movements' efforts to resist state-level political hegemony in government policy, and cultural hegemony in a "war of position" through the development of intellectual leaders who are able to re-imagine civil relationships and create the opportunity for new political configurations. Highlighting obscured injustices in the existing system and introducing new relational narratives that transcend the existing hegemonic discourse are essential elements of this effort.

The above findings reveal that leaders of the national food advocacy movement understand themselves locked in a contest with hegemonic forces. They perceive a constellation of corporate and state actors steering the U.S. food system toward a high-technology, industrial model designed more for maximum profit generation than human,

animal, or environmental sustainability. Despite the wide variety of agricultural concerns, food interest alliances, and system change perspectives, fully 75% of interviewees named corporate, state, or industrial actors as a central cause of the U.S. food system's problems. Interviewees described this centralized power as enabled by a "revolving door" of food officials moving into lobbying or federal agricultural oversight committees, millions of lobbying dollars spent to woo congressional votes, the U.S. Justice Department's hesitancy to consider anti-trust suits against agricultural corporations, and farm bill decisions that frequently favor industrial agriculture over small farming operations. Nearly 20% of interviewees also describe corporate co-optation of the movement as a serious threat. This danger is heightened when organizations that are struggling to maintain funding are tempted to turn to wealthy corporate funders for resources. Given the previously cited statistics noting the corporate consolidation of farming in the U.S., these findings illuminate a vigorous conflict between the national food advocacy movement and an industrialized agriculture system supported by an alliance of corporate and state players who embody a hegemonic control over the U.S. food system.

In response to this dominating presence, food movement activists appear to take up Gramsci's challenge in addressing hegemonic forces at both a state and civil level. Addressing corporate control at the state level was described as the highest priority for the food movement. Nearly 45% of my interviewees named the need for federal policy change as a key response to food system problems. Advocates argued for legislative changes in the treatment of small farmers, organic farms, beginning farmers, crop and other insurance, and development of rural infrastructure. A less frequently cited but

equally notable “frontal assault” strategy on capital domination is the effort to organize farmers and farm-workers to pressure corporations to provide higher wages and better working conditions. Although only approximately 22% of organization web-sites indicated they prioritized labor organizing as central to their work, 52% of my interviewees described grassroots and local organizing as essential for the future of the movement.

The effort to confront agricultural corporations has led the food movement to experiment with novel approaches to labor organizing. Whereas traditional labor organizing primarily pitted laborers against farmers (e.g. Cesar Chaves and the grape-workers strikes of the 1960s and 1970s), contemporary organizers are searching for ways to unite not just laborers and farmers against corporations, but employees throughout the food chain including fieldworkers, small producers, transportation workers, food processors, packing plant laborers, big-box store employees, and fast food and restaurant workers. Implicit in this broader framing of labor is Gramsci’s conceptualization of hegemonic domination of food systems by corporate/state alliances. Where vertically integrated business structures may be creating increased profit by efficiently organizing workers to deliver commodities at lower costs, the strategy also creates implicit vertical alliances among previously disconnected worker groups. Whereas past generations of Taco-Bell cashiers, small Nebraska farmers, Wal-mart greeters, and Florida tomato harvesters may not have recognized their common opponent, corporate power over the expansive food chain may be creating a common opponent against which food labor organizers can unite an exploited workforce.

This research also reveals a clear distinction between groups who employ one

state-level strategy over another. Leaders of food organizations who hold a food sovereignty or food justice perspective are more likely to advocate for labor and grassroots organizing than those who hold a food security perspective and are more likely to advocate for legislative approaches. Regression analysis also reveals that food sovereignty organizations are most centrally clustered in the network with food justice organizations following closely behind and organizations with a food security perspective primarily occupying the periphery. In addition to providing an interesting and statistically significant distinction between these approaches, this finding suggests that although Gramsci's theorizing suggests two categorical approaches to confronting hegemonic domination (a "frontal assault" on the state and a "war of position" employed in civil society) there are important nuances within the categories that influence the structure and unity of movement challenging hegemonic actors.

In addition to the more direct challenge food activist organizations level at state-level powers, the national food advocacy movement also contends with hegemonic forces at the cultural and civil levels. Gramsci describes these efforts as a war of position where movements give voice to the silences that obscure existing injustices and establish alternative narratives that run counter to those proffered by hegemonic food system actors. My research reveals that food activists find contending with hegemonic powers at a cultural level much more difficult. Although some openly wonder, "How is it that 'conventional' food, full of insecticides, herbicides, and pesticides, is considered 'normal' but 'organic' food, without any of these, is considered 'weird'?", most of my interviewees did not describe specific projects aimed at changing the way people think about the food system. In fact, several specifically explained the difficulty of explaining

concepts like “food sovereignty” to citizens who do not commonly think about the underlying structure of the food system. Such observations are supported by recent research noting that Americans have “strongly positive perceptions of various actors in the food system.” In particular, Americans perceive food as safe and have little interest in issues related to genetically modified foods (Kellogg Foundation 2005). Furthermore, whereas most of my non-white interviewees highlighted racial discrimination in the food system as a central concern, most of my white interviewees did not mention this as an important issue. All told, it would appear the national food movement is having a difficult time countering deep-rooted assumptions about the U.S. food system that support the framing of hegemonic powers.

Despite a relative dearth of specific projects aimed at reframing the public’s thinking about the food system, national advocates may be more engaged in a vibrant war of position than they recognize. Numerous interviewees, particularly those who are active in legislative lobbying or grassroots organizing work, expressed frustration with what they perceive as local apolitical projects such as farmers markets or CSAs that tend to cater to “foodies” who can afford more expensive, organic, or locally produced food. These projects are frequently viewed as satisfying upper-class healthful palates, but doing little to address systematic injustices or inequalities. And indeed, while many “good food” eaters may have little interest in the pay or working conditions of migrant workers, these citizens may inadvertently be contributing to the national food movement’s war of position.

If creating an alternative food narrative is both a necessity and difficulty for systematic change in the dominant corporate food system, then the development of

alternative food system projects such as farmers markets, CSAs and other small-farming operations may be providing opportunities to educate the public around issues of corporate control of agriculture, the systematic reliance on chemical inputs, and how small and local projects provide alternative models to the accepted narrative. While growing enthusiasm for CSAs, farmers markets, or urban gardens may not pose a direct challenge to structurally rooted inequalities in the U.S. food system, exposure to healthy food and the economic struggles of small farmers begins to trouble the public's well-heeled perception of a benevolent (albeit corporatized) food system. Gramsci's multi-level conceptualization of hegemonic powers illuminates the need to challenge dominant actors at both a state and civil level and suggests that apparently apolitical agricultural projects might contribute to an alternative food narrative.

National Food Movement Dynamics

In addition to Gramsci's theoretical insights into the nature of hegemonic powers and the efforts required to counter them, social movement literature provides another valuable lens through which to examine the national food movement. After summarizing several key applications of this literature to the work of U.S. food activists I will propose a narrative that captures some of the central dynamics of the national movement.

Identity and Movement Framing

As described in chapter II, framing a movement's identity is an important aspect of movement organizing. Movements attempt to cast themselves in a certain light in order to attract constituents, differentiate themselves from opponents, and form organizational alliances. They expand their organizational framing by extending or bridging their message so as to connect with other themes. They amplify their frame by engaging

constituents' deeply held values and occasionally transform their framing when old messages fail and new ones are required to activate public support.

Of particular interest for this project is the conceptualization of diagnostic and prognostic framing. Organizational leaders frequently shared their perception that the movement is fractured by tensions related to how agencies identify different problems and solutions related to the national food system. Whereas some organizations advocate for particular framings that potentially unite the movement across its myriad issues (e.g. the use of public health as an umbrella framework), others argue that unified framing is practically impossible given the diversity of issues.

Yet others describe conflicts between the methods and partnerships required to address national food crises. One theme repeated by several interviewees was the conflict between those who advocated for a food security versus food sovereignty perspective. Here, those of differing perspectives accuse the other of not attending to the “broader questions” (as each defines them). Whereas food security advocates criticize sovereignty groups for turning down large corporate contributions that enable agencies to feed millions of hungry people, sovereignty advocates criticize food security organizations for “sleeping with the enemy” and thereby increasing the number of hungry people laboring for low wages and in poor working conditions.

The most important finding related to movements' framing efforts however, is the disconnect between activists' understanding of how organizational identity is related to the network's topological structure. My interviews consistently voiced their perception that network fractures based on organizational identity hampered the U.S. food movement. This data resonates with the findings of food movement scholars who

describe the national food movement living under a “big lumpy tent” as organizational identity founded on common food concerns mingle with an abundance of corresponding systematic diagnoses. In particular, interviewees’ dominant framing of the movement proposed that it was divided not among a myriad of issues, but of several prominent alliances. While my analysis did reveal some clustering of organizations based on issue identity areas (e.g. food safety or climate change), alliance membership (e.g. social justice or sustainable agriculture), and system change perspective (e.g. food security or food sovereignty) these clusters do not appear to be the most powerful forces fracturing the network. In each of these cases, groups frequently showed some propensity to connect with homophilous organizations (revealed in high network density scores among like organizations). However, in nearly all cases they also tended to create significant numbers of ties with different organizations (as revealed in Figures 3 and 4). Simply put, despite interviewee’s assumptions, the national food network is not best understood as a series of discrete clusters of issue, alliance, or system perspective groups who are well-connected to each other and disconnected from perceived food movement competitors.

As revealed in Figure 6, the topological structure of the national food movement network is understood less in terms of organizational clusters around issue or alliance indicators, but as a core-periphery structure closely correlated to organizational perspective on system change. A central distinction between these two models is that although organizations with a food sovereignty perspective revealed high density scores among like organizations, they were also well-connected to non-food sovereignty organizations. This analysis resulted in a network structured not as a series of clusters, but as a core of food sovereignty organizations surrounded by a semi-periphery of food

justice organizations, and a periphery of food security organizations. Statistical analysis indicated a high degree of significance related to the correlation of food system perspective to normalized eigenvector centrality scores revealing that these findings are unlikely the result of random association.

Although the implications of this finding will be examined in more detail below, in terms of organizational identity and issue framing, several results are worth mentioning. First, although issue areas and perceived alliances do appear to have an impact on the connections among national food movement organizations, these framings appear to have relatively little impact on the structure of the overall network. Organizations who prioritize significantly different food concerns such as animal rights, hunger relief, or farm-worker justice may perceive these issues as explaining why there are divisions in the national food movement, but based on my analysis of organizational affiliations with 30 of the most prominent national food coalitions, they do not. The network does not appear to be structured as clusters of competing interests based on issue agenda or broader alliance participation.

Instead, my interviewee's relative disinterest with differences among system change perspectives becomes chiefly important. The core-periphery structure significantly correlated with organizations' strategic approach to food system change suggests that organizations and their leaders appear to unknowingly seek out homophilous partners not based on their issue identity or alliance interests, but rather on their approach to systemic change. Furthermore, this structure appears to reveal that whereas food sovereignty organizations are prominently featured in the movement's core, food security organizations are most frequently found at the periphery of the structure.

This finding also suggests some interesting implications for the previous discussion related to Gramsci's concepts of hegemonic power. Conversations with national food advocates frequently returned to a call for working together across issue areas. Activists' dominant framing of network divisions as a function of issue identity implies that a greater degree of cooperation might address movement rifts through a greater appreciation of a broader range of organizational identities. Greater unity therefore might be found through a universal extension of frames among the movement's actors.

Despite this frequent description of how food organization identity and the movement's structure are perceived to interact, my network analysis reveals that fractures are present as a function not of issue identity but of system change perspective. Hence, if one were attempting to unite a movement to resist corporate power, it would not be difficult to imagine a degree of self-interested, if not charitable cooperation across a network of organizations with distinct identities. One can imagine most organizations agreeing that the hungry need food, that farm animals should be treated humanely, and that field laborers deserve better pay. One could even imagine, with some additional critical self-awareness, that organizations would become more aware of racial injustices and commit to working at this important agenda. These efforts to extend identity frames seem both reasonable and in most organization's self-interests if they hold the promise of healing perceived network rifts.

However, if the national food network is divided not by issue identity but by organizations' perspective on systemic change, the questions become far more complex. My analysis suggests that movement fractures are based not on commitments to certain

issues, but on questions of whether or not to work directly with or directly against corporations and state policies. Those whose food sovereignty identity pits them against corporate and state player tend to be more central to the movement while those whose food security identity is more closely connected to state and corporate players are at the periphery. In addition to statistical and theoretical analyses, organizations experience the day-to-day realities of these systemic identity struggles. Such challenges become evident when an organization is deciding to accept a significant corporate contribution that could allow them to increase their staff or programming, while simultaneously becoming vulnerable to the withholding of the same funds should they want to change direction (perhaps preventing the adoption of a more radical vision) or being accused of being co-opted by the forces others in the movement consider their key opponents.

Here the intersection of Gramsci's analysis of hegemony and organizational identity become crucial. If issue identity is the central force in shaping the food movement, then creating counter-hegemonic forces should be as simple as extending and supporting the "big lumpy tent" by encouraging organizations with different issues to appreciate each other's agenda. If however, as this dissertation's network, statistical, and interview analysis suggests, the national food movement is strongly influenced by system change perspectives, then creating a counter-hegemonic movement requires tackling the much more complicated questions of first, how to fund a movement absent large state, foundation, and corporate dollars, and second, how to create partnerships among organizations whose supporters are frequently considered "the enemy?"

Although this findings reveals a wealth of insight into how framing impacts the structure and dynamics of the national food movement, additional discussion related to

strategy and resources will be presented below providing an opportunity to more closely examine the interaction of organizational framing and network structure.

Strategic Approaches to Activism

One of this dissertation's central findings relates to how the movement's strategic approaches interact with network structure, organizational identity, and available resources. Quantitative and qualitative findings reveal several important discoveries.

This research suggests that food advocacy organizations' decision to focus primarily on either grassroots organizing or legislative organizing is strongly correlated with the organization's network position and represents some of the most significant fracturing in the network. Organizations who primarily focus on organizing farm-laborers and other workers across the nation's food production, processing, distribution, and service sectors are more centrally located within the national food network. In contrast, organizations who prioritize efforts such as lobbying congress for changes in the distribution of farm bill dollars tend to be more peripheral to the movement.

These strategic decisions also tend to positively correlate with organizations' D.C. office location and higher total assets suggesting that the approach an organization chooses to create leverage for change is connected to its resources and identity. Leaders who see themselves as capital-hill lobbyists moving among those who wield significant executive, administrative, and legislative power work in organizations who are funded by large foundation grants in an effort to change the agricultural system through amending federal agricultural policy. In contrast, leaders who see themselves as grassroots and labor organizers stomping through fields of produce among those who pick tomatoes and process chickens are more likely to be funded by contributions of local organizational

members and tend to understand change occurring as a result of well-organized masses putting pressure on companies to invest in higher wages and better working conditions. This project reveals significant differences between these perspectives and that these perspectives appear to be one of the central explanations for fractures in the national food system.

Statistical analysis of funding and system change variables applied to the national food network reveals this strategic distinction to be an important one. Previous research and conversations with movement leaders also reveal concerns with how these perspectives affect the national food movement's structure and ability to create a unified project. It came as no surprise therefore, that one of the most frequent comments shared by my interviewees was the longing to connect local organizing with national legislative efforts. These sentiments echo strategic considerations raised by Martin Luther King Jr. in his reflections on the U.S. civil rights movement when he writes,

Negros as well as whites have compounded confusion and distorted reality by defending the legal approach and condemning direct action, or defending direct action and condemning the legal approach...Indeed, direct action and legal action complement one another; when skillfully employed, each becomes more effective (1964).

Although strategic experience and wisdom reveal the potential benefits of connecting local organizing and federal campaigns, significant barriers remain for food activists. Allen et.al.'s (2003:61-75) research reminds food leaders that although local actors recognize the importance of federal policy change, they rarely have time to dedicate to such efforts. Likewise, interviewees noted that local organizing campaigns are

complicated by the significant impact of federal policy on the development of local efforts. The result of these dynamics is that while local organizers recognize the need and feel the impact of federal policy, they have little time to dedicate to national-level networking.

These strategic questions and struggles are closely linked to organizational identity and provide important insight into the core-periphery structure of the national food network. Although interviewees expressed an intuitive sense that strategic distinctives are important to understanding the movement, few would give them the import revealed by this network and statistical analysis. In addition to these strategic and identity elements, the impact of resources frequently entered to my conversations with food activists and was revealed to be a powerful statistical force in explaining some of the food movement's relationships and interactional dynamics. It is to this question of resources that we now turn.

Mobilization of Resources

An important vein of social movement research examines the role of resources in movement building and the way resource acquisition and availability intersect with other dimensions of movement's strategy, structure, and identity. For instance, as noted above, organizations with larger asset bases tend to be located further from the core of the movement's network, are more likely to have offices in Washington D.C. and strategically focus on federal legislative changes as opposed to grassroots and labor organizing. In addition to these findings, my research revealed several other important ways that resource mobilization (primarily financial resources in this case) is related to the structure and dynamics of the national food movement.

Food movement organizers frequently reported struggling to raise enough money to support their organizations. A significant amount of staff time is committed to writing grants and conducting membership fundraising drives to maintain food advocacy programming. Beyond their general financial laments, several specific issues raised by interviewees illuminate deeper concerns related to food movement resources.

First, interviewees often described the importance of both national and international conference attendance as an important locus for bridge-building, framing conversations, and program coordination. However, because staffing and other program areas tend to be prioritized above conference expenses, scarce resources often result in eliminating these networking opportunities. Furthermore, interviewees expressed concern that those who do end up attending these conferences tend to be well-supported academics, and national-level organizers connected with relatively wealthy organizations. The resulting absence of representatives from less developed programs or local organizing efforts that operate on shoestring budgets not only miss the opportunity to connect with broader advocacy networks, but find their voices absent from the larger activist conversation. In this way, the availability of resources has a direct impact on both the structure of the national (and international) food advocacy network and who sets the agenda for nascent coalitions.

Second, many interviewees described the constant competition among organizations for foundation grants for their projects. In addition to the rivalry created by the fight over an inadequate pool of funds, activists were aware of two other issues related to accepting corporate and foundation funds. First is their perception of a programmatic bias attached to most grant applications. Leaders repeatedly noted how

most grant-makers are looking to fund local, short-term, measurable, and entrepreneurial projects as opposed to longer-term projects concerned with creating larger systematic change in the food system. When pushed, interviewees generally did not sense a conspiratorial bias, as if funders were overtly choosing more politically conservative projects over more radical ones. They were in agreement however that the effect of this pattern strongly discouraged them from writing grants for systematic change projects. Furthermore, a significant number of interviewees expressed concerns that particularly large contributions to some organizations such as Growing Power or Feeding America (particularly in these cases from Wal-Mart), leave others in the national food network hesitant to work with them. Whether or not corporations or large foundations are strategically plotting to create rifts among food movement organizations, prevent a greater degree of network development, or steering organizations toward less radical efforts, food movement leaders perceive the effect of the current funding model as doing just that. It is therefore no surprise that numerous activists are searching for financial resource alternatives that do not rely on foundation or corporate money.

Third, these reflections from movement leaders become particularly illuminating when read in light of this project's network and statistical analysis. A key quantitative finding of this work reveals a strong correlation among organizational assets, office location, network connectedness, and system change perspective. In short, organizations who have more assets also tend to be closer to Washington D.C., are less connected to the broader network, and have a relatively more conservative approach to food system change. This finding closely echoes leaders' perception that increases in resources correlate with stronger relationships with power centers, and less radical perspectives on

the food system. Interestingly, this correlation also extends to the network structure and reveals that increased financial resources, a D.C. office, and conservative outlook are also related to greater distance from the movement's network core. Together, these findings suggest that willingness to accept significant financial resources both reflects a more conservative system change outlook and a weaker connection with the broader food movement.

Political Processes

The political process framework enables movement analysts to examine the broader context for food activism and interaction between hegemonic forces and the national food advocacy movement. Returning to the political process' foundational concepts illuminates several important food movement dynamics.

First, there are several potential opportunities for national food organizations to exploit in the existing food system's hegemonic regime as a result of shifting relationships and the development of subsequent power differentials. Ongoing food safety scares in the U.S. (e.g. regular and repeated recalls of e.coli. contaminated produce or meat) create public suspicion and doubt that the existing food safety procedures are in the public's best interest. Although obesity and health concerns are occasionally framed as corporate influenced concerns, research continues to reveal that the public is by-and-large persuaded that eating disorders are a personal trouble as opposed to a social issue. Recent labor strikes and efforts to connect agriculture to the birth of the occupy movement in 2011 have created some opportunities for food organizers to criticize monopolization of the food chain (from farm production and field labor to food processing and fast food work). Nevertheless, food activists continue to lack a clear

opening through which to exert political leverage over corporate control over the food system or create a wedge between state and corporate actors. Despite what appears to be a tight political bond between state and corporate actors, one could imagine significant opportunity shifts developing. Ongoing research into the medical effects of GMO foods raises questions about their safety. Would significant evidence (or corporate malfeasance) reveal direct links between the widespread use of GMO foods and pressing health concerns, public pressure could be placed on state authorities creating political rifts with corporations and the opportunity to wrest some systematic control from agribusiness.

Second, food movement organizational readiness reveals significant variation across an abundance of interest areas. This dynamic is revealed first in fundamental differences about what it means to be politically active. Whereas “foodies” might consider purchasing free-range chicken a political statement, members of the Food Chain Workers Alliance would likely consider such an action wholly non-political or even counter-productive supportive of corporate co-optation of organic food. Further, whereas recent labor actions in Bellingham, Washington and Immokalee, Florida reveal strong leadership and well developed organizations, the overall food movement is characterized by an abundance of local organizations sharing few linkages with either local or national groups, and an absence of framing that would unite them around common agenda. Interviewees frequently reported an urgent need to connect local and regional organizations and leadership with the national network. Overall, the movement appears ill-prepared to launch a widespread mobilization campaign

Third, McAdam (1999) raises the need for participants to experience a sense of cognitive liberation or personal conviction that leads them to question the legitimacy of those who control the food system, reassert public authority over food, and enables them to act. Although this research did not primarily focus on public sentiment toward the food system, several findings reveal significant barriers to systematic change. Surveys consistently reveal the public's general satisfaction with the U.S. food system. Although food is frequently a topic for the popular press and many of my interviewees report increased public interest in food issues, few Americans express significant concerns with the safety, much less corporate monopolization, of the food system. Where public attention rises to an appreciative level (e.g. obesity concerns), most regard this as the result of bad personal decision-making as opposed to systematic income or race inequality, healthy food accessibility, or other issues related to public policy. It would appear, barring any corporate food catastrophe resulting in widespread questioning of agri-business's control, food activists face serious cognitive barriers in their effort to mobilize the public around food issues.

Finally, several other political process theory elements become important when examining the national food movement. As described above, concerns regarding corporate co-optation became prominent during interviews in three ways. First, some interviewees believed that accepting corporate donations results in organizations becoming beholden to the grantees. Second, others argued that some food movement groups were explicitly designed as "front" organizations for agri-business groups and were specifically created by certain corporate coalitions to create a not-for-profit advocacy presence specifically supportive of industrial agriculture. Third, interviewees

occasionally described the fear of having foundation financial support withdrawn if their organization tried to pursue movement building rather than local entrepreneurial projects. In addition to the resource mobilization concerns raised in the previous discussion these reflections illuminate the political process theory's criticism of a resource mobilization contention that movement organizations frequently benefit from "conscience constituency" support. Food activists are both hungry for and extremely skeptical outside financial contributions, knowing that few large contributions arrive without significant political expectations. Interestingly, the political process theory's contention that increased financial support tends to draw organizations away from radicalized to institutional perspectives is born out by my network and statistical analysis revealing the correlation between increased organizational assets and more conservative food system change perspectives.

Observing the national food movement through a political process lens highlights several important revelations. First, although food safety concerns creates some public energy, the national-level food regime supported by agri-business and government policy remains difficult to challenge. Second, organizational readiness remains frangible with the exception of food chain labor organizing that appears to be gaining momentum. Third, significant cognitive barriers remain in the form of positive public opinion of food systems and framing of health risks such as obesity as personal problems. And finally, financial concerns over the primary funding sources for food organizations cast doubt on the movement's ability to chart a more radical course for food system reform. All told, an analysis through the political process lens raises serious doubts about the national food

movement's readiness to embark on a serious campaign to enact significant change in the U.S. food system.

“The Story” of the National Food Movement

In returning to this dissertation's central research questions, “How does one understand the interaction among network positions, organizational strategy, ideology, and resources?” several of this project's findings hint at how this question might be answered. As described in chapter IV and Figure 2, the social network analysis of food movement organizations relationships based on their coalition membership reveals a clear core of participants with a gradually widening circle of more peripheral organizations.

An application of statistical analysis to several variables collected from recent IRS filings reveal several notable correlations with this topological structure and suggest a theoretical pattern to the relationships. First, as noted in Table 12, organizations that prioritize a larger number of food issue areas and a higher percentage of member revenue tend to be more closely related the core of the network. Simultaneously, relatively older organizations with a larger asset base and an office located in Washington D.C. tend to be more peripheral to the network.

Leaders of national food movement organizations regularly raised concerns regarding not only the perennial struggle to raise funds for their operations, but also the warning that corporate and foundation contributions may be co-opting the work of organizations. They described the influence of these donations as potentially both steering organizations toward less progressive causes and toward more programmatic and away from grassroots organizing and systematic change initiatives.

Integrating data from network, statistical, and qualitative analysis suggests an explanation for how organizational identity, strategy and resources interact. Organizations that have a relatively progressive food perspective (e.g. food justice or food sovereignty change perspective), a large number of issue priorities, and a high commitment to grassroots organizing (reflected in a higher percentage of member donations and non-D.C. office location), form the core of the U.S. food advocacy network. These relatively youthful organizations most frequently connect through coalitions and, although they have a smaller asset base, are well connected through allied projects, food advocacy campaigns, letter-writing efforts, and conference attendance.

One can imagine that as these food organizations age, they are confronted with the question of whether or not to accept large corporate and foundational donations to “upscale” their work and presumably their food advocacy effectiveness by increasing their budgets. However, this project suggests that there is a cost for such a choice. Qualitative and quantitative data suggest that as organizations become older, wealthier, and more reliant on corporate and foundation contributions they also tend to move their offices to D.C., narrow their issue focus, become less connected to the broader food network, and less progressive in their perspective on food system change. Although it would be difficult to suggest which of these changes causes another (e.g. accepting foundation money leads one to become more conservative in system change outlook), the constellation of ideas logically resonates with the data collected. Organizations with offices in D.C. have significantly more access to large donors, and are in greater proximity to powers that would resist significant change to the food system. They would

simultaneously be at a greater distance from a grassroots base and potential organizational allies whose offices are not located inside the beltway.

These interactions suggest important connections among organizational identity, strategy, and resources and provide valuable insight into this dissertation's central research questions. For instance, organizations who rely on member donations for a relatively greater amount of their support, have relatively smaller asset bases, and tend to have offices outside of D.C., are more active in progressive systematic change in the food system. Conversely, organizations that are less reliant on member donations, have more overall resources, and are more geographically connected to centers of power, appear less interested in grassroots or labor organizing. In this case, resources, in the form of percentage of member donations and overall assets, appear to have an important connection to strategy and the type of work an organization decides to pursue.

Responses to Selected Questions

In addition to examining the structure and relational dynamics of the national food movement, this dissertation aims to answer three additional questions relating to movement strategy, food system change perspective, and the role of food justice groups in the movement. This section briefly addresses findings related these particular questions.

Interest Group and Social Movement Approaches to Social Change

Is there a clear distinction between interest group (IG) and social movement organization (SMO) style approaches to social change?

As described in chapter II, a variety of scholars have raised questions about the value of differentiating social movement organizations from interest groups arguing they

are too similar in character and effect to warrant distinction. Nevertheless, some scholars argue for the utility of differentiating these types of organizations. Utilizing this dissertation's data, one can argue for both the characteristic and strategic distinctions between these two group types. According to my findings (see Table 12) there are strong and frequently significant correlations among network centrality, non-DC offices, higher member income, lower staff salaries, higher number of issues, and more radical degrees of radicalism. My findings suggest that these clusters of variables tend to be associated with one another and point the existence of very different types of groups. Furthermore, the correlation of these variables with degree of radicalism suggests that this distinction is important not only to a scholarly discussion concerning the categorization of organization types, but for activists and movement organizers who are struggling with questions of strategy, resources, and network structure. For instance, the effect of accepting relatively more foundation money, increasing the executive staff's salary, or moving one's office to D.C. appears to be connected with reduced radicalism. An awareness of this trade-off is both academically enlightening and strategically important.

Value of the Food System Change Perspective

Does the theoretical category of "food system change perspective" provide explanatory value for discerning the structure or dynamics in the food system?

A review of recent literature reveals most contemporary discussions regarding the network structure and dynamic character of the national food movement suggests the prioritizing of issue (e.g. anti-hunger or urban gardens) and alliance relationships (e.g. sustainable agriculture or foodie outlooks). To date, most analysts have focused on rifts created through presumed issue or alliance siloing and activists have endeavored to build

framing bridges among organizations that are perceived as rivals as a consequence of their distinctive issue foci. In contrast, Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011:109-144) argue for the privileging of system change perspectives as a more robust framework through which to understand the movement's structure and dynamics. This research tests their analytical model through the use of network analysis and statistical correlation of variables associated with the three types of system change perspectives they describe (i.e. food security, food justice, and food sovereignty).

Based on the relationships of 71 food organizations through 30 national coalitions, my analysis reveals that the system change perspective predicts the movement structure more robustly than either issue or alliance-based models. These results suggest an answer to the fundamental question: Why is the network structured the way it is? The network is structured with a core, semi-periphery, and periphery topography because organizations are not primarily fractured according based on multiple issue or alliance positions (which would have yielded a network characterized by a series of relatively isolated clusters of organizations based on issue or alliance distinction) but according to other organizational variables. Statistical regression of system change perspective correlated with network centrality scores (accompanied by a high degree of statistical significance) revealed that the food sovereignty perspective is strongly associated with organizational network centrality, the food security perspective is correlated to peripheral positions, and that food justice organizations are located in a semi-peripheral position. This research presents the first empirical application of the system change perspective to the national food network and strongly confirms its robust association with the structure of U.S. food movement relationships.

The Role of Food Justice

Should the food justice category of organizations be considered the key constituency in discerning the future direction of the U.S. food movement?

This question is more difficult to answer based on this research. However, several findings do shed light on the relationships among organizations that represent different system change perspectives. First, network density scores among organizations holding different perspectives note that those taking a food justice perspective are far more densely connected to food sovereignty organizations (0.594) than to food security organizations (0.182). Second, given food justice organizations attention to labor and grassroots campaigns, strategic distinctives are likely to become important to organizational leaders. A summary of interview data reveals that of the 19.4% of participants who named organizing campaigns as an important element of their work none would be considered a food security group, 44.4% are food justice groups, and 55.6% would represent a food sovereignty perspective. Finally third, of those who argued that racial issues was a high priority for their organization, 41.2% represented a food security, 57.1% a food justice, and 83.3% a food sovereignty perspective. Although these findings cannot answer the question concerning the particular importance of the food justice perspective, they do suggest that organizations that represent the food justice perspective are currently more closely related to food sovereignty organizations than they are to food security actors. Nevertheless, given their semi-peripheral topological location, it would appear that relationships with food justice organizations may aptly be considered a point of contention should organizations of differing systematic perspectives

seek to draw these organizations closer to the core or further to the periphery of the national food network.

Suggestions for Future Research

Finally, this dissertation suggests six areas where future research might be best directed in order to better understand the national food movement and network relationships among organizations. First, recognizing the significant disconnect between movement leader's conviction that the U.S. food system is in serious jeopardy and the public's lack of concern, future research might examine the nature of food crisis denial or the reasons for why the public appears unconcerned about a serious social crisis. Such an investigation might be analyzed through the lens of Norgaard's (2011) findings revealing the propensity of climate change to become cultural "background noise" or Snow and Benford's (1988:197-218) description of how negative motivational framing prevented potential anti-nuclear supporters from becoming involved in the campaign because the problem seemed overwhelming and intractable. Moving the public toward greater concern appears crucial to the movement's attempt to "gain traction" on an important, but largely ignored issue.

Second, a related examination should more closely investigate the specific mechanisms used by the constellation of agri-business and federal policy actors to shape cultural understandings of the U.S. food system, its flaws, and prospects. Despite this project's findings that suggest significant concerns with how business and state forces influence the U.S. food system's structure and dynamics, the public widely views the U.S. food system as strong and healthy. Where concerns are raised (e.g. obesity), they are generally attributed to individual choice as opposed to social policy. Closer

examination of the mechanisms by which food industry players influence public opinion (e.g. advertising, lobbying, financial support of particular movement actors) would provide information the public and activists could use to make more informed decisions about the food system and those who exert power over it. Such an examination might reflect McCright and Dunlap's (2010:100-133) analysis of how conservative forces utilize media to shape public opinion of climate change.

Third, future research might take advantage of analytical leverage offered by including additional variables in this analysis. This project focused principally on how individual organizations were related to one another as a function of the coalition groups of which they were a part. Another level of analysis could be added by developing a similar network analysis of organizational relationships via lobbying letters or other single-issue campaigns. Examining relationships among organizations by use of this metric would both capture additional relational data and allow one to analyze how organizational relationships might vary depending on whether their linkage is formed through short-term campaign or longer-term coalition activity. Analysis of organizational co-membership or board interlocks (Mizruchi 1996:271-298) would provide yet another perspective through which to examine how food movement organizations are connected to one another. Finally, in order to provide insight into the movement's change over time, one could reproduce this network research several years into the future and re-analyze the relationships, and develop new regression models that would illustrate how and perhaps why network links had changed.

Fourth, although this research did not primarily focus on the racial dynamics enacted among food movement organizations, questions concerning the impact of racial

prejudice and structural discrimination appear to impact the food movement in important ways. Interviewees variously noted how “middle-class white women” run the national food movement. Others explained how food justice issues make their members “nervous.” Food system analysts argue that organizations holding to a racial justice perspective are particularly important to the overall movement. And interestingly, non-white interviewees were far more likely to raise concerns with how race impacts food access and leadership questions than were my white interviewees. While some food system analysts are actively engaged in this question (Alkon and Agyeman 2011) additional research would provide additional insight into how race becomes an important facet of national food movement dynamics.

Fifth, this dissertation’s research focused primarily on a broad overview of the national food movement and the forces that influence its structure and dynamics. In addition to the social network analysis questions examined in this project, one might also explore the unique positions of some particular organizations. For instance, several organizations such as WhyHunger, the Congressional Hunger Committee, Environmental Working Group, and Friends of the Earth appear in positions that form bridges between the core and periphery of the network. Why is this? Is there something unique about these organizations? How might they help facilitate connections between these disparate parts of the network? Likewise, one might identify other organizations who bridge particular issues, alliances, or other sectors of the network and examine their particular characteristics in hopes of discovering how organizations might craft a more unified network.

Finally sixth, environmental issues and climate change also arose as prominent concerns while speaking with interviewees and as priorities documented on organizational websites. Nearly half of the organizations in the network reported environmental concerns among their issue list and just over half of my interviewees raised the same during my conversations. Although environmental issues are a clear concern, I found it a difficult issue to analyze. Organizations rarely described it as their central concern. They likewise did not frame it as a central cause or solution to the food crisis. More frequently activists described it as an accompanying issue that was affected as the result of industrial and mono-crop farming methods that require extensive farm machinery and chemical inputs and tend to not protect biodiversity, wetlands, or the health of rivers. Some described their concern with a reciprocal relationship where climate change will affect farming methods pushing farmers to be more attentive to water usage and how changes in seasonal temperatures will affect pollinators. Additional analysis of how environmental concerns are present in the food movement is thus warranted both because they are widely embraced by movement actors and because they present particularly complex questions.

Conclusion

Dr. Hilall Elver, incoming Special Rapporteur for the United Nation's Food and Agriculture Organization recently declared,

Modern agriculture, which began in the 1950s, is more resource intensive, very fossil fuel dependent, uses fertilizers, and is based on massive production. This policy has to change. We are already facing a range of challenges. Resource scarcity, increased population, decreasing land availability and accessibility,

emerging water scarcity, and soil degradation require us to re-think how best to use our resources for future generations (Ahmed 2014).

In order to address these mounting social, agricultural, and ecological crises, Hilall argues that this requires,

recognizing women's role in food production - from farmer, to housewife, to working mother, women are the world's major food providers. It also means recognizing small farmers, who are also the most vulnerable, and the most hungry. Across Europe, the US and the developing world, small farms face shrinking numbers. So if we deal with small farmers we solve hunger and we also deal with food production (Ahmed 2014).

Closer to home, Rosalinda Guillen, Executive Director of Community to Community Development (Bellingham, Washington), co-recipient of the 2014 Food Sovereignty Prize, and interviewee for this project responds to the award announcement saying,

in honoring Community to Community, the USFSA honors indigenous farm workers in the U.S. Displaced by NAFTA, these peasant farmers from Mexico are practicing a tradition of struggle for justice. Together, C2C and Familias Unidas are promoting food sovereignty in rural Washington State and challenging the corporate agricultural interests that are controlling our food system (U.S. Food Sovereignty Alliance 2014).

These advocacy efforts appearing at local, national, and international levels provide a snapshot of the momentum behind efforts to reformulate ideological framings and the social structures of food systems in the U.S. and beyond. Friedman (2005:229-267) rightly observes that significant conflicts are occurring among actors who hold radically

different agenda for the future of regional, national, and international food systems. It is crucial, she argues, that social movements concerned about food systems and all those whose lives depend on the production of just, healthy, accessible food, make their voices heard.

This dissertation presents one of the first systematic efforts to examine the U.S. food movement's voice and examines the question "How does the U.S food advocacy movement work to resist the hegemonic domination of the national food system by state and corporate actors?" utilizing a social network, statistical, and qualitative analysis of 71 national food organizations and 36 leaders of those agencies. Application of social movement literature examining organizational framing, mobilization of resources, strategic distinctions, and political process and Gramsci's concepts of counter-hegemonic movements reveals the national food movement's nascent propensity to unite cultural and class struggles to create significant progress toward systematic change in the U.S. food system.

In addition to the particular findings discussed above, two closing observations reveal the broader value of this project for the study of social movements. First, this mixed method approach integrating social network, statistical, and qualitative analysis creates a robust set of tools with which to examine other social movements. Whereas each of these methods provide valuable insight into organizations' relational structure, statistical correlations among variables, and perceptions gained from key leaders, it is in this project's methodological integration that additional analytical leverage is found. Interlocking approaches to the analysis of social movements create opportunities to both triangulate findings and gain deeper understanding of actors' relationships, identities,

strategies, and ideologies. This project's use of social network analysis, regression of key statistical variables, and conversations with movement leaders reveals the robust potential of mixed methods analysis of social movements.

Second, this dissertation's integration of social movement literature with Gramsci's multi-layered concepts of state and civil hegemonic domination creates an opportunity to re-examine the traditional divide between cultural and critical framings of social movements. Food movements, often characterized as cultural movements that prioritize collective identity concerns at the cost of structural, political, or economic inequality, can be deemed quaint and ineffective. Gramsci's attention to the "war of position" waged in cultural settings reveals the need for movements to contest the deep-seated understandings of what food is, where it should come from, and who it should benefit. While for some, food is simply an expression of cultural values, for others, the same cultural expression becomes a site for political resistance to hegemonic framings. In short, the integration of Gramsci's theories and movement literature reveals a unique challenge for food activists. Movement leaders must thoughtfully address a multitude of identity, resource, and strategy questions to both reframe the accepted cultural framing of food and directly confront the constellation of business and state actors in the unfolding struggle over the future of the U.S. food system.

APPENDIX

U.S. FOOD NETWORK TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 2. U.S. Food Advocacy Organizations (n=71)

| Abr. | Organization | Year Founded | Primary Office | System Change Perspective |
|---------|--|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| AFT | American Farmland Trust | 1980 | DC | Security |
| AMI | Agricultural Missions Inc. | 1933 | NY | Sovereignty |
| APHA | American Public Health Association | 1872 | DC | Security |
| BFAA | Black Farmers and Agriculturalists Assoc. | 1997 | NC | Justice |
| BFW | Bread for the World | 1982 | DC | Security |
| C2C | Community to Community Development | 2003 | WA | Sovereignty |
| CAGJ | Community Alliance for Global Justice | 1999 | WA | Sovereignty |
| CAI | Corporate Accountability International | 1978 | MA | Security |
| CATA | The Farmworker Support Committee | 1984 | NJ | Justice |
| CFA | Consumer Federation of America | 1968 | DC | Security |
| CFIRP | Center for Foodborne Illness Research and Prevention | 2006 | PA | Security |
| CFS | Center for Food Safety | 2003 | CA | Security |
| CHC | Congressional Hunger Center | 1994 | DC | Security |
| CIW | Coalition of Immokalee Workers | 1996 | FL | Justice |
| CRA | Center for Rural Affairs | 1993 | NE | Security |
| CSPI | Center for Science in the Public Interest | 1971 | DC | Security |
| ELCAFFF | ELCA Food, Farms, Faith | 2000 | IL | Security |
| EWG | Environmental Working Group | 1999 | DC | Security |
| FA | Farm Aid | 1985 | MA | Security |
| FAM | Feeding America | 1978 | IL | Security |
| FARM | Farm Animal Rights Movement | 1983 | MD | Security |
| FDN | Food Democracy Now | 2008 | IA | Security |
| FF | Food First! | 1975 | CA | Sovereignty |
| FFD | Family Farm Defenders | 1984 | WI | Sovereignty |

Table 2. (continued).

| Abr. | Organization | Year Founded | Primary Office | System Change Perspective |
|-------|--|--------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| FLOC | Farm Labor Organizing Committee | 1968 | OH | Sovereignty |
| FOE | Friends of the Earth | 1969 | DC | Security |
| FRAC | Food Research Action Center | 1972 | DC | Security |
| FWW | Food and Water Watch | 2003 | DC | Sovereignty |
| GI | Grassroots International | 1983 | MA | Sovereignty |
| GP | Growing Power | 1996 | WI | Justice |
| HI | Heifer International | 1991 | AR | Security |
| HNDI | Hmong National Development Inc. | 1992 | DC | Justice |
| HSUS | Humane Society of the U.S. | 1954 | DC | Security |
| IATP | Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy | 1987 | MN | Sovereignty |
| JHUSA | Just Harvest USA | 2004 | NY | Justice |
| LSP | Land Stewardship Project | 1982 | MN | Justice |
| MAZON | MAZON: A Jewish Response to Hunger | 1985 | CA | Security |
| NCL | National Consumer League | 1902 | DC | Security |
| NCRLC | National Catholic Rural Life Conference | 1923 | IA | Justice |
| NFSN | National Farm to School Network | 2007 | IL | Security |
| NFU | National Farmers Union | 1902 | DC | Security |
| NLFRA | National Latino Farmers and Ranchers Association | 2004 | DC | Justice |
| NWA | National WIC Association | 1985 | DC | Security |
| NYFC | National Young Farmers Coalition | 2010 | NY | Justice |
| OA | Oxfam America | 1974 | MA | Justice |
| OCA | Organic Consumers Association | 1998 | MN | Security |
| OFRF | Organic Farming Research Foundation | 1990 | CA | Security |
| OSA | Organic Seed Alliance | 2003 | WA | Security |
| OW | Other Worlds | 2006 | LA | Sovereignty |
| PCRM | Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine | 1985 | DC | Security |
| PHI | Public Health Institute | 1964 | CA | Security |
| PHP | Presbyterian Hunger Program | 1969 | KY | Sovereignty |

Table 2. (continued).

| Abr. | Organization | Year Founded | Primary Office | System Change Perspective |
|---------|--|--------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| PL | Policy Link, Healthy Food Program | 1998 | CA | Justice |
| RAFI | The Rural Advancement Foundation International | 1990 | NC | Justice |
| RES | RESULTS | 1980 | DC | Security |
| ROCU | Restaurant Opportunity Centers United | 2008 | NY | Security |
| SFA | Student - Farmworker Alliance | 2001 | FL | Justice |
| SFUSA | Slow Food USA | 1999 | NY | Security |
| SNA | School Nutrition Association | 1946 | MD | Security |
| SPI | Small Planet Institute | 2001 | MA | Security |
| STOP | STOP Foodborne Illness | 1993 | IL | Security |
| UCSFA | Union of Concerned Scientists Food & Agric. Comm. | 1993 | MA | Security |
| UFCW | United Food and Commercial Workers Union | 1941 | DC | Security |
| UFW | United Farm Workers | 1962 | CA | Justice |
| UH/RFRJ | Unite Here / Real Food Real Jobs | 2004 | NY | Security |
| USPIRG | U.S. Federation of State Public Interest Research Groups | 1983 | MA | Security |
| WFA | Wild Farm Alliance | 2003 | CA | Security |
| WFAN | Women, Food and Agriculture Network | 1997 | IA | Security |
| WHY | Why Hunger | 1975 | NY | Sovereignty |
| WV | World Vision | 1950 | WA | Security |
| WW | Wholesome Wave | 2007 | CT | Justice |

Table 3. U.S. Food Advocacy Coalitions (n=30)

| Abr. | Organization | Year Founded | Primary Office | System Change Perspective |
|-------|---|--------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| AEH | Alliance to End Hunger | 2004 | DC | Security |
| AFF | Alliance for Fair Food | 2006 | FL | Justice |
| ASBC | American Sustainable Business Council | 2009 | DC | Security |
| CFJC | Community Food and Justice Coalition | 2003 | CA | Justice |
| CFSC | Community Food Security Coalition | 1997 | OR | Justice |
| CHN | Coalition on Human Needs | 1981 | DC | Security |
| CTC | Citizens Trade Campaign | 1994 | DC | Security |
| DFTA | Domestic Fair Trade Association | 2005 | MA | Justice |
| FCWA | Food Chain Workers Alliance | 2008 | NY | Justice |
| FFN | Fair Food Network | 2009 | MI | Justice |
| FMC | Farmers Market Coalition | 2006 | VA | Security |
| FN | Farmworker Network for Economic and Environmental Justice | 1993 | TX | Justice |
| FNA | Farms Not Arms / Farmer Veteran Coalition | 2002 | TN | Security |
| GEAN | Genetic Engineering Action Network | 1999 | HI | Security |
| GGJA | Grassroots Global Justice Alliance | 2008 | DC | Justice |
| HFHPC | Healthy Farms, Healthy People Coalition | 2001 | CA | Security |
| LVCNA | La Via Campesina – North America | 1993 | DC | Sovereignty |
| MOFSC | Make our Food Safe Coalition | 2008 | DC | Security |
| NAHO | National Anti-hunger Organizations | 2000 | VA | Security |
| NANA | National Alliance for Nutrition and Activity | 1999 | DC | Security |
| NBFGA | Network of Black Farm Groups and Advocates | 1997 | GA | Justice |
| NFFC | National Family Farm Coalition | 1986 | DC | Sovereignty |
| NOC | National Organic Coalition | 2003 | DC | Security |
| NSAC | National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition | 2009 | DC | Security |
| PANNA | Pesticide Action Network North America | 1984 | CA | Security |
| RC | The Rural Coalition | 1979 | DC | Justice |
| RCFC | Recirculating Farms Coalition | 2009 | LA | Security |
| SFC | Safe Food Coalition | 1986 | DC | Security |

Table 3. (continued).

| Abr. | Organization | Year Founded | Primary Office | System Change Perspective |
|-------|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| SOS | Share our Strength / No Kid Hungry | 1984 | DC | Security |
| USFSA | U.S. Food Sovereignty Alliance | 2010 | NY | Sovereignty |

Table 4. Coding Chart for Organizational Issue Areas

| Issue Area | Issue Area Codes |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Environment / Climate Change | Environment and Climate Change |
| Local Food Systems | Development of Local Food Systems |
| Corporate Resistance | Resist Corporate and Industrial Monopoly of Food Systems |
| Supporting Small Farmers | Support of Small and Family Farmers |
| Genetically Modified Foods | Support GMO labeling, Environmental and Health Effects of GMOs |
| Food Safety | Food Safety |
| Nutritional Quality of Food | Nutritional Quality of Food |
| Supporting Farm-worker rights | Support Farm-Worker Rights |
| Land and Water Conservation | Land and Water Conservation |
| Hunger Relief | Support Hunger Relief |
| Race | Support Anti-Slavery and Anti-Racism work, Addresses Poor and Minority Access to Food and Farmland |
| Labor (other than farm-workers) | Labor Rights |

Table 5. Number of Agricultural Issues Identified by Organizations

| Attribute | No. of Issue areas | More than X Issue areas |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Mean | 3.732 | |
| Median | 3 | |
| Mode | 3 | |
| 0 Issue areas: | 0 0% | 71 100% |
| 1 Issue area: | 11 15.49 | 60 84.51 |
| 2 Issue areas: | 11 15.49 | 49 69.01 |
| 3 Issue areas: | 17 23.94 | 32 45.07 |
| 4 Issue areas: | 8 11.27 | 24 33.80 |
| 5 Issue areas: | 9 12.68 | 15 21.13 |
| 6 Issue areas: | 6 8.45 | 9 12.68 |
| 7 Issue areas: | 6 8.45 | 3 4.23 |
| 8 Issue areas: | 1 1.41 | 2 2.82 |
| 9 Issue areas: | 2 2.82 | 0 0 |

raw count of # of issue areas within column
 % of issue areas within column

Table 6. Coding Chart for Alliance Structures

| Alliance Structure | Alliance Description | Issue Area Codes |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| Foodie Alliance | Local acquisition of food, seeking out sustainably produced organic food, and animal welfare (Johnson and Baumann 2010) | Local food systems, small/family farmers, farmers markets, CSAs, urban and community gardening, organic food, GMOs, nutritional quality of food, health effects of BGH and synthetic inputs, and farm animal rights. |
| Social Justice Alliance | Food access for poor and minority communities (Eisenhauer 2001; Morales 2011:149-176; Morland, Wing, Roux, and Poole 2002:23-29; Slone 2004:49-50), discriminatory lending practices (Green, Green, and Kleiner 2011:47-64), Indigenous communities (Norgaard, Reed, and Van Horn 2011:23-46) working conditions, wages, and farm-worker hunger (Brown and Getz 2011:121-146; United Farm Workers 2006) | Support anti-slavery and poor and minority access to food and farmland. Supports labor, farm worker, immigrant, indigenous, gender and GLBTQ rights. |
| Sustainable Agriculture Alliance | Soil and water conservation; crop rotation, diversified crop and livestock farming; integrated pest management practices; limited use of synthetic herbicides, pesticides and fertilizers; low input agriculture; and organic farming (James 2006:427-438) | Support pollinator protection, climate change remediation, conservation, GMOs, GMO labeling, and organic food production. |
| Hunger Alliance | responding to natural disasters with emergency humanitarian food aid, supporting national networks of food banks, providing food for school nutrition programs, senior grocery programs, reducing and redistributing food that would otherwise be wasted, improving access to government food supports, and recruiting private agencies to support hunger relief programs (Bread for the World 2011; Feeding America 2013; World Vision 2013) | Supports emergency food distribution, disaster and hunger relief, reclamation of wasted food, and reform of international food assistance programs. |

Table 7. Frequency of Organization's Alliance Participation

| Alliance | # participating |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Foodie Alliance | 22 31.0% |
| Social Justice Alliance | 20 28.2% |
| Sustainable Agriculture | 24 33.8% |
| Hunger Alliance | 23 32.4% |

The number of participants and sum of percentages exceeds the count of 71/100% of organizations because some organizations participate in multiple Alliances
 # of raw code counts on top
 % of column's total codes

Table 8. Number of Organizations Participating in Alliances

| Attribute | # participating |
|--------------|-----------------|
| Mean | 1.254 |
| Median | 1 |
| Mode | 1 |
| 0 Alliances: | 16 22.54% |
| 1 Alliance: | 32 45.07% |
| 2 Alliances: | 15 21.13% |
| 3 Alliances: | 5 7.04% |
| 4 Alliances: | 3 4.23% |

raw count of # of issue areas within column
 % of issue areas within column

Table 9. Alliance Area Density Statistics

| Issue Area | Percent of Internal Ties | Percent of External Ties | E-I Index |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Foodie | 51.4% (0.029) | 48.6% (0.029) | -0.028 (0.059) |
| Social Justice | 58.1 (0.031) | 41.9 (0.031) | -0.161 (0.062) |
| Sustainable Agriculture | 54.6 (0.026) | 45.4 (0.026) | -0.092 (0.052) |
| Hunger | 56.7 (0.027) | 43.3 (0.027) | -0.133 (0.055) |

%
(SD)

Table 10. Alliance Competition Summary

| Alliance Competition | Number of Organizations Participating | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Foodie vs. Hunger | Not Participating | Foodie Alliance | Hunger Alliance | Both Alliances |
| Raw count | 33 | 15 | 16 | 7 |
| % of Network | 46.5% | 21.1% | 22.5% | 9.9% |
| Foodie vs. Sust. Ag. | Not Participating | Foodie Alliance | Sust. Ag. Alliance | Both Alliances |
| Raw count | 40 | 7 | 9 | 15 |
| % of Network | 56.3% | 9.9% | 12.7% | 21.1% |
| Foodie vs. Soc. Justice | Not Participating | Foodie Alliance | Soc. Justice Alliance | Both Alliances |
| Raw count | 33 | 18 | 16 | 4 |
| % of Network | 46.5% | 25.4% | 22.5% | 5.6% |
| Hunger vs. Sust. Ag. | Not Participating | Hunger Alliance | Sust. Ag. Alliance | Both Alliances |
| Raw count | 32 | 15 | 16 | 8 |
| % of Network | 45.1% | 21.1% | 22.5% | 11.3% |
| Hunger vs. Soc. Justice | Not Participating | Hunger Alliance | Soc. Justice Alliance | Both Alliances |
| Raw count | 35 | 16 | 13 | 7 |
| % of Network | 49.3% | 22.5% | 18.3% | 9.9% |
| Sust. Ag. vs. Soc. Justice | Not Participating | Sust. Ag. Alliance | Soc. Justice Alliance | Both Alliances |
| Raw count | 34 | 17 | 13 | 7 |
| % of Network | 47.9% | 23.9% | 18.3% | 9.9% |

Table 11. Alliance Competition Statistics

| Alliance Densities | Density of Ties Among Respective Alliances | | | | Differences Between Competitive Structures |
|-----------------------|---|----------|--------------|-------|---|
| | Neither | Foodie | Hunger | Both | |
| Neither | 0.195 | | | | |
| Foodie | 0.305 | 0.486 | | | |
| Hunger | 0.195 | 0.258 | 0.333 | | 0.303 |
| Both | 0.390 | 0.543 | 0.420 | 0.762 | |
| | Neither | Foodie | Sust. Ag. | Both | |
| Neither | 0.214 | | | | |
| Foodie | 0.250 | 0.333 | | | |
| Sust. Ag. | 0.189 | 0.238 | 0.306 | | 0.163 |
| Both | 0.333 | 0.419 | 0.481 | 0.695 | |
| | Neither | Foodie | Soc. Justice | Both | |
| Neither | 0.199 | | | | |
| Foodie | 0.239 | 0.458 | | | |
| Soc. Justice | 0.172 | 0.396 | 0.417 | | 0.083 |
| Both | 0.371 | 0.667 | 0.703 | 1.000 | |
| | Neither | Hunger | Sust. Ag. | Both | |
| Neither | 0.216 | | | | |
| Hunger | 0.194 | 0.419 | | | |
| Sust. Ag. | 0.275 | 0.208 | 0.475 | | 0.478 |
| Both | 0.391 | 0.300 | 0.539 | 0.821 | |
| | Neither | Hunger | Soc. Justice | Both | |
| Neither | 0.252 | | | | |
| Hunger | 0.216 | 0.383 | | | |
| Soc. Justice | 0.275 | 0.159 | 0.385 | | 0.450 |
| Both | 0.420 | 0.366 | 0.604 | 0.762 | |
| | Neither | Sus. Ag. | Soc. Justice | Both | |
| Neither | 0.239 | | | | |
| Sust. Ag. | 0.216 | 0.426 | | | |
| Soc. Justice | 0.181 | 0.330 | 0.385 | | 0.151 |
| Both | 0.328 | 0.597 | 0.560 | 0.952 | |

Table 12. Multivariate Regression Results: nEigenvector x Independent Variables

| Variables | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| Intercept (std. error) | 2.718e+01 (6.366e+00) | 3.894e+00 (3.485e+00) | 31.210 (2.745) |
| Social Movement Type Variables | | | |
| Location | | | |
| No DC office | (ref.) | (ref.) | |
| DC office | 7.644e-02 (2.927e+00) | -2.611e+00 (3.188e+00) | |
| Income | | | |
| Total Revenue | 7.965e-08 (4.803e-07) | | |
| Member Revenue | 2.031e-07 (4.262e-07) | | |
| % Member Revenue | -1.002e+01 (7.610e+00) | 5.807e-01 (7.172e+00) | |
| Expenses | | | |
| Total Expenses | -7.750e-08 (4.731e-07) | | |
| Expenses to Staff | 8.657e-08 (1.023e-07) | | |
| % Exp. to Staff | 3.537e+00 (7.072e+00) | | |
| Highest Staff Sal. | -2.347e-05 (1.385e-05) | | |
| % Exp. to Highest Sal. | -1.405e+01 (1.861e+01) | -1.802e-00 (2.137e+01) | |
| Total Assets | -1.519e-08 (5.521e-08) | -8.385e-09 (2.478e-02) | |
| Years since inception | -9.211e-02 (4.740e-02) | -7.637e-02 (5.298e-02) | |
| Number of food issues | 1.519e+00 * (6.407e-01) | 3.247e+00 *** (6.144e-01) | |
| Food System Change Perspective | | | |
| Food Sovereignty | (ref.) | | (ref.) |
| Food Justice | -1.618e+01 *** (4.221e+00) | | -17.967 *** (3.717) |
| Food Security | -1.899e+01 *** (3.813e+00) | | -24.044 *** (3.069) |
| Multiple R ² | 0.6579 | 0.4251 | 0.5106 |

* P< 0.05 ** P< 0.01 *** P< 0.001

Model 1 – Movement Type & System Perspective Variables

Model 2 – Movement Type Variables

Model 3 – System Perspective Variables

Table 13. Food System Change Perspectives: Food Security, Food Justice, and Food Sovereignty
(adapted from Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2001: 117-118)

| | Organizational Orientation | Approach to Food Crisis | Main Institutions |
|------------------|--|---|--|
| Food Security | Mainstreaming of niche markets, supporting northern subsidies, “sustainable” roundtables for agrofuel, soy forest products, market-led land reform, and micro-credit | Continued reliance on industrial production and corporate control with increased middle-peasant production and locally-sourced food aid, micro-credit and bio-fortified crops | International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) FAO, mainstream Fair Trade, Slow Food, some food policy councils, most food banks |
| Food Justice | Investment in underserved communities, new business models, community benefit packages, agroecologically produced local food, better wages for food workers | right to food, better safety nets, sustainably produced, locally sourced food, agroecological agricultural development | Alternative fair trade, many CSA’s, food policy councils, slow food chapters, youth, and justice groups. Coalition of Immokalee Workers and labor organizations. |
| Food Sovereignty | dismantle corporate agri-food monopolies, redistributive land reform, community rights to water and seed, regionally-based democratized food systems, and revival of agroecologically-managed peasant agriculture. | human right to food, locally sourced, sustainably produced, culturally appropriate, democratically controlled | Via Campesina and other agrarian-based farmers groups (ROPPA, EAFF, EAFF) International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty, many rights-based food groups |

Table 14. Food Sovereignty Principles
(adapted from (Nyeleni 2007 Forum for Food Sovereignty 2007))

Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation. It offers a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, pastoral and fisheries systems determined by local producers and users. Food sovereignty prioritizes local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal - fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food production, distribution and consumption based on environmental, social and economic sustainability. Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just incomes to all peoples as well as the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition. It ensures that the rights to use and manage lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food.

| Food Sovereignty | advocates... | rejects... |
|-------------------------------|--|---|
| 1. Focuses of Food for People | placing the right to sufficient healthy and culturally appropriate food for all at the center of food, agriculture, livestock and fisheries policy | commodification or use of food for international agri-business profit |
| 2. Values Food Providers | supporting the rights of women and men, peasants and small-scale farmers, fisherfolk, forest dwellers, indigenous peoples and all workers who grow, harvest and process food. | policies, actions and programs that undermine and threaten these food providers |
| 3. Localizes Food Systems | bringing food providers and consumers closer together, and puts them the center of decision-making on food-issues; protecting food providers from dumping of food and food aid in local markets and consumers from poor quality food and GMOs. | governance structures that depend on unsustainable international trade and give power to unaccountable corporations |

Table 14. (continued).

| Food Sovereignty | advocates... | rejects... |
|--------------------------------|--|--|
| 4. Prioritizes Local Control | promoting positive interaction between food providers in different regions and sectors by placing local food, land, grading, water, seeds, livestock and fish populations under the control of local communities. | privatization of natural resources through laws, commercial contracts and intellectual property rights regimes. |
| 5. Builds Knowledge and Skills | Building on the skills and local knowledge of food providers and their local organizations to conserve, develop, manage research and pass wisdom on to future generations. | Technologies that undermine or threaten these skills and sources of knowledge and wisdom (e.g. genetic engineering). |
| 6. Works with Nature | Using contributions of nature in diverse, low external input agroecological production and harvesting methods that improve ecosystem production, resilience and adaptation especially in the face of climate change. | Methods that harm beneficial ecosystem functions, depend on energy intensive monocultures, livestock and fish factories, and other industrialized production methods that damage the environment and contribute to climate change. |

Table 15. System Change Competition Statistics

| Alliances | Density of Ties Among Respective Perspectives | | |
|------------------|---|--------------|------------------|
| | Food Security | Food Justice | Food Sovereignty |
| Food Security | 0.218 | | |
| Food Justice | 0.182 | 0.308 | |
| Food Sovereignty | 0.370 | 0.594 | 0.848 |

Table 16. Senior Staff Interviewee Characteristics (n=36)

| Abr. | Organization | Group Type | System Change Perspective | DC Office? | Group Age |
|-------|--|--------------|---------------------------|------------|-----------|
| ANC | Alianza Nacional de Campesinas | Organization | Justice | No | 3 |
| C2C | Community to Community Development | Organization | Sovereignty | No | 11 |
| CAGJ | Community Alliance for Global Justice | Organization | Sovereignty | No | 15 |
| CFA | Consumer Federation of America | Organization | Security | Yes | 46 |
| CFC | Cool Foods Campaign | Campaign | Security | Yes | 6 |
| CFSC | Community Food Security Coalition | Coalition | Justice | No | 17 |
| CRA | Center for Rural Affairs | Organization | Security | No | 21 |
| FAM | Feeding America | Organization | Security | No | 36 |
| FARM | Farm Animal Rights Movement | Organization | Security | No | 31 |
| FCWA | Food Chain Workers Alliance | Coalition | Justice | No | 6 |
| FF | Food First! | Organization | Sovereignty | No | 39 |
| FFD | Family Farm Defenders | Organization | Sovereignty | No | 30 |
| FFN | Fair Food Network | Coalition | Justice | No | 5 |
| FMC | Farmers Market Coalition | Coalition | Security | No | 8 |
| FWW | Food and Water Watch | Organization | Sovereignty | Yes | 11 |
| IATP | Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy | Organization | Sovereignty | No | 27 |
| LVCNA | La Via Campesina North America | Coalition | Sovereignty | Yes | 21 |
| NFFC | National Family Farm Coalition | Coalition | Sovereignty | Yes | 28 |
| NFSN | National Farm to School Network | Organization | Security | No | 7 |
| NOC | National Organic Coalition | Coalition | Security | No | 11 |
| NSAC | National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition | Coalition | Security | Yes | 5 |
| NYFC | National Young Farmers Coalition | Organization | Justice | No | 4 |
| PANNA | Pesticide Action Network of North America | Coalition | Security | No | 30 |
| RC | The Rural Coalition | Coalition | Justice | Yes | 35 |
| RCFC | Recirculating Farms Coalition | Coalition | Security | No | 5 |
| SFUSA | Slow Food USA | Organization | Security | No | 15 |
| UCSFA | Union of Concerned Scientists Food & Ag. Committee | Organization | Security | No | 45 |
| USFSA | U.S. Food Sovereignty Alliance | Coalition | Sovereignty | No | 4 |

Table 16. (continued).

| Abr. | Organization | Group Type | System Change Perspective | DC Office? | Group Age |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|------------|-----------|
| WFA | Wild Farm Alliance | Organization | Security | No | 11 |
| WFAN | Women, Food and Agriculture Network | Organization | Security | No | 17 |
| WHY | Why Hunger | Organization | Sovereignty | No | 39 |
| Non-network interviewees: | | | | | |
| | Bellingham, WA Farmers Market | Organization | Security | No | 24 |
| | Community Food Bank of Southern AZ | Organization | Justice | No | 38 |
| | Washington Food Coalition | Organization | Security | No | 22 |
| | Table for Health Policy Fellow | Organization | Sovereignty | No | 13 |
| | Navadanya (India-based NGO) | Organization | Sovereignty | No | 30 |

Table 17. Senior Staff Interview Protocol Outline

Background Questions

- Personal Background:
 - What is your position and work with the organization?
 - What attracted you to this work?
- Organizational Background:
 - When/How did your organization begin?

The Food System: Problems and Solutions

- Problems:
 - What are the most critical problems with the U.S. food system?
 - What are the “root” issues that need to be addressed?
- Solutions:
 - What do you think the solution to these problems is?
 - What are the 1 or 2 things that, if addressed, would significantly improve the U.S. food system?

Responding to the U.S. Food System

- Your Organization’s Work and Challenges:
 - What are the key issues on which your organization focuses?
 - What are several of your most successful programs?
 - What are the biggest challenges you face in your work?
 - Do you experience internal tensions about which activities to pursue? What are they? How do you resolve these?
- The U.S. Food Movement and Advocacy Network:
 - Do you think there is a food movement in the U.S.?
 - If so, what characterizes this movement?
 - How successful has the U.S. food movement been at addressing the food system problems you described? Please explain.
 - What are the biggest challenges/tensions faced by the food movement?
 - Do you perceive different branches or distinctions within the food movement? What are they?
 - Some people use the terms “food security”, “food justice” and “food sovereignty” to describe different food system perspectives. Are these helpful ways to describe the branches of the food movement? How would you describe yourself?
 - What do you think the most effective parts of the movement are? Least effective?
 - What is most needed at this time to support the food movement?

Closing Questions

- Are there other things you would like to say regarding the your work, U.S. food system, or the network of organizations that are working to change it that we haven’t talked about?

Table 18. Interview Coding Matrix

U.S. Food System

Positive reflections on the food system

Diagnosis (problems with the food system)

Prognosis (what should be done to fix the food system)

U.S. Food Movement

Movement Structure

Structure is Unified

Structure is Fragmented

Framing the Food Movement

Issues are important

Alliances are important

Food Change Perspective is important

Movement Dynamics

Opportunities and Strengths

Threats, Tensions, and Weaknesses

Table 19. Issue Area Density Statistics

| Issue Area | Percent of Internal Ties | Percent of External Ties | E-I Index |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Corporate Resistance | 53.3% (0.026) | 46.7% (0.026) | -0.067 (0.051) |
| Climate Change | 57.4 (0.013) | 42.6 (0.013) | -0.147 * (0.027) |
| Farm-workers | 57.5 (0.502) | 42.5 (0.520) | -0.150 (0.520) |
| Food Safety | 65.6 (0.030) | 34.4 (0.030) | -0.311 * (0.060) |
| GMO's | 55.7 (0.029) | 44.3 (0.029) | -0.114 (0.057) |
| Hunger | 60.7 (0.032) | 39.3 (0.032) | -0.214 (0.063) |
| Land/Water Conservation | 58.5 (0.035) | 41.5 (0.035) | -0.169 (0.069) |
| Labor | 64.9 (0.035) | 35.1 (0.035) | -0.297 (0.070) |
| Local | 48.9 (0.023) | 51.1 (0.023) | 0.022 * (0.046) |
| Nutrition | 64.4 (0.026) | 35.6 (0.026) | -0.289 * (0.052) |
| Race | 63.1 (0.035) | 36.9 (0.035) | -0.261 (0.071) |
| Small Farmers | 57.4 (0.028) | 42.6 (0.028) | -0.147 (0.056) |

% of Ties (above)
Standard Deviation (below)
* P< 0.05

Table 20. System Change Density Statistics

| Perspective | Percent of Internal Ties | Percent of External Ties | E-I Index |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| Food Security (n=43) | 55.5% | 44.5% | -0.110 |
| Food Justice (n=16) | 23.6 | 76.4 | 0.527 |
| Food Sovereignty (n=12) | 26.9 | 73.1 | 0.463 |

Table 21. Frequency of Food Issues Areas Identified by Organizations

| Food Issue Area | Named by X Organizations (n=71) |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Environment/Climate Change | 34 47.9% |
| Local Food Systems | 26 36.6 |
| Corporate Resistance | 24 33.8 |
| Supporting Small Farmers | 26 36.6 |
| Genetically Modified Foods | 22 31.0 |
| Food Safety | 21 29.6 |
| Nutritional Quality of Food | 24 33.8 |
| Supporting Farm-worker Rights | 21 29.6 |
| Land & Water Conservation | 17 23.9 |
| Hunger Relief | 20 28.2 |
| Race Issues | 17 23.9 |
| Labor Issues (other than farm-workers) | 16 22.5 |
| # of raw code counts on top | |
| % of column's total codes | |

Table 23. Interviewee Diagnostic Coding Summary and Comparison by System Perspective

| | Security (n=17) | Justice (n=7) | Sovereignty (n=12) | Total (n=36) |
|---|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Corporate control & consolidation | 10 | 3 | 8 | 21 |
| | 58.8 | 42.9 | 66.7 | 58.3 |
| Environment & Climate Change | 11 | 4 | 5 | 20 |
| | 64.7 | 57.1 | 41.7 | 55.6 |
| System is industrialized/high technology | 7 | 0 | 3 | 10 |
| | 41.2 | 0 | 25.0 | 27.8 |
| Federal policies biased toward corporations | 4 | 0 | 5 | 9 |
| | 23.5 | 0 | 41.7 | 25.0 |
| Policies biased toward commodities | 5 | 0 | 4 | 9 |
| | 29.4 | 0 | 33.3 | 25.0 |
| Abuse of workers rights | 1 | 3 | 4 | 8 |
| | 5.9 | 42.9 | 33.3 | 22.2 |
| Capitalism | 3 | 1 | 3 | 7 |
| | 17.6 | 14.3 | 25.0 | 19.4 |
| Genetically Modified Organisms | 3 | 0 | 4 | 7 |
| | 17.6 | 0 | 33.3 | 19.4 |
| Neoliberal global trade policies | 1 | 1 | 4 | 6 |
| | 5.9 | 14.3 | 33.3 | 16.7 |
| Devaluation of healthy food | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| | 11.8 | 28.6 | 8.3 | 13.9 |
| Ineffective congress | 4 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| | 23.5 | 0 | 8.3 | 13.9 |
| Small Farmers are not paid enough | 2 | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| | 11.8 | 14.3 | 16.7 | 13.9 |
| Corporations are land grabbing | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| | 0 | 28.6 | 16.7 | 11.1 |
| Good food is too expensive | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | 17.6 | 0 | 0 | 8.3 |
| Food system is hard to understand | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | 17.6 | 0 | 0 | 8.3 |
| People are socialized toward bad food | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| | 11.8 | 0 | 8.3 | 8.3 |
| Structural racism | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| | 5.9 | 14.3 | 8.3 | 8.3 |
| Commodification of animals | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| | 5.9 | 0 | 8.3 | 5.6 |
| Overuse of synthetic inputs | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | 11.8 | 0 | 0 | 5.6 |
| Citizens are not educated about food | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | 5.9 | 0 | 0 | 2.8 |

Table 23. (continued).

| | Security (n=17) | Justice (n=7) | Sovereignty (n=12) | Total (n=36) |
|---|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Farmers are aging | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | 0 | 14.3 | 0 | 2.8 |
| Federal crop insurance policies | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | 5.9 | 0 | 0 | 2.8 |
| Food is not getting to the needy | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | 5.9 | 0 | 0 | 2.8 |
| Food is unsafe to eat | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | 5.9 | 0 | 0 | 2.8 |
| Broken immigration system | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | 0 | 14.3 | 0 | 2.8 |
| Ineffective food distribution system | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | 5.9 | 0 | 0 | 2.8 |
| Regulation not keeping up with system | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | 5.9 | 0 | 0 | 2.8 |
| Frequency of response (percentage of response) | | | | |

Figure 1. 2-Mode Visualization of Organizations (n=71) connected through Coalitions (n=30)

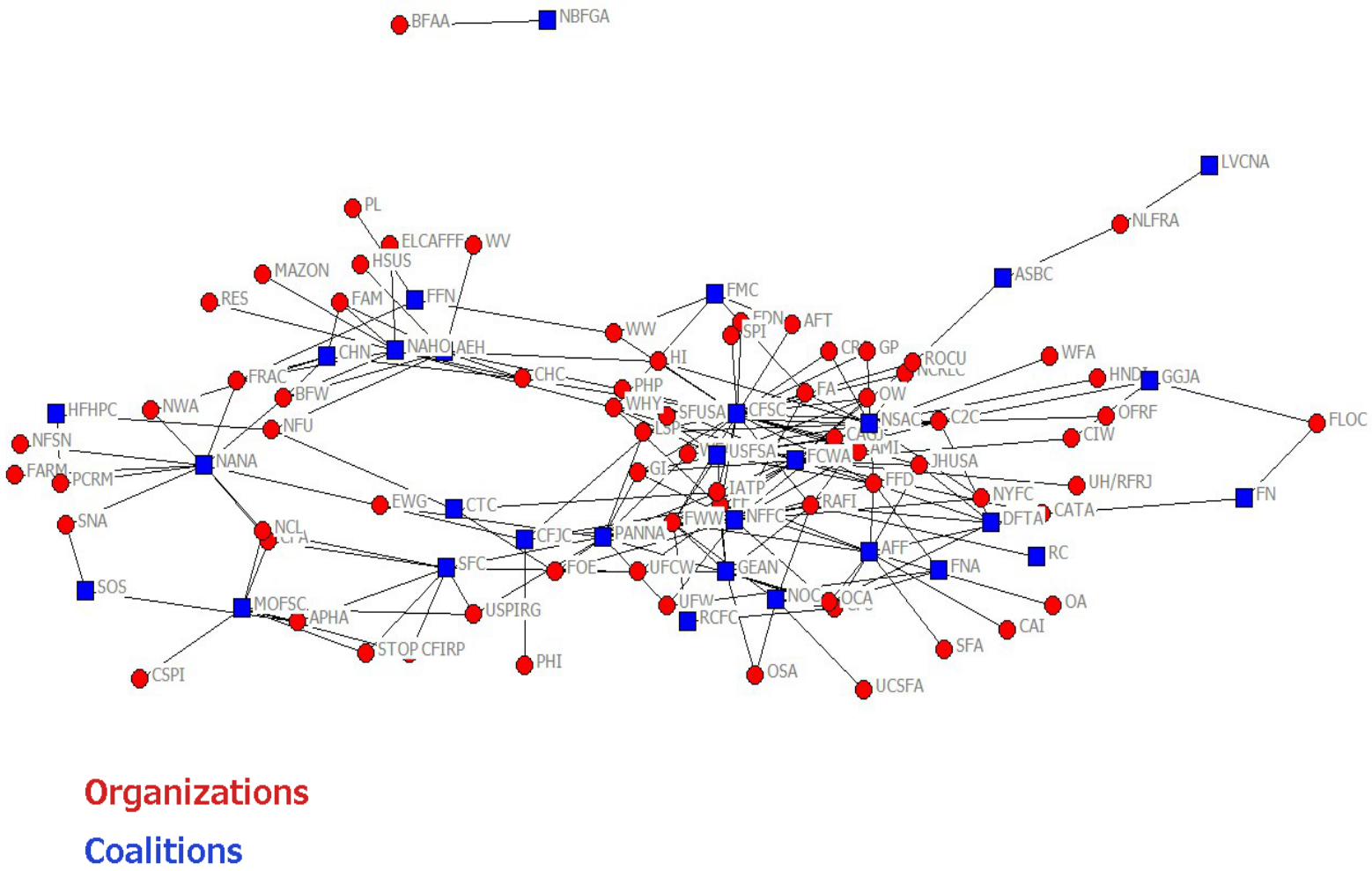


Figure 5. 1-Mode Visualization of Food Alliance Structures: Sustainable Agriculture vs. Social Justice

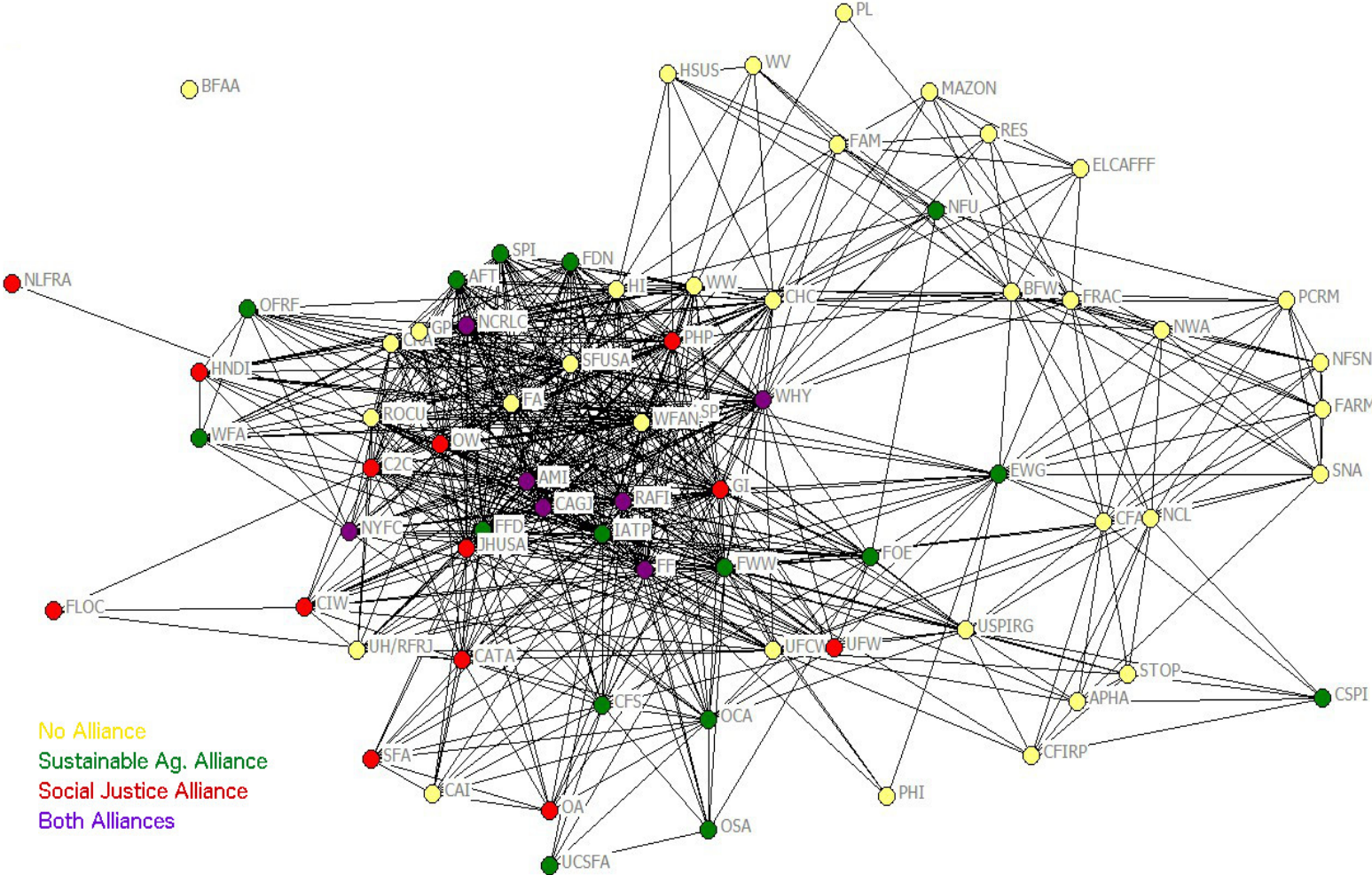
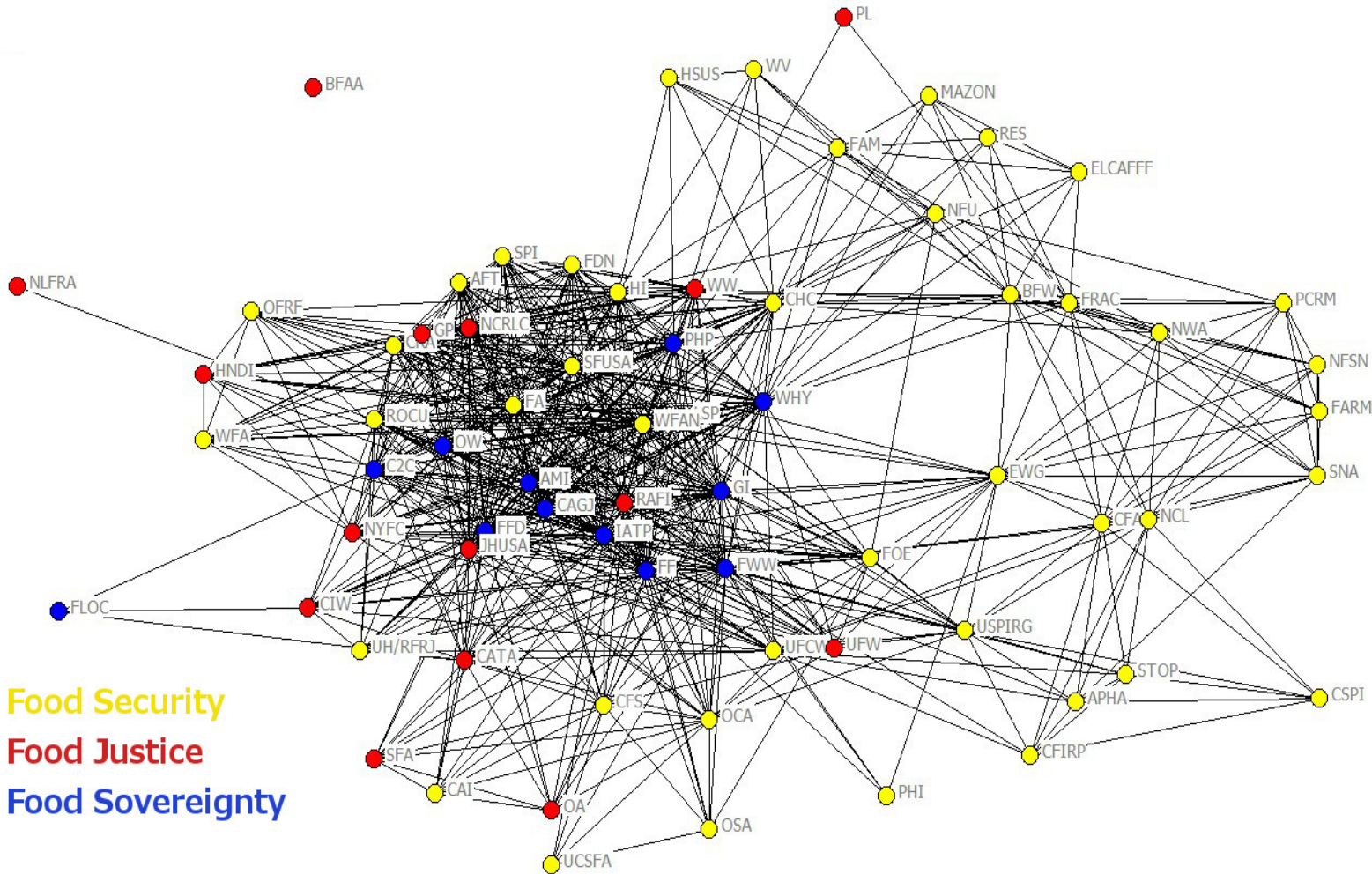


Figure 6. 1-Mode Visualization of System Change Perspectives



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