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In the context of social movement theory, the purpose of this study was to identify and begin to understand the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames used in a food justice action research project called Food Dignity (FD). I used participation and observation and analyzed notes from a national meeting, 17 short video stories, Collaborative Pathway Models produced with each community partner in the project, and project websites to this end. FD partners clearly define the problems that they are trying to address, most of which relate to the poor health and food insecurity of their constituents. Partners used several different diagnostic frames to explain these problems and prognostic frames to explain how to address them. Their framing dominantly portrays the problems of concern to FD as having systemic causes (e.g., insufficient resources and a broken food system) that require systemic solutions (e.g., reclaiming power and building local community and economies). There was one motivational frame identified, used explicitly in internal project communications but mainly implicitly in external messaging. It suggests that Food Dignity's foundational call to action is that of the recompense owed by those who have benefited from oppressive systems to those who have suffered under them.

**IT'S "ULTIMATELY ABOUT DIGNITY:" UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL  
MOVEMENT FRAMES OF THE FOOD DIGNITY PROJECT**

By

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and the University of Wyoming  
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**DEDICATION PAGE**

To Food Dignity and food dignity for all.

## **ACNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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Figure 1 Community Partners Demographics. Racial and gender categorizations are based on each participant’s public identity. PoC = Person/People of Color. Specific racial identity is not always known and often involves mixed race backgrounds – including, of course, for people who identify as white. For purposes of this study, an understanding of exact racial identities is not required. It is, however, important to understand who enjoys white privilege and who does not. Labeling some people as people of color and others as specifically white, however, deems people of color as a negative – not white. As such, I have instead labeled those who identify as having white privilege as non-PoC. Finally, the “unpaid” partners each received some form of financial support through the “community organizing support package,” but were not employed by the SMOs..... 22

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## 2 **ABBREVIATIONS**

3 AP = Academic Partner

4 CFMS = Community Food Security Movement

5 CP = Community Partner

6 CPM = Collaborative Pathway Model

7 FD = Food Dignity

8 FJ = Food Justice

9 FJM = Food Justice Movement

10 LTO = Long-term Outcome

11 PAR = Participatory Action Research

12 PG = People's Grocery

13 PI = Principal Investigator

14 SM = Social Movement

15 SMO = Social Movement Organization

16 TTP = Tracing the Paths video

## 17 INTRODUCTION

18 I am alone in the banquet room of the Bourbon Orleans Hotel in New Orleans, LA  
19 along with one other guest. We are the first to arrive for tonight’s opening social mixer for the  
20 final Food Dignity partners meeting on this Sunday night in January of 2016. Food Dignity is  
21 a research project funded by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), organized  
22 by my master’s thesis advisor at the University of Wyoming. The project brings together  
23 community and academic partners to facilitate and examine efforts within the Food Justice  
24 movement. I am just starting my fourth and final semester in my master’s program, and this is  
25 the first Food Dignity meeting I’ve been able to attend, though the project began more than  
26 five years ago. The Bourbon Orleans Hotel is a historic fixture of the French Quarter. Its  
27 banquet room is replete with crystal chandeliers hanging from the ceiling, dimmed  
28 candelabra’s on the wall, embossed wallpaper, and string lights shining through the French  
29 doors leading out to the small, walled patio that would be irresistibly inviting if it weren’t a  
30 humid 50 degrees out. Our Bourbon Orleans hostess offers the other guest and me something  
31 to drink and pork-filled appetizers, encouraging us mischievously “don’t come to New  
32 Orleans if you’re sober or on a diet, right?” My counterpart responded, “I’ve been sober 17  
33 years.” “And I’m a vegan,” I added to our hostess’s befuddlement. It’s an incongruous  
34 beginning to this meeting of people who have been disenfranchised by poverty, racism,  
35 incarceration, immigration, colonization, and attempted genocide (and those who have been  
36 privileged by the same) and are working to take control of their food system. But if there’s  
37 one thing I understand about Food Dignity, it’s that I don’t understand Food Dignity.

38           With the aim of increasing understanding of the Food Dignity (FD) project – for  
39 myself, for the partners, and ultimately “the world” – this study examines social movement  
40 frames used by participants in the five-year community/academic action research  
41 collaboration. A *social movement* (SM) can be defined as “collective forms of protest or  
42 activism that aim to affect some kind of transformation in existing structures of power”  
43 (Martin, 2015, p. 1) – in other words, actions taken by a group of people in an effort to change  
44 some aspect of society. *Frames* are linguistic tools that package messages in ways that shape  
45 their meanings (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1974). Much in the same way a window frame  
46 shapes one’s view, and a frame around a painting influences an audience’s perception of that  
47 painting, SM frames influence what messages audiences receive and how they perceive them.  
48 For example, one “window frame” on viewing food security suggests that food needs to stay  
49 cheap so poor people can afford it. Another is that full-time work should pay living wages that  
50 enable people to pay the real costs of healthy food. The first frame puts food prices in view,  
51 and wages out of view; the second includes both wages and food prices. In a subtler “painting  
52 frame” analogy, the meaning of very similar messages can be influenced by the vocabulary  
53 and phrasing surrounding and packaging it. For example, in “all people deserve access to  
54 food” vs. “access to food is a human right,” the former asks the reader to view the message  
55 that everyone should have enough food through a moralistic frame and the latter offers this  
56 message in a legal frame (I picture the moral one as a simple weathered wood frame and the  
57 legal one as an ornate gilded frame).

58           In the context of social movements, frames are used, among other things, to explain  
59 problems (*diagnostic* frames), solutions (*prognostic* frames), and reasons why members

60 should join a movement (*motivational* frames) (McCammon, Muse, Newman, & Terrell,  
61 2007; McVeigh, Myers, & Sikkink, 2004). Social movement scientists argue that frames are  
62 important in determining the success or failure of a movement (Buechler, 2000; Martin,  
63 2015). In this study, then, my purpose is to identify and begin to understand the diagnostic,  
64 prognostic, and motivational frames used in the Food Dignity project. I aim to answer the  
65 following research questions:

- 66 ○ What social problems do FD partners state they are working to address?
- 67 ○ How do FD participants explain why these problems exist (diagnostic frames)?
- 68 ○ How do FD participants explain what needs to be done to address these  
69 problems (prognostic frames)?
- 70 ○ How do FD participants explain why it is important to address these problems  
71 (motivational frames)?

72 **BACKGROUND**

73 **Food Dignity**

74 Food Dignity is an education, extension and research project, funded by a five-year  
75 grant from the USDA from 2011-2016 (full title: Food Dignity: Action research on engaging  
76 food insecure communities and universities in building sustainable community food systems,  
77 USDA/NIFA/AFRI Competitive Award #2011-68004-30074) (Porter, 2011). Its self-  
78 identified primary objective is to, “identify, develop and evaluate scalable and equitable  
79 strategies for organising sustainable community food systems to ensure food security” (Porter,  
80 Herrera, Marshall, & Woodsum, 2014, p. 117). Yet FD is unusual in its emphasis on  
81 participatory action research (PAR), a type of investigation that evaluates action (which, in  
82 the case of FD, we can safely think of as SM activity) and, critically, attempts to be useful for  
83 supporting and improving the efficacy of those actions (Lewin, 1946).

84 Exploitation in research occurs when a researcher benefits via publications, funding,  
85 recognition, and/or career advancement from her or his work regarding community struggles  
86 and experiences while communities receive nothing or little that will help them achieve their  
87 own goals. Rewards are not equally enjoyed even though participants in the research project  
88 have given their time and shared (to varying degrees) their lives, stories, expertise, and  
89 cultures. Thus, PAR demands that, in addition to generating new knowledge, research should  
90 be useful to its “subjects,” who are themselves researchers if PAR is conducted correctly.  
91 Equally, true PAR academic researchers also become “subjects” in the research.

92 Food Dignity, however, takes this line of thinking further. One of the aspirations of the  
93 project is to equalize, if not invert, the power and privilege relationship that usually exists



94 between academics and community members. Academic institutions enjoy privileges of  
95 funding, social prestige, and access to other resources that are not bestowed in equal measure  
96 to most community organizers and organizations. This type of relationship devalues the  
97 extensive knowledge held by those doing the work on the ground in favor of “scientific”  
98 knowledge (Porter et al., 2014). By prioritizing the leadership of its community partners,  
99 including by acknowledging them as leaders of and experts in the research/ knowledge  
100 generation in the project, FD attempts to flip “relationships of power and privilege between  
101 community and campuses” (Porter et al., 2014, p. 120). The FD project takes a radical  
102 approach to participatory action research in its attempt to support and to study effective work  
103 toward community food security.

104         The organizational partners of FD are four academic institutions and five community  
105 partners conducting community food work in California, New York, and Wyoming. As  
106 discussed in more detail below, FD’s community partner organizations would be considered  
107 social movement organizations (SMOs) according to SM theorists. Examples of work by FD  
108 community partners include hosting farmers’ markets in areas with few alternative sources of  
109 fresh fruits and vegetables. Partners have also established sources of income for backyard and  
110 community gardeners who grow – among other things – culturally relevant foods such as  
111 crops common in an immigrant’s country of origin but uncommon in the US. They also share  
112 food via low-or-no-cost CSAs and provide resources to build community and backyard  
113 gardens. Several partners hire and mentor youth to run local food initiatives. Each SMO that  
114 participated in Food Dignity received a circa \$325,000 “community organizing support  
115 package” over five years, which included funding for a steering committee, \$30,000 worth of

116 minigrant funding to distribute as the partner saw fit, and salary funding to support  
117 community organizing and oversee the mini-grant program.

118           Food Dignity also provided extensive financial support to its academic partners. In  
119 addition to their “education, research, & FD project management support package”  
120 (analogous to the “community organizing support package” described above), academic  
121 partners also received what Food Dignity now calls a “general university support package.”  
122 The latter is more commonly referred to as indirect costs (IDCs) – given to grantees as a  
123 percent of a grant to support the institution’s general operations, on top of funding for a “cost  
124 objective,” i.e. direct work on the grant-funded project (U.S. Department of Labor, 2012, pp.  
125 I-1). Food Dignity academic partner institutions received 28% of their funding as IDCs, while  
126 community partner organizations received no IDC allocation (due to a USDA decision)<sup>1</sup>. This  
127 disparity was frequently used by community partners as an example of the disadvantage they  
128 experienced compared to academics.

129           For their part, academics played an unconventional role in the FD project. A primary  
130 goal of Food Dignity is to ensure that the bulk of the knowledge generated in the project  
131 comes from and is useful to community organizers. This value challenged academics to work  
132 with community partners in a truly collaborative way – rather than by directing research. As  
133 described by Porter, the project director and principal investigator, who is an academic, “We

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<sup>1</sup> At the time of Food Dignity’s award from the USDA, the maximum IDC any recipient could be awarded was 28% of a grant. In order to receive this maximum, a grantee needed to have a negotiated IDC at or above 28% (U.S. Department of Labor, 2012). The university partners in FD met this criteria, and therefore received 28% IDCs. Those without negotiated rates could apply with a 10% IDC rate. The community partner organizations did not have federally negotiated rates and were therefore only eligible for this 10% rate. However, even this normally standard rate was ultimately denied to community partners, at the discretion of the accounting supervisor of the FD grant (Porter, 2016a).

134 assumed the community partners had the answers, to teach us. Just maybe our tools could help  
135 them codify or detail the answers” (Porter, 2016b). She notes, however, that she and other  
136 academic partners were not always successful in playing an assistive, rather than lead, role,  
137 “Because society and the grant itself place us as primary, we cannot really give that away  
138 even when we try” (Porter, 2016b).

139 Together, the FD team is in the process of conducting extensive self-reporting work on  
140 each community partner and on FD itself. Now that the five-year project is complete, the  
141 work of parsing out and disseminating lessons learned has begun, including my work in this  
142 thesis.

143

#### 144 **Social Movement Theory & Framing**

145 Modern academic understandings of social movements are typically rooted in a long  
146 history of research, beginning with *collective behavior theory* (Buechler, 2000; Martin, 2015).  
147 Collective behavior refers to any mass action, including panics, fads, and SMs (Blumer,  
148 1951). These actions are explained by the existence of a shared grievance and are exercised  
149 outside of the established political process (Blumer, 1951; Smelser, 2011; Turner & Killian,  
150 1957). According to Buechler (2000) social scientists of the 1950s were generally satisfied to  
151 lump social movements in with all forms of collective behavior. This, he claims, was in  
152 keeping with the prevailing societal view (among published researchers) that governments  
153 were well functioning and that actors outside of the political process were irrational – thus  
154 leaving little practical difference between a hysterical mob and an organized movement.  
155 Buechler (2000) goes on to posit that the success of the Civil Rights movement, especially in

156 the policy realm, not only forced researchers to question their relegation of SMs to the  
157 ineffectual world outside the political system, but also ushered in a new era in which an  
158 increasing number of academics were themselves former activists.

159         The 1960s and 1970s thusly gave birth to *resource mobilization theory*, which  
160 proposes that social movements, distinct from irrational forms of collective behavior, are  
161 organized institutions and part of the political process. Furthermore, the success or failure of a  
162 movement under this model is determined by its ability to access and use resources  
163 (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Oberschall, 1973; Tilly, 1978). McCarthy and Zald (1977) place a  
164 particular emphasis on the importance of time, money, and market-like competition between  
165 movements and players within movements, in what is known as their entrepreneurial model of  
166 resource mobilization theory (Buechler, 2000). To them, the formation of a SM – let alone its  
167 success – is predicated upon sufficient internal organization and outside support. Among other  
168 things, this is a departure from previous notions of collective behavior being an inevitable  
169 consequence of any shared grievance (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Tilly offers what is known as  
170 the political model of resource mobilization theory (Buechler, 2000), which adds political  
171 opportunity (e.g. a favorable political climate) as a key resource for SMs (Tilly, 1978).  
172 Buechler (2000) and Martin (2015) place McAdam’s (1982) work as firmly supportive of  
173 Tilly’s political model of resource mobilization theory. Like and even more than Tilly,  
174 McAdam (1982) emphasizes the importance of political opportunity. He also examines  
175 internal (“indigenous”) organizational strengths including leadership, membership, and  
176 communication. The final key in McAdam’s (1982) political model of SMs is “cognitive  
177 liberation” whereby actors come to believe not only that society should change in a given

178 way, but that it can and will given the right resources. Even to resource mobilization theorists,  
179 models of collective behavior help explain how shared grievances establish the first  
180 conditions needed for collective action to ensue. Resource mobilization draws the important  
181 distinction, however, that grievances alone are not sufficient to account for organized,  
182 sustained, and legitimate social movements (McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

183         Following the establishment of resource mobilization theory, the concept of framing  
184 rose to prominence in the study of social movements (Buechler, 2000; Martin, 2015). As  
185 discussed earlier, framing can generally be understood as influencing or packaging a message.  
186 Social movement theorists see frames as playing multiple roles in collective action. First,  
187 *diagnostic frames* are used to explain a problem (why we have this problem), similar to how  
188 grievances are thought to unite groups in collective behavior theory but with more  
189 intentionality and rationality. *Prognostic frames* offer solutions (this is what we do about it),  
190 which must be seen as desirable and realistically achievable to be effective (Snow & Benford,  
191 1988). *Motivational frames* offer what Snow & Benford (1988, p. 203) call “moral rationales  
192 for action” (this is why we should do something about it). If constructed well, these three  
193 frames are theorized to lead to participant mobilization (Snow & Benford, 1988). As an  
194 example, a diagnostic frame might be that our country suffers from inequality manifested in  
195 unequal access to food. The prognostic frame may be that taxpayer money should be used to  
196 make food available to all citizens. The forthcoming motivational frame could then be that  
197 those who believe in equality should fight for new regulations to supply affordable food. So,  
198 SM framing builds on both collective behavior and resource mobilization theories from its

199 cultural, political, and perhaps emotional origins in grievance (diagnostic frames), to its  
200 mobilizing crescendo (motivational frames).

201

## 202 **Evaluations of Successful Frames**

203           According to SM theorists, frames matter in the success of social movements  
204 (Buechler, 2000; Martin, 2015; McAdam & Snow, 1997; Snow & Benford, 1988). A few  
205 systematic empirical studies attempt to test the efficacy of frames for SMs. This literature  
206 examines the success of framing in advocacy for homeless prevention (Cress & Snow, 2000),  
207 recruitment into the Ku Klux Klan (McVeigh et al., 2004), and women’s efforts to gain access  
208 to juries (McCammon et al., 2007).

209           Cress and Snow (2000) evaluated the success of framing among social movement  
210 organizations (SMOs – organizations operating within and on behalf of a SM) trying to  
211 address issues of homelessness. To do so, they conducted retrospective case studies on 15  
212 such organizations to determine the importance of various theorized contributors to social  
213 movement success, including frames (see Table 1). The authors categorized SMOs as having  
214 “significant impact” when a combination of conditions led to at least two out of the three  
215 examined outcomes: 1) representation on local policy councils, 2) relief for homeless people  
216 via access to temporary housing or the like, and 3) rights for homeless people such as the right  
217 to vote. Using qualitative comparative analysis, they then determined that viability and clear,  
218 specific diagnostic and prognostic frames were the only three necessary conditions to achieve  
219 significant impact. Furthermore, they state that “articulate and focused framing activity comes  
220 more closely than any of the other conditions to constituting a necessary condition for

221 attainment of the outcomes in question” (Cress & Snow, 2000, p. 1100). The authors  
 222 hypothesize that frames may be necessary conditions because frames are used to secure other  
 223 conditions for a successful SM including city support, allies, and viability (Cress & Snow,  
 224 2000). Their work provides strong evidence that frames are indeed important in SM, possibly  
 225 the most important conditions of any they examined.

226 **Table 1 Conditions of SMOs Examined by Cress & Snow**

<b>Social Movement Component</b>	<b>Definition Used by Cress &amp; Snow</b>
Viable	SMOs that had existed for at least one year, met at least twice monthly, and conducted a series of interrelated protest events
Sympathetic Allies	At least one city council member supportive of efforts to address homelessness in their city
City support	City has at least one agency designed to address homelessness
Disruptive tactics	Events that intentionally break laws and risk the arrest of their participants
Diagnostic frame articulate and specific	Clearly articulate specific problems and assign blame for their existence
Prognostic frame articulate and specific	Specify what needs to be done to address the problem

227

228 McVeigh et al. (2004) attempt to verify the efficacy of frames by testing hypothesized  
 229 outcomes against actual outcomes in a study of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in Indiana in the  
 230 1920s, a time when the organization enjoyed unusually high numbers of new members. The  
 231 authors note that KKK frames are anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, anti-African American, and  
 232 against free trade. They hypothesized that, if these frames were effective, KKK membership

233 would be most concentrated in Indiana counties where the highest percent of immigrants,  
234 Catholics, or African Americans lived – and thus animosity among white, native-born  
235 Protestants would be highest. They also thought that counties that were most dependent on  
236 agriculture would offer the highest percentages of KKK recruits, given that farmers had little  
237 to gain and much to lose from free trade. To test this notion, they gathered county-level  
238 census data for Indiana. They then ran an ordinary multiple regression tool to test for  
239 relationships between clan membership and county demographics. They found that a county’s  
240 percent population of African Americans was positively correlated with percent KKK  
241 membership, as was a county’s percent population of immigrants. This means that people  
242 (presumably white, native-born, and male, since only men were allowed to join the KKK)  
243 were more likely to join the KKK if they lived in a county with higher African American or  
244 immigrant populations. The same was not true for counties with higher densities of Catholics,  
245 but McVeigh et al. (2004) attribute this result to unreliable data since religious affiliations  
246 were not available in the census. The authors also found a positive correlation between corn  
247 production and KKK membership and a negative correlation between the industrialization of  
248 counties and membership. Overall, the authors interpret their findings as suggesting that the  
249 frames of the Indiana KKK worked as expected on their target demographics in helping  
250 garner new members. As a cautionary tale about the mixed outcomes that can result from  
251 frames, they go on to hypothesize that these same frames that won the KKK members  
252 ultimately lost it political support (McVeigh et al., 2004).

253           McCammon et al. (2007) offer a third empirical analysis of the use of frames in SMs.  
254 The authors coded frames from the campaigns of SMOs in 15 different US states promoting



255 the right of women to sit on juries. They coded material dating from 1913 to 1966 (stopping  
256 on the date when each state allowed women to participate in juries). Using logistic  
257 regressions, they then tested the correlation between the use of the dominant frames they  
258 found and successful policy change in the states where they were used. Their findings indicate  
259 that:

- 260 • Frames that tapped into general hegemonic discourse (language of what is considered  
261 “normal”) were not positively correlated with outcomes. For example, emphasizing  
262 dominantly accepted differences between men and women did not lead to women  
263 gaining access to juries.
- 264 • Capitalizing on *legal* hegemonic discourse was positively correlated with successful  
265 changes in juror statutes (e.g. the use of jurying as a citizen’s duty).
- 266 • Consistently rebutting opposition frames (e.g. having the last word) was positively  
267 correlated with the passage of women juror laws.
- 268 • Frames that made use of a disruption in hegemonic discourse (e.g. the outbreak of  
269 WWI and WWII provided new opportunities for frames as women supporting the war  
270 effort by filling “men’s roles” like jurors) were correlated with success (McCammon  
271 et al., 2007).

272 These results are potentially very useful to current SMs.

273

274 **Positioning Food Dignity as Part of a Movement**

275           The Food Dignity project aligns itself with the Food Justice Movement (FJM)  
276 (Bradley & Herrera, 2015; Porter, 2016c). Sbicca (2012, p. 455) provides a definition of the  
277 FJM as “a budding social movement premised on ideologies that critique the structural  
278 oppression responsible for many injustices throughout the agrifood system.” To truly  
279 understand the FJM, it is best to first understand the Community Food Security Movement  
280 (CFSM). Community food security is often (Abi-Nader et al., 2009; Berman, 2011; Bradley &  
281 Herrera, 2015) defined as “a situation in which all community residents obtain a safe,  
282 culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet through a sustainable food system that  
283 maximizes community self-reliance and social justice” (Hamm & Bellows, 2002, p. 37). The  
284 CFSM then, encompasses collective efforts to achieve this state.

285           Despite its seemingly inclusive mission (note that “social justice” is a stated goal), the  
286 CFSM is plagued by internal struggles for equitable power distribution and accusations of  
287 racism within the movement. In many ways, the movement itself was embodied in the  
288 nonprofit organization the Community Food Security Coalition (CFSC), which was the  
289 subject of a paper detailing how issues of race, class, and gender created schisms in the  
290 organization. In it, Slocum (2011, p. 330) observes, “Those who experience food insecurity –  
291 American Indians, Latinas and African Americans, disproportionate to their numbers in the  
292 population, single women heads of households and people working for unlivable wages – tend  
293 to be... the object of the work but not the leaders of it.” Some argue that the Community Food  
294 Security Coalition was ultimately forced to dissolve due its failure to integrate into its  
295 leadership roles the diversity that was represented by its grassroots members (Lololi, n.d.).

296 Others contend that diversity was reflected in the CFSC’s leadership but that  
297 acknowledgement and recognition of these leaders was lacking or absent (Porter & Redmond,  
298 2014). Although the official reason cited for its dissolution was insufficient funding (Barnard,  
299 2012), the above evidence makes it clear that failure to address racial, class, and gender issues  
300 represented a significant problem for the Community Food Security Coalition. The same can  
301 be said of the CFSM itself (Bradley & Herrera, 2015; Sbicca, 2012).

302 The FJM is arguably simply an intentional rebranding of the CFSM, meant to give the  
303 movement a second chance to, among other anti-oppressive priorities, successfully elevate to  
304 leadership roles those most affected by injustice in the food system (Porter, 2016c; Sbicca,  
305 2012). Admittedly scholars and activists have continued to find failures to do so within the  
306 FJM (Bradley & Herrera, 2015; Sbicca, 2012). It may be that the most discernable difference  
307 between the CFSM and FJM is the latter’s more explicit focus on justice, especially within the  
308 movement itself.

309 Sbicca (2012) provides literature on framing in the FJM. He conducted a descriptive  
310 (not evaluative) case study of the SMO the People’s Grocery (PG)<sup>2</sup> in West Oakland,  
311 California. In 2009, the mission of the PG was to, “build a local food system that improves  
312 the health and economy of the West Oakland community”<sup>3</sup> (Sbicca, 2012, p. 460). Founded in  
313 2002 by one West Oakland resident and two non-residents, PG’s programs have included

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<sup>2</sup> PG supplied produce for the free community supported agriculture delivery program implemented by a FD community partner organization.

<sup>3</sup> The mission now reads, “People’s Grocery’s mission is to improve the health and local economy of West Oakland by offering holistic programs which encourage a diversified, local and sustainable community while facilitating conversations about racial equity and its impact on the community” (People’s Grocery, n.d.).

314 youth gardening and nutrition education employment, a mobile food market, a community  
315 garden, a reduced-cost community supported agriculture venture, internships, and leadership,  
316 educational, and anti-oppressive trainings (Sbicca, 2012). Although its founders sought to  
317 address racial and class inequalities, PG exhibits a lack of engagement of West Oakland  
318 residents at the staff or internship levels of the organization. As a result, residents (who PG is  
319 meant to serve) have had little influence on the diagnostic or prognostic framing of FJ issues  
320 in West Oakland. Sbicca's (2012) findings indicate that, while PG staff recognize the need for  
321 anti-oppression work in the FJM, they have not yet succeeded in creating an anti-oppressive  
322 organization. Said another way, he found "difficulties in actualizing new organizational and  
323 discursive forms that resonate among FJ activists" (Sbicca, 2012, p. 463).

## 324 **METHODOLOGY**

325 I used Food Dignity as a case for identifying and understanding the diagnostic,  
326 prognostic, and motivational frames used in a FJM-related project. In seeking answers to my  
327 research questions (what social problems do FD partners state they are working to address,  
328 and what diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames do they use), I used several  
329 methods, described below, of collecting and analyzing data. All methods were in keeping with  
330 standards set by the Internal Review Board (IRB) for working with human subjects.  
331 Participants gave their informed consent and this study falls under IRB approval granted for  
332 the FD research project.

333

### 334 **Case Selection Rationale**

335 The FD project offers a rich case for an in-depth qualitative analysis of SMO framing.  
336 It is an atypical case to study; one that is valuable for its unique rather than representative  
337 qualities (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Food Dignity is also a particularistic case, one that is “important  
338 for what it reveals and what it might represent” (Merriam, 2009, p. 43). The project is seen by  
339 a diverse range of critics as a vanguard for work in food, justice, and food justice; both  
340 activists and academics have called the project “groundbreaking” (Aarons, 2012; Cabbil,  
341 2012; Chappell, 2013). In 2014 the project won the Community-Campus Partnerships for  
342 Health Award for its “extraordinary” and “outstanding” work in this realm (Community-  
343 Campus Partnerships for Health, 2014). In addition, since it is also a research project, FD  
344 offers a large “buffet” of rich and descriptive data for analysis in this study. Thus, FD is an  
345 exceptionally useful case for understanding framing within the FJM.

346 Furthermore, it is my hope that this study can offer valuable information to activists  
347 wishing to strengthen the potency of framing in the FJ and other social movements. We know  
348 that people learn best from contextualized examples (Flyvbjerg, 2006). As such, a highly  
349 contextualized, richly described framing case such as the one offered in FD will increase the  
350 chances of my research being useful to others in SM work (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Merriam, 2009).

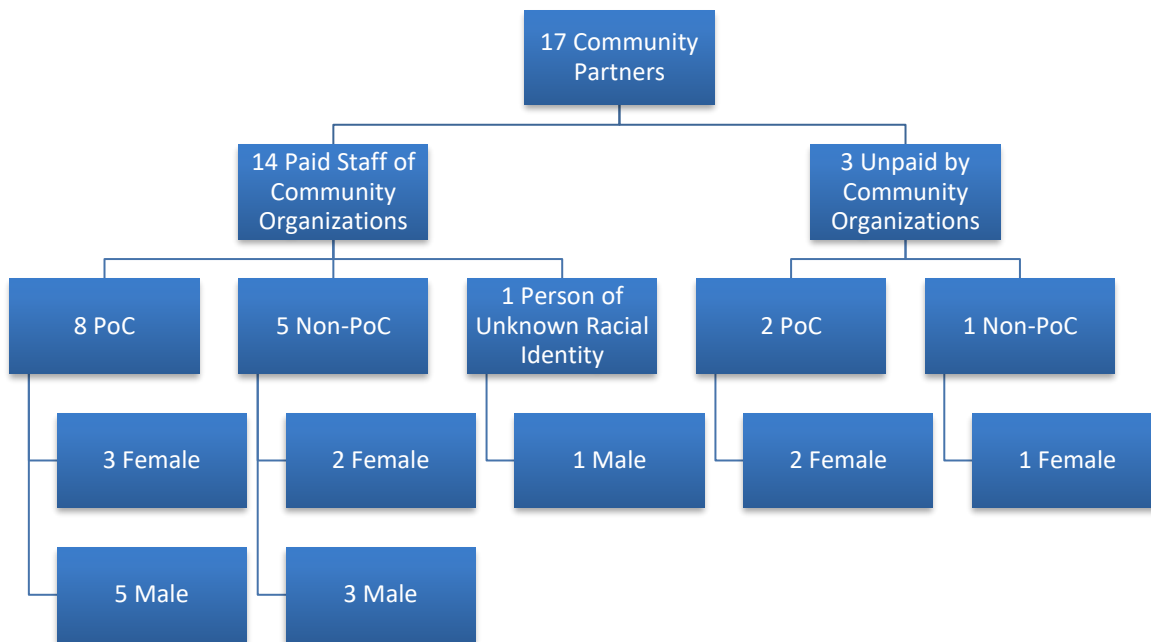
351 In addition to being recognized for its cutting-edge approaches, Food Dignity is also a  
352 direct answer, as if by design, to several of Sbicca's suggestions for action and research work  
353 needed in the FJM. He outlines two key funding problems for the FJM. The first is that people  
354 suffering from injustice often do not have the means to establish and sustain SMOs (Sbicca,  
355 2012) – something that FD's "community organizing support package" helped enable most of  
356 the community partners to do, particularly the three youngest of the organizations. In addition,  
357 Sbicca notes that many extant FJ organizations have to compromise their more radical anti-  
358 oppression values in order to attract funders (Sbicca, 2012). To avoid this type of limitation,  
359 the funds that community partner organizations received from Food Dignity were given with  
360 very few restrictions so that the organizations could use the money as they saw fit. Perhaps  
361 most germane to FD's approach is Sbicca's (2012, p. 464) position that, in order to unify the  
362 FJM behind effective frames "...scholars and activists need to pay attention to the relationship  
363 between anti-oppression frames and understandings of FJ within the FJM".

364

### 365 **Perspectives and Participants in This Study**

366 In this study, I examined frames used by the Food Dignity team, using insights from  
367 25 individuals to formulate my understandings to this end. To avoid creating additional work

368 for participants, who have been contributing data and codifying findings for five years, I  
369 recruited passively. Participants in this study are all collaborators in the Food Dignity project  
370 who either attended the final meeting of project partners, created a video story available  
371 online, or both. No one who met one or both of these criteria was excluded from my analysis.  
372 Although the overall project, not the participants themselves, was my unit of study, the  
373 participants' demographics are relevant given the salience of oppressed populations in  
374 leadership roles in the FJM. See Figures 1 and 2 for a summary of this information. Note that  
375 I worked with 25 total participants; one participant is counted twice to accurately reflect his  
376 roles as both a community and academic partner over the span of the project. The current  
377 leadership of Food Dignity, which emerged about halfway through the project, includes two  
378 academics (including the Principal Investigator) and a community partner. All three of them  
379 – all white women – are included in this study.



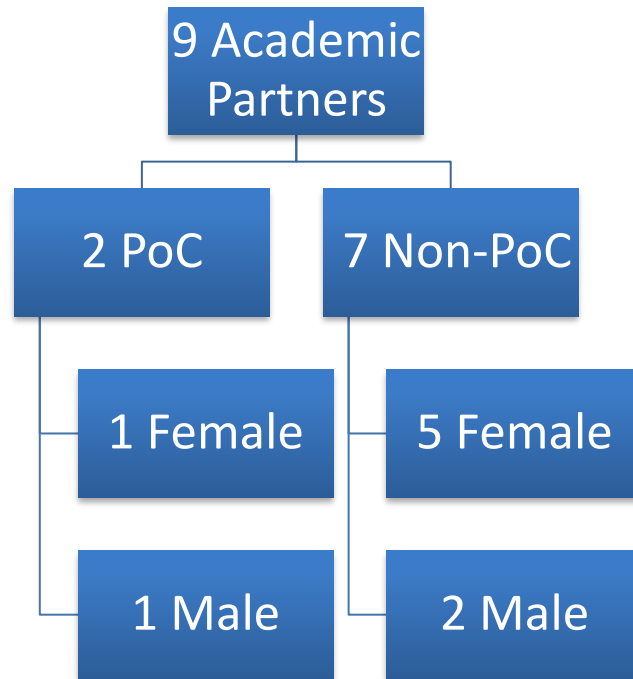
380

381 **Figure 1 Community Partners Demographics.** <sup>4</sup> Racial and gender categorizations are  
 382 based on each participant’s public identity. PoC = Person/People of Color. Specific racial  
 383 identity is not always known and often involves mixed race backgrounds – including, of  
 384 course, for people who identify as white. For purposes of this study, an understanding of exact  
 385 racial identities is not required. It is, however, important to understand who enjoys white  
 386 privilege and who does not. Labeling some people as people of color and others as  
 387 specifically white, however, deems people of color as a negative – not white. As such, I have  
 388 instead labeled those who identify as having white privilege as non-PoC. Finally, the “unpaid”  
 389 partners each received some form of financial support through the “community organizing  
 390 support package,” but were not employed by the SMOs.

---

<sup>4</sup> Although three of the included participants were unpaid by a community partner organization, they did receive some financial support from Food Dignity. For example, grant money was used to cover expenses related to attending Food Dignity events (travel, food, lodging). Two of the three were also recipients of minigrants.





391

392 **Figure 2 Academic Partners Demographics.** Racial and gender categorizations are based on  
 393 each participant’s public identity. PoC = Person/People of Color. Specific racial identity is not  
 394 always known and often involves mixed race backgrounds – including, of course, for people  
 395 who identify as white. For purposes of this study, an understanding of exact racial identities is  
 396 not required. It is, however, important to understand who enjoys white privilege and who does  
 397 not. Labeling some people as people of color and others as specifically white, however, deems  
 398 people of color as a negative – not white. As such, I have instead labeled those who identify  
 399 as having white privilege as Non-PoC.

400

401 *Subjectivity Statement*

402 I can be considered both an insider and an outsider to Food Dignity. I am a graduate  
 403 student funded by FD and advised by the initiative’s Project Director and Principal  
 404 Investigator. This connection provided me with the opportunity to meet and come to know, to  
 405 varying degrees, academic partners at the University of Wyoming (UW), especially my  
 406 advisor. The grant began in March of 2011, whereas I began my master’s work at UW in

407 September of 2014. I volunteered with one of the community organizations involved  
408 beginning in the summer of 2014, met leaders of another that October, and attended  
409 conferences and classes where these community partners spoke. I also conducted interviews  
410 of vendors at the farmers' market led by another of the community partner organizations in  
411 the summer of 2015. I met the remaining community and academic partners in January of  
412 2016 at the final national meeting of the partners. As such, my knowledge of the initiative and  
413 its participants was limited until recently to what my advisor and other UW academics shared  
414 with me, what was available on [www.fooddignity.org](http://www.fooddignity.org), and my experience with two of its five  
415 community partner organizations. I know that I have something of an insider status after the  
416 January meeting. I also know that I am still seen as an outsider in some circumstances by  
417 those who have been building their relationships for five years or more. The best example to  
418 illustrate both points came in a comment written to me at the end of the January meeting by a  
419 community partner, "Only 1 meeting but you fit right in, and thank you for reflecting our  
420 work back to us." I fit right in, but am not part of the "us" that I reflect back.

421           Here I attempt to address my subjectivities. The Project Director/ Principal  
422 Investigator of Food Dignity is my thesis advisor and has funded my master's education using  
423 the USDA grant. Not only do I have a vested interest in finding results to which she is  
424 amenable, but I have also been influenced by her opinions and perspectives on the project for  
425 four semesters. Because of this and other personal connections I now have to FD, my bias is  
426 toward finding its successes. Furthermore, my advisor is the only participant with whom I  
427 communicate on a regular basis. As such, her stories are the most imbedded and prominent in  
428 my consciousness of the work. To the best of my ability, I have addressed these subjectivities

429 by A) careful reading of data B) taking field notes on my reactions to data C) triangulating my  
430 findings D) actively seeking negative cases, and E) requesting member checks of my findings  
431 from willing participants in addition to my advisor.

432

### 433 **Data**

434 To identify the SM frames used in the FD project, I assembled and analyzed six  
435 sources of FD data: participation and observation, Collaborative Pathway Models, “I”  
436 Stories, *Tracing the Paths: Telling Stories of Food Dignity*, meeting notes, and websites. With  
437 the possible exception of the websites, these sources all arose in 2014 or later, and I selected  
438 them not only for the ease of access, but also because they represent a more mature framing of  
439 the project. Several of the sources (Collaborative Pathway Models, “I” Stories, *Tracing the*  
440 *Paths: Telling Stories of Food Dignity*, and websites) offered additional value in examining  
441 frames, since they are intended by participants for public dissemination and messaging (the  
442 purpose of frames in SMs).

443

### 444 *Data Collection – Participation and Observation*

445 I gained key insights and understandings of FD through four distinct opportunities for  
446 me to participate in and observe the work of project partners. Beginning in August of 2014, I  
447 volunteered for a FD partner organization in Laramie, WY. This engagement was open to any  
448 volunteer. On four different occasions, I helped clean and distribute fresh produce for a free  
449 food-sharing program (1.5- 2 hours), helped to build a new hoop-house for growing additional

450 food (~4 hours), and helped clean the garden beds at the end of the season (~1 hour). My  
451 volunteer experience helped me to better understand this organization and others who were  
452 involved with it, and to get acquainted with one of its leadership staff members.

453           June 4-6 of 2015, I attended a Food Equity Meeting hosted by the Union of Concerned  
454 Scientists (UCS) in Minneapolis, MN. The UCS invited my thesis advisor and two additional  
455 FD partners (1 non-PoC female community partner and the male PoC partner who served in  
456 both a community and academic capacity) to participate. My advisor negotiated my inclusion  
457 in exchange for my services as a note taker. As a result, I was able to participate in and  
458 observe this event, which was in session for 4.5 hours the evening of June 4 and 11 hours on  
459 June 5. We were served meals at our meeting tables so that work was continuous without  
460 breaking to eat. On the morning of June 6, I, along with the three other FD partners in  
461 attendance, participated in a Native American water blessing ceremony. In the afternoon, we  
462 all attended the Community Forum of public presentations and speakers organized as the  
463 conclusion of the UCS meeting.

464 **Table 2 Summary of Participation and Observation Experiences**

<b>Participation and Observation</b>
Volunteering 2014
UCS Food Equity Meeting June 2015
Final Food Dignity Partner Meeting January 2016
Year Six Research Planning Meeting May 2016

465

466 In January of 2016, I was invited to attend the final meeting of Food Dignity partners  
467 in New Orleans, LA, thanks entirely to my role as a graduate assistant for Food Dignity's  
468 Project Director. Meetings were in session 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Thursday, with  
469 most people arriving the Sunday before and departing the Friday after. This time was divided  
470 between group discussions, time for individual work, and individuals sharing a reading, video  
471 presentation, or PechaKucha<sup>5</sup> with the group. All of these activities were designed to move  
472 FD partners toward goals for the meeting as a whole: produce final reports and meet other  
473 deliverables promised to the USDA, reflect on the work of the preceding five years, and  
474 celebrate. To these ends, printed photos, digital slide shows, displays set up by community  
475 and academic partners on a rotating basis, and draft Pathway Models (discussed below) were  
476 also available for viewing throughout the meeting. One-on-one exit-style interviews were  
477 conducted with each partner over the course of the four days. Additional formal group  
478 gatherings took place the Sunday night of our arrival (welcome reception), Monday night  
479 (group dinner), and Thursday night (group dinner and celebration). Informal gatherings were  
480 also part of the meeting, including small group dinners on Tuesday and Wednesday, a party  
481 by the hotel pool and later in the "VIP suite" of one of the community partners, and small  
482 groups patronizing music venues.

483 I was the only new person allowed to this concluding FD team meeting. In exchange  
484 for this honor, I took notes during group discussions and helped as much as possible with  
485 logistics during our four full days together. My role as logistical assistant seemed to help me  
486 gain a rapport with the Food Dignity team. For one thing, it made me useful to anyone who

---

<sup>5</sup> PechaKucha is "a presentation style in which 20 slides are shown for 20 seconds each on auto advance (no changes permitted during the presentation), while the presenter narrates each slide" ("The Food Dignity Research Project Final National Meeting Agenda and Schedule," 2016, p. 3).

487 needed something. Secondly, as an unknown academic entering a project attempting to  
488 reverse the typical relationship of academics wielding (or attempting to wield) power over  
489 communities, it was ideal that my errand-runner status put me unequivocally at the bottom of  
490 the power structure in Food Dignity. I was there to serve everyone else, and no one owed me  
491 anything. During the 9a.m.to 5p.m. periods, I was mostly an observer except for my errands. I  
492 only had to miss one group discussion in order to fulfill my gopher duties. During individual  
493 work sessions, I would run errands for the group or do my own, unrelated work. I felt very  
494 much a part of the group when I was invited to join the academics for a story-telling session,  
495 and felt somewhere in between an insider and an outsider during our social events, formal and  
496 informal. These were great chances for me to get to know the team members a little bit, and I  
497 did, but I also attempted not to interfere too much with this last official chance for people who  
498 had worked together for five years to reconnect.

499           In May of 2016, my ability to take notes won me access to an additional FD event.  
500 The three emerged leaders of the project, along with a consultant originally engaged by the  
501 leaders to assist with the Pathway Model work, met in Laramie, WY for the Year Six  
502 Planning Meeting to discuss sharing the work of FD over the preceding five years. I took  
503 notes during their meeting from 9 a.m. to approximately 4 p.m. May 23 and 24 and until  
504 approximately 3 p.m. on May 25. I also had the opportunity to take a social lunch with three  
505 of the four partners on May 24.

506

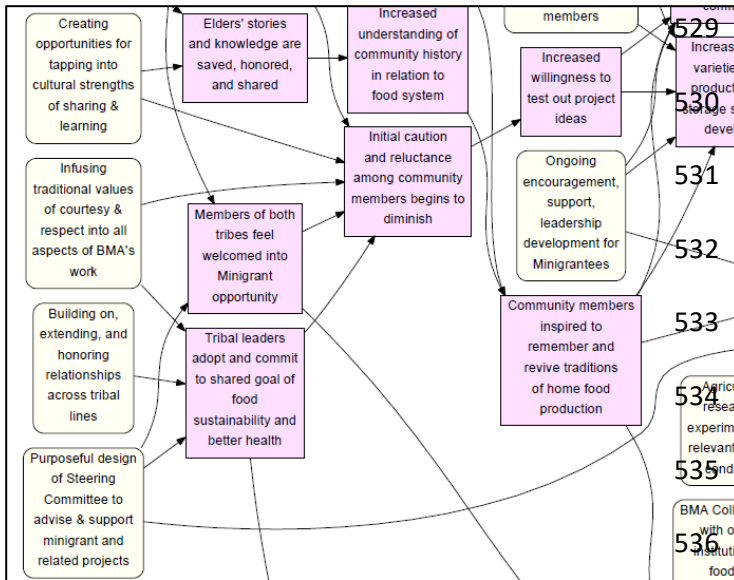
507 *Extant Data - The Food Dignity Data Buffet*

508           One of the values in Food Dignity is that academics should avoid putting an undue  
509 burden on community partners whenever possible, given the history of academics extracting  
510 knowledge from communities for their own gain (Porter & Woodsum, 2015). Guided by this  
511 edict, I dominantly relied on data generated over the five years of the project, rather than  
512 asking for additional interviews, surveys, or the like from participants (see Table 2). A second  
513 value and “deliverable” to the funder of Food Dignity is storytelling (Porter, 2011). As a  
514 result partners have generated story data far in excess of what a thesis paper can integrate.  
515 From among the publicly available data and that available specifically to me, I selected  
516 sources based on pertinence to my research questions, namely of framing within FD.

517

518 *~ Collaborative Pathway Models*

519           Collaborative Pathway Models (CPMs) offer deliberate language and detail on the  
520 prognostic frames that are important to each community partner organization. Pathway  
521 Models are a cornerstone of the Systems Evaluation Protocol, designed to work with and  
522 illustrate the complex and evolving nature of systems (Trochim et al., 2012; Urban &  
523 Trochim, 2009). Pathway Models are detailed and deductive logic models created from  
524 stakeholder accounts of organizational activities and the short, medium, and long-term  
525 outcomes that result from each activity (Hargraves, 2016). Visually, the pathways connect  
526 activities to their actual or expected outcomes with arrows, from short and medium outcomes  
527 through to the long-term outcomes (see Figure 3). The Food Dignity team developed  
528 Collaborative Pathway Models with each community partner organization, initially drawing



from existing information from partner organization then by holding “deep listening” meetings with individual team members (Porter, 2016b). Using this process, CPMs were created for and with each of the five community partners. I coded every

537 **Figure 3 CPM Visual Representation, A small portion of a Collaborative Pathway**  
 538 **Model. The rounded boxes are activities, the square boxes are expected short-term**  
 539 **outcomes.**

540 activity, short, medium, and long-term outcome in all five partner CPMs, spending  
 541 approximately two hours on each.

542

543 ~ “I” Stories and Related Video

544 Food Dignity’s “I” Stories are another source of deliberate framing. Four academic  
 545 partners and 13 community partners each created a narrated photo and video story over the  
 546 course of a three-day workshop in February 2015. They were instructed to draft a script about  
 547 their community food work experience as a first-person story that related to FD and that only  
 548 they could tell (Hill, 2015, January 12). At the workshop, partners worked with professional  
 549 video story coaches from StoryCenter to write scripts for, design, compile, film, audio record,  
 550 and edit their “I” Stories. StoryCenter also collaborated with FD to compile a 15-minute mini-  
 551 documentary on the process of creating these “I” Stories. This documentary, *Tracing the*



552 *Paths: Telling Stories of Food Dignity* (TTP), offers additional data on the thoughts and  
553 feelings of partners. The finished “I” Story products from the workshop are now publicly  
554 available at [www.tinyurl.com/fooddignitystories](http://www.tinyurl.com/fooddignitystories). Because the “I” Stories are self-edited and  
555 published online for public viewing, they are an excellent source of intentional messaging and  
556 framing. They also provide individual, rather than organizational, perspectives. Finally, they  
557 provide rich diagnostic and motivational data to complement the prognostic data found in  
558 Pathway Models. I conducted line-by-line coding of all 17 “I” Stories as well as the TTP  
559 video. This process required a total of approximately 10 hours.

560

561 ~ *Websites*

562 I looked to the websites of FD community partner organizations and of FD itself to answer  
563 the research question, “What social problems do FD partners state they are working to  
564 address?” Four partner organizations hosted their own sites, separate from Food Dignity,  
565 designed to promote their work to communities and funders. One of the organizations closed  
566 at the end of the five years of FD, and I thus relied on its partner page on the FD website for  
567 its data. I chose to use websites because they are designed to give direct messaging, controlled  
568 and vetted by the CBOs. I perused all pages of each partner’s website to ensure that I found  
569 the best source of problem definition data for each. I also searched websites for additional  
570 motivational frame data. I spent no more than 30 minutes on each website.

571

572 ~ *Meeting Notes*

573 To complement the edited and public data sources of videos, CPMs, and websites, I  
574 utilized the project’s meeting notes from the final partners meeting in New Orleans to offer a  
575 more organic perspective, perhaps better representing the feelings of participants than a  
576 finished product intended for external dissemination. Several others and I took notes during  
577 group discussion. These are detailed notes that attempt to capture each statement shared,  
578 including many quotations, rather than only main points. Meeting notes are a rich source of  
579 raw data that reveal unedited values and beliefs of individuals in the project. I coded the four  
580 days of notes (43 pages) from the final partners meeting in New Orleans (NOLA), spending a  
581 total of 20 hours working with this data. Notably, I did not code the notes I took for the  
582 project leaders during their Year Six Research Planning Meeting; while being present for this  
583 meeting could not help but inform my understandings of the project, those notes were for  
584 internal use only.

585 **Table 3 Summary of Text Data Sources Used.**

<b>Written Sources</b>	<b>Audio-Visual Sources</b>
Collaborative Pathway Models	“I” Stories, transcribed
Websites	Tracing the Paths Video, transcribed
NOLA Meeting Notes	

586

587

588 *Data Selection*

589 I chose to analyze CPMs as the best source for organizationally agreed-upon prognostic  
590 framing. Videos provided polished individual voices. Meeting notes offer a third perspective  
591 – uncensored participant voices. To capture the richest and most complete set of perspectives,  
592 I coded notes from the final partners meeting in New Orleans. Unlike the meetings I attended  
593 in MN and WY, all partners were invited to attend the NOLA meeting, and partners from all  
594 FD community and academic organizations were present.

595 I first coded CPMs, videos, and meeting notes. New sub-categories continued to emerge  
596 in this coding, although no new broad frames or contradictory frames emerged after notes  
597 from the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the New Orleans meeting. In addition, further coding consistently  
598 reinforced existing broad frames. I was still lacking, however, consistent data on defining  
599 problems. I had also only detected one motivational frame. At this point, I incorporated the  
600 websites of community partner organizations into my data sources. Websites provided clear  
601 purpose statements for each organization, imbedded in which were descriptions of the primary  
602 problems each is trying to address.

603

604 *Data Analysis*

605 “I” Stories and meeting notes were analyzed inductively following Huberman and  
606 Miles (1994) four-stage process. I, along with other members of the Food Dignity research  
607 team, transcribed the audio from “I” Stories and *Tracing the Paths: Telling Stories of Food*  
608 *Dignity* into Microsoft Word documents. I analyzed these transcripts, along with the already  
609 typed meeting notes and CPMs using Atlas TI coding software. Following Huberman & Miles

610 (1994), I began by noting themes as part of data collection – during note taking and  
611 participation and observation. In the second stage, data reduction, I highlighted any text  
612 relevant to my research question and grouped these excerpts according to inductive themes.  
613 For the third stage of analysis, data display, I categorized quotations into their emergent  
614 diagnostic and prognostic themes and replicated the relationships between them within the  
615 Atlas TI software. In reviewing themes, broad categories emerged that represented the bulk of  
616 the data. Once I had identified several clusters in this fashion, I began the fourth stage with  
617 deductive analysis, looking for data that fit into extant categories as well as for data that may  
618 require the creation of new categories (Merriam, 2009).

619

620 ~ *Establishing Problems*

621 I found the purposes of the FD project and of each community partner organization on  
622 their respective websites. Four purposes were contained within organizational mission  
623 statements. One was within the organization’s vision statement, and FD’s was on its  
624 “Welcome” page. I truncated the mission, vision, or welcome statement to just its action  
625 phrase, then converted each into a problem statement by inverting the purpose to its negative  
626 form. An example follows:

- 627
- 628 • Purpose: “provide access to healthy food and jobs in our community where access  
629 to both has historically been limited” (Dig Deep Farms, n.d.).
  - 629 • Truncation to action phrase: “provide access to healthy food and jobs”
  - 630 • Inversion to problem statement: “insufficient access to healthy food and jobs”

631

632 ~ *Choosing Strong Diagnostic Frames*

633 After coding, I chose to focus my analyses on the diagnostic frames that were both  
634 frequent and common. Post-hoc, I developed the following criteria to determine which frames  
635 were the “strongest” i.e., those that were the most frequent and common:

636 1. Frequency: Frames that were represented by 10 or more quotations

637 AND

638 2. Commonality: Frame mentioned in 5 or more data sources

639 a. Notes = in meeting notes from the final Food Dignity meeting in New Orleans

640 b. “I” = in stated number of “I” Stories

641 c. TTP = in Tracing the Paths video

642 d. CPM = in stated number of Collaborative Pathway Models

643 For my **diagnostic frame strength criteria**, I chose a frequency requirement of 10 for  
644 two reasons. First, the most frequently represented frame with a frequency below 10 was  
645 included in only six quotations. This 40% gap between “infrequent” and “frequent” references  
646 to frames provided a meaningful cut-off for inclusion. Secondly, based on my participation  
647 and observation in Food Dignity, the frames with a frequency of 10 or more all resonated with  
648 me as indeed key to the project’s messaging.

649 I also used my knowledge of FD to choose a commonality requirement of five or  
650 more. Frames that met this criterion were consistent with dominant frames in my participation  
651 and observation. Furthermore, if frames appeared in five or more data sources, they were  
652 likely to be shared across most FD organizations and individuals.

653

654 ~ *Choosing Strong Prognostic Frames*

655 I first used Collaborative Pathway Models to define what I call the “strong” prognostic  
656 frames. Because they describe the solutions-based work each community partner strives to do,  
657 they are the richest available source of prognostic data. The goals in CPMs are broken into  
658 short, medium, and long-term outcomes. As such, the strategies considered penultimate to  
659 achieving organizational goals appear as long-term outcomes. I used these to define  
660 prognostic frames. **My first criterion for strength in a prognostic frame then** is any  
661 prognostic frame that appears in the long-term outcomes of the majority (three or more) of  
662 models as “strong.” Meeting this long-term outcome criterion makes a frame strong regardless  
663 of its frequency or commonality in other data sources.

664 Outside of the long-term outcomes of CPMs, additional strong prognostic frames  
665 emerged along the basic strength criteria of frequency and commonality described above. For  
666 **my second set of criteria for strength in a prognostic frame**, I consider any prognostic  
667 frame appearing at least 30 times and with a commonality of 5 as “strong.” Thirty is a much  
668 higher frequency standard than the 10 used for diagnostic frames because CPMs dramatically  
669 increased the total number of prognostic quotations.

670

671 ~ *Choosing a Strong Motivational Frame*

672 No motivational frames emerged during the data reduction or display stages (Miles &  
673 Huberman, 1994) of my analysis. From my participation and observation, however, I knew  
674 and had noted that Food Dignity partners do explain (and have explained to me) why we as a  
675 society should act on the diagnostic and prognostic frames they present. As such, I reviewed  
676 my field notes from my FD experiences to develop an initial category. To build a description  
677 of the motivational frame that emerged from this process, I deductively re-coded video  
678 transcripts, CPMs, and meeting notes (Merriam, 2009).

679

680 **Trustworthiness**

681 I increased the internal validity and reliability of my research through triangulation,  
682 examination of negative cases, and member checking.

683

684 *Triangulation*

685 The variety of data sources I employed allowed for triangulation. As mentioned,  
686 CPMs and websites offered refined, organizational messaging. “I” Stories and the TTP video  
687 provided edited individual perspectives. Meeting notes constituted an unedited version of  
688 individual voices. Agreement between these diverse data sources increases the trustworthiness  
689 of my findings (Merriam, 2009).

690

691 *Negative Cases*

692           This method also helped me discover data that contradicted some emerging findings  
693 (Mays & Pope, 2000), which I then rejected or modified. I looked for dominant themes, rather  
694 than universal themes, and used negative cases to illustrate when the dominant themes may  
695 not hold, or how a counter-point may actually increase the strength of the dominant theme  
696 (Mays & Pope, 2000).

697

698 *Member Checking*

699           Because my thesis advisor is the Project Director/ PI for Food Dignity, every part of  
700 my research process was member checked (Merriam, 2009), offering one test of my  
701 interpretations from an insider's perspective. My results were also member checked and  
702 affirmed by one additional academic partner and a community partner.

703

704 **Generalizability**

705           As in most qualitative research, the generalizability of my paper is up to the discretion  
706 of each reader (Merriam, 2009). For this reason, I provide rich, thick description, making it  
707 easy for readers to determine whether their case is comparable to Food Dignity or certain  
708 aspects of Food Dignity (Merriam, 2009).



709 **RESULTS**

710 Food Dignity partners clearly define the problems they are working to address and  
711 offer many explanations as to why we have these problems (diagnostic frames) and what we  
712 should do to address them (prognostic frames). Eleven such frames emerged as strong and are  
713 outlined in detail below. Only one explicit motivational frame was used with regularity in the  
714 data sources I analyzed. I created the frame names (first column of tables 4-6) to encompass  
715 all the thematic statements that fall under that name's heading.

716 Unless the information has otherwise already been indicated in the main text, I  
717 parenthetically identify each quoted participant's publicly identified race (PoC or non-PoC),  
718 gender, and FD role (community partner = CP, academic partner = AP). I then identify the  
719 source of each quote ("I" Story = participant's "I" Story, TTP = Tracing the Paths video,  
720 Notes = meeting notes from the final partners meeting in New Orleans, CPM = Collaborative  
721 Pathway Model).

722 In member checks with the PI and with a community partner lead, who is also the  
723 project's community liaison, participants indicated that my findings are consistent with their  
724 experience. The PI suggested that if I had included data from the first three years of the  
725 project that one additional diagnostic frame may have also emerged from analysis of team  
726 meeting notes: the exploitation of community knowledge by universities.

727

728 **Problems FD Partners Are Working to Address**

729           Based on the organizational purposes described on the websites of FD itself and  
730 community partner organizations, the primary problems these groups are trying to address are:

- 731           • unmet health and human services needs (Blue Mountain Associates, n.d.)
- 732           • insufficient access to healthy food and jobs (Dig Deep Farms, n.d.)
- 733           • food injustice (East New York Farms!, 2010)
- 734           • food insecurity and an inequitable, unjust and unsustainable food system (Feeding  
735           Laramie Valley, n.d.)
- 736           • ill health of our children and youth (Food Dignity, n.d.-b)
- 737           • Community knowledge for how to address unsustainable community food systems  
738           leading to food insecurity is unacknowledged or unrecognized by institutions and  
739           agencies (Food Dignity, n.d.-a).

740 This list provides an answer to my research question, “What social problems do FD partners  
741 state they are working to address?” In the following sections, I will describe the diagnostic  
742 frames used by FD participants to explain the causes of these prioritized problems and the  
743 prognostic frames used to explain how to solve them. Finally the motivational frame of  
744 Recompense explains why people should support FD’s efforts to address these problems.

745

746 **FD Diagnostic Frames**

747           Identified diagnostic frames answer my research question, “How do FD participants  
748 explain why these problems exist?” Based on my test criteria, combining frequency and

749 commonality, five strong diagnostic frames emerged from my analysis. I describe each below.

750 See also Table 4 for a summary of diagnostic frames.

751 **Table 4 Strong Diagnostic Frames, answering the research question "How do FD**  
 752 **participants explain why these problems exist?"**

<b>Diagnostic Frame</b>	<b>Strength</b>	<b>Meaning</b> “The problems identified above exist because (of) ...”
Insufficient Resources	Frequency: 29 Commonality: 5 (Notes, TTP, 2 “I” Stories, 1 CPM)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- individuals’ and organizations’ lack access to resources.</li> <li>- resources are intentionally withheld from community organizations.</li> <li>- a lack or withholding of resources prevents community leaders from being fully effective.</li> </ul>
Broken Food System	Frequency: 19 Commonality: 8 (3 “I” Stories, TTP, Notes, 3 CPMs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- insufficient access to (healthy) food, including through barriers to growing one’s own food.</li> </ul>
Loss of Place	Frequency: 16 Commonality: 8 (5 “I” Stories, 2 CPMs, Notes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- loss of place through geographic relocation.</li> <li>- loss of place due to a change in social context.</li> </ul>
Degraded Community	Frequency: 14 Commonality: 7 (4 “I” Stories, 3 CPMs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- poverty with little to no local economy or employment opportunities.</li> <li>- neglect and/ or abandonment of neighborhoods.</li> <li>- lack of options for children and youth.</li> <li>- unsafe environments.</li> </ul>
Constrained Choice	Frequency: 10 Commonality: 6 (3 “I” Stories, Notes, TTP, 1 CPM)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- historical and lifetime trauma limiting personal capacity to struggle against oppressive circumstances.</li> <li>- systems that (intentionally) limit individual options/ choice.</li> </ul>

753

754 *Insufficient Resources*

755           Much of the work of FD partners takes place in communities where both organizations  
756 and individuals suffer as a result of limited access to resources. Time, money, knowledge, and  
757 infrastructure were identified as resources in these contexts. The resource of food was also  
758 mentioned, and mentioned so frequently that I include those results in a separate category,  
759 below.

760           “Stretched thin” and “exhausted resources” represent the struggle shared by several  
761 community partners regarding funding, time, and overextended staff (non-PoC male CP,  
762 Notes). On an individual level, one partner shared a personal story, “He had tried to take care  
763 of himself. He had been growing veggies on his patio... But trying to live on disability after  
764 work-related injury made it impossible for him to eat well no matter how many tomatoes he  
765 produced” (PoC female CP, “I” Story). This situation speaks to inadequacies in both income  
766 and disability services for individuals.

767           Community partners felt strongly that academic institutions enjoyed access to unduly  
768 large means in comparison to what is made available to community-based organizations. Most  
769 of these assets ultimately stemmed from funding and included redundant staff, operational  
770 support, the ability to amass savings, and attractive benefits for employees. As an example,  
771 one partner notes, “And again, for academics, consulting is part of what they’re paid to do.  
772 Grassroots organizations don’t have enough money to build that in” (non-PoC female CP,  
773 Notes). Partners shared frustration at the specific discrepancy within FD wherein the USDA  
774 paid 28% unrestricted indirect costs to university partners in the project, but refused to pay  
775 even the normally standard 10% indirect costs to community partner organizations. “I don’t

776 like the word ‘allowed,‑’ explained one non-PoC female community partner, “Don’t restrict.  
777 Just let me do what it is I do - not, ‘you’re allowed to do that’” (Notes). This is one example  
778 of FD partners citing not just insufficient access to adequate resources, but the intentional  
779 withholding of resources as a reason for the social problems we face.

780 Discussions of inadequate and denied resources often culminated in the lack of  
781 support available to community leaders. The following examples summarize this aspect of the  
782 Insufficient Resources diagnostic frame:

- 783 • “I’m in Food Dignity, but I’m not living in dignity. How is that? Have we talked  
784 about that? I’m doing work on this, but I can’t afford to buy healthy, organic food”  
785 (PoC female CP, Notes).
- 786 • “The people most qualified to do the work may not be the best people at Excel and  
787 HR work that Cooperative Extension needed. How do we bridge this gap for  
788 people? The leaders who are bridging those worlds are in the cross-hairs all the  
789 time” (non-PoC female AP, Notes).
- 790 • “Think of all the capacity academics are given because we value their skills. What  
791 kind of package like that is there for grassroots organizers... and when the system  
792 breaks down, academics are forgiven in ways that we are never forgiven” (non-  
793 PoC female CP, Notes).

794

795 *Broken Food System*

796           The Broken Food System frame encompasses the diagnoses of poor access to food and  
797 lack of control over production. Lack of access to food, and often specifically healthy food, is  
798 commonly identified as a cause of problems. Participants most often discussed access to food  
799 being limited by either geographic or monetary constraints. One community partner describes  
800 his neighborhood environment saying, “We moved back to our housing projects and there was  
801 still no grocery stores, no fresh produce, no decent food for the community” (PoC, “I” Story).  
802 Another offers her experience with monetary barriers to adequate food, “kids in schools...  
803 that don’t have enough access to food... they can’t think, learn, until they get something to  
804 eat” (non-PoC, Notes). The additional subtheme of inability to grow one’s own food leading  
805 to food access problems is summarized by the explanation, “[We] were originally Great  
806 Plains Indians, with hunter-gatherer lifestyles and diets based on natural foods. Growing  
807 conditions are challenging. Accessible food now is dominated by external food suppliers and  
808 highly processed foods, fast food outlets, etc.” (CPM).

809

810 *Loss of Place*

811           Relocation is at the root of many problems according to Food Dignity partners.  
812 Community members have experienced loss of place historically through the forced  
813 movement of Native American tribes onto reservations and African slaves to North America.  
814 They also experience relocation in their own lifetimes by moving to new communities,  
815 emigrating from their native countries, and incarceration. One participant, who expressed a  
816 strong wish to regain a sense of belonging, explains, “I grew up in South Brooklyn New York,

817 raised in the city projects. My mom was from Alabama and my father was an immigrant from  
818 Malaysia. People were always assuming I was Puerto Rican or Dominican, or something else”  
819 (PoC female CP, “I” Story).

820 FD participants also described losing a sense of place due to a change in social  
821 context, especially via a change in professional position. “As soon as my position shifted,”  
822 recounted one community partner, “it felt very different, very weird. I didn’t want to be seen  
823 as, ‘oh she’s the director now. She has power now”” (PoC female, Notes). One participant  
824 named this phenomenon a “third space” occupied by community leaders, who are between  
825 marginalization and power, between activist and sell-out.

826

### 827 *Degraded Community*

828 Participants describe the degradation of their communities in a variety of ways.  
829 Poverty and few economic opportunities were commonly cited as sources of problems. Many  
830 FD partners also depict their neighborhoods as abandoned and in states of disrepair. These  
831 factors lead to communities that are unsafe and lack stimulating options for children and  
832 youth. Several of these phenomena are encompassed in this portrayal of one community  
833 partner’s return home as an adult, “It was still a working-class community just with a lot less  
834 work. There’s less stuff for kids to do there, fewer safe, healthy and fun places for them to go.  
835 There are fewer small businesses in the area. There were more people living on the edge and  
836 more crime” (non-PoC male, “I” Story).

837

838 *Constrained Choice*

839            “It’s not the money or the help that is the concern or the problem. Other things you  
840 have to deal with in life that hinder you when you want to go forward. Sometimes things go  
841 so deep down you just can’t go forward” (PoC male CP, Notes). This remark speaks to the  
842 thematic concept within FD that individual choice is often limited by circumstances beyond  
843 an individual’s control. In this case, the speaker refers to a personal history of trauma and  
844 tragedy (one arguably tightly linked with and caused by historical trauma and systemic  
845 oppression). Said another way, “People cannot handle that continuous stream of tragedies”  
846 (PoC female CP, Notes). Under the Matters of Choice frame, participants also specifically cite  
847 historical trauma and systems that limit agency, creating “odds that you and I could not have  
848 conceived” (PoC female CP, “I” Story).

849

850 **FD Prognostic Frames**

851            Here I describe identified prognostic frames, those that answer my research question,  
852 “How do FD participants explain what needs to be done to address these problems?” Six  
853 emergent prognostic frames met my criteria for strength; each is outlined in Table 5.



854 **Table 5 Strong Prognostic Frames, answering the research question, “How do FD**  
 855 **participants explain what needs to be done to address these problems?”**

<b>Prognostic Frame</b>	<b>Strength</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
		“To address the problems identified above...”
Reclaiming Power	5 (all) LTOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- help local communities retake control of their food system.</li> <li>- recognize and develop leadership in communities.</li> <li>- connect communities with decision makers.</li> </ul>
Local Economy	4 LTOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- improve the local (food) economy and create jobs.</li> </ul>
Strong Community	4 LTOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- create a strong, socially connected, and safe community in which people are proud to live.</li> </ul>
Great Food	Frequency: 95  Commonality: 17 (TTP, 10 “I” Stories, 5 CPMs, Notes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- plant gardens.</li> <li>- (help people) grow food.</li> <li>- create change (e.g. build confidence, create social opportunities) through food.</li> <li>- grow the local food economy, including by providing infrastructure.</li> <li>- share food.</li> <li>- increase consumption of healthy foods.</li> <li>- provide education on healthy eating and growing food.</li> <li>- share local, community food and agricultural knowledge.</li> </ul>
Sustainable Organization	Frequency: 42  Commonality: 5 (4 CPMs, Notes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- build sustainable organizations - that represent community needs - with adequate funding streams, community support, strategic planning, infrastructure, capacity, successful programs, brand recognition, and staff support to attract, engage, and retain employees.</li> </ul>
Networks	Frequency: 31  Commonality: 5 (4 CPMs, Notes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- community members and organizations should build cross-sector relationships with peers, movement leaders, agencies, decision-makers, universities and local food businesses.</li> </ul>

856

857 *Reclaiming Power*

858 All five community partner organizations list reclaiming power, or helping community  
859 members reclaim power, as long-term outcomes (which I abbreviate as “LTO” for identifying  
860 the source of quotations) in their Collaborative Pathway Models (CPM). Inclusion in long-  
861 term outcomes is an indication that community organizations find reclaiming power to be  
862 important, and its ubiquity further speaks to its strength as a frame. Reclaiming Power  
863 appeared in three main forms: food sovereignty work, support for and development of  
864 community leaders, and connecting communities with decision makers. One example of this  
865 framing from each community partner’s CPM LTO is listed here:

- 866 • “Reclaiming, restoring, and developing food sovereignty on our reservation”
- 867 • “Enfranchising marginalized members of community”
- 868 • “Greater fulfillment of personal and leadership potential for youth and adults”
- 869 • “Increased involvement, voice, and power of previously marginalized, food insecure  
870 individuals and households”
- 871 • “Increased representation and power of underrepresented groups in local food system  
872 decision-making”

873

874 *Local Economy*

875 Increasing local economic opportunities in and outside of the food system was offered  
876 as a means for addressing the problems identified in Food Dignity in four of five CPM LTOs.  
877 One Local Economy long-term outcome from each of these four is below.

- 878 • “Increased economic vitality of Wind River Indian Reservation”
- 879 • “Viable, sustainable network of food-producing and supply-chain enterprises in
- 880 Alameda County”
- 881 • “Greater community-driven economic vitality”
- 882 • “Increased entrepreneurship and employment in food system for underrepresented
- 883 community members”

884 Perhaps offering a contradictory frame, one community partner organization did not speak to  
885 an improved economy in the sense of more businesses, greater employment, or production  
886 and supply. Instead, its CPM calls for a "Shift in community paradigm around sharing and  
887 giving the best.” While “sharing and giving” resources could be considered economic activity,  
888 this phrasing is itself a reframing of the conventional capitalistic and monetized concepts of  
889 economics in a North American context.

890

### 891 *Strong Community*

892 When it comes to prescribing a strong community to address social problems,  
893 participants value community features such as support for residence, social opportunities, and  
894 safety. Feelings and perceptions are also valued, however, as partners prioritize the need for  
895 people to feel pride in their communities. Together, these components of community strength  
896 are represented as long-term outcomes in four of the five CPMs:

- 897 • “Increased sense of community strength”
- 898 • “Sustainable, vibrant, healthy community in Alameda County”

- 899       • “East New York is a community people are proud of and enjoy living”  
900       • “Increased community connections, sense of belonging, worth and possibility”

901

902   *Great Food*

903           Although the Great Food frame was not used as a long-term outcome in all five CPMs,  
904 it was the most common of all prognostic frames when all data sources are considered. Its  
905 uses are also the most diverse (see Table 5) – all relating back to food being part of the  
906 solution needed to solve the problems that FD tries to address. The namesake of the Great  
907 Food frame provides a good example of its varied applications, “Most importantly, we’re  
908 making great food. To me that is great police work” (non-PoC male CP, “I” Story). For many,  
909 food offered a means by which to accomplish other social change goals. For instance, one  
910 community partner explained of a prisoner re-entry farm-training program, “For most of  
911 them, learning to farm was a piece of trying to change their lives” (non-PoC female AP, “I”  
912 Story). The Great Food frame can be divided into basic categories of eating food and growing  
913 food. Eating food was often discussed in FD as sharing or gaining access. Increasing food  
914 security, food sovereignty, access to healthy foods, and healthy food consumption were  
915 common outcomes on all five CPMs (but not always as long-term outcomes). Growing food  
916 was pervasively cited as a solution for addressing many different problems, including as a  
917 way of achieving other food-related long-term outcomes. As if in answer to the Loss of Place  
918 diagnostic framing, one community partner shared, “I needed roots so I planted a garden”  
919 (non-PoC female CP, “I” Story).

920

921 *Sustainable Organization*

922 Four of the five FD community partner organizations emphasized the importance of  
923 creating sustainable organizations<sup>6</sup>. Many things are required for a sustainable organization,  
924 according to participants, including adequate funding streams, community support, strategic  
925 planning, infrastructure, sufficient capacity, successful programs, brand recognition, and staff  
926 support to attract, engage, and retain employees. There is a focus throughout Sustainable  
927 Organization discussions on continuing to learn and improve, such as, “Increased knowledge  
928 of what works, what doesn't” (CPM). FD partners also stressed the importance of growing  
929 responsibly in the sense of being true to community needs and organizational mission.

930

931 *Networks*

932 Networking emerged as an important part of solutions work in terms of its ability to  
933 expand capacity through collaboration, transfer knowledge, and offer a sense of solidarity.  
934 Referring to an international conference she had attended, one partner remarked, “There are  
935 other parts of the world coping, who understand what I’m going through... The problems are  
936 so big, but so is the movement. You don’t feel alone” (PoC, Notes). Partners stressed the  
937 value in communicating and working with other nonprofits and businesses, as well as  
938 universities, agencies, and decision-makers. Connecting with individual community members  
939 was also important to participants, as evidence by this PM outcome, “WCP establishes  
940 relationships with individuals from priority communities interested in changing their role in

---

<sup>6</sup> The one community partner organization that did not include Sustainable Organization framing in its long-term outcomes was housed under a cooperative extension office, which by the end of the FD project was not supportive of its on-going existence.

941 the food system.” Similarly, part of the Networks frame relates to building community leaders  
942 through relationships, as in the PM outcome, “National leaders in grassroots food justice work  
943 make connections with local individuals interested in food system work.”

944

#### 945 **FD Motivational Frame**

946 Through my work with Food Dignity, including in the analyses of these texts, but  
947 especially my participation and observation, I came to understand only one motivational  
948 frame. Motivation frames tell us why it is important to address the problems identified.  
949 Although it is singular, it is overarching across all problems, diagnostic frames, and  
950 prognostic frames.

951

#### 952 *Recompense*

953 The Recompense frame used in FD explains that, because the current class of  
954 privileged people have benefited from generations of systematic and intentional oppression of  
955 others, it is now its duty to recompense the people who were marginalized for its gain.  
956 According to FD partners, almost every person is privileged in at least one way and  
957 disenfranchised in others. Food Dignity asks its partners to recognize the ways in which their  
958 privilege has resulted from the systemic oppression (not necessarily by that individual  
959 personally) of others and then to attempt to repay groups that have experienced that  
960 oppression. The Recompense theme was almost never used explicitly by FD partners, but  
961 rather appeared implicitly throughout diagnostic and prognostic speech. All explicit uses

962 occurred internally at FD team meetings, rather than in sources designed for public use  
963 (CPMs, websites, videos). This motivational frame manifested in various ways in the project.

964 “Before slavery African people had a strong connection to the land. That connection  
965 was broken on the backs of slaves in the plantations. The spirit of love for the land was turned  
966 into shame and pain, and many of us now reject the land instead of honoring our connection  
967 to it” (PoC male CP, “I” Story). Here the melding of the Relocation diagnostic frame and the  
968 Great Food prognostic frame combine to make an excellent case for the Recompense  
969 motivational frame. Because it was slavery that drove many of African descent away from the  
970 land, it is only fair that those who benefited from slavery (including all white people, whether  
971 directly as descendants and/or as beneficiaries of white privilege in US society overall) now  
972 support African American communities in restoring their own food sovereignty and food  
973 dignity. A very similar argument is made for Native Americans, whose food systems were  
974 destroyed as part of their forced relocation to reservations. In other words, our food system in  
975 the US has been built with stolen people on stolen land. As such, everyone who now benefits  
976 from unearned, differential distribution and accumulation of resources (even if their ancestors  
977 were not North American slave holders or pioneers) owes a debt to those who sacrificed/ were  
978 sacrificed to build it.

979 The need to reclaim indigenous and local knowledge also feeds the Recompense  
980 frame. For example, one partner shared her experience of feeling that her community’s  
981 knowledge was “stolen” by academics. She explained, “I don’t know how many times I’ve  
982 read articles of PhD folks, ‘look what we found out!’ Yeah, my mom told me that so many  
983 times... It hurts my soul and my heart that this is ‘new knowledge’ when it really isn’t. This is

984 a huge part of dignity, and Food Dignity. Reclaiming where this knowledge really comes  
 985 from. Need to say it, be explicit about it. Own it” (PoC, Notes).

986 On the other side of the depth of tragedy imbedded in the Recompense frame is the  
 987 enormous potential for progress if that tragedy is addressed. “None of the technical work will  
 988 matter or succeed without the healing,” observed a FD academic partner (non-PoC female,  
 989 Notes). One community partner has found some success in the Great Food prognostic frame.  
 990 As he explains, “For people to grow their own food. You can’t get any more dignity than that.  
 991 We’ve been robbed of it by supermarkets, food stamps. The most healing thing I’ve ever  
 992 seen.”

993

994 **Table 6 Motivational Frame, answering the research question, “How to FD participants**  
 995 **explain why it is important to address these problems.”**

<b>Motivational Frame</b>	<b>Strength</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Recompense	Frequency: 18  Commonality: 4 (Notes, 2 “I” Stories, 1 partner website)	“It is important to address the problems identified above because...”  - over generations some have been stripped of power, agency, and choice in order to create greater power and profit for others. It is therefore not charity for privileged people to serve marginalized people in their work, but only the partial repayment of an almost infinite debt.

996



997 **DISCUSSION**

998           The work of Cress & Snow (2000), McVeigh et al. (2004), and McCammon et  
999 al.(2007) suggests that effective framing is an influential part of building a successful social  
1000 movement. As such, identifying the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames used in  
1001 Food Dignity is an important step toward evaluating and ultimately improving the efficacy of  
1002 framing in the Food Justice Movement. McVeigh et al.’s (2004) work is only germane, in this  
1003 case, to establishing the value of framing. Cress & Snow (2000) and McCammon et al.  
1004 (McCammon et al., 2007) offer the only empirical work about the effectiveness of frames for  
1005 social change useful for comparison with those I have identified as being used in the Food  
1006 Dignity project.

1007

1008 **Summary of Results**

1009           My results indicate that FD partners aim to address problems that are prominently, but  
1010 not entirely, related to food. Only one of the five strong diagnostic frames that emerged was  
1011 directly related to food (Broken Food System), suggesting that participants largely attribute  
1012 food problems to underlying societal realities – limited resources, loss of place/ loss of sense  
1013 of belonging, degraded communities, and constrained choices. Similarly, prognostic frames  
1014 suggest addressing the identified problems through several methods that do not necessarily  
1015 involve food – reclaiming the power of marginalized people, (re)building local economies,  
1016 creating strong communities and sustainable organizations, and building relationship/  
1017 networks. “Great Food,” however, is a strong prognostic frame in its own right, reflected in 95

1018 quotations, and encompassing a broad range of subthemes from planting gardens to using  
1019 food as a catalyst for achieving other goals.

1020 Finally, I found that diagnostic and prognostic frames were much more common in  
1021 public FD sources (and the meeting notes from the final partners meeting) than motivational  
1022 frames. As discussed below, the hesitancy to publicly use the Recompense motivational frame  
1023 could reflect FD partners' awareness that it is a subject that cannot be presented lightly or out  
1024 of context.

1025

#### 1026 **SM Literature Applied to FD Frames**

1027 The single motivational frame that I identified, that of recompense, appears mainly  
1028 throughout the diagnostic and prognostic language used by FD partners, in that the source of  
1029 problems (diagnostic) and their solutions (prognostic) were largely systems-based. This may  
1030 mean there is opportunity for FD activists to more explicitly and frequently point to the idea  
1031 that it is time for privileged people to begin repaying the debt they owe as a result of these  
1032 oppressive systems. It may also be the case that FD partners are intentionally limiting their  
1033 explicit use of the Recompense frame if they see it as unlikely to be effective outside the long-  
1034 term relationships formed, for example, within their project.

1035 Cress & Snow (2000) found that articulate diagnostic framing that assigns blame for a  
1036 problem is a necessary condition for successful social movements. Food Dignity diagnostic  
1037 frames assign blame in general terms. These could be made more specific in assigning blame;  
1038 for example, combining the "food injustice" problem with the "Insufficient Resources"

1039 diagnostic frame. The frame that “our community suffers from food injustice because of a  
1040 lack of available resources” could become more specific with a message that “our community  
1041 suffers from food injustice because the privileged class has not yet recognized its  
1042 responsibility to support the people from whom it has historically extracted its privilege.”  
1043 This more direct assignment of blame to the privileged class, of course, also relates to the  
1044 Recompense motivational frame. Since so many potential supporters of the FJM do enjoy  
1045 privilege within the food system, however, it may be that assigning blame would actually  
1046 deflect more supporters than it would attract. It is possible that Cress & Snow’s findings only  
1047 apply to assigning blame when a relatively small group of people are “to blame.”

1048         McCammon et al.’s (2007) study offers additional potential guidelines for effective  
1049 frames. A directly transferable lesson may be that rebutting opposition frames could increase  
1050 the chance of Food Dignity’s success. For example, one opposition frame identified by a  
1051 community partner is that, instead of changes to the food system, food insecure people simply  
1052 need more donated food. She summarized by saying, “The City would have you think, ‘We’re  
1053 okay, Walmart’s donating food.’” According to McCammon et al., direct rebuttals explaining  
1054 why donations from Walmart are insufficient may increase FD’s outcome success rate. Again,  
1055 though, the applicability of this finding is best determined by FD partners themselves.

1056         Finally, previous research suggests that disruptive events in society provide  
1057 opportunities for social change and that including frames related to the disruption will  
1058 increase a movement’s chances for success. For example, FD community partner  
1059 organizations are improving neighborhood safety outside of traditional policing, and this work

1060 could be framed more explicitly as a solution to issues of rising discontent with relationships  
1061 between police departments and black communities.

1062           Although Sbicca (2012, p. 463) did not conduct an evaluative study of FJM frames, he  
1063 does suggest that effective frames should “resonate among Food Justice activists” to be  
1064 consistent with the values of the movement. As evidenced by the provided categories of  
1065 speakers, initial data from my study suggests that the strongest frames in FD are dominantly  
1066 used by community, rather than academic, partners and that they are used across races and  
1067 genders. This trend indicates that FD frames not only resonate with, but are generated (within  
1068 the project – not necessarily for the world at large) by FJ activists. It is also clear from the  
1069 language that composes FD framing that several speakers have and do themselves  
1070 experience(d) food injustice. These facts point to the possibility that the Food Dignity project  
1071 succeeds, at least in part, in amplifying the voices of people who must be heard if the FJM is  
1072 to overcome the downfalls of the Community Food Security movement.

1073           As discussed above, FD project leaders have made extraordinary and cutting-edge  
1074 efforts to rely on community partners as leaders for both action and knowledge. If they have  
1075 found success in this undertaking, the project offers an unusually good case to examine how  
1076 the people most affected by food injustice can best lead food justice SMOs and thus the FJM.  
1077 An investigation of these questions may help address Sbicca’s call for way of developing  
1078 diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational “premised on an open understanding of FJ that are  
1079 then integrated into movement-building efforts” (Sbicca, 2012, p. 464). Further studies should  
1080 then focus on understanding the impact of Food Dignity’s framing approaches on achieving

1081 food justice. Findings may have important implications for best practices in the FJM as well  
1082 as our comprehension of effective frames for resource mobilization in social theory.

1083

#### 1084 **Limitations & Opportunities for Future Studies**

1085 I intentionally limited the non-public data included in my analysis to that which was  
1086 generated in my presence (e.g. meeting notes from the New Orleans meeting). This approach  
1087 allowed for optimal triangulation with my participation and observation work. Nevertheless,  
1088 Food Dignity offers five additional years of discussions that could be incorporated into future  
1089 examinations in order to generate a more complete set of frames.

1090 Beyond the matters of how FD partners frame the reasons for, solutions to, and  
1091 motivations for addressing the problems that drives their work, questions for further study  
1092 remain, especially the impact of the FD frames identified here on generating desired social  
1093 change. McCammon et al. (2007) have established a particularly useful method for such  
1094 analysis that could be employed in future research.

1095

#### 1096 **Conclusion**

1097 Effective framing is necessary for SMOs to achieve their desired outcomes. Food  
1098 Dignity community partners, which constitute SMOs, consistently utilize several strong  
1099 diagnostic and prognostic frames. They employ one thematic motivational frame,  
1100 Recompense, though more “in house” among project partners. Past empirical work on  
1101 effective SM framing suggests that FD partners may have room to use more direct

1102 motivational frames publicly, to rebut opposing frames more explicitly, and possibly to point  
1103 more specifically to those who are complicit in the problems they identify. However, whether  
1104 these lessons from other contexts apply within the FJM is unknown. It may also be useful for  
1105 Food Dignity partners to consider how to make their Recompense frame effective with a  
1106 wider audience. In addition, my analysis indicates that the FD project has effectively  
1107 integrated the voices of FJ activists in its framing processes, at least to some degree. The FJM  
1108 may benefit from a more chronologically complete examination of FD and certainly one that  
1109 includes an empirical evaluation of resulting frames.

1110 I still do not (and likely never will) fully understand the Food Dignity project, but my  
1111 conception of the work goes far deeper now than it did eight months ago, confronted by a beer  
1112 and a pork rind in the Bourbon Orleans Hotel. I understand that, at the root of all the problems  
1113 identified by FD partners, is the problem of a society built on oppressive systems. For many  
1114 in the project, part of creating just systems begins with food, although that is only part of the  
1115 solution. To quote the wisdom in one FD “I” Story, “the work is ultimately about dignity.”

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