

THE LANE COUNTY FOOD POLICY COUNCIL AND RE-FRAMING FOOD
SECURITY

by

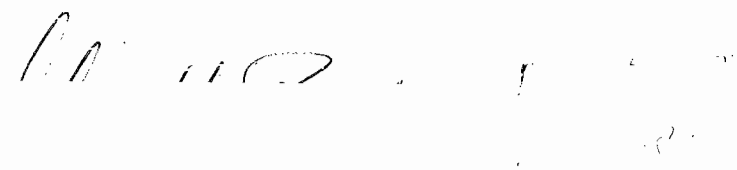
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A THESIS

Presented to Department of Political Science
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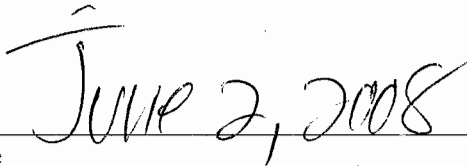
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“The Lane County Food Policy Council and Re-framing Food Security,” a thesis prepared by Kara C. Smith in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Science degree in the Department of Political Science. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:



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This study centers on contentions within the U.S. food system. The policy conflict arises between the conventional food system and emerging issues of local food security. The framework of the conventional food system is contested by groups claiming that individual food security would increase if our food system were re-localized and facilitated by a food policy council of local food system stakeholders. Following Benford and Snow (2000), this study investigates the political, cultural and historical contexts of Lane County, Oregon's food system and assesses how food security is re-framed at the local level as community food security. Drawing upon the concepts of "core framing tasks" and discursive and strategic processes, this study illustrates how the flexibility of the community food security frame enables the rebuilding of the local food system, borrowing systems thinking from local watershed councils. Drawing on systems thinking enables a variety of combinable and re-combinable relationships among stakeholders from the diversity of food systems, such as the conventional, sustainable, alternative and emergency food systems.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. REVIEW OF THE COMMUNITY FOOD SECURITY LITERATURE	2
III. SOCIAL MOVEMENT FRAMING THEORY	7
IV. EMPIRICAL RESEARCH	12
Methodology	12
The Historical Foundations of Food and Farming, Locally and Nationally	14
In the Beginning.....	14
School Lunch Food for Security and the Closing of the Market	22
Counterculture and the “Great Society”	26
De-linking of Food and Farming Security Frame	31
Emergence of Emergency Feeding	34
The First National Food Security Policy Frame for Hunger	40
World Food Security and the Consolidation of the National Food and Farming Infrastructure	45
Historical Food and Farming Context	52
Community Food Security in Lane County-Diagnostic Framing and Discursive Processes	57
County-Wide Food Planning Summit and Prognostic Framing	69
Food Policy Council Work Group and Motivational Framing	79

Chapter	Page
V. CONCLUSIONS	94
APPENDICES	
A. FOOD FORUM FLIERS	110
B. LETTER TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS	112
C. LANE COUNTY FOOD POLICY COUNCIL WHITE PAPERS	115
REFERENCES	124

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1.1: Food system issues raised in Lane County communities	65
2.1: Ideal local food system stakeholders	70

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Beginning with the Knoxville Food Policy Council in 1982, citizen-initiated food policy councils have emerged in over 50 U.S. cities and counties. These councils vary in organizational structure from non-profits and citizen advisory boards to a few that have become new branches of city government alongside institutions of transportation, housing and waste disposal. Most importantly, as a new mode of social movement, these councils are not only seeking to fill a perceived void in city, county and state government, but are also attempting to re-frame the concept of food security and hunger at a community level as opposed to a traditional focus on individual and household food needs. This not only includes meeting the caloric food needs of poor and low-income people, but also assessing and proposing ways to improve the local food system in terms of access, education, and production, while addressing the economic vitality and agricultural capacity of the community in a socially and environmentally sustainable way. As such, community food security has come to be defined as “a condition wherein everyone has a safe, culturally acceptable, nutritious diet through a sustainable food system that maximizes community self-reliance and social justice” (Bellows and Hamm 2002). This study investigates a local food policy council as a strategic and organizational vehicle in re-framing food security. Drawing upon Benford and Snow's (1988, 2000) concept of frames and framing processes, this research examines the resonant features and core framing tasks of the community food security frame within historical socio-cultural and political contexts, and the discursive and strategic frame alignment processes of creating a food policy council in Lane County, Oregon.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE COMMUNITY FOOD SECURITY LITERATURE

The theme of community food security or localized food systems has been gaining momentum since the early 90's, appearing in works on urban policy and planning, environmental studies, political economy, education, nutrition, rural development, sociology and welfare studies. This abundance and diversity has spawned debates on what this new theme represents conceptually, and how this growing phenomenon can contribute to a greater understanding of the dynamics of social movements and their relationship to policy outcomes. It has been purported that community food security activists refer to re-localizing food systems as a movement (Fisher 1997; Ahn 2004; FFLC "Organizing a Food Summit" 2004), however their tactics, strategies and omission from protest depart from traditional social movement practices, obscured from media and direct political contention. This is a quiet, sometimes even personal movement, facilitating partnerships across diverse food systems stakeholders, various sectors of society and government, as well as reintroducing the idea that eaters have a stake in food and farming policy. Moreover, their atypical character is offset by the continual formation and re-formation of alliances and "densely-knit networks that combine everyday resistance, state agencies and oppositional practices to influence policy processes and outcomes" (Campbell 2004, 379). This aspect of the movement has produced an unclear conceptual description, to the extent that it has been referred to as the alternative food movement (Allen 2003), local food system movement, emergency food movement (Campbell 2004), eat local movement, food justice movement (Werkle 2004) or community food security movement (Fisher 1997; Bellows and Hamm 2002), all emerging from felt and perceived tensions and conflict with the conventional, global food system, and for these purposes, the U.S. food system.

Among this struggle for a consistent conceptual definition of these alternatives to the conventional food system, Marcia Campbell asserts that there are at least five groups or systems in tension with each other in what she calls the alternative food systems realm, as well as between the alternative systems and the conventional food system, the emergency food

movement and consumers within the global industrialized food system (Campbell 2004). The reasoning behind this delineation for Campbell, is to identify the “multiple overlapping interests and goals that can be used as the foundation for coalition building” among alternative food systems proponents (Campbell 2004, 352). Most poignantly, her study alerts attention to the presence of multiple systems at work, and the lack of a central frame among the proponents for an alternative to the conventional food system. Anderson and Cook also argue there is little agreement on what community food security (CFS) looks like, or how to measure or define 'community' or even 'local'. For them, a viable theory on community food security is lacking, and without it “little progress is likely to be made toward understanding what CFS is, how it can be measured, or how policies help or hinder its emergence” (Anderson and Cook 1999, 485).

A substantial number of works on re-localizing food systems revolve around mitigating between the global industrialized food system and the local alternative food system as the central point of contention (Koc and Dahlberg 1999; Allen et al. 2003; MacRae 1999; Renting, Marsden and Banks 2003). It has been put forth that most of these food systems proponents “frame their engagement as opposing the global by reconstructing the local” (Allen et al. 2003, 61). Questioning the degree alternative food initiatives efforts are “limited to incremental erosion at the edges of the political-economic structures that currently exist”, Allen and colleagues probe how the local might have conflicting meanings in the long term for this pursuit, particularly in terms of social justice, environmental sustainability and the economic vitality of local communities, which many alternative food initiatives purport as goals. (Allen et al. 2003, 61). For example, once concerned with the health effects of pesticide use and the effects on farmworkers in the early 70's among alternative food organizations in California, the concern has disappeared among the organizations present there today, whose focus has shifted to urban issues of food access. This shifting of social justice issues and the historical and local contexts in which it occurs “may be obscured by the universalizations of the local as a site of resistance” for an alternative movement to industrial global agriculture. For some critics, attempts at re-localization contain the weighty potential of being “too rooted in locality and self-interest to engage in resistance to globalization” (Campbell 2004, 346), which might signal an axis of tension for the broad claims of the movement as a whole.

Aside from global-local cleavages, tensions between rural and urban areas have also been noted. For example, both Browne and Allen examine the broad effects of food and agricultural policy, yet couched together under the same policy institutions and prescriptions (such as the Farm Bill) is problematic for both urban and rural areas. Browne suggests that agricultural

policy and food policy are two different policy areas, and framed together has adverse effects on rural communities. Rural welfare and development policy addressed through agricultural policy also assumes either that all rural residents are involved in farming, or that what is good for farmers is good for all rural residents (Browne 2001). On the other hand, the population has continuously shifted from predominately rural to urban centers over the last five decades. To this effect, Pothukuchi and Kaufman assert that food issues are generally framed as agricultural issues grounded in rural settings, and urban areas are taken as unaffected by USDA farm and food policies. The urban food system is less visible than other systems such as housing or transportation, they argue, because of the historical processes by which issues came to be framed as urban or rural, and the persistent separation of the two. However, urban issues such as land use, economic development, health and welfare are interrelated to the situation and consequences of food and agriculture, which is typically isolated and insulated from urban concerns in public policy (Pothukuchi and Kaufman 1999).

For Renting and colleagues, consumer (mainly urban) resistance to global industrialized food can provide unique outlets to mitigate the urban-rural tension, pointing to new routes for rural farming development. With a focus on alternative food supply chains, they call attention to the emerging links between rural producers and urban consumers through alternatives like community supported agriculture networks (CSA's), where consumers are sometimes referred to as co-producers, partially assuming the risks of food production on small-sized farms. These new linkages are also a result of consumer pressure for distinctive regional and quality food products, and the re-linking of relationships between those who are directly involved in producing, processing and consuming food products (Renting, Marsden, and Banks 2003). The importance of individual choice and preferences in social movement framing adds an additional element in the complexities of the creation of a collective action frame, fostering conscious and deliberate consumers to begin asking-Where does my food come from? Is that knowledge important? and thus voting with their food dollars.

Additionally, some aspects of the community or local food security movement center on environmental tensions and conflicts with the conventional food system. These tensions include organic and sustainably-oriented farming practices over intensive agrochemical use, and an emphasis on the preservation of biodiversity rather than large-scale mono-cultures in food production. Local food systems writer and advocate Michael Pollan has put forth that one measure of efficiency that is often overlooked is resiliency, in which diversity is key. This entails having as many diversified sources of food and food producers with the ability to absorb

shocks to the food system (Pollan 2007). Many alternative food and farming organizations also hone in on internalizing the costs associated with farming practices versus the conventional food system's externalized costs such as non-point source water pollution and soil degradation from intensive application of pesticides and herbicides, and the conventional food system's reliance on taxpayer subsidies. Lastly, other critiques focus on the high energy costs of the conventional food system's dependence on nonrenewable energy sources (petrochemicals and heavy, large-scale farm machinery), as well as carbon emissions from long-distance food transportation (often measured in food miles) and its impacts on global warming and climate change (Foster and Magdoff 2000). Further linking the present food system's reliance on petroleum with national security and emergency planning, the international coordinator of World Hunger Year remarks, "We must begin thinking seriously about 'food miles'. In our present food system, the food we eat travels on average about 1300 miles. This makes our food system tremendously vulnerable in the field, in storage, or in transit. We get a foretaste of this threat when an area is afflicted by natural disasters such as floods, droughts, or hurricanes. In the changed world after September 11, that kind of threat can touch all of us" (Mann 2003, 1).

Finally, many articles related to the local or community food security movement point to the adverse health, nutrition and hunger problems inherent in the conventional food system. A significant portion of the articles also focus on who is marginalized by the conventional food system (Fisher 1997; Werkle 2004; Allen et al. 2003; Ahn 2004) by racial or class biases, such as the inaccessibility and absence of supermarkets in low-income and ethnic urban areas. Many marginalized urban people are charged higher grocery prices in supermarkets that do exist in the city than their suburban counterparts due to lack of competition, or they resort to feeding themselves through convenience store fast foods (Fisher 1997).

This aspect raises the issue of food justice (Werkle 2004), nourishment, and equity in food access that is subordinated to the economic issues of agriculture, in particular market opportunities, technology and global competitiveness. "In essence", MacRae claims, "we have inherited a food system that responds to international competitiveness over consumer health" (MacRae 1999, 188). What is additionally subordinated with both the historical development of agriculture and the marketplace, and the policy climate in which national agriculture is discussed, is adequate consumer knowledge of the nutritional value of the foods they eat, the costs of quality foods to low-income citizens, and the general overall health and diet of the population. In terms of nutrition, over 70% of the most prevalent preventable diseases are food and diet related illnesses including diabetes, hypertension and cancer (Fisher 1997; MacRae 1999). In 2003,

“nearly two-thirds of Americans were overweight...our food system has created a condition where 'obesity is now a greater threat to the health and well-being of America's poor than hunger” (Ahn 2004, 1). Hunger and food insecurity (when an individual has limited or uncertain access to nutritious, safe and culturally appropriate foods necessary to lead a healthy lifestyle) was experienced by more than 35 million people in 2005 (USDA, ERS, "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security", 2007). Of the hungry and food insecure, only half of those eligible receive support from federal food programs for various reasons (such as immigration status or income level), leaving emergency feeding systems (food banks, food pantries and soup kitchens) overstretched, inadequate and unsustainable, while those in need become dependent on emergency sources (Food Security Learning Center 2007).

All of these works, in one form or another, point to complexities and problems in how the local and community food security movement, including local food policy councils confront the present food system and food justice. Few have examined this problem in terms of how these advocates frame community food security, and the frame's resonance with constituents, participating organizations and targets of policy change. Less have explored the discursive and strategic processes of re-framing food security, and the interplay between framing or meaning construction and historical political and cultural contexts that influence framing. How we make sense of a complex reality involving varying tiers of food and agricultural policy, identifying what the problems are, and how we go about identifying potential solutions is posed as no small task in an area as easily taken for granted as food. As evidenced in the emerging literature, there is a multi-faceted and complex concern brewing on this movement's identification of the food system's problems, causes and proposed solutions for action. To this end, the multiple processes of framing and re-framing issues, and the role it plays in social movements intended to make policy changes warrant further examination in an area that is as simple, and at the same time as complex as food. In terms of analysis, how are we to make sense of the factors and processes that account for the ways in which food security is framed at the community level as a competing frame to the conventional food system that currently exists? From the standpoint of how issues are framed, can we assess citizen initiated Food Policy Councils as successful mechanisms to facilitate the re-framing process, and thus gain a better understanding of framing and its relationship to social movements and policy change?

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL MOVEMENT FRAMING THEORY

The predominance of rational choice, resource mobilization and political opportunity structure in the literature of the 1980's replaced the importance of beliefs, values and culture in explaining social movement dimensions. This led some social movement scholars to turn to social psychology and the meaning construction processes in untangling what motivates individuals and groups to question and surmount challenges to the status quo (Benford and Snow 1992, 2000; Gamson 1992; Tarrow 1998; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996). A burgeoning literature emerged among the social constructionists in examining the processes that underlie identity formation, discourse and meaning construction, as well as viewing movement actors as agents "actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers" (Benford and Snow 2000). Within this turn, some scholars began to devote considerable attention to the concept of framing and frame analysis as strategic processes connecting meaning construction with action for social movement organizations. Drawing upon Goffman's concept of frames as "schemata of interpretation that enable people to attribute meaning to events and organize experience", sociologists Benford and Snow conceptualized and honed in on framing processes. For these scholars, a frame signifies "interpretive schemata that simplifies the world out there by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment" (Benford and Snow 1992, 137). Building upon this conceptualization, framing they argue,

denotes an active , processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction. It is active in the sense that something is being done, and processual in the sense of a dynamic evolving process. It entails agency in the sense that what is evolving is the work of social movement organizations or movement activists. And it is contentious in the sense that it involves the generation of interpretive frames that not only differ from existing ones, but that may also challenge them (Benford and Snow 2000, 614)

Since the emergence of framing as an analytical tool to explain “the generation, diffusion and functionality of mobilizing and countermobilizing ideas and meanings”(Benford and Snow 2000, 615) a plethora of studies have followed on framing dynamics and processes. Various studies include analysis of labor (Voss 1992), the women's movement (Hewitt and McCammon 2005), environmental justice (Laws and Rein 2003), the civil rights movement (Tarrow, 1998) and peace movements (Benford 1993). In the policy realm, Gamson (1992) paid significant attention to the role of perceived injustices and the construction of frames for political or social change, while Tarrow's work on cycles of protest placed framing as the interactive process between the cultural symbols drawn upon by movement entrepreneurs, and their cultural meanings to the groups they wished to motivate to action (Tarrow 1998). Rein and Schon examine conflicts and shifts in the framing of policy issues and how they might adapt over time to changing situations and circumstances (Rein and Schon 1993). Lastly, Ingram and Ingram add the importance of the organics movement's symbolic use of the 'rights' master frame to mobilize individual consumers in the public comment period on the creation of USDA Organic certification standards (Ingram and Ingram 2005).

In a comprehensive overview of framing in the social movement literature, Benford and Snow (2000) assess and synthesize framing tasks, variable features, and framing processes in their relation to the character and course of social movements. The outcome of this synthesis delineates three core framing tasks. These tasks include diagnostic framing (the identification of a problem and its cause or source of blame), prognostic framing (proposed or articulated solutions to the problem), and motivational framing (constructing rationales/vocabularies for directing action to problems). Benford and Snow's three framing tasks also parallel with Rein and Schön's underlying components of framing—the naming of the policy terrain, whereby naming the issue creates an organizational conceptualization of the problem, ways to act on it, and a framework to collect and analyze data. Sometimes the name given to the problem “selects different, at best overlapping, phenomena for attention”, occasionally neglecting other related aspects of the problem (Rein and Schön 1993, 153-154). Although identification of the problem is often easily made, Benford and Snow caution, “ consensus regarding the source of the problem does not follow automatically from agreement regarding the nature of the problem” (Benford and Snow 2000, 616). Additionally, conflict in identifying the problem's source can constrain prognostic framing, or the range of possible solutions, especially when this must be made among many different organizations with similar goals, and between counter-movement organizations. Lastly, feedback loops can emerge between the motivational framing or agency tasks and the

diagnostic and prognostic tasks. For example, “vocabularies of motive” to compel and provide a rationale for acting can contradict or obfuscate the identified problem, or lead to diminished efficacy among framing articulators (Benford and Snow 2000). This might point to the resonance of the frame, including its credibility, salience, and centrality to its potential constituent's lives and everyday experiences, and if the frame's concepts resonate with dominant cultural narratives and myths.

Elaboration of variable features of frames have led to studies on how different social movement organizations identify the same problem, or how a single movement over time frames issues for mobilization potential. Empirical attention can center on the flexibility or rigidity of a frame, or the degree of variation in the frame's interpretive scope, whereby established or broad frames can become “master frames” that then go on “to color and constrain the orientations and activities of other movements” (Benford and Snow 2000, 618). Rein and Schön add the concept of hitching-on in the naming of the policy terrain, when frame articulators draw upon master frames, such as the rights master frame, to make goals more realizable, and perhaps “to purchase legitimacy for a course of action actually inspired by different intentions” (Rein and Schön 1993, 151). As an illustration, Laws and Rein argue that the environmental justice frame hitched on to the frame of civil rights combined with “the inability of established scientific practices to stabilize doubt” regarding the adverse health effects that occurred from locating schools and neighborhoods on, or near hazardous waste sites, such as in Love Canal, New York (Laws and Rein 2003, 175).

Aside from core framing tasks and features, Benford and Snow emphasize overlapping processes that can facilitate or inhibit the creation of shared or negotiated meanings that frames are a product of. These processes delineate how framing work often include both discursive and strategic processes, in addition to attending to the core framing tasks. The ways in which events and experiences are aligned, interpreted, creatively highlighted and then communicated provide an entry point into the discursive dynamics and evolution of frames. The specific, goal-oriented ways in which frames are developed by linking interests and interpretations of issues with other organizations or potential constituents embody strategic or “frame alignment processes”. Other strategic processes might also involve “the linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue,” or by aligning movement beliefs and values with the core values of the dominant culture. Sometimes this generates new meanings of conventional understandings through “frame transformation” (Benford and Snow 2000).

Although frame resonance touches upon the cultural stock that movements draw upon, cultural contexts in which framing activities occur can both constrain and facilitate framing processes (Benford and Snow 2000; Tarrow 1998; Whittier 2002). The external cultural context, including beliefs, values, ideologies, language, perceptions-what counts as common sense, tastes, and habits can act as a resource to be drawn upon, as well as constrain what is culturally acceptable or permissible. Framing is about constructing new meanings and discourse, and culture can inhibit or “help form, sustain and give identity to social movements” (Williams 2004, 94). Drawing upon Jasper's work, Benford and Snow forward that not only can culture shape framing processes, but also political opportunities that movements perceive and draw upon also affect framing work (Benford and Snow 2000). The political structures, and discourses that support those structures can shift and create openings where new frames are more permissible than in other circumstances, and social movement framing activities can also influence the openness of political structures and the discourse they depend upon. Combining framing work “with a similarly complex understanding of states and political processes”, can illuminate the interplay between movements' internal dynamics and the movements' external contexts. “Little analysis has focused on this interaction of movements with dominant cultural contexts and external political opportunities” according to Whittier (Whittier 2002, 290).

This conceptual criterion of core framing tasks, variable features and discursive and strategic alignment processes, as an analytic tool, situates frames and framing activities that movement actors utilize in a position for more detailed investigation. While frames and framing processes have been highly elaborated by various authors, of particular importance in the investigation of the community food security frame, is illuminating the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational tasks, the frame's resonance, and the overlap of discursive and strategic processes with a consideration of the interplay between the external cultural and political contexts in which they are a part of. The inability of scholars to settle on an agreed upon framework for understanding the emerging phenomena of community food security and the lacuna in policy analysis situated around the framing work of grassroots policy organizations, raises questions about how the actors or agents involved in these food movement networks and organizations, themselves make sense of the ways in which food security and food and farm policy is framed and re-framed. There are also questions of the effect history and shifting tiers of policy and cultural institutions have on how people perceive problems over time and through changing situations. This study takes on this task, with a historical overview of food and farming in Lane County, Oregon. It also makes note of the changes in the various tiers of policy

(local and national policy), for no location exists in isolation. It is embedded in natural, political and social layers that change and adapt over time, shaping how actors come to perceive their situations, articulate problems and press for solutions.

CHAPTER IV

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Methodology

Through the narrative of the Love Canal, Laws and Rein argue that the processes involved in framing function as a narrative or story that provide its structure as the problem area develops over time. Like Gamson asserts, frames are “outcomes of negotiating shared meaning”, where interpretation plays an integral part in understanding the characteristics of policy frames (Laws and Rein 2005). Taking into account analysis that includes the 'concrete experience of situated people', an interpretive and historical narrative is used to guide the investigation into the local framing of community food security and localized food systems work. This approach focuses on relationships among systems (local, state and national policy and food system infrastructures) and among networks of people, drawing on the dimensions of shared and negotiated meanings based on what people believe and articulate, and what occurs in local contexts over time. This blends rather well with what Rein and Schön propose in untangling the processes of framing and re-framing, and in examining what people know and believe to be true based on relationships, experiences and their interactions with one another, among political and cultural institutions and the physical environment.

The movement culture, including internal dimensions, structure and meaning construction, is the unit of analysis in this study. “The norms, beliefs, symbols, identities, stories that produce solidarity and motivate participants” as well as the “emergence and articulation of grievances and the dynamics of recruitment and mobilization” will be highlighted and explored (Williams 2004, 94). From this investigation, a better understanding of the challenges that confront organizers, and the ways in which their articulated claims or grievances develop to foster social change through framing is gained. Additionally, this study aims to illuminate how both political and cultural external contexts interact to shape movement framing processes.

In order to investigate the developments of a competing frame on food security from a bottom-up grassroots perspective, and how local knowledge is applied in the re-framing of the food and farming policy area, I have participated in Lane County's local food security discourse

as an intern with the Lane County Food Policy Council, a year after its formal inception. I have also participated in alternative food system projects and activities as a student in the University of Oregon's Urban Farm, as an employee of a number of restaurants and retailers that promote and use local foods and as a volunteer in various community gardens projects and local food gleaning for environmental activists. My analysis is also enhanced with in-depth, open-ended formal and informal interviews with Lane County professionals in the different sectors of food production, processing, distribution and retail, and local food systems advocacy. Many of those interviewed also participate or have participated in the community food security, anti-hunger or sustainable agriculture movements, and have been involved in their area specialization around food for more than ten years. Some were also selected based on snowball sampling techniques. These views are used for text data and to provide a picture of beliefs, knowledge, practices and perspectives on food and farming in Lane County.

My research also draws on primary documents such as the Lane County Food Policy Council's materials, resources and documents (e.g. tool kits, meeting minutes and internal reports), web pages and documents from other organizations associated with the council. Since this analysis is also interspersed with national policy and history, I also draw on federal government documents, agency websites and census statistics. For the sake of validity, I also draw on other secondary local and national historical texts.

Following is a history of Lane County in regards to food and farming interspersed with federal food and farming policy changes occurring at the same time. Excerpts from interviews conducted will mitigate between the historical and the present leading to insights on the formation of ideas and objectives on re-localizing food sources and framing community food security through local community food forums and action groups, the County-wide Food Summit, and the Food Policy Council work group and design team. Finally, the process of forming the Lane County Food Policy Council, the organizations involved in its inception and the framing work leading to its official existence will be presented. From here, an evaluation of core framing tasks, frame resonance and the processes involved in framing community food security and how it contributes to the movement will be assessed. Additionally it is hoped that this analysis, combined with the local historical background of food and farming will play a role in advancing the Lane County Food Policy Council's interests for future funding, or serve as a reflexive point in further framing community food security.

The Historical Foundations of Food and Farming, Locally and Nationally

In the Beginning

Like many places in the Northwest, Lane County has a unique history of enduring pioneers and homesteaders, relying on self-sufficiency for most of their needs, while readily acclimating to a new natural environment. In 1847, pioneers Bristow, Scott, Dodson and Skinner staked claims in the southern end of the Willamette Valley near present day Eugene, Creswell and Pleasant Hill. The following year, Skinner moved his family into a cabin on the claim, and advertised the lush natural beauty and abundant fertility of the region to newcomers. Many of the initial pioneers had success at farming in the region, planting wheat, cultivating fruit orchards, and raising livestock. Since most of the northern valley region was already inhabited, it didn't take long before the southern end began to fill in, with the mild weather and long growing seasons that made the county an attractive place to reside (Bettis 1969).

Four years after Skinner and friends made their claims in the Willamette Valley, Lane County was officially established on January 29, 1851. The County was named after the first appointed territorial governor Joseph Lane, a frontier hero from Indiana. President Polk appointed Lane after the official creation of the territory in 1848. However, at the time, the legislature failed to designate a county seat. It wasn't until the 1853 election that it was put to a vote, with four sites competing for the designation. Both Skinner's and neighbor Mulligan's claims won, where downtown Eugene is located today (Oregon Blue Book 2007). Later that summer, both Skinner and Mulligan donated 40 acres each to the county. Present day 8th avenue was sectioned off for a public park and county buildings, and the remainder of the area was sold off in smaller plots to raise money for the county (Bettis 1969). The Lane County government at that time consisted of a county judge, three commissioners, an assessor, a treasurer, and a sheriff.

By the mid 1860's the primary urban area was Eugene, with a population of approximately 800 inhabitants. Due to the prime climate and soil, wheat, barley, potatoes and fruits became the first major commercial crops, but most farming families still grew for their own consumption. With very poor road conditions to Portland from heavy mud during the rainy seasons and dust in the summers, transportation limitations severely hampered commercial outlets for farmers. The river allowed for some types of ferry transport beginning in 1856, but the freight rates were so high, that the meager profit discouraged the effort (Bettis 1969). Many local producers anticipated that their hopes were answered when in 1866, the U.S. Congress authorized the construction of a railroad from Portland to California, just after the Civil War. Oregon received a large land grant, which it awarded to the Oregon and California Company.

The state gave the company alternating square miles up the valley as payment, which was strictly to be sold to settlers in 160 acre plots at no more than \$2.50 per acre in hopes to encourage further settlement (Meacham et al. 1990; Oregon Heritage Forests 2007). Although the company, in violation of the agreement, kept the lands for harvesting and selling timber, the railroads contributed to rapid growth in the region's population and in the export of wheat, and more importantly timber. The Willamette Valley abuts one of the nation's most productive forests, covering nearly 90% of the county.

Once again, just as the ferry dream burst thirty years prior, freight rates on the railroad soared, making commodity farmer's efforts economically infeasible. The situation sparked interest in Lane County farmer collaboration, which would be a mainstay characteristic for the following century. In 1873 there were six active granges in the county and 175 in Oregon by 1874, formed to confront and press for state legislation to break up the transportation monopolies and to regulate the railroads and warehouses. The grange's membership rapidly declined by 1881 as their hopes soon waned after defeat. This state of affairs, combined with the uneconomical inaccessibility of the region continued to characterize the county as a self-sufficient agrarian culture. Without affordable outlets for grown commodities farmers continued to orient themselves for local production (Rarick 1962; Bettis 1969). In 1884, historian A.G. Walling illustrated the productivity and diversity of the region's food capabilities;

Under cultivation they [the soil] are quick, light and friable, yielding astonishing crops of hay, hops, grain, fruits and vegetables for a series of years without manure and with only indifferent ploughing...Wheat is the staple agricultural product of the entire county, its superior quality having made it famous in the grain markets of the world. The berry is full and heavy, often exceeding by five to nine pounds the standard weight of the bushel...potatoes, onions, cabbages, turnips, squashes, beets, carrots, parsnips, cucumbers, and celery grow to a large size. Melons and tomatoes also do well. Fruits of delicious aroma and flavor and of a remarkable size and beauty are grown, especially apples, pears, apricots, quinces, plums, prunes and cherries, and their culture must prove a source of great profit...Strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, gooseberries and currants of large size and fine flavor are also abundant, the first being often ripe by the first of May. The business of drying and preserving fruits might be expanded indefinitely. Cows and Sheep and wheat seemed to be the most prominent of crops -A.G. Walling *Illustrated History of Lane County* 1884, 470-471

For many years to follow diversity continued to characterize the region. Walling himself, noted "Lane County offers a field of more varied industry than any other of the Western Oregon counties. The grain farmer, the stock raiser, the wool grower, the hop grower, the lumberman,

the dairyman and a score of others find the conditions of their various occupations at hand” (Walling 1884, 310), and predicted unlimited sustainable growth for years to come.

With the arrival of the telephone in 1884, many housewives began shopping by phone with county farmers who drove to town with peddle wagons. Going door-to-door with fresh seafood, Newman started his mobile fish market in 1890, along with many other producers of vegetable and fruit crops, as well as eggs and meat (Bettis 1969). At the time this was the most profitable outlet for many of the local producers. Some farmers sold to grocers, but with this option, most of the profit was made between the grocer and the buyer. By the early 20th century, the Lane County Fruit and Vegetable Growers Association was founded as a cooperative effort among area growers to expand their market beyond the local population. They shipped out fruit and vegetable surpluses from a small warehouse on Oak street, raising over \$15,000, enabling the association to purchase a cannery at the foot of the Ferry Street bridge. Although this early attempt at value added processing by the farmers was initiated, “many local farmers sold their produce at low wholesale prices to local markets. The markets resold the produce at high retail prices. The result was that the farmers made so little from produce raised for local sale that such production wasn't economical. And the townspeople paid higher prices for food than was really necessary” (Bettis 1969).

In effect, the county-wide Lane Pomona Grange, a separate group of local grange members founded in 1909, embarked on the creation of a publicly owned farmer's market to address the state of affairs. Although Congress had passed the Sherman Anti-Trust and Interstate Commerce Acts to confront monopolies, farmers were hardly affected for reasonable transport outlets (Rasmussen 1985). To this end, the county grange members formed a coalition with the extension agent, the Lane County Credit Association, and the Commercial Club (later to become the Chamber of Commerce) to cement the city and surrounding countryside together. It was emphasized many times over that a market would serve a civic duty, aiding both producers and consumers, and should not be regarded as a private enterprise. To this end, it was necessary, all involved argued, that the county provide support and space for the venture. The debate soon extended to the community at large. The local newspaper, the *Guard* on August 18th, 1915 notes:

The Eugene market should not have as its ultimate goal the mere retailing of a limited quantity of garden truck from grower to grocery store or housewife. That is one goodly function, of course, but if the market viewpoint can from the outset be conceived with sufficient breadth, an organization that will help the whole upper valley may result. Consignments in quantity of produce and fruit to places where a temporary demand exists might be managed through the proper sort of market master. And as we said in the *Guard*

before, the value of the market as a regular meeting place for farmers, that would facilitate the exchange of ideas and livestock, and that would foster the cooperative spirit, is one of its principal assets...What we want in the upper valley is a ready market for any good food product the farmer can drive to town with...Eugene's capacity to consume, it must be remembered, is more or less restricted: there are only 13,500 inhabitants here, and one quarter section can raise enough food products to feed a great many persons. Instant sale at profit-making prices for everything every upper Willamette Valley farmer can haul to town is an ideal condition that even the best of public markets cannot bring about. -*The Guard*, qtd in Bettis 1969, 45-46

By August, the market was erected on Park and 8th Avenue with 22 stalls and a covered roof, operated by the Lane Pomona Grange public market committee, with costs donated from the business community. The committee appointed a market master, and stalls were rented for 25 cents a day. Rules that governed the operation of the market included that it was open to any producer in the county (grange member or not), that all items sold must be produced on land that was owned or leased by the producer, all poultry had to list the name and address of the seller (eggs only the name), and no producer could sell items at a higher market price than the one set by the market master. A lottery would facilitate choice spots at the market (Bettis 1969).

The market opened on the first Saturday in September of 1915, with 20 stalls rented. The first sale was a crate of peaches from a University of Oregon professor's orchard. Within 45 minutes after his first sale, he was sold out, in fact, all who had participated that day were sold out by noon. For the following 15 years, the volume sold, and its popularity among the urbanites signaled that the market would become a permanent fixture (Bettis 1969). Other than providing a direct market outlet for farmers, the market also provided a gathering place for circulating ideas on other projects. For example, the cooperative marketing and shipping of hogs from market participants cut shipping prices by two-thirds, with over 75 railroad cars shipped in one year. "The Market also had the effect of bringing city and country closer together at a time when the city's growth in population and its emphasis on business and manufacturing industries could have led to a separation of 'townies' from 'hayseeds'. Friendships that developed over the counters at the market stopped such a trend before it could begin. Proof of that fact was amply given on May 16, 1917, when an estimated 600 people attended the first annual 'city/country banquet' sponsored by the Lane Pomona Grange and the Eugene Chamber of Commerce", Stan Bettis writes in *Market Days* (Bettis 1969, 58-59). In fact, the market was such a success, that expansion occurred in 1921 to 54 stalls, and again in 1925 with the addition of 26 more, bringing the total to 80 stalls, with Eugene businessmen contributing substantial funds for construction costs. The market had also gained national recognition as one of the most successful markets on

the West Coast, serving as a blueprint for other city's market plans (Bettis 1969).

After many years of success, with sales over a quarter of a million dollars per year and still not enough space, the idea of a permanent market building was introduced. However, the idea was not entirely fueled by the conditions of the present market. Many business operators became involved, because the market had such an effect on attracting larger volumes of customers to the downtown area. If a new location, far from the original site was found, the flow of people through downtown would change. Many businessmen believed that their operations would prosper or flounder based on their proximity to the Producer's Market. Over thirteen business groups got involved in the fight over the new location. Finally, Washburne, of Washburne Department Store donated a lot adjacent to his store on Broadway and Charnelton Avenues valued at \$40,000. The Pomona Grange market committee formed a board of directors to hold the title and all moved in the direction of construction. At the same time, many farmers, unconsidered since the board had taken full responsibility in the decision, revolted against the plans. They petitioned the county judge and created a coalition of 37 other businessmen who had lost the original location negotiations. The new market board and the Chamber of Commerce held a dinner and meeting to discuss the new plans and invited the grange membership and disgruntled farmers. All were in agreement at the closing of the president of the Chamber of Commerce's speech: "The market has proved its soundness...It has proved that whatever has been done and may be done in the future of Eugene and Lane County is built on and rooted in the soil. The old-time fight between the town and the country is done away with and the people have learned to work together. The soil and its products constitute the principal basis of prosperity and progress for this district and only as they are developed and encouraged can the city and country go ahead" (Bettis 1969, 85).

The new building provided farmers with extra space and cover during poor weather, in addition to a refrigerated room for poultry, meats and vegetable storage space. The building also afforded offices to house the county extension agent who had played a significant role in helping the new market get started. On opening day at the end of August, 1929, the new producers market was a mob scene. Newman operated a fish market stall, along with many of the other previous market producers (Bettis 1969).

All was operating well, when two months later Black Tuesday fell upon the nation. With the onset of the Great Depression, crop prices fell by 40 to 60% nationally, and logging, from which Lane County significantly drew its wealth, was hit especially hard. The Depression hit Lane County with varying effects as it did most counties across the states. Economic

development stagnated. Outside markets for the county's commodities slowed and local prices fell. The last bank in Springfield closed in 1932, along with many businesses. By 1933, the county was accepting cord wood for tax payments, and began cutting expenses including the county's portion of the extension agent's salary. However, in the midst of protest, the Grange and other organizations raised the funds to retain him. Over 290 farmers also joined together once again to cooperatively purchase petroleum products at lower prices to stay in business. Throughout, the Producer's Market managed to continue to operate (Bettis 1969).

The Oregon Department of Agriculture was created in 1931 to provide regulatory functions for food production and processing, and a few years later, to assist in the implementation of Roosevelt's New Deal programs for farmers to offset the effects of the Depression. In May of 1933, Roosevelt signed the Agricultural Adjustment Act to improve the income of the average farmer, which had suffered dramatically in comparison to non-agricultural incomes. Framed as a public good, the farmer's toil and hard labor earned the profession and lifestyle a subsidized income. Moreover, decreased demand in U.S. agricultural exports at the end of World War I led to a continuing farm depression, worsened by the Great Depression (Rasmussen 1985). To control farm output, subsidies and price controls were initiated through the Agricultural Adjustment Act in exchange for reduced crop acreages planted. The act also allowed the government to buy excess grain and store it to release in times of drought or disaster in order to keep prices low. Other programs put in place to protect farmers included the Farm Credit Administration and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, passed in 1933. From 1933 to 1936, farmer's incomes increased, but consumers bore the burden of relatively high prices for produce (Philpott 2007).

Two years later, the Resettlement Administration (1935), and the Rural Electrification Administration (1935) were created to help farm families, while taking submarginal land out of production. At the same time, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act was passed to also reduce production by paying farmers for improved land uses and conservation practices. Although the act was intended to cut crop and livestock surplus, the act also give protection to sharecroppers and tenant farmers, requiring landlords to share the payments they received with those who farmed on their land. Most importantly, the act helped maintain part of the Agricultural Adjustment Act's aims, when it was declared unconstitutional in 1936 (Rasmussen 1985). An additional attempt to remove surplus foods from the market resulted in Public Law 320. This law allowed the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase the surplus and redistribute it through exports and domestic donations as long as it did not interfere with normal sales. This

stipulation provided a unique outlet through School Lunch Programs and needy school children, assigned to the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation (FSCC). This corporation was originally established in 1933 to distribute surplus pork, dairy products, and wheat to the needy. Additionally, the Works Progress Administration (later changed to Work Projects Administration), also created in 1935 to provide work for needy persons on public works projects, was assigned to employ the School Lunch Program through its Community Service Division. This provided many women with jobs throughout the country as school lunch preparers, bakers and typists to enable the program. Additional jobs also included canning foods and the preservation of fruits and vegetables during the summer months from surplus items, and from the establishment of community garden projects for the programs. By 1937, School Lunch Programs receiving surplus commodities were feeding over 340,000 school children, and by 1939 the number had rose to nearly 900,000 (Gunderson 1971).

In 1938, an amended Agricultural Adjustment Act was created which “stressed an 'ever-normal granary' plan of abundance, with non-recourse loans for cooperators, acreage allotments, marketing quotas for 'basic' crops, and a goal of 'parity' prices and incomes for farmers. This act, with many modifications, remains the basis of agricultural price support and adjustment law today” (Rasmussen 1985, 6). In addition, the Soil Conservation Act was also continued as a permanent farm policy. This act fixed acreage allotments to allow sufficient production for domestic consumption, exports, and reserve supplies. To ensure an adequate and balanced flow of agricultural commodities, both acts included a provision to store produce for unexpected years of shortage. During the thirties, farm income equaled only one third of non-farm incomes across the nation, and agriculture contributed approximately 7 percent of the national GDP (Young and Westcott 1996).

In Lane County by the late thirties, closed businesses began reopening and new ventures emerged. In 1939 Dutch Girl Dairy started wholesaling ice cream, after its start as an ice cream shop in Cottage Grove the year before. The land grant university's head of the Agricultural Education Department bought a 160 acre farm and a 100-cow milking parlor that would later become Lochmead Farms, a major independent milk processor and distributor in the county (Velasco 1985). In the same year, the first Food Stamp Program was started to help with the unemployment the Depression had caused, giving further aid to both consumer spending power and producers through the purchasing of government commodity surpluses. The program helped over 20 million people at a cost of \$262 million dollars. By 1941, School Lunch Programs were operating in all states and averaged over 2 million lunches daily. The following year, the

numbers of lunches served rose to 6 million, making use of nearly 454 million pounds of food valued at over \$21 million dollars. The county emerged from the Depression and entered the war (Gunderson 1971).

Prior to WWI, the nation was largely rural with a large portion of the population engaged in agriculture, which was structured around local, self-sufficiency. After the war, technological innovations propelled farming into a more competitive sector placing farmers in a position to either adopt the “newly emerging technology or be placed at a disadvantage to others who did” (Penn 1981, 28). In Lane County, the Producer's Market was established providing a lucrative outlet for many farmers and the abundance of produce. Nationally, production soon outpaced consumption creating a market disequilibrium, which manifested in underemployment and low commodity prices. Even greater farm distress in the 1930's following the Depression gave way to the New Deal and the establishment of farm programs by the end of the 1930's to aid the situation. The Agricultural Adjustment Act 1938 and permanent farm legislation were designed originally “to stabilize and boost farm income as a means of economic recovery and development in the Depression and post-War eras” (Young and Westcott 1996). At the time, most farms were diversified and produced some of a small number of principal crop and livestock commodities with the program benefits dispersed widely throughout the sector.

The increase in production from the new technology “was deemed a great benefit to the American public; the public via the Congress thus acquiesced in helping to bear the adjustment burden through subsidies to the farm sector”. Subsidies were set in place “to redress an economic inequity by helping to bring the incomes of farm people closer to the nonfarm average” (Penn 1981, 29). Additionally, the first food allocation system was set up in the form of the School Lunch Program and FSCC to distribute agricultural surplus to the needy. These programs also sought to balance out the production problem while providing for those most in need.

School Lunch Food for Security and the Closing of the Market

At the onset of World War II, many farmers were exempted from the draft because agricultural commodities were in great demand for the military and ally populations. Schools were closed in some places during harvests to provide extra labor in the fields, framing the 'school year' today, despite the absence of a significant farming population (Miller and Cornford 1995). The amount of food required for the armed forces and allies turned the problem of excess surplus around. Unfortunately, as farm surpluses drained off, quantities of food for the School Lunch Program, as well as the labor supplied by the WPA was severely hampered, as many people took employment in the defense industries. The 454 million pounds of food supplied in 1942 dropped to 93 million pounds by 1944 (Gunderson 1971). Due to the decrease in farm commodities for local consumption, the USDA pleaded to many Americans to participate in the war through victory gardens, which resulted in over 40 percent of the produce eaten in the U.S. at the time being grown in gardens, yards, parks and empty lots (Comstock 2007). Eugene became a boom town and surrounding Lane County prospered. In 1944, high tech irrigation was installed in over 50,000 acres of the Willamette Valley to help meet both national and export agricultural demand. Hops and beans became major crops for the county during this period. In contrast to the Depression years, consumption increased significantly despite shortages in a few key areas. In those situations, commodities were rationed. Rationing contributed to a significantly narrow gap between the rich and poor, consumption-wise, during the period (Bettis 1969).

Although prices rebounded for produce during the war, and consumers were less constrained financially, only half of the stalls were rented out at the Producers Market. Many county farmers had converted from local to national and international production, and small farms, the major producers for local consumption, fell in numbers to larger, more expensive farms. The abundance of jobs in the region also contributed to an ever increasing population. Eugene's population expanded from 21,000 in 1940 to 36,000 in 1950, and neighboring Springfield likewise grew from 4,000 to 7,000 in the same period. The growth necessitated new homes and development that occurred directly over the valley's most prime agricultural land. The Bureau of Land Management, established in 1946, took over the Oregon and California Company's checkerboard lands thus giving control of the wooded regions over to the Department of the Interior for timber production. When private companies had logged most of the private timber tracts, the Forest Service allowed large tracts of timber harvests in the national forest, with the first large clear-cut occurring in the county near Oakridge. During the war, over 560

million board feet were harvested from the Willamette National Forest. The Forest Service also took over the adjacent BLM lands and abandoned or submarginal farmland for timber harvesting to meet the needs of the housing boom at the end of the war (Meecham et al. 1990; Hirt 1994). Within 50 years, over 80 percent of the Pacific Northwest's old growth forests were cut (Oregon Heritage Forests 2007). The shift to timber harvesting left an imprint on the county that would characterize its economic condition for the following 35 years, shifting the primary economic sector to a different type of agricultural product—wood.

In 1946, the 79th Congress introduced legislation and authorized appropriations to make the School Lunch Program permanent and nation-wide. Defined as “a measure of national security, to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation's children and to encourage the domestic consumption of nutritious agricultural commodities and other food” (Gunderson 1971), the National School Lunch Act was a response to claims that many men had been rejected for military service for WWII due to diet-related health problems and chronic undernourishment for years following the Depression. Measures to increase the population's nutrition and health through the program thus followed as the U.S. entered the Cold War. The School Lunch Program was the outcome of the first official framing of food and security in terms of hunger and health offsetting farm over-production.

Meanwhile, the GATT agreement was negotiated in Geneva to increase international trade by reducing tariffs and trade barriers the following year. The agreement provided a framework for periodic multilateral negotiations on trade liberalization and expansion, further shifting agricultural production away from local consumption to global export. With the Agricultural Act of 1949, the first permanent legislation to donate surplus food to other countries was established through the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC). The CCC was authorized to donate surplus commodities to various agencies and programs with priority to be given first to the School Lunch Program and to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, next to private welfare organizations for needy people within the United States, and finally to those in need outside the U.S. (Gunderson 1971). Further building on the food and security frame as charity to the needy and the nation's children, the new trade agreements enabled the scope of charity to offset production to a global scale. At this time, a quarter of the population lived on farms, employing nearly 40 percent of the labor nation-wide (Young and Wescott 1996).

In Lane County, the Producer's Market was sold by the Grange in December of 1956 due to high property taxes, low revenue from sales, and a disappearing farmer base. The market remained open for two and a half more years under the new owner, until the doors were finally

closed for good in 1959. The site would become the home for a new Los Angeles-based Thrifty Mart, just as the wave of home freezers began to wash across the population, enabling people to buy larger quantities of food at a time, likewise powering the supermarket craze (Bettis, 1969). Combined with cheap fuel many opted for the one-stop convenience of the large supermarkets that were located on the outskirts of towns, and left the urban centers where the Producer's Markets and 'mom and pop' specialty stores resided. Even the *Register-Guard* made space for one final farewell,

Now the Grange has no plans to replace the market. Such bazaars of our local bounty are outmoded in this age of supermarts. Sure, one can shop more quickly, more easily, and likely more economically in a supermarket. Yet, to these ears, recorded background music played over the supermarket PA system will never rival the cheerful babble that filled the market to its vaulted roof on Saturdays. Nor will anyone ever again match the mingled scents of fresh homemade bread, ripe berries, onion sets, cut flowers, vintage cheeses, fish, seed grains and hand-tooled leather goods -*Register Guard* qtd in Bettis 1969, 120

The Producer's Market survived the Great Depression, but could not survive the supermarket craze of the 1950's. The fifties marked an end of an era for Lane County, where the urban area was able to feed itself from the combined efforts of consumers and their productive and efficient nearby rural allies. The desires and culture of the population shifted from self-sufficiency and place-based values to nation-wide, industrialized production of commodities and food stuffs, and a consumer culture to go along with it. Ozzy and Harriet styled conformity, consumer culture and car craze set the tone for the decade until the onset of yet another war.

In *Sacred Cows and Hot Potatoes*, Browne and colleagues write that most extractive industries, in Lane County's case, timber and farming, underwent fundamental restructuring after World War II. Farming rapidly switched towards commodity production. Browne notes, "This trend accelerated after WWII as resources were freed to modernize farms more quickly" (Browne et al. 1992, 20). Within 10 years, from 1950 to 1960, over two thousand farms per week were lost due to lower returns in profits and succeeding generations choosing not to stay in farming. Before WWII, most of the wealth in farming was created from large numbers of small farms, whereas after the war the trend switched to a mere handful of large farms (Browne et al. 1992). Additionally, the technological revolution was in full force in the farming sector, issuing in a new era of food production propped up by large volumes of synthetic fertilizers and pesticides, petroleum-dependent heavy farm machinery, hybridized seeds, and mass transit systems aided by cheap oil to ship food to a global anywhere. In the northern corner of Lane County, by 1960 incomes had shifted to 30 percent of incomes received from forestry, 20 percent from retirement

and only 6 percent from farming (Rarick 1962).

As surpluses began to accumulate once again, one answer led to the the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, commonly referred to as Public Law 480. This act was legislated with a triad of goals: to expand U.S. foreign markets for agricultural products by making the commodities available with long-term credit sales at low interest rates, to combat world hunger through donations set aside for humanitarian food needs, and to help developing countries through economic food development grants. This enabled a system to barter for needed materials with farm surpluses that the government owned with other countries. Other ways to address the surplus problem included the Soil Bank, created in the Agricultural Act of 1956. This provided an acreage reserve and a conservation reserve to keep some land out of production in short term cycles (Rasmussen 1985).

In sum, WWII ushered in a solution to the agricultural surplus problem but with the effect of decreasing the amount of food available for local consumption. Many citizens offset this imbalance with Victory Gardens', growing nearly half of the produce consumed as agriculture began to transform for global export. This restructuring also impacted the number and size of U.S. farms to fewer but larger farms, and affecting Lane County in the closing of the Producer's Market. Amidst farm and food restructuring, the health of the nation's population was called into question and policy emerged in the official establishment of the School Lunch Program. This type of welfare allocation was intended to strike a balance with food surplus after the war, while attending to nutrition issues in the population. This occurred at the same time the U.S. food system transformed into a large scale industrial food system. This new global industrial food system also had it set backs-quantity.

Farmers responded to higher price supports and subsidies that were granted based on volumes grown by producing even more. However, higher price supports discouraged consumption, which led to even greater needs to control production. Supply controls in the form of acreage allotments and quotas restricted some crops from being planted in an attempt to slow down production, but farmers restricted from planting one crop turned to others, creating imbalances in other commodities. Adding even newer and increasingly more advanced technology, created a continual overproduction cycled "in excess of effective demand" (Penn, 1981). This continued into the early 60's leaving large stocks of surplus commodities under government ownership.

Counterculture and the "Great Society"

Reaction to the rigid social norms of the 1950's and the U.S. intervention in Vietnam was expressed through the growing counterculture movement of the 1960's. Lane County during this decade, experienced all sorts of new cultural forms. For example, "hippies" grew in large numbers in the Eugene urban area coupled with movements for greater women's rights and anti-war activism. Rachel Carson's publication *Silent Spring* in 1962 delineating the adverse risks to environmental and personal health from pesticides, particularly DDT entering the food chain, drew greater attention to, and a deeper concern for the environment. The Wilderness Act in 1964 affected Lane County by placing acres of the Willamette National forest into restricted wilderness areas, stimulating controversies for a great many years to come (USDA Forest Service, Willamette National Forest 2007). In one way or another, the many circulating ideas of the time period culminated into a greater awareness of civil society and the environment and the relationships between them both.

It was also during this time that a number of new dairy ventures emerged in the county. In Pleasant Hill, members of the Kesey family (Ken Kesey was a 60's counterculture icon, Merry Prankster, and author of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*) began shipping returnable glass jars of milk to the Springfield area schools and other creameries with milk produced by local family farms within a fifty mile radius of the creamery (Nancy's Yogurt 2007). In 1964, Lochmead Farms began processing their own milk in Junction City, and opened the first convenience outlets for their dairy products in Corvallis, Eugene and Springfield. Over time, Lochmead Farm's Dairy-Marts became more than a dairy store and began selling a small selection of other grocery items. Aside from growing grain for feed for the cows, the farm also grew beans and peas and processed them for freezing (Velasco 1985). Also within this time period, Lane County became a home rule county, with a charter system permitting the exercise of legislative authority. The Lane County government, was then reduced to three commissioners, an assessor and the sheriff (Torgerson 2002).

During the mid 1960's, new domestic programs were launched by President Johnson under the banner of the Great Society. Ending poverty and racial injustice enveloped the program's goals and were reminiscent of Roosevelt's New Deal programs. Under the "war on poverty" frame, the Food Stamp program, Medicare, Head Start, and the Economic Opportunity Act (created to hone in on community-based solutions to poverty) got their start. The participation of local communities and the poor themselves in running Community Action

Programs was central to the guiding frame of 'helping the poor help themselves'. Although running as a pilot program for over three years, food stamps became a permanent feature of the new society Johnson embarked upon, and was framed as both aiding the agricultural sector and providing improved nutrition to the poor. By 1966 the program served over a million clients, and by 1969 the numbers rose to over 3 million (USDA, FNS "About the Food Stamp Program" 2007). Additionally, due to the success of the National School Lunch Program, Johnson signed the Child Nutrition Act to establish the School Breakfast Program.

Prior to federally funding the program, free breakfasts for inner city school children was a program run by the Black Panther Party impacting tens of thousands of children. Held in churches and community centers across the country, Black Panther, Hewey Newton claimed, "even the teachers in the schools say that there is a great improvement in the academic skills of the children that do get the breakfast. At one time there were children that passed out in class from hunger, or had to be sent home for something to eat. But our children shall be fed, and the Black Panther Party will not let the malady of hunger keep our children down any longer" (Newton, USA History Archive 2001). In recollection, others involved with the program claimed that "The government was so embarrassed by our Free Breakfast Program that it started the National Free Breakfast Program. We exposed that children were going to school hungry," says Ericka Huggins, 59, who served as Minister of Education and the Director of the Oakland Community School (Jones 2007).

The multitude of programs launched by Johnson occurred at a time when the effects of the supply control programs initiated in the mid 1950's to early 1960's succeeded in addressing chronic agricultural surplus problems, with chronic over-production in agriculture dissipating, another political problem for farmers emerged. The geographic contours of the population and their representatives shifted. With more of the population residing in urban centers, agricultural issues were less well understood. Bowers relates, "The principle strategy used over the years was to write omnibus farm bills, which combined the interests of each commodity group in one bill. By bringing the different segments of agriculture together, it was usually possible to muster enough support in Congress to pass the bill. But, as surpluses began to disappear in the sixties and early seventies, urban representatives no longer felt it necessary to give automatic support to an expensive system of relief for agriculture. Rural congressmen in the sixties began to explicitly trade votes with urban members on such bills as food stamps and minimum wages in order to insure their support. It was a coalition of urban and rural interests that put through the agricultural acts of 1965 and 1970" (Bowers 1981, 124).

By the 1970's, the mid-sixties counterculture movement continued to inspire surges of gatherings, new business models (particularly co-operatives), and the natural foods fad became a mainstay in the county, particularly in Eugene, the county seat. In the summer of 1970, a group of local residents wishing to sell hand made crafts approached the Eugene City Council in hopes of creating a public market venue to sell their goods. After the success of a trial market on the first Saturday in May, the city council agreed to allow its continuation through the year. By December, participants had increased to such an extent that it was evident that a new location would be necessary if the market were to continue. The group approached the county the following year, and when non-profit status and insurance was attained, the county agreed to allow the market to be held adjacent from the same spot that held the first Producer's Market in 1915 (Eugene Saturday Market 2007)

Historically reminiscent of the Producer's Market fifty years earlier, the market was considered a public service to the community, which "the Oregon Constitution recognizes this fact by permitting counties to set up public markets and even to spend money for this purpose if necessary" (Eugene Saturday Market 2007). The market was also an attempt to change the course of shopping habits of the time. It is written in the Saturday Market's history that, "the Market has been the object of some resentment because it represents a deviation from the usual form of retail merchandising in the U.S. It does indeed, and we think this is one of the Market's greatest strengths. Here you get to meet the person who made the object you are buying. You can find out how she or he made it, you can bargain, or perhaps put in a special order. It is a totally different shopping experience than in the usual supermarket or department store, and most people, once they get used to it, really like it" (Eugene Saturday Market 2007).

At the same time the annual Oregon Country Fair, one of the largest all volunteer events in the U.S., got its start first as a fund-raiser for an alternative school in the county. By 1972, the Oregon Country Fair site became a venue for a series of benefit concerts for the Springfield Creamery which was struggling financially in the shifting world of food processing. In 1970, the creamery ventured into producing yogurt with live acidophilus cultures as a market niche to remain independent. Owner Chuck Kesey (Ken Kesey's brother) convinced the counter-cultural rock band, the Grateful Dead to hold a benefit concert for the new product. Over 20,000 tickets printed on Nancy's Yogurt labels were sold. This kicked off a tradition of Grateful Dead and Nancy's Yogurt concerts for the following few years. "It always seemed like we had more awareness after those concerts, Nancy says, Not that we ever put up banners saying 'brought to you by Nancy's Yogurt,' but concertgoers knew we were part of these events and we were part of

this alternative culture that was music, natural foods and natural living" (Nancy's Yogurt 2007).

Nancy's Yogurt got its product name from a group of University of Oregon students who started a volunteer run and member-owned grocery co-op called the Willamette People's Co-op. The manager of the co-op placed an order at the creamery for "some more of that Nancy's yogurt" (Nancy was the creamery's bookkeeper) that they sold in 5-gallon buckets and recyclable glass jars. The name stuck. Where "Browsers read signs explaining the benefits of natural grains and poly-unsaturated oils, the average wage of Guatemalan farm workers and the number of war victims in Vietnam...help themselves to flour from wooden barrels and grind their own coffee... [and] can even take home a piece of horse meat to try out on the family", the co-op voted "to stop the sale of 'garbage' sweets and stock healthful candies for the school kids; to limit stocks of certain packaged foods which aren't particularly healthful; and to emphasize the sale of fresh fruits and vegetables over canned goods" after two months of operation (Anderson 1970). The Growers Market, an all volunteer weekly food-buying cooperative also started at the same time, and was still operating as of 2007. Aside from alternative food retail and food distribution outlets, Genesis Juice began processing raw fruit and vegetable juices sold at these stores, and in 1977 it became a worker-owned and operated cooperative, using only organic produce. The county seat was filled with all sorts of faddish natural foods retailers and products, establishing a significant new sector that would be maintained for years to come.

Environmentalism became more mainstream during this period as well, gaining political salience under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, the Clean Water Act of 1972 and the Endangered Species Act of 1973, and in forming a social and political movement advocating significant policy changes. Including the public in decisions regarding the environment would spawn heated controversies in the region in regards to forestry. This decade also marked an era of intensive forest management in the area with the onset of the National Forest Management Act (NFMA). This required the protection of watersheds and the management of biological diversity in national forests. It also limited clear-cutting and grazing in the Willamette National Forest (USDA Forest Service, Willamette National Forest 2007).

Tom McCall, the thirtieth governor of Oregon from 1967 to 1975, also became notable for many environmental achievements for the state at large. Governor McCall was responsible for one of the first bottle bills in the West, encouraging a movement towards recycling and cleaning up Oregon's forests and streams. The Governor also initiated the first state-wide land use planning system that included urban growth boundaries around cities, which placed a long-term planning lens on growth every 25 years, making a significant impact on the protection of

Oregon's prime agricultural lands. Governor McCall's stance of "Come again and again. But, for heaven's sake, don't move here to live...Or, if you do have to move in to live, don't tell any of your neighbors where you are going" would later become an underlying tenant of "Smart Growth" which had a large impact on the value placed on agriculture and the protection of prime farmland (Clarke and Cortner 2002, 279).

From the late 1960's to the early 1970's, the counterculture of music, natural foods and environmentalism took a strong hold in the county seat, inadvertently creating a significant market niche, and blurring the lines between movement and market. The counterculture also began to throw into question the disappearance of mom and pop specialty stores and created 'alternative' retail venues including the Saturday Market and numerous food co-operatives. The backlash from the fifties also permeated federal programs, especially in President Johnson's 'Great Society' where food programs to feed the needy, including the School Breakfast and Food Stamp programs were firmly established, with the 'the war on poverty' policy mantra.

De-linking of Food and Farming Security Frame

From Roosevelt's New Deal programs to the early 1970's, the Department of Agriculture's support programs protected farmers by buying and storing their surplus. The programs also paid farmers for keeping some of their land out of production. However, due to wide spread use of technological advances, farmers were making significant strides in productivity. As Philpott notes, "In 1935, U.S. farmers devoted 100 million acres to corn, yielding 2 billion bushels. By 1975, farmers were squeezing 5.8 billion bushels out of just 78 million acres" (Philpott 2007). Since farmers were producing more than the U.S. population could eat, accompanied by low grain prices, USDA Secretary Earl Butz, negotiated a \$700 million dollar export credit loan to the Soviet Union in the midst of the Cold War, to buy the excess of U.S. wheat and corn. The scheme succeeded in offsetting overproduction and inflated wheat and corn prices for farmers, but on the other side of the coin, "Inflated grain prices rippled through the food system, driving the price of meat nearly beyond the reach of middle-class U.S. families" (Philpott 2007).

After the Soviet sale and greater global demand for U.S. agricultural exports, the 1973 Farm bill brought radical changes to the supply-management system in agriculture. The Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973 was written to orient excess production for export. Instead of government limiting production to maintain stable prices, farmers were encouraged by the Secretary of Agriculture to plant from "fence post to fence post" and let the market take control. The government still protected farmers by setting price targets, and if prices fell below them, they would issue them cash payments. However, the government would no longer store surpluses to balance prices. This prompted farmers to plant as much as they could, creating large-scale operations by investing in high-cost technology from government loans, viewed as a public good (Philpott 2007).

In a climate of world crop shortages and worldwide inflation, the act was intended to permit U.S. agricultural products to enter into world trade, thus growing the agricultural economy and balancing foreign trade (Nixon 1973). With no set aside requirements for any farm commodities, no restrictions on planting for the 1974 crop, and no conserving base requirements for the 74-77 crop years, maximum food production was set into motion with the goal of encouraging farmers to receive their income from the global marketplace (Rasmussen 1985). For the duration of the 1973 and 1977 Farm Bills (1973-1981), the market kept prices for most commodities above the set target prices, however, America no longer maintained a reserve of

food to release in times of drought or natural disasters. In terms of emergency planning and the ability to feed oneself locally, the food system infrastructure for domestic food security was whittling away at even a faster pace.

Ironically, despite the massive increase in food production, participation in the Food Stamp Program nearly quintupled by 1974, with over 14 million participants. Additionally, the framing of food access and the Food Stamp Program underwent drastic changes. Because of the massive increase in recipients, participation in the program was balanced with a stipulation of greater accountability. This framing led to significant changes, which included uniform standards implemented across states, stipulated eligibility and work requirements for access, but allocated a food stamp amount to account for a nutritionally adequate diet. It also required states to establish standards for disasters. By 1974 the program finally began operating nation-wide (USDA, FNS "About the Food Stamp Program" 2007). To this effect, certain projects across the country were able to receive excess USDA commodities for food packages largely for low-income elderly persons, and some women, infants and children through the Commodity Supplemental Food Program (USDA, FNS "The Emergency Food Assistance Program" 2007). Although the cornerstone of federal food safety nets had been firmly determined, private food banks for emergency or temporary feeding were started in various cities across the country. For example, in 1975, the Interagency Food Bank was established to serve as a central collection and distribution point for donated food in the Portland metropolitan area of Clackamas, Multnomah and Clark counties. A year later, the federal government gave John van Hengel's food bank in Arizona the first grant to assist in developing food banks throughout the nation.

With a trend underway to farm out hunger prevention and aid to the most in need to private non-profits, emergency planning also emerged with the Food Stamp Act of 1977 to offset the transformation of farm surplus for export established in the 1973 Farm Bill. Food distribution established by the act, was authorized to the USDA's Food and Nutrition Service (FNS), which would provide food to disaster relief agencies, such as St. Vincent de Paul's or soup kitchens when distribution channels were destroyed or disrupted, or in cases of national disasters. Responsibilities fell to states when the act re-instituted the warehousing of commodities for federal programs, such as TEFAP and the National School Lunch Program (USDA, FNS "The Emergency Food Assistance Program" 2007).

Beginning with the 1970 Farm Bill, eligibility for farming benefits was contingent on farmers idling a specific portion of cropland. This measure was intended to control production, but also allowed farmers to plant whatever they found economically advantageous. With the

1973 Act, movement toward greater reliance on market prices to guide producer decision-making continued, but the climate in which the act was passed was considerably uncertain unlike the previous farm bills, when chronic overproduction reigned (Penn 1981). Global demand for U.S. agricultural products had increased sharply, as well as prices due to an increasing attention to global malnutrition and hunger, and more importantly, the restructuring of the Soviet Union from a net food exporter to food importer because due to poor harvests from adverse weather and food shortages. These aspects led to record volumes of exports and great prosperity for U.S. farmers from 1973 to 1975, where incomes had reached the highest levels since WWII. These events brought the farm sector closest to an equilibrium (where production meets demand) than it had been since WWI (Penn 1981). This state of affairs likewise contributed to the USDA's overwhelmingly high expectations in global market forces, and the consequent decisions of a gradual dismantling of the ever-normal granary plan of reserves. The USDA essentially put all of their eggs in the free market basket.

This de-linking of food and farming in terms of past food security framing, was replaced by new Food Stamp program stipulations for eligibility, with those unable to meet the new requirements turning to emergency feeding operations and food banks or soup kitchens emerging across the nation. This new network would also work in coordination with the new emergency planning model of food distribution established under the FNS put in place for times of disaster or disruptions.

Emergence of Emergency Feeding

Environmental ethics, the failings of government in Vietnam, Watergate, the oil shock, and disagreements with widespread consumerism grew into what has been called the back to the land movement. The desire for reconnection with nature and physical work led to entrepreneurship and ventures in the rural areas of Oregon. While many tested their desires with organic agriculture and farming, others went to the woods of the national forests to re-plant the clear-cuts of the fifties. The Hoedads, a collection of forest workers, University of Oregon college students and virtually anyone who would agree to live for months of the year in camps to plant, clear slash and collect seeds, as their own boss, joined the Hoedads throughout the 70's. As a worker owned experiment, the Hoedads out-bid many private contractors to replant the nation's harvested forests. This mode of business organization in the midst of the counterculture movement inspired several alternative, worker-owned cooperative businesses in the food industry as well.

Other examples permeated education. The University of Oregon launched the Urban Farm in 1976 as "a model for productive urban land use where people grow food, work together, take care of the land, and build community" and as "an important step toward self sufficiency, at the personal individual scale as well as at the small group, neighborhood, community, the city and bioregional scales" (University of Oregon Urban Farm 2007). The University's Urban Farm became a gathering place—a sort of experientially situated "Whole Earth" catalog, and the seed place for organic cooperatives, back to the land farmers and for those small farmers that had survived the fifties and sixties farm consolidations. For example, in 1979, Tom Lively working at Thistle Back Farms at the time, met with a number of local organic farmers at the Urban Farm and formed the Organically Grown Co-op as a support organization for organic farmers, and to coordinate who would grow what products among them for retail to local restaurants and markets. They were also able to get better prices for farm inputs by buying in large bulk quantities and pooling resources (Lively 2007).

This cooperation once again, sparked musings of a market where local farmers could directly sell their produce to consumers in the county's urban area. A County Task Force initiated a market feasibility study the previous year, from their suggestions. With the participation of the local small farmers, the site where the original Producer's Market of 1915 stood, adjacent from the new Saturday Market was chosen (Eugene Saturday Market 2007). The Lane County farmers market was reborn 25 years later in August of 1979. The onset of the early

80's was the time period for the revival of farmer's markets and regional importance in communities all over the state. According to the Oregon Association of Farmer's Markets, organized in 1987 to recreate traditional markets in local communities, once again, "Oregon farmers had a renewed interest in direct marketing opportunities because of the deterioration of wholesale markets. Consolidation in the grocery industry meant fewer and larger grocery store chains seeking to supply their hundreds of stores from large corporate farms in California and around the world" (OAFM 2007).

Along with the re-emergence of a producer's marketplace, food activists converged under the non-profit The Edible Cities Resource Center. In order to increase awareness of local food issues, the Center's volunteers published manuals to distribute throughout the urban areas on sustainable development approaches to revitalize urban communities through urban and community gardens (WFFC 2007). At the same time, the nation's first statewide, nonprofit food bank formed a network under the name, Oregon Food Share to exchange ideas and share food resources among charitable food providers across Oregon (FFLC 2007). To complete the network at all scales, the nation-wide food bank, America's Second Harvest was founded. Within the first year of operation, America's Second Harvest "distributed approximately 2.5 million pounds of food to a network of 13 food banks" and became "the national clearinghouse for large donations from national corporations" (America's Second Harvest 2007).

At the time when food issues began regaining prominence and alternative retail and distribution modes of the local food system were emerging, many of the large-scale farms across the nation had changed radically. One farmer in the U.S. could feed 75 people, with the aid of the technological revolution in food production. By 1980 the U.S. exported more corn and grains than "all the rest of the world combined. About one-fourth of America's 413 million acres of crop land are planted for export" (*Time Magazine* 1980). Philpot notes, "Of the record breaking bushels of U.S. corn grown in 1980, 60% was used for animal feed and less than 10% was used for domestic consumption in the form of bread and corn sweeteners. Later that year, in the midst of increased food production for world export, the global prices for commodities collapsed. Despite the situation, U.S. policies continued to promote overproduction, to flood the market in hopes of balancing the low prices by increased volume. Furthermore, since foreign countries set their prices based on U.S. numbers, as U.S. prices dropped other countries prices followed suit, setting off the downward spiral of global crop price value" (Philpot 2007). During 1981 and 1982, agricultural surpluses began to accumulate once again, followed by significant increases in payments for price support programs, as actual market prices far exceeded target prices set in

1981. In a span of fifty years, from 1933 to 1983, Rasmussen concludes in a farm bill policy paper “the number of farms declined from 6.3 million to 2.4 million. The average farm increased from 157 acres to 437 acres, while the share of the employed working force in farming declined from 26 percent to 3.4 percent. In 1933, farm products made up 35 percent of America's exports, compared with 19 percent today [1983], but the dollar volume has increased from \$2 billion to \$39 billion” (Rasmussen 1985, 7).

As food production and farming continued to transform to the global food system, the Food Stamp Program, originally created to absorb domestic overproduction and keep prices high for farmer incomes also faced a transformation. Legislation enacted in 1981 and 1982 culminated in massive cutbacks in funds for outreach, and established new job search criteria for participants and applicants. Counting retirement as resources for income qualification and a disqualification stipulation for voluntary quitters heavily impacted participation levels, and made it more difficult for those in need to get help (USDA, FNS “Food Stamp Program History” 2007). Aside from assistance to the hungry through the Food Stamp Program, at the end of 1981, Reagan authorized the distribution of government owned dairy products to needy households in order to reduce the storage costs associated with surpluses. This led to a year-long distribution of various dairy products including cheese, butter and dry milk to both public and private non-profits. Due to its success in offsetting Food Stamp cutbacks, Congress created the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP) in 1983. Under the program, the government would provide excess food commodities and grants for administrative and distribution costs (including transportation and storage) to states to distribute to emergency food organizations, generally in operation prior to the program's initiation. Qualifying organizations included food banks, church pantries, soup kitchens, and emergency shelters. These organizations were meant to relieve situations of emergency distress, and to supplement other sources of food aid for needy people. At times, under the act, states could also receive other at risk commodities to help stabilize market prices and provide an outlet for surplus commodities purchased by the USDA through support programs (USDA, FNS “The Emergency Food Assistance Program” 2007; TEFAP Alliance 2007; United States Whitehouse 2007).

Administrative funds made available from TEFAP could also be used by emergency food organizations for the distribution of non-Federal commodities, such as food donated from private corporations. Although the program was able to successfully distribute large stores of government commodities, other aspects of food distribution to the needy lost federal funding, while doling out large amounts of food to those unable to get federal assistance. In 1982, only

three years after its inception, America's Second Harvest's federal funding was discontinued (America's Second Harvest 2007). However, by the following year, Oregon Food Share was coordinating food distribution to 225 helping agencies through 19 regional food banks. The statewide food bank also partnered with local anti-hunger activists in the county creating the local food bank, FOOD for Lane County. In 1984, FOOD for Lane County distributed “almost 2 million pounds of mostly USDA food commodities out of a small house in Springfield. The fledgling food bank served 43,000 Lane County residents” in its first year of operation (FFLC 2007). The same year, in Reading PA the first Electronic Benefits Transfer began as a pilot program (USDA FNS “Food Stamp Program History” 2007).

In the early 1980's in Lane County, many lumber mills were shut down throughout the county by outsourcing milling to overseas companies, which resulted in wide-spread economic hardships for the region. Since the county's leading industry suffered heavy losses, thousands of people were thrown out of work and onto unemployment. Many small towns relied heavily on the timber industry and without mill jobs, many Lane County residents turned to both the federal food programs and local food banks to help get by. However, with drastic cuts in federal and state spending at the onset of the recession, millions of Americans also faced poverty. The newly formed food banks found themselves overstretched, and “Far from helping people pull through emergency situations, they were instead replacing government-sponsored programs for those living in poverty. The emergency feeding system was becoming permanent and there was less impetus to address poverty as the underlying source of both hunger and food insecurity” (Food Security Learning Center 2007). The charitable organizations and food pantries were increasingly unable to help all of those in need, within the climate of reduced eligibility and benefits from the Food Stamp Program.

In the wake of the national food predicament, aspects of the Lane County food system were flourishing. New food processors emerged and local distribution made formidable strides long before their time. For example, the Lochmead Farms and Dari-Mart corporation entered the peppermint business after purchasing a distillery in 1981, while continuing to produce nearly 3,500 gallons of milk a day for local distribution. Emerald Valley Kitchen, an organic salsa and hummus processor began in 1983 with a mere 125 dollars by Mel Bankoff, future food policy council member, whose business is committed to sustainability, social responsibility and slow-growth approaches. The farmer-owned distribution co-op, Organically Grown Cooperative “established a centralized distribution center, invested in post-harvest equipment like coolers and refrigerated trucks, and developed a network of farmers and retailers” (OGC 2007). Within the

climate of expanding export production, by 1984, the Willamette Poultry Company was processing 150,000 chickens per week from subsidiary Fircrest farms. The company's products also came to include highly processed and frozen foods such as French fries, hash browns, corn dogs, wieners, and burritos. By 1985, with expanded warehouses and distribution outlets, more than a quarter of the items were processed outside the county and primed for export to Pacific Rim countries (Valesco 1985). The county's close proximity to Portland provided a lucrative outlet for export across the Pacific. Additionally, the Export Enhancement Program, created with the Food Security Act of 1985, aided in the newly expanded Asian market. The program was put in place to help U.S. farm exporters match competitor prices for sales in countries with subsidized markets (USDA Agricultural Outlook Supplement 1996).

By the late 1980's, surpluses for the TEFAP began to diminish and the federal government opted to purchase food for the program, since so many people began to depend on the supplements. Purchased foods improved the nutritional quality of the products offered, including orange juice, peanut butter, pasta and tuna, as well as other canned fruits and vegetables. Despite the improved range of food products, the program was still intended as a supplemental source. It was not set up to offer a complete diet, since only a few items were to be distributed on a monthly basis. Additionally, the qualifying distributing entities of the program became classified as emergency feeding operations or eligible recipient agencies (TEFAP Alliance 2007). By 1988, Oregon's Interagency Food Bank and Oregon Food Share merged to become the Oregon Food Bank, an eligible recipient agency. It became a central distribution site for the TEFAP commodities, as well as for corporate food donations from Americas Second Harvest, and from local donations from retailers and wholesalers (FFLC 2007). Although the network of food donations became more coordinated, rapid declines in USDA commodities through TEFAP to food banks soon followed.

At the same time, the timber industry was heading for another hardship. According to Glick, "Following record cuts from peak harvest years on public and private lands in the 1940s and 1950s, forests had not been replanted for decades, leaving second-growth stocks far short of the 70 to 100 years needed for sustainable-yield cycles. Automation of lumber mills and logging also cut jobs. By the early 1990s, mill wages had declined and wood-products jobs had been increasingly difficult to find for more than a decade" (Glick 1995). In addition, environmentalists began campaigning for the protection of the spotted-owl and thus the old growth forests that the owl is dependent upon. The campaign called for an endangered species listing of the owl, pitting environmentalists against the logging industry, including working-class

timber industry jobs. This was the “final blow [to]hit the timber industry in Lane County just as it had experienced a post-recession recovery. The 1990 listing of the Northern Spotted Owl under the ESA brought about a permanent loss of over 20,000 jobs-- a loss occurring almost entirely in rural counties containing federal forests” (Glick 1995). Many loggers and mill workers were thrown out of work along with other small businesses that depended on them, especially in rural mill towns surrounded by federal forest lands . Once again many Lane County residents had to turn to both federal food programs and local food banks to help get by.

In sum, the 'back to the land' movement, both rural and urban farming experiments with small-scale diversified farms, coupled with a resurrection of the Producer's Market was fueled by overly optimistic and great expectations in record high commodity prices. This situation led many to invest in land and expensive machinery on federal loans in the early to mid seventies, which eventually led to “expectations for what subsequently proved to be unsustainable conditions” (Penn 1981). Over time, domestic food prices increased sharply and low-income consumers were severely affected, in the midst of domestic inflation. The onset of the global food system also failed to stabilize world crop prices, shortages and the problems with overproduction. In the time of greater global expansion, food to the most in need also underwent changes. Cutbacks in food stamps were offset by emergency feeding programs, the TEFAP and numerous food banks and soup kitchens. A decrease in surplus agricultural food for these programs was also being replaced by corporate and private donations. Locally, new export markets for processed foods emerged just as the new food banks became overstretched and unable to keep up with the numbers in need due the problems with the local forest economy on wages. The series of hardships on the forest economy, which Lane County heavily depended upon for livelihoods created an on-going, constant dependence on the temporary and emergency feeding system, as thousands were thrown out of work .

The First National Food Security Policy Frame for Hunger

In 1990, the word “Temporary” was changed to “The” in the TEFAP program after it was recognized that ongoing need for many participants was required, as was experienced in the county. (TEFAP Alliance 2007). Additionally, the National Nutrition Monitoring and Related Research Act (NNMRR) was passed, bringing together the USDA and the Department of Health and Human Services to develop a ten-year plan to measure the nutritional status of the American population. The impetus for the act was due, in part, to the lack of an adequate measure of hunger, stifling effective policy dialog and planning to address the increasing prevalence of those who lacked enough to eat. Although the federal government had measures of income-based poverty since the sixties, inferring levels of hunger from the measures proved faulty. For example, basing hunger on household income levels did not take into account households able to meet their needs from food assistance programs or community networks, although the household's income was below the poverty level. Likewise, the measure failed to account for those households above the poverty threshold and still experiencing periods of hunger. Despite the government's monitoring of anthropometric, physical exams and blood analysis to measure the nutritional status of individual hunger in the early 1980's, these measures could not account for episodic or occasional situations of hunger, and were too costly and time consuming to monitor (Nord and Andrews 2001).

The new measure sought in the NNMRR act would measure household food security, food insecurity and hunger. The goal was to "recommend a standardized mechanism and instrument(s) for defining and obtaining data on the prevalence of 'food insecurity' or 'food insufficiency' in the United States and methodologies that can be used across the NNMRR Program and at State and local levels" (USDA, ERS "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security" 2007; Federal Register 1993). This was the first time that the term 'food security' was used in federal policy in regards to circumstances of hunger. By including numerous public and private stakeholders, a survey was created to classify food security status at the household level, within two years after the act. This data would provide standardized information of the population's households to assess the effectiveness of public programs, to help determine the causes of food insecurity at various levels (national, state and local), and to assess the effects of food insecurity on nutrition and child development (Committee on National Statistics 2005).

As defined by the USDA and DHHS, "food security for a household means access by all members at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life. Food security includes at a minimum: The ready availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods, (and) assured ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways (that is, without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, or other coping strategies)" (USDA, ERS "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security" 2007). Food insecurity, on the other hand, is 'limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways' (USDA qtd Andersen 1990). Finally, hunger defined by the USDA referred to "the uneasy or painful sensation caused by lack of food." (USDA, ERS "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security" 2007). Lack of proper measures for analysis and policy recommendations on these variegated hunger issues led to the emergence of new concepts (food security, hunger and food insecurity) around food and nutrition that was not visited since the official establishment of the School Lunch Program. The new measures were designed to help inform the state on national health and hunger issues, and provide a measure for information on food assistance budgets and insights into food program accessibility.

At the same time, in order to help fill gaps in feeding the hungry in Lane County, a unique partnership emerged between the county Extension Service, the food bank and a church. In 1991, the three organizations created the Grass Roots garden program to supplement emergency food sourcing with fresh produce. This alliance created a training ground for the Lane County Extension Service's Master Gardener program, and allowed vacant land owned by St. Thomas Episcopal church to be put to community service use to help feed the hungry (FFLC 2007). A few years later, in an effort to link the faith-based community's anti-hunger work with environmental sustainability, the Interfaith Network for Earth Concerns (INEC) was formed. Established by the Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon, the idea of the network preceded the 1993 Earth Summit to seek out those concerned about the environment, and to inform and empower religious people's concerns about the links between economic justice, hunger and sustainability (INEC 2007). The INEC began to hold conferences and workshops for engaging the faith-based communities in brainstorming and in creating local solutions to address both the root causes of hunger, while attending to environmental sustainability projects.

Similar alliances also emerged across the country. By 1994, anti-hunger advocates and national organizations began examining food security beyond immediate emergency needs, including, "a living wage: a strengthened and improved government safety net in the form of

federal food programs and other basic benefits; increased access to nutritious foods in underserved communities; and community-based programs that promote self-reliance” (Food Security Learning Center 2007). Examining hunger from this standpoint, not only included meeting immediate individual and household food needs, but also wider community food issues including “nutrition, family farms, rural poverty and local and regional food systems” (Food Security Learning Center 2007). Further alliances ensued with advocates concerned not only with combating hunger, but also with the ongoing farming crisis, both nationally and globally. United nationally, this broad coalition directed its attention to the concept of food security as a means to provide a comprehensive orientation to their common struggles. Bringing together anti-hunger activists, community gardeners, faith-based organizations, farmers, food bankers, public health advocates and environmentalists, a movement began to form around the expanded concept of 'community food security' (Fisher 1997; Ahn 2004).

Community food security was defined by the national coalition as “the ability of all people to access a safe, culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet through a sustainable food system that maximizes community self-reliance and social justice” (Bellows and Hamm 2002). Framed this way, focus is placed on all people in a defined community or region, rather than just household or individual levels. This conceptualization also includes a focus on the entire food system's problems—from the farms where food is grown to people's plates, while recognizing that ensuring adequate food as long as possible requires a sustainable and ecologically healthy food system. Furthermore, the re-conceptualization implies that food as a basic need, along with water, shelter and clothing is a human rights issue to be free from hunger, emphasizing that food security entails a social justice claim. Food, unlike other commodities, is an essential basic human need.

Moving beyond mere resource constrained hunger issues, which have contributed to the rise of numerous and extensive food networks across the nation for the sake of the homeless or poor, the coalition co-opted the federal food security frame by broadening the scope of its meaning. Benford and Snow might consider this re-framing tactic as frame bridging, or Laws and Rein as hitching-on to a more established frame to purchase legitimacy. In either case, elaborating the food security frame drew together environmentalists, small and medium-sized farmers, restaurant and market owners, anti-hunger advocates, and food distributors—as varied as the many alternatives to the global industrial food system as well as those apart of it looking for more lucrative markets. As Armstrong notes, “Because of the practical nature of food security, food issues attract people across political lines, meaning it is not a particularly polarizing topic.

Everyone can understand an empty plate or the returns of a home garden” and the broadened concept of food security cuts across ideological and partisan divides (Armstrong 2008).

As Food Stamp Program participation hit 28 million in March of 1994 (Gundersen 1971), the USDA and DHHS sponsored a second national conference on food security, to agree on more appropriate ways to measure the amount of people experiencing hunger and food insecurity across the country. According to the USDA, “Information about the incidence of hunger is of considerable interest and potential value for policy and program design. But providing precise and useful information about hunger is hampered by lack of a consistent meaning of the word”. 'Hunger', they argued, “is understood variously by different people to refer to conditions across a broad range of severity, from the uneasy or painful sensation caused by lack of food to prolonged clinical undernutrition”(USDA, ERS "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security" 2007). The debate was spawned by uncertainty of the validity of the previous measures of food insecurity and its relationship to hunger. The previous annual household food security surveys failed to measure resource-constrained hunger. The USDA claimed, “measurement of food insecurity, then, provides some information about the economic and social contexts that may lead to hunger but does not assess the extent to which hunger actually ensues”(USDA, ERS "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security" 2007). The USDA and DHHS concluded that “food insecurity is a household-level economic and social condition of limited access to food, while hunger is an individual-level physiological condition that may result from food insecurity” (USDA, ERS "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security" 2007). The revised surveys thus included new categories of situations of households with very low food security as "food insecure with hunger," and characterized them as households in which one or more people were hungry at times during the year because they could not afford enough food. 'Hunger,' in the new description, referred to "the uneasy or painful sensation caused by lack of food" (USDA, ERS "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security" 2007).

Hunger thus framed as food security is measured “at the individual, household, state and national levels. It is assessed by discrepancies between net import needs and import capacity or other comparisons of aggregate food demand and supply (state or country level); intake surveys (individual and household levels); anthropometric data (individual level); or with various proxies such as change in socioeconomic indicators, demographic characteristics, hunger surveys, or demand on the emergency food-supply system” (Anderson and Cook 2000, 231). Hunger or food security framed this way not only persists as productive capacity, but also situates food as one's

ability to pay for it (as food secure), rather than an ultimate necessity for life. Furthermore, it severs food from the environmental (consumer preferences need not consider environmental costs), cultural (food can be bought from a global everywhere), the social (personal consumption is prioritized over equitable distribution among the population), and the political (empowerment and enfranchisements of rights) ways in which food insecurity rises (Anderson and Cook 2000). The USDA began measuring food security with the first supplemental survey in the CPS administered through the Census Bureau in 1995 (Committee on National Statistics 2005).

World Food Security and the Consolidation of the National Food and Farming Infrastructure

While the North American Free Trade Agreement was implemented to remove tariff barriers between Canada, the U.S. and Mexico, the remaining local cannery in Lane County went bankrupt. The food processing facility had opened as a grower's cooperative under the Lane County Fruit and Vegetable Growers Association in the early 1900's, as a source to absorb local grower's surpluses. The OSU Lane County Extension Service asserted that the closing of the Agripac grower's cooperative in 1994, contributed heavily to the loss of food producing farm land, leaving only 20% of available agricultural lands in tact for producing food for the county's population within the following ten years of closing (Lane County Food Policy Council, 2006). To offset this loss, the 1995 Uruguay Round of Multilateral Negotiations under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was initiated as an international trade agreement to further open world agricultural markets. Covering areas such as export subsidies, market access, internal supports and sanitary rules, the agreement was intended to open markets worldwide to U.S. agriculture-an alternative outlet for surplus problems. A year later, the Uruguay agreement established the WTO to replace GATT (USDA Agricultural Outlook Supplement 1996).

U.S. support for freer trade in the UR of GATT and later in NAFTA complemented the goal to accelerate transition to greater market orientation found in the 1996 Federal Agricultural Improvement and Reform Act. By trying to eliminate subsidies, decouple support payments from farm prices and eliminate supply management programs, the "Freedom to Farm Act" drastically changed the contours of farm and food policy. The new act allowed farmers to plant as much as possible, and all of the grains produced were placed on the market (Haufbauer and Schott 2005). By the mid nineties the landscape of agriculture had changed radically over the last four decades. Approximately two percent of the population lived on farms. Although farm incomes were on par with non-farm income households, this was due mainly to farmers dependence on off-farm employment to supplement their farming incomes. By 1996, agriculture contributed less than one and a half percent of the national GDP. Although the U.S. at the time, imported nearly 8 percent of its agricultural needs, and exported 25 percent, food insecurity persisted for millions of people (Young and Westcott 1996). In light of the situation, community food security activists were able to achieve the Community Food Security act of the 1996 farm bill, authorizing \$16 million in USDA grants. The grants were awarded to community projects that were geared to helping communities meet their food needs, especially for low-income neighborhoods (Ahn 2004). Specifically, qualifying programs and projects had to either increase

the access of low-income households to more nutritious food supplies, increase communities' self-reliance in providing food needs, or promote comprehensive plans to local food, farm and nutrition issues (USDA, ERS "2002 Farm Bill: Title IV Nutrition Programs" 2007). Although the authorized grant was minimal compared to the subsidies and grants issued to adherents of the conventional food system, the \$16 million dollars awarded could serve as a placeholder from which the coalition could lobby from. Despite appeasing the community food security advocates lobbying efforts, the landscape of the farm and food infrastructure transformed for growing food for export, meant giving way to encouraging local communities to turn to self-reliance strategies of meeting their own food needs.

A few months after the passage of the 1996 Farm Bill, President Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). The act made drastic changes to the Food Stamp Program, including placing time limits on recipients working less than 20 hours a week and eliminating eligibility for legal immigrants, unless they had been employed for the last ten years in the United States. The following year, household food security dropped from 10.4 to 8.1 percent, but regained the 1996 levels by 1998 (USDA, ERS "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security" 2007). Additionally, the passage of the Agricultural Research, Extension and Education Reform Act of 1998 restored eligibility to immigrant children, the disabled, and the elderly who were in the U.S. when welfare reform took effect in August 1996 (USDA, FNS "About the Food Stamp Program" 2007). Following the passage of the 1996 Farm Bill and PRWORA, the UN-FAO World Food Summit was held in Rome to reconsider the world's hunger issues and the ability of agriculture to meet future food needs worldwide. Since food aid had declined by almost half from 1993 to 1996, and food insecurity had reached nearly 800 million of the world's population, the summit produced two key documents to address the issue. The Rome Declaration called for the members of the United Nations to halve the number of chronically undernourished people on the Earth by the year 2015, and the Plan of Action set a number of targets for government and NGO's to achieve food security at the individual, household, national, regional and global scales (USDA FAS 2007).

In response to the World Food Summit's goals, by 1997 new programs began to emerge at the local level to combat malnutrition and food insecurity. For example, "Santa Monica-Malibu Unified School District became the first to stock fresh produce from farmers' markets in the salad bars in all of its nine schools" (Ahn 2004). At the same time, FOOD for Lane County began sponsoring 4 gleaning groups in the county. Although gleaning groups had existed in the

county since the seventies, this was the first opportunity for them to receive grants by umbrellaing under established private non-profit food banks. Gleaning, “is the ancient practice of harvesting, collecting and gathering leftover or unsold produce from farmers' fields. Every year tens of thousands of pounds of fresh fruits and vegetables are tilled under the field or left to rot, usually after the commercial harvest. Gleaning recovers this highly nutritious food, reducing waste and providing food for people who need it. Farmers, backyard gardeners and commercial growers may invite a gleaning group to harvest their surplus produce” (FFLC “Gleaning in Lane County” 2005). Oftentimes food not consumed by gleaners themselves is shared with food banks, group meal sites and other hunger relief programs. FOOD for Lane County also notes that “more than 10,000 individuals access food through gleaning groups operating as part of the Oregon Food Bank statewide network. This organizational model for gleaning groups is unique to the West, primarily Oregon” (FFLC “Gleaning in Lane County” 2005). Furthermore, it is also unique in that gleaners are active participants in feeding themselves, because they are the people involved in procuring and distributing the food, and are also the ones who receive it.

In 1998, with greater emphasis on addressing the root causes of hunger, FOOD for Lane County also created an urban farm to combine hunger relief and youth education. Situated on less than three acres, the Youth Farm began providing paying work, job training and education to at-risk youth, and served as an educational work site for local alternative schools and programs. At the Youth Farm, teens gained experience in small business management through the farm's produce stand and through the Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) program that provides subscriptions based on a sliding scale. Additionally, over half of the food produced at the farm went to supplement emergency food boxes with fresh produce at the food bank (FFLC 2007).

The interfaith community, historically involved with feeding the hungry through soup kitchens and food pantries, also began addressing other aspects of the food system. An associate pastor at the First United Church in Eugene, Pastor John Pitney, began a project called, “That's My Farmer!”, challenging members of his congregation to join local CSA farms. For the pastor, supporting local farmers struggling to stay in farming, especially farmers who endorsed and practiced sustainably-oriented methods paralleled with Christian values of stewardship of the earth. CSA programs allow subscribers to pay the farmers directly at the beginning of the season, and receive a weekly box of fresh produce throughout the harvest, thereby sharing the economic risk from planting to harvest. Additionally, the annual kick off event, was open to all members of various faith communities, and the donations collected at the door went to CSA boxes and Farmer Bucks for low income Latino families (INEC 2007).

During the same time period, the Edible Cities Resource Center began meeting to look at the role of the organization and the changing landscape of farming in the area. In 2000, the center surveyed a large number of producers, processors, retailers and other organizations on their concerns for a stronger food system in the county. Following the survey, the center emerged as the Lane County Food Coalition, with a focus on various local food constituents, including small farms, local processors and food activists committed to a economically, socially, environmentally sustainable and just food system. As a resource center, the organization surveyed the landscape of the county's food system and published a free local food directory listing the various producers, processors, retailers, restaurants and CSA's in Lane County to promote local food buying awareness. (WFFC 2007). The local food register, *Locally Grown* has evolved as a networking device or yellow pages for local growers and buyers. *Locally Grown* also advertises for FOOD for Lane County's Youth Farm CSA subscriptions.

At the state level, Oregon Governor, Kitzhaber became involved in numerous policy initiatives and experimental projects related to natural resources and environmental sustainability during his second term. For example, Kitzhaber's Oregon Plan was an attempt to prevent the coho salmon from an endangered species listing. The plan was set up as a collaborative effort between federal, state and local government agencies, and citizens situated around local watersheds. Inviting ranchers, farmers and environmentalists to the table was an attempt to enable all of those who would be affected by a Salmon ESA listing to locate their own unique problems and compatible solutions (Brunner et al. 2005). This type of bottom-up planning, which Brunner and colleagues refer to as 'adaptive governance', was used to overcome political stalemate, where "multiple frames coexist and paralyze a policy domain by inhibiting agreement on a course of action" (Laws and Rein 2003, 174). The aim was to draw a diversity of affected parties together into common deliberation to avoid similar problems that occurred with the spotted owl. With a focus on a more fragmented experimental structure to tap into possible solutions, anyone interested in the issue was invited to participate to identify the problems unique to their social and cultural makeup, experience and locale. Although interests were often diverse, moving forward required reaching agreement in areas that all participants shared in common, despite how minimal the commonalities were. This created a space where small incremental steps could be taken piecemeal, and movement could occur in an effort 'to go slow to go fast', over stalemate and inaction. Although the strategy did not prevent the salmon's listing, it did show how effective local communities could be (when given the opportunities to work out their own unique aspects of the problem) in preventing issues from escalating into contentious,

'everyone loses' battles.

Kitzhaber also focused on managing population growth by fighting against measures to weaken the state's land use system, especially concerning farmland, which had become one of the most comprehensive systems in the nation. In response, Kitzhaber created the Governor's Growth Task Force to gather information and to assemble an integrative approach for sustainability, and to curb unsustainable growth. With the Oregon Sustainability Act, the practices of individuals, business and government across the state were examined in order to recommend policies and legislation that would "foster practices which meet the current needs in a manner which also consider those of future generations" (Kitzhaber 2002). Finally, Kitzhaber's Community Solutions program likewise attempted to focus the efforts of state agencies and interested groups in collaborative problem solving to manage community development projects across Oregon, with sustainability as the focus. Most importantly, Kitzhaber's Oregon Plan for watersheds created a model whereby a diversity of affected stakeholders joined together by a specific bio-regional resource, could come together in a forum and express how the issue affected their livelihoods. Whether it is a rancher, farmer, environmentalist, fishery or business, the watershed as a public necessity, required a space where all could weigh in on the costs that they would incur following changes in an effort to protect the resource. This type of discursive model on the watershed would be available to the community food security advocates in investigating the local food system.

On the national farming front, farm prices were collapsing. Although the 'Freedom to Farm' Act was legislated to get farmers off subsidies, Congress allowed for emergency payments to farmers after a year into the act. By 1999, the emergency payments were not able to make up for declining prices. From 1996 to 2001, farm income declined 16.5 percent, while crop prices fell 40 percent on average (Philpot 2007). Within less than sixty years, the number of farms dropped from 5.8 million in 1948 to 2.1 million by 2002, however agricultural output was nearly three times higher. While fewer farms were producing more commodity crops, prices fell drastically and farm incomes stagnated. The largest grain traders and feed-lot operators received enormous profits from low production costs from the cheapened inputs. In addition, food retail giants and agribusiness likewise profited as retail food prices continuously increased, while the farmer's share of the consumer dollar steadily fell from 37 percent in 1954 to 19 cents for every dollar (USDA *Amber Waves* 2003).

The 2002 Farm Bill, entitled The Farm Security and Rural Investment Act, was debated within this climate and also in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks. The bill finally

passed five months after the 1996 Farm Bill had expired. While the Secretary of Agriculture heavily criticized the traditional subsidy program, the amended version shifted the focus towards increased conservation measures to guard against escalating land values that benefited absentee landlords at the expense of farm operators, who at the time accounted for nearly half of the farming sector. In response, subsidy caps also became a focus of debate, but in the final negotiated version, caps to the largest farms were set at \$360,000 dollars. This small measure did little to confront the farming subsidy structure that awarded the largest corporate farms the most money at the expense of small family farms. As Kingslover and Hops remark, "The formula for subsidies is based on crop type and volume: from 1995 to 2003, three-quarters of all disbursements went to the top-grossing 10 percent of growers. In 1999, over 70 percent of subsidies went for just two commodity crops: corn and soybeans....creating an environment of competition in which subsidized commodity producers get help crowding the little guys out of business" (Kingslover 2007, 206).

As participation in the Food Stamp Program rose with the economic downturns in 2001, the program was reauthorized with changes that included the restoration of eligibility for non-citizens and qualifying aliens. Benefits for large households were also increased, and states were granted more flexibility to make the program more accessible to applicants (USDA, FNS "About the Food Stamp Program" 2007). The new farm bill also provided statutory authority and expanded funding to the new Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program, which was instituted in January of 2001. From funding from the CCC, the program enabled low-income seniors to purchase fresh fruits and vegetables at local farmers markets with federal food aid benefits. Likewise, \$400,000 dollars annually was provided as start up grants to schools participating in the National School Lunch and School Breakfast Programs to purchase locally produced foods (USDA, ERS "2002 Farm Bill: Title IV Nutrition Programs" 2007). Pilot programs were also authorized to 25 new schools to make fruits and vegetables free to students. Additionally, the secretary was required to use a minimum of \$200 million dollars each year in purchasing fruits, vegetables and other specialty food crops, under the conduct of CCC operations to distribute to domestic feeding programs. Exclusive purchase of fresh fruits and vegetables through the Department of Defense Fresh Program, at a minimum of \$50 million each year was authorized to be used by schools and institutions participating in school lunch or child nutrition programs (USDA, ERS "2002 Farm Bill: Title IV Nutrition Programs" 2007).

Finally, aside from the above gains from lobbying efforts, growing numbers of food activists along with the Community Food Security Coalition succeeded in doubling the

Community Food Security grants in the 2002 farm bill from \$2.223 million dollars a year to \$5 million (Ahn 2004). Legislated under The Food Stamp Act, the Community Food Projects competitive grant program is administered through the USDA's Cooperative State Research, Education, and Extension Service, through to 2007. The grants were arranged to provide matching federal dollars for projects designed with a number of expanded criteria. Aside from increasing the food self-reliance of communities, promoting comprehensive responses to local food, farm, and nutrition issues and improving the availability of locally or regionally produced foods to low-income people, expanded criteria included the development of innovative linkages among the public, for-profit, and nonprofit food sectors, encouraged long-term planning and infrastructure development of communities, and addressed rural poverty, welfare dependency, job training, and a variety of multi-agency approaches (USDA, ERS "2002 Farm Bill: Title IV Nutrition Programs" 2007). However significant these gains were made to appease consumer pressures and collective protest about the lack of support for sustainable practices and fresh local foods in a variety of programs, federal farm bill funding for "all of these programs combined is less than one-half of one percent of the Farm Bill budget, and none of it is for food itself, only the advertising and administration of these programs" (Kingsolver 2007, 206).

Historical Food and Farming Context

Numerous political and cultural contexts have historically shaped food security framing across the different eras, providing a backdrop in which the present federal food security frame is challenged. For example, food and farming history underwent a drastic transformation in efficiency and productivity from the Depression, which was characterized by severe hunger problems to excessive surplus issues (which with the lack of stability in prices hurt farmer incomes) by the mid-fifties at the point that national production could export 4-5 times that of its domestic needs. Gains in productive capacity were eventually offset by both economic, social and environmental costs locally as the local and national food system infrastructures were dismantled and transformed into a global system. Costs not figured into the price of the global and industrial food system soon included water pollution, antibiotic resistance, food-borne illnesses, crop subsidies, and subsidized transportation and oil. (Pollan 2006).

Local farmers followed suit and gradually converted to national production, then to global production of cash crops, overtime with the onset of WWII and the rapid industrialization of both food and forestry agriculture. The economic effects of the transition led to boom then bust cycles in Lane county. By the seventies, coupled with the onset of environmentalism and protest of another war, counter-cultural forms took hold across the county spawning back to the land farmers, food cooperatives and a natural and organics food industry that would gross 7.8 billion in sales by 2000, with a 20-25 percent growth rate from 1990 to 2000 nation-wide (Shinabarger 2003).

The political and policy climate that characterized this national agricultural transition was marked by a highly bureaucratic and centralized policy institution, economies of scale logic in food production, and an iron triangle of policy stasis composed of commodity and agribusiness groups, district representatives and the federal bureaucracy. This structure maintained itself for decades. In the years from 1930 to 1950, a very strong clientèle-service orientation of research and education in agriculture after the New Deal dominated the policy making branches of the USDA. After pumped up industrialization and advanced technology propelled food production into mono-cropped, large, single-commodity farms, (later to become agribusiness), political access was characterized by “constituency groups reflecting the predominant commodities grown in particular congressional districts. By the 1950's, commodity interests were structured into the organization of Congress. The House Committee on Agriculture was dominated by ten commodity subcommittees that drew membership from congressional reps whose districts grew

mainly those particular crops...Informal rules of specialization and reciprocity dictated that subcommittee recommendations related to a particular commodity were seldom challenged in committee or on the floor of Congress" (Ingram and Ingram 2005, 126). With the transformation of the food system, the dismantling of local food infrastructures were replaced with an export commodity culture. New opportunities were presented as urban and rural food concerns changed. Votes for food stamps and issues of food security in urban areas were traded for acquiescence and support of the omnibus farm bills. Food for the hungry was meant to help stabilize agriculture price swings.

At the same time, throughout the 60's and 70's organic agriculture bore negative connotations as its emergence became popularized with the back to the land movement. In 1971, Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz commented, "We can go back to organic farming if we must- we know how to do it. However before we move in that direction, someone must decide which 50 million of our people will starve". According to Ingram and Ingram, "The 1985 farm bill shunned the use of the term 'sustainable' let alone 'organic' (Ingram and Ingram 2005, 127). The traditional policy monopoly persisted throughout to the present, however the 1988 Farm Bill began giving modest research support to low-input sustainable agricultural research, but the imbalance was still so large and the amount was only a slight improvement. The distributive benefits continued to be largely unequal compared with conventional agriculture. However the inclusion of organic agriculture into farm policy presented a segue into an expanding agricultural policy terrain.

The field of agricultural policy expanded to include a variety of new titles and concerns, such as nutrition, rural development, international trade, and food safety in the last handful of farm bills (Ingram and Ingram 2005). Food security, in terms of food scares might have created openings from institutional failures in the conventional food system. This, more likely, over the hunger issue (individual food security) opened opportunities for a 'community food security' frame and other non-conventional interest groups in farming or farming and food business. In addition, the closed political context that worked against marginal groups with alternative food and farming interests for so long, was challenged by the increase in problems from the failures of the conventional food system in an increasing number of new issue areas. This created opportunities for networking among a growing number of new groups under an alternative framework that challenges the status quo structure.

In terms of hunger and the transformation of the food security frame, many of the food assistance programs were conceived initially as a way to deal with agricultural surpluses and

were administered with a priority on benefits to agricultural producers not hungry people (Anderson and Cook 1999). This is illustrated in the creation of the School lunch Program as the first framing of food security for defense purposes. Victory gardens during WWII, when surplus food production was transferred to allies and armed forces, was also a call to at-home patriots to offset food shortages and rationing across the nation. In the 1960's President Johnson's "Great Society" added the School Breakfast Program to aid needy children and enabled the Food Stamp Program to become a part of permanent legislation. The stigmatization of welfare recipients in Reagan's mid-seventies presidential campaign, referring to "welfare queens" issued in an era of decreased spending in welfare programs and a growing unease of a perception of welfare expansion.

In the eighties, the firmly established feeding programs turned to emergency food programs and private non-profits to offset the rise in numbers of those needing help, due to large cuts in social programs and to the prominence of conservative and libertarian ideology and policy to undo President Johnson's programs. Economic recession in the 80's also contributed to increasing unemployment and hunger, and even larger numbers of people seeking help. This climate led to the investigation of census data to measure the prevalence of household/individual hunger. The dominant discourse or framework centered around resource-constrained hunger or 'limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways' turning millions of Americans into the 'food insecure'. Welfare reform and the creation of TANF to replace the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program in the nineties, placed time limits on assistance as those receiving food stamps rose to nearly 30 million, and the number of households that were considered food insecure by federal standards rose to over ten percent of the population.

At the same time, as the UN began to address world-wide hunger issues (with 800 million people considered food insecure) at the Food Summit in Rome, a coalition of diverse stakeholders began to address the interconnected issues of food and farming on a national scale, departing from the hunger and emergency food lobby around the concept of food security, and emerging together as local food system advocates under the community food security frame. The diversity of stakeholders included organizations and lobby groups ranging from anti-hunger advocates and small and medium-sized farmers, to grocers and food distributors, emergency planners, social service providers, cooperative extension agents, nutritionists, labor unions and farmworkers, local municipality service providers and environmentalists and conservationists. Embellishing the food security frame, the coalition sought to address wider community issues

and local economic security, by recognizing and attempting to re-weave a complex web of relations that are economic, ecological, social and political in nature through food. The coalition gained a small entry-way into the dominant farm and food policy institution, with the Community Food Security Act of 1996 and began diverting research and resources into exploring these issues with projects, programs and innovations at the local level.

Locally, the cultural historical context in Lane County is rich and full of counter-cultural alternatives and challenges to the status quo. Early on, the Producer's market was an attempt to unite rural and urban culture and prevent a division into 'townie' versus 'hayseed', or as Kingsolver phrases it, 'tenderfoot' versus 'something out of *Deliverance*' (Kingsolver 2007), which had happened across the nation as much of the population migrated to urban areas. Community dinners of rural and urban county residents sponsored by the Grange and the Producer's Market became more than a venue for the distribution and selling of local food. The events became a meeting place, much like a community center or special attraction. The market created a liveliness and a large volume of customers that translated into increasing foot traffic and profit for downtown businesses and retail shops, from both the Producer's Market and later as the Saturday Market and Lane County Farmer's Market.

The rise of the environmental movement and greater awareness of society's relationship to the natural environment also played a significant part in the culture of the county, as well as contributed to a variety of both positive and negative economic effects. For example, Governor McCall's bottle bills cleaned up streams and habitats and the initiation of urban growth boundaries protected prime agricultural land from urban sprawl. The timber industry was challenged time and again by environmentalists and threatened species listings with the spotted owl and later the coho salmon. These highly contentious battles were addressed by innovative state-led discursive models to find win-win solutions among a diversity of stakeholders. Environmental philosophies also gave rise to the back to the land movement and local food activists seeking to reconnect urbanites with the dismantled food system in the mid and late seventies. These early food activists began experimenting with edible cityscapes and attaining some of the urban area's food needs from urban gardening in parks and yards. The University of Oregon's Urban Farm also began at the time, functioning as a training ground and networking venue.

Additionally, many counter-cultural entrepreneurs began natural foods businesses with alternative, employee-owned organizational structures, creating a plethora of local, organic processors and distributors. The counter-cultural philosophies of the time also facilitated

overlapping and multiple market venues for processors to market and serve their foods, including the Oregon Country Fair and the Saturday Market, and created lasting partnerships and coordination of resources and market opportunities (Shinabarger 2003). In opposition to the dominant cultural discourse, in 2007, Dan Anderson stated it nicely, "Eugene has been a counter-cultural haven for more than forty years. The population is a nearly even mix of rural Oregonians, longtime hippies, and middle-class baby-boomers. Clearly this is an oversimplification, but the point is, a significant portion of the community has been anticipating and participating in culture change for quite a long time. The city is designed around bike paths. Vegetarian and organic lifestyles are commonplace. Community gardens and home gardens are everywhere you look. The city is surrounded by extensive and fertile farmland. Wildlife is prevalent. Water is aplenty, and the entire valley is insulated from the outside by large mountain ranges. In a sense, it is a secluded piece of paradise" (Armstrong 2008).

Interestingly, this alternative, environmental and sustainable culture influenced the local political climate as well. In effect, by 2007, the political climate was characterized as, "The Eugene populace and the newspaper, *The Register Guard*, are decidedly liberal. Climate change and Peak Oil are topics that do appear in the Op-ed columns. The mayor, Kitty Piercy, regularly talks about sustainability, re-localization, and climate change. With her efforts and the efforts of others, a Sustainable Business Initiative passed through the city council in 2005, and just last fall a Eugene Sustainability Commission was formed. In other words, the county seat accepts that the future is challenged" (Armstrong 2008). However, this characterization is restricted in many ways to the urban area of Eugene. Other areas in Lane County are challenged by different economic circumstances, higher unemployment and fewer resources and opportunities for development and empowerment, and characterized by more conservative political opinions.

In sum, the structuring power of history and political and cultural institutions have set the stage for movement challenges to the status quo, but these institutions and local uniqueness also provide space for change, development and innovation. At the local level, the cultural and political context provides a backdrop from which actors recognize that policy claims and meanings are incongruent with the reality they perceive and experience, object with claims against them, and go on to re-interpret and draw upon the very contexts for cues to challenge and re-frame policy issues that correspond to felt and perceived needs.

Community Food Security in Lane County-Diagnostic Framing and Discursive Processes
"Nothing is so basic as food; so inhumane as hunger" - Bob Ackerman, State Representative, County-Wide Food Planning Summit, 2004

With 17.6 million acres in farm use, Oregon does not suffer from a lack of potential food production (Oregon Blue Book 2001). The Willamette Valley is one of the most fertile and diverse regions in the Northwest, with a unique climate that permits a year-round growing season. Major parts of the valley are surrounded by the Willamette National Forest, one of the most productive forests for harvesting wood in the world. For both food stuffs and forest products, agriculture remains one of the leading market sectors. Despite the abundance of agriculture, 13.7% of households in Oregon were food insecure, ranking the seventh highest in the United States, at the time of the 2002 Farm Bill, by federal food security standards (over 3 million for 2004) (USDA, ERS "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security", 2007). Five percent of Oregon households were 'food insecure with hunger', the most desperate condition of food insecurity, compared with the national average of 3%. Food insecurity was attributed to a number of factors from food bank surveys conducted across the state including, rising housing costs (with housing values increasing by 129% in less than a decade), wage stagnation, increasing gaps between the rich and poor, which was four times greater in Oregon than nationally, and finally, shifts from the availability of family-wage industrial jobs to low-wage service jobs, and minimal or seasonal employment opportunities for rural people (FFLC 2007).

At the county level, between 1994 and 2004 the total acres of designated food crops declined by 8%, and the acres of food crops harvested dropped by 40% (CPW "Final Report" 2003). Causes of the declines were attributed to the closing of Agripac, which impacted more than 150 farmers, who either sold their farms or converted them to growing grass seed, according to the local extension service agent (Penhallegon 2007). By 2003, only 20% of the zoned agricultural lands were producing food for the county's population. Of Lane County's 322,959 residents in 2000 (U.S. Census 2007), FOOD for Lane County provided emergency assistance to nearly 25% of the county population, approximately 80,000 people. In 2002, one in five county residents depend on emergency food and the food bank's network, while over 44,000 residents received food stamps. Children (1 in 3 county children) and seniors accounted for over 45% of residents who accessed an emergency food box, while over 30% of adults who received emergency food boxes were employed, with two-parent families making up the largest group (FFLC "Hunger Fact Sheet" 2005). Due to cutbacks in funding and donations to food banks, and

the threat to farmland and producers across the country, a unique long-term approach was considered in the midst of rising numbers in need.

In light of the situation, a coalition of organizations that deal with the production and distribution of food, namely the Lane County Food Coalition (LCFC, an organization of small and medium sized farmers, processors and retailers) and FOOD For Lane County (the local food bank) began to explore these food systems problems at the county level together. In 2002, the Lane County Food Coalition under the representation of FOOD for Lane County, received a two-year USDA Community Food Projects Grant for a project entitled, *Food Farms and Community: Ensuring Long-Term Community Food Security in Lane County*, after an initial attempt centered on micro-enterprise activities, job training and food study groups that was denied funding, but served as a learning experience into local food security issues (Chanay 2007). The project granted focused on community food forums and establishing a council to assess and recommend policies for greater food security for the county. The purpose of the grant was “to enhance individual and community food security throughout Lane County by identifying food system gaps, building on assets and strengthening community connections in order to build a locally reliant and more sustainable food system” (CPW “Final Report” 2003, 2).

Although FOOD for Lane County's approach toward hunger focused on systemic or root causes of hunger at the individual level, the project sought community participation in identifying gaps in the community's food system, facilitating local responses to needs and supporting community generated identification of approaches to the issue. The final report states, “The term community food security refers to the effect of larger economic trends that influence a community's ability to support various elements of a food system that produce, distribute and ultimately supply food to community members...Individual food security is closely tied to the larger community trends that effect food security, but it refers primarily to a person's individual resources and ability to obtain healthy, non-emergency food” (CPW “Final Report” 2003, 1). The coalition's food security frame referring to the individual and his or her's relationship to the larger community as compared with the federal food security frame warrants noting. Food security according to the USDA, refers to all members of a household's access to and ability to acquire enough nutritionally adequate and safe food “without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, or other coping strategies” (USDA, ERS, “Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security”, 2007).

Shifting and re-linking the scope of food security from the household to the individual and their community was some of the initial diagnostic and strategic framing work for the

coalition (Chanay 2007). It is diagnostic in the sense that conceptualizing both individual food insecurity as related to the community's ability to supply food in a sustainable, more self-reliant manner mediated a shared understanding of the problematic condition of hunger in the county, in which it was decided required creative change. Addressing the scope of hunger and access likewise held resonance for the problematic of declining family farms and the county's capacity to provide and process food. Bridging the frames of food insecurity and farming issues connects two "ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames", aligning both movements together in collaboration (Benford and Snow 2000, 624).

By building upon systemic causes of individual, resource-constrained hunger and food insecurity within the scope of larger county wide socioeconomic trends, two seemingly unrelated problems were also re-linked. Historically, both the ability to produce food for the population in the rural areas surrounding the urban centers, and urban areas reliance on farm production created a symbiotic balance-a working interdependent relationship. In fact, prior to the early 1950's, many urban Lane County youth were called upon to harvest beans and hops as a social event to both earn money and meet each other out in social settings. Occasionally, people would dress in their finest attire to pick hops. The harvest was oftentimes concluded by dinners and dancing at rural community centers or local Grange buildings (Valesco 1985; Kluppenger 2007). As has been noted, this type of rural-urban partnership disappeared with the onset of refrigeration, supermarkets and cheap fuel. Both the Lane County Food Coalition and FOOD for Lane County's partnership in re-linking rural farming issues with hunger and food insecurity, negotiated and re-constructed a shared understanding of the interrelatedness of the present issue. Furthermore, the issue carried resonance with the cultural and historical narratives of the county, further illuminating the connections between farming and food in the county.

Finally, the two organizations assumed they would discover gaps or problems within the current food system by going to local towns throughout the county. Residents in county towns could provide specific accounts on accessing, producing, processing and selling local food. Historically, as noted above, food and farming comprised a relatively simple relationship, from the onset of settling the county, and into the second era when mass farm production was offset by government purchase of surplus for national food security and welfare allocation. The present food and farming system, the coalition proposed, is characterized by such a high degree of complexity, specialization and fragmentation that its purported efficiency should account for access for all. However, the prevalence of hunger, as high as it is in the county, and the rapid loss of farms producing food signals something is amiss. For example, the manual to organizing

community food forums that the two organizations put together states,

Food is a basic necessity of life. Access to nutritious food is a prerequisite for a healthy, productive community. Despite this fact, little attention has been given to how well our food system works-and it has become much more complex over the past century. More people have started asking these questions: How safe is my food? How can family farms in my community stay in business? Is everyone in my community getting enough healthy food to eat? Where does my food come from? Addressing these concerns has been the focus of a growing community food security movement (FFLC "Community Food Organizing:Community Food Forums" 2005, 1)

Drawing on the concept of community food security necessitates an understanding of the food system in which it is dependent upon. Increasing community food security entails strengthening the food system connections in the community according to the coalition. Gleaned from Mark Winne, Food Policy Council Program Director of the Community Food Security Coalition, the two organizations define the food system concept as,

all of the steps from seed to farm to processor to store to plate to landfill or compost pile. Not only does it include the diverse system of agriculture that produces food, it also includes the natural resource base, e.g., soil and such natural systems as regional watersheds, underground aquifers and the inputs necessary to sustain soil fertility. The seed to table idea extends the food system concept further to include processing facilities, transportation systems, warehousing and distribution centers, supermarkets, restaurants, farmers markets and farm stands and of course, consumers. In the case of hunger and food insecurity, food banks, food pantries, soup kitchens, community kitchens, elderly feeding programs and the entire array of the fourteen USDA food assistance programs must be considered as integral parts of the food system (FFLC "Community Food Organizing:Community Food Forums" 2005, 1)

A city's food system is an interconnected system that includes all of the inputs-producers, processors, distributors, even local households that are a part, or a source of the production of food, and the outputs where food ends up for consumption or waste. It also entails understanding a complex set of processes including on-farm production, processing, storing, distributing and the marketing of foods, waste disposal (how the by-products are absorbed by the local environment) and recycling, as well as the impacts of all of these on human health, nutrition, and the economy. In a successful, sustainable local food system, all of the elements of the food system are integrated and work in coordination to maintain a viable and stable local economy for agriculture and food, all people have adequate access to nutritional foods, and educational avenues are integrated into the community ensuring future health, security and longevity of both

the community and the environment (CFSC "Guide to Community Food Assessment" 2002).

Drawing on the concept of a local food system is a discursive and strategic process in itself. Building upon this conceptualization links the coalitions interpretive frame with a great variety of potential constituents, foremost because all eaters are stakeholders in the system, not just those who experience hunger or food insecurity. Additionally, the concept links professional stakeholders as diverse as health care professionals, food waste specialists, direct marketers and emergency planners. According to FFLC and LCFC, understanding and identifying food system strengths and shortcomings involves bringing diverse community members together through local food forums to assess the local food system, identify its assets and needs, and to locate ways they can work together to strengthen community food security. Ultimately this involves, "building relationships between all the people who work in the food system and are affected by it" and "rely[ing] on the knowledge of community members who are most familiar with their local food systems (farmers, chefs, anti-hunger advocates, nutritionists, etc.) to create solutions tailored to their community's individual needs" (FFLC "Community Food Organizing:Community Food Forums" 2005, 2).

In January of 2003, the coalition enlisted the consultation services of the University of Oregon's Community Planning Workshop (CPW) for organizing and implementing community food forums. Prior to outreach, CPW developed community profiles, which included demographics and trends of areas throughout the county, topographic data, and historical information to gain a preliminary picture of each locale through social, economic and health indicators. CPW also created a community level database to track contacts and to locate the variety of food system stakeholders. Finally, both CPW and the coalition organized meetings with influential community members, and placed fliers in community venues (schools, churches, libraries and social service offices) and local supermarkets inviting all interested persons to participate in the local forums (see Appendix A). Local radio stations and newspapers were also contacted. The food forums were oriented around discursive processes and accessing local knowledge of interested community members. Similar to town hall meetings, the Let's Talk Food Forums were held in county cities and towns including Veneta, Oakridge, Junction City, Cottage Grove, Florence, Springfield and Eugene from March to November, 2003.

As an illustration of the preliminary research gathered, the Veneta/West Lane community is located 12 miles from the major metro area of Springfield and Eugene, with Veneta being the largest town among a collection of three others-Elmira, Noti and Fern Ridge. Veneta is the central town that provides most of the areas services and community organizations (4 social

service organizations, 11 churches, and 7 community organizations including the Oregon Country Fair). Veneta also has a large grocery store and the area's food bank. The city's population grew by 16% from 1990-2000-from 2,449 to 2,840 more people. With the decline of the timber industry the area's economic characteristics have shifted, with a lower median income than that of the county as a whole. Poverty is also worse-with 19.4% in Veneta as opposed to 14.8% for the county, and the unemployment rate had risen to 6.9% in 2000. Veneta/West Lane's food system is quite diverse, with seven local growers, three wineries, one butcher, three food retailers, five restaurants and four farmer organizations. Emergency food services in the area include a food pantry, senior meals on wheels, gleaners, weekly community spaghetti dinners and a summer lunch program (CPW "Final Report" 2003).

Outreach for the forums centered on engaging members of the food system "not typically represented in organizing and decision-making, as well as public officials, and a broad sector of food system business and organizational representatives around these issues" (CPW "Final Report" 2003, 1). In an effort to include an array of food system stakeholders, the coordinators initially interviewed leading community members of government, churches and social service agencies for their support in recruiting local involvement. Relying on influential community members through social networks "manifested invaluable levels of trust" in mobilizing local commitments (CPW "Final Report" 2003, 7).

The first Veneta/West Lane forum was attended by 24 community members, including two local farmers (one small-scale, diversified farmer and another mid-sized farmer), the Lane County Farmer's Market master, Ray's Grocery purchasing manager, emergency food advocates and a local West Lane newspaper reporter. The attendees participated in ice-breaker activities and brainstormed on food systems attributes and gaps in the area. The minutes were taken at each meeting and sent to the participants prior to the proceeding meeting. Each successive meeting went into further details of brainstorming, networking, creating consensual criteria for selecting solutions and ways to facilitate putting their ideas into action. Trained facilitators from CPW and the coalition led the first three meetings and trained community participants on agenda setting, consensus-based decision making, minute taking and strategies for effective and efficient meetings in order to create self-sustaining action groups. After four meetings, the Veneta/West Lane group initiated several projects, well ahead of schedule, including creating a local food directory, a Veneta Saturday Market with local farmers and crafters, and a database for greater farmer-gleaner cooperation. Other ideas that emerged for future implementation included organizing local 4H and FFA unsold livestock donations to the food pantry, extra licensing tags

for hunters and fishers for food pantry donations (donation tags), holding a food fair in conjunction with local church bake sales, and organizing high school student interns and local law enforcement community service projects with local gleaning groups. Others wished to connect with the Oregon Country Fair to support a buy local campaign during the week long fair and fit local food education into Energy Park and Community Village components. By the fifth forum, local community members assumed the roles of facilitator and recorder, set the agenda and praised their joint efforts in the success of the newly established Veneta Saturday Market (CPW "Final Report" 2003).

Although the Veneta/West Lane Community Food Forums was merely the first of seven communities, surprising patterns emerged across the landscape of communities in Lane County. While each locale differentiated itself in acute problems, similar food system issues were common across community groups, revealed in surveys that participants filled out during forum meetings. As written in the concluding document, "These challenges.....fall into three areas: 1) community challenges in accessing emergency and quality food for consumers, 2) competitive constraints on farmers for local food distribution, and 3) challenges for food retailers in buying locally. Concerns indicated gaps in the current food production-distribution system that left both consumers and producers vulnerable under current market conditions" (CPW "Final Report" 2003, 12). Although the coalition refrained from attributing these challenges to specific causes at this time, possible reasons can be inferred.

The first claim of emergency and local food access might include the disappearance of the local farm base and the food system infrastructure, including the loss of farmer-urban networks. Supermarkets have stopped selling local foods because of economies of scale and cheap foreign labor for food production competitiveness. On the national front, food is grown for export rather than for local consumption first, and the national farming infrastructure has been both horizontally (get big or get out) and vertically (production, processing and distribution-under one corporation) consolidated. The massive transportation infrastructures for distributing foods across long distances with cheap oil has been publicly subsidized, giving advantage to large corporate farming conglomerates that can produce over-processed and packaged foods at lower costs. The balance between farmers incomes and welfare have been historically severed from a government controlled market, where farming and food production is being considered less a public good when food can come from a global everywhere. Finally, feeding one's own local population first and then exporting surplus is considered protectionism following the opening of agriculture to free trade under the GATT and Uruguay Rounds (Berry 2001).

Many of these aspects are also intimately linked to the second broad claims of the costliness of the competitive constraints on farmers for local food distribution. The overall challenge for farmers is in competing within an economic structure that favors economies of scale. Other challenges include the expenses for certifying produce for local food outlets, compared to informal marketing approaches such as roadside farm stands or producers market booths. Large costs of liability insurance requirements for farmers distributing to grocer outlets, and the marketing and distribution processes have both proved burdensome on small farmers as well.

Finally, sources of the third challenge confronting food retailers might entail dependence on the dominant food culture of the present conventional food system. For example, conformity and consistency of food crops, mainly vegetables and fruits (the large-scale conventional crops are grown for consistent size and shape), are favored for supermarket retail over imperfect organic produce grown on small family farms. For farmers, this produce is edible and nourishes just the same. For supermarkets, cosmetic appearances trump nutritional quality. This can also mean that tasteless, mealy tomatoes that fit easily into cartons and packaging for long-distance distribution, picked early for long shelf life and artificially ripened has affected and contributed to the “tastes” of dominant consumer culture. Many consumers have just come to accept, and have gotten use to the taste and look of this type of produce. Main-stream culture has forgotten how good freshly harvested food tastes along with its added nutritional quality. Studies with inner-city school children have shown that when taken to a farm, many could not identify a cow when asked where milk came from. Some adults for that matter, do not know that a potato grows underground, or how to identify the food that they eat in the field where it is grown.

Although these causes were not articulated by the coalition or food forum group members, many of the problems identified fell under two broad categories of either economic, and/or political-policy oriented barriers. Specific county-wide food policy issues raised by local action group participants are listed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Food system issues raised in Lane County communitiesPolicy oriented barriers/claims

- extensive permit and licensing required in establishing local farmers markets
- lack of funds for supplemental community food programs-(meals on wheels/summer lunch program)
- stigma attached to accessing donated food and meals
- limitations of local transit in frequency and coverage of operations to support local food access (seniors, low-income, Latino community)
- over reliance on packaging processes for food products
- food disposal waste by businesses due to liability concerns
- poor nutritional content and access to local produce in schools
- red tape in securing community land for community gardening
- government regulations for meat producers-especially poultry

Economic barriers/claims

- lack of fresh produce in communities distant from distribution centers
- expense in shipping produce to out of area production facilities before redistribution back to local community outlets
- long distance transport of large agri-business produce costs not factored into retail costs
- lack of marketing and economic infrastructure for local food purchases by schools and institutions
- lack of consumer knowledge and buy-in to purchasing local, healthy foods
- paper work burden in purchasing food through multiple, individual local growers compared to central distributors
- greater expense of fresh, organic food for low-income purchasers and the general public
- prohibitive start up costs for community members interested in farming
- expense for farmers in certifying produce for local food outlets compared to informal marketing approaches
- large costs of liability insurance requirements for farmers distributing to grocer outlets
- challenge for farmers in competing within economic structure favoring economy of scale
- marketing and distribution process more burdensome on small farmers
- vulnerability of farms to urban growth

Benford and Snow articulate that injustice claims are “fairly ubiquitous across movements advocating some form of political and/or economic change” (Benford and Snow 2000, 616).

There is a claim that economic conditions have allowed corporations to form monopolies based on de-regulations and unfair subsidies, and also a claim of the lack of funds for social services and welfare, but the source of these problems is not specifically addressed. Both the political and economic climate in which these claims reside is reified to a degree, and the source of the problems are merely hinted at, not explicitly articulated. Perhaps the coalition might have found ambiguity diplomatic by not specifying a cause or source of blame. In the end, the forums were held merely to start “a conversation about food in each community between regular citizens, community leaders and food system stakeholders” (FFLC “Community Food Organizing Manual: Planning a Food Summit” 2005, 1), amplifying and articulating the salience of community food security to their potential constituents lives.

Although the food forums facilitated the identification of a multitude of challenges in the food system for communities, farmers and food retailers, an additional goal was to “promote a consensual framework for local food scarcity priorities” (CPW “Final Report” 2003), drawing on Kitzhaber's Oregon Plan for Watersheds as a model. This component draws upon an historical symbol both as an effort to resonate with the area's cultural repertoire and facilitates social learning. The forums were situated as strategic educational outreach, information sharing and gathering, as well as discursive processes by inviting all interested persons to participate. Participation centered on allowing any community member time to speak, identify problems, decide on solutions with community created selection criteria and rank problem/solution groupings in order of importance. FOOD for Lane County and the Lane County Food Coalition were able to expand on the initial identification of the problem (individual food insecurity as a community issue, urban and rural issues), and provided space to allow the issues to be embellished by actual, everyday challenges within each community, creating detailed layers grounded in experience.

Second, the model allowed for the development and articulation of Gamson's 'injustice claims' as “a mode of interpretation...generated and adopted by those who come to define the actions of an authority as unjust” in the initial diagnostic framing work (Benford and Snow 2000, 615). It provided a way for the movement, led by the food bank and the farmer coalition, to personally identify the victims of injustice or varying degrees of food insecurity in local communities, and to amplify their victimization across various groups through discourse (Benford and Snow 2000). Again, an identified authority of the injustice was somewhat obfuscated by allowing any interested member of the community time to address their specific interests (even conflicting interests from proponents from the different food systems), having the communities rely on their own resources in solving their identified problems, and the sheer diversity of problems across a great deal of issue areas.

According to the final report on the forums, CPW and the FFLC and LCFC coalition comment, “By utilizing a community based approach, reliance upon the knowledge of community members who are most familiar with components of the local food system...Processing local knowledge and understanding the nuances of their community, these community members and leaders are in an ideal position to affect change that would enhance the food system and increase reliance on local resources” (CPW “Final Report” 2003, 2). This points to a deliberative strategy to align community member's consensus on the identification of food system problems, similar to Kitzhaber's watershed councils and Brunner and colleagues

conceptualization of adaptive governance as mentioned above. Using a consensus based organizational structure, “attempts to advance a collective identity-a sense of valuing everyone's perspective over imposing the will of the majority” (Whittier 2002).

The adopted approach is also historically reminiscent of President Johnson's Community Action Programs and the framing of 'helping the poor help themselves'. Identifying needs through community-based food action groups, and encouraging them to create community-generated solutions to their local problems, emphasizes collectivism in decision-making over bureaucratic solutions developed at the state or national level. Further, it enables a diversity of stakeholders with their respective frames of food production and distribution, to come together and explore their problems, challenges and similarities in their immediate communities. This has historical resonance with local self-reliance, and older community members.

Taking all of the communities as a whole, “the unique effort in outreach, engaging perspectives through multiple methods of contact, and sharing project information and development with local farming and ranching businesses was a deep and pervasive commitment in the project”(CPW "Final Report" 2003). However only 10% of participants had a background in ranching or farming-(34 out of 330 participants). The most abundant stakeholders were 55 gardeners. The remaining distribution of participants included 37 restaurateurs, 35 emergency food workers, 33 food store and supermarket retailers, 32 food preservationists, 23 food advocates, 22 institutional food representatives, 20 food processors, 17 food transporters and distributors, and 16 gleaners (CPW "Final Report" 2003).

It is interesting to note that farmers, ranchers and local food processors searching for an expanded market base of consumers, at first thought, would not likely look towards food banks as a potential outlet for locally produced foods. This linking seems incompatible with low-income emergency food dependent constituents and consumers. Locally produced and processed food is generally more expensive due to lack of economies of scale, expense of large scale manufacturing and processing-and because many locally produced foods are grown on smaller farms with alternative or ecological methods. The risks for food producers within this market are greater (they are without large sums of capital) and many cannot depend on a livable income from producing food alone. Most small scale farmers have an additional source of off farm income to keep them afloat. Further discursive and strategic framing is necessary to emphasize how these two issue areas interrelate.

Although the Let's Talk Food Forums were held merely to start a conversation among a broad constituency of stakeholders, the introduction of the community food security frame drew

insight from participants and also led to greater awareness of the gaps in each local food system. Participants provided insight into the coalition's assumptions of gaps or problems in the current food system in place, and provided a foundation in which to rest the community food security frame on. Alerting attention to the issue provided a backdrop to examining the issue on a larger scale, bringing all of the local action groups together to locate trends and problems within a county-wide scope.

County-Wide Food Planning Summit and Prognostic Framing

*"I began eating at an early age, I was a dairy farmer-mainly hauling manure, which led to my current career as a politician" Pete Sorensen, Lane County Commissioner
County Wide Food Planning Summit, 2004*

Having been conducted over a period of eight months, the Let's Talk Food Forums culminated in the County-Wide Food Planning Summit held in February, 2004. The summit was hosted by the FFLC and LCFC coalition in conjunction with a much larger coalition of organizations, and with donations from a multitude of local farms and businesses. The other partners included the Lane County Extension Service, the University of Oregon's Urban Farm Program, the Lane County Farmers' Market, the Metropolitan Affordable Housing Corporation, King Estates Winery, the Farm Service Agency, and two local food producers: Laughing Stock and Wintergreen Farms. Invitations to participate in the summit by representation or donation explained that the invitee had "been identified as a key stakeholder with a county-wide perspective to bring to the issue" of food planning, and that the summit would provide a framework for understanding some of the main issues confronting the local food system (FFLC "Letter to Potential Participants" 2004; see Appendix B).

Defined by the coalition, a stakeholder "is any group or individual who can affect or who is affected by an action. Every community member is truly a food system stakeholder because we all eat! While eaters bring an important perspective, other categories of stakeholders bring special knowledge, experience or resources to the discussion" (FFLC "Community Food Organizing: Community Food Forums" 2005, 5). The stakeholders preferred for the summit, in contrast to local action groups, consisted of public agencies, organizations and businesses with county-wide scopes. The organization's ideal stakeholder groups for representation, primarily those with special knowledge and experience in areas across the county's food system are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Ideal local food system stakeholders

Farmers/Ranchers	Food Retailers	Faith Communities
Food Educators	Distributors and Wholesalers	Senior Citizens
Direct Marketers	Gleaners	Youth
Food Pantry Workers	Government Officials	Media
Food Processors	People with limited incomes	Community Gardeners
Social Service Agencies	Restaurants	Farm Service Agencies
Schools	Health care Professionals	Community organizations
Emergency Planners	Food Waste Specialists	Eaters

The framework and the goals of the summit, including the proposed re-framing of community food security, were articulated to potential participants: “The approach we will begin with has been called 'community food security' because it illustrates how a strong community food system needs to address issues as diverse as economic opportunity, community development, disappearing farmland, rural poverty, increasing hunger, and diet and health related problems. The approach allows us to develop and promote solutions to food system deficiencies that are integrative and provide multiple benefits to many constituents. It provides ways that we, as a community, can align our resources, policies and collective effort to ensure Lane County is food secure” (FFLC “Letter to Potential Participants” 2004).

The community food security frame broadens the scope of those affected, beyond individuals and the traditional food insecure such as children, seniors and low-income residents to include all of Lane County and a diversity of non-traditional actors and organizations that may have overlooked or failed to perceive the role of food and food access in their respective fields. Organizations and agencies such as the Housing Services Agency, area school district dietitians, and the president of the Agribusiness council, were among the attendees in discerning these purported links under the community food security and local food system frame. Identification of potential problems and county food system deficiencies were articulated in the invitation letters, including concerns for disappearing farmland, the food insecure, nutrition and public health as interrelated and interacting problems. The salience of the issue to the respective groups was articulated by the integrative claims and how the new concept of community food security could provide multiple benefits to a diversity of potential constituents. Finally, the conceptualization or framing of community food security, as presented by the coalition, by definition signals policy action as a potential course of action, or solution to the multiple problems.

The summit was attended by over sixty stakeholders, including representatives from various county-wide organizations, policy makers and members of the community. The representation of attendees included 6 public representatives (city councilor, 2 county commissioners, 2 state representatives, and 1 Governor's Brand Oregon program), 6 farmers, 11 community groups and planners, 7 emergency food advocates, 6 educators, 4 natural food businesses and retailers, 7 grassroots food groups, 5 student groups, 4 social services, 4 nutritionists, 1 food distributor, 1 waste and recycling, and 1 chef. No food processors, seniors groups or low-income participants attended, except for a few members from the local action groups. However, representatives from the area's Senior Meals on Wheels program, area hospital's nutrition programs, and area housing agency representatives attended as well as representatives from Organically Grown Company (OGC), the area's largest organic produce distributor, two Eugene Planning Commission members, a variety of small and medium-sized farmers, the county Extension service, and a local food processor.

In order to link the respective participants fields from the onset, the summit began with the creative introduction of a potato, to illustrate the concept of a food system. The storyline was introduced as "A French-fry eaten in your town", and unfolds from a series of questions asked of the summit participants:

What variety was it? Where did the seed potato come from? Where was it grown? How was it harvested? Who harvested it? Did it go straight to the processing plant or to storage? How was it processed? What resources were used for processing? Where did it go from the processing plant? How was it packaged? Where did the packaging components come from? How far did it travel from the field to your town? How did it get to the store? Who was able to buy it and who wasn't? How did they get it home and what did they do with the packaging and leftovers?

The French-fry was presented as an alternative viewpoint to deepen the engagements of all participating organizations and community members. Incorporating a holistic perspective was an attempt to enable the various stakeholders and summit-goers to perceive "an integrated whole rather than a dissociated collection of parts" (Capra 1997). It presents an approach to understanding the food system infrastructure by embedding the French-fry in both the natural and social environment. This is also the approach adapted for food systems analysis and assessment.

With food systems assessments, a wide range of food issues are explored and linkages of food system components and activities are ascertained for systemic, long-term challenges and changes. Social, environmental and economic contexts are examined through identification of

the multiple components that complete the food system in the specific location. The food system conceptualization is also a concept for broadening the range of constituents, representatives and related organizations. It acts as an umbrella or facilitator in coordination among a variety of groups. With the local food system approach, various individuals and groups can visualize how they fit within the system in relation to the others. Second, the concept is a socially constructed component to present a new vision or understanding of the food security frame. It replaces attention from the individual and personal resource constraints on abilities to acquire food, to the more systematic conditions of food insecurity. Perhaps hunger is a consequence of inadequate access or transportation to a market, or the absence of local markets in rural areas. Adding community to the food security frame, shifts the focus to examining the issue on a county-wide scale and signals to policy makers and influential community members and groups, the lack of an organizing body to attend to the county's food needs and food system infrastructure.

Following the food system introduction, the National Program Leader for the USDA CSREES gave the keynote speech, introducing the history of the 1996 Farm Bill's Community Food Security Act. The speaker explained to participants that grants sponsored by the act require a systematic focus on linking issues of access to food, farming and farm land, and child nutrition. The speaker also referred to the strides food policy councils across the country have achieved in making these links, however allowing respective locations to shape their food systems to respond to local, distinct needs and a diversity of voices. The speaker also drew attention to the idea of looking for new opportunities in funding and support for food policy councils in the homeland security policy area. If petroleum supplies were cut off, most major U.S. cities have only a thirteen-day supply of food in grocery stores (FFLC County-wide Food Summit 2004). Having some food produced, processed and locally distributed could provide a buffer to future crises, and aid in long-term emergency planning. There was not much apparent tension between the county coalition and the USDA representative, because the Community Food Security grants are administered through the USDA CSREES, of which the food forums and summit based their financial support on. The USDA speaker actually embellished and added to Lane County's 'community food security' frame, by pointing out the connections with homeland security beyond emergency planning.

Community Food Forum participants were also invited to participate in the summit by providing testimony and their local experiences on organizing around food system issues. This allowed the coalition to ground the current food system problems in real life scenarios from testimonies of county citizens, and disperse them across the various participant organizations and

groups. Sharon Thornberry, an attendee from Oregon Food Bank and former president of the Community Food Security Coalition explained that a food policy council should be able to “talk all the way up to their federal legislators...local Food Policy Councils have the local story to tell...the local story of putting a senior citizen face to face with a policy maker will do more than anything they can do...our legislators aren't hearing from people who are concerned about the food system as a whole, and the people they hear from are corporate America, and they hear from them quite heavily” (FFLC County-wide Food Summit 2004). To illustrate, community food action group member, Leona Maricle, from the Veneta/West Lane group explained to summit-goers,

My first volunteer experience with food was in Douglas county when my mom was part of a city group, we provided evening meals for the 'odd fellows'...it was the privilege of the women and children to set up a meal for them...we didn't have a lot of fresh produce...I was raised by a family that went through the Depression...over the years I've been interested in food insecurity because I feel it's a thief that attacks family life in every country, food insecurity from a dedicated parent's point of view is that you may not be able to guarantee that your children will have the food they need. There are some resources for help, but accessing those resources isn't always so easy...when my family moved out here it was still out on Day Island Road...like many food distribution organizations protein foods were hard to find...in Newport there were some wonderful people who would trade truck for truck...trucks from Newport would come in with lots of fresh fish and people would come out of the woodwork and those fish would just disappear...That kind of grassroots effort is what it will take to make food security work...The food programs you started in our community ...we decided one of the first things we wanted in our community was a farmer's market...it came into being as a local farmer's market...the person who's place it was, allowed the gleaners to have a free table, we wanted a place for neighbor's gardens who could bring their food and that it was used locally...this year I'm sure they'd come, they'd bring cents...thousands of cents...and then they'd say this is left over, and this is something I couldn't use...It's been a lot of fun working on food related issues (FFLC County-wide Food Summit 2004).

Leona's testimony, as a gleaner and a long time member of Lane County, recounted to summit participants a part of the history of food and food sourcing in the county, noting how the current system fails to guarantee access. Having Leona testify was a strategic process, defined by Benford and Snow, as frame amplification. “Frame amplification” they propose, has to do with whether a frame resonates or not, and depends on the “extent to which the frame taps into existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom and the like...seeking to “amplify extant beliefs and values”, idealizing them, embellishing them clarifying them or invigorating them (Benford and Snow 2000, 624). Recounting her story across time, and changes in the county including the changing food bank location and truck farming idealizes a time when access and

distribution were coordinated differently, and embellishes how the Veneta/West Lane food action group was able to take a step in making a difference in accessing locally produced food for their community. Benford and Snow go on to assert that frame amplification “appears to be particularly relevant to movements reliant on conscience constituents who are strikingly different from the movement beneficiaries” (Benford and Snow 2000, 624).

Unfortunately, for many whom food insecurity is an immediate concern, where acquiring food is as salient as paying the heating or electric bill, voicing concerns to influential community leaders and legislators in a forum, such as the County-wide Food Summit, or even in a caseworkers office is deferred to their immediate needs to avoid hunger. If many participants were low-income or seniors, then discussing community food security in terms of hunger and access through Leona's testimony would have greater centrality or experiential commensurability to the lives of attendees. For the actual summit-goers, hunger might not be as urgent an issue as for a city waste-cycler or an upscale restaurant chef, as it is for the unemployed or homeless. However, everyone has experienced the sensation of hunger if they have skipped a meal at some point, and hunger in that regard is a frame that resonates with all people. On the other hand, food security in terms of hunger and access might not have high salience or stature in terms of urgency, or severity-the socially constructed vocabularies provided to adherents with compelling accounts for engaging in collective action and sustaining their participation (Williams 2004).

The coalition aimed to show potential adherents that their experiences were commensurate with the community food security and local food system frame, despite incongruencies over the issue of hunger. The fit they try to embellish between the frame and the summit goers drew upon the contemporary cultural narrative, that farm issues and policies, such as the farm bill is for farmers. But eaters, according to the coalition, have a stake in the farm bill as a food bill. Many policies on farming, processing, and distributing are food policies, disguised as farming issues. Having Leona tell the successes of the local action group, signals to small scale and micro-farmers, neighborhood groups, planners and hunger advocates that solutions generated among the diversity of food system stakeholders can have multiple and integrated benefits. For example, jobs for the unemployed increases spending power, and if spending goes to local growers and food businesses, it stays in the community and facilitates an economic multiplier effect.

Following Leona's testimony, local farmers and processors provided food and drinks for lunch for summit participants, and Pastor John Pitney of “That's My Farmer” provided the food song “Get Down and Get Dirty” for entertainment. The summit participants were then led by

high school students and volunteers to tour and help plant spinach in the nearby community and school garden. The Churchill Community Garden was created in partnership with FOOD for Lane County, Churchill High School and Kennedy Middle School, and nearby community gardeners in Eugene. Teachers from the schools use the garden as an outdoor classroom, and students work with the Gardens Coordinator to plan, design and implement school demonstration beds. Produce grown in the school beds is donated to FOOD for Lane County for distribution. In addition to the educational component, 50 community garden plots are available for rent on a sliding scale to cover the costs of irrigation and tools of the garden. Community gardeners come from a range of backgrounds and hold monthly work parties to share their skills and knowledge. Through a partnership with a local nonprofit Huerto de la Familia, Latino families participate in the garden sharing their unique gardening methods, while growing food for their families (FFLC 2007). This excursion aimed to illustrate, hands on, how urban farming solutions could be integrative and multiple.

A food policy council was identified as a needed missing focus in comprehensive community food planning to tackle the problems that the groups identified within the current food system, and an effort to locate gaps and propose policy-oriented solutions. Food policy councils, the coalition purported, respond to complicated food issues in the food system, understand them, and take responsibility for planning future food needs. They “address a variety of concerns such as promoting markets for local producers, examining regulatory barriers to markets, keeping food dollars in the region, assessing citizen access to food, strengthening the social safety net, promoting economic development, and planning responses to emergencies that could disrupt our food supply, such as natural disasters and food safety” (FFLC “Letter to Potential Participants” 2004). For the coalition, although each organization has a defined mission, the food system concept and access to local foods illustrates how both organizations are connected. For example, FOOD for Lane County's mission is to eliminate hunger by creating access to food and solutions to underlying causes of hunger, through “soliciting, collecting, rescuing, growing, preparing and packaging food for distribution through a network of social service agencies and programs; and through public awareness, education and community advocacy” (FFLC 2007). The Lane County Food Coalition's mission, on the other hand, “facilitates and supports the development of a secure and sustainable food system in Lane County – one in which our farms are economically viable and all members of our community have access to fresh local foods” (WFFC 2007). Both FFLC and LCFC have had to broaden their understanding of the problematic of local food security (FFLC in producers, processors and local

businesses, and LCFC in hunger and low-income access issues). But this exercise provided confidence that the food security frame could function in the same manner and garner consensus among a broader variety of organizations.

Benford and Snow suggest that prognostic framing, as a second core framing task, “involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem, or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan. It addresses the Lenninesque question of what is to be done and the problems of consensus and action mobilization” (Benford and Snow 2000). From the beginning, the USDA Community Food Security grant was pursued with the intention to start a food policy council. Both broad diagnostic and prognostic framing plans were established prior to the community food forums and action groups. It was just a matter of getting people mobilized behind the idea of community food security, and the summit was an attempt to attend to consensus mobilization at the target level—the county—around the creation of a food policy council.

The presentation of the potato signified the conceptualization of the food system, and how all of the various organizations and representation of participants were linked to one another within it. The testimony from Leona, the Veneta/West Lane Community Food Action group member provided experiential commensurability in terms of how the community food security frame resonates with the beliefs and experiences of individual community member's lives. Credibility was addressed by having a USDA keynote speaker and various elected officials involved with the summit. Having the USDA official and other public representatives present solidified the coalition's alliance with the state, thus making the coalition look stronger (Whittier 2002), and giving them an advantage over other alternative or oppositional organizations that deal with any variety of components of the local food system, including local components that are oriented for national and global export. The degree to which these key leaders, including their anecdotes and local testimonies, resonate with the potential constituents, aimed to shape the movements collective identity under the umbrella of community food security. All of these facets played a “crucial role in the projection of movement power into the public sphere. Movement discourse, ideologies, and actions must be culturally resonant-coherent within some shared cultural repertoire-for striking the public as legitimate” according to Williams. These public claims were aimed to surmount doubts in beliefs with a significant amount of “cultural power” that was effective enough with people who were not yet on board (Williams 2004).

Creating links and building alliances among and between the various communities within the movement was an attempt to draw overlapping constituents, and attend to consensus

mobilization as well as to create a collective identity. This is also strategic in the aim to share information and support one another's projects and policy oriented programs. A collective identity "is an interpretation of a group's collective experience: who members of the group are, what their attributes are, what they have in common, how they are different from other groups, and what the political significance of all this is" (Whittier 2002, 302). The summit served as a venue to construct this collective identity around community food security, bringing together individuals from different social locations and movements, and to set the stage for facilitating a "complex set of relationships among participants in multiple movements". It was also an attempt to align the coalition and establish their place in the field among various branches of the state, other institutions and interest groups (Whittier 2002, 294). The interactions among the various groups at the summit affect how the coalition formulates and articulates the claims of community food security and how they produce messages and meaning about the food system-one that is often taken for granted by historically cheap food (consumers in the US pay the lowest percentage of monthly income for food). The strategic processes of consensus mobilization are likewise intertwined with discursive processes of interpretation and communication.

Drawing on the conceptualization of a food system and ways to highlight how these different variables intertwine and "go together" through the French-fry exercise is a discursive processes that highlights the frame's relation to the external dominant discourse. It establishes and probes questions about food as an object or mere commodity, and further embeds food in social and ecological relationships. Thinking about the potato's journey into a French-fry was packaged and articulated to present a "new angle of vision, vantage point, and/or interpretation" over the taken for granted food system that currently persists, where 'value' is constructed as the largest amount for the lowest price, over what consumers value in food-how they regard it and what attributes about it they value. Other taken-for-granted values might include nutritional quality (this last year there was more malnourished obese people than ever before in America), the way it is produced (sustainably or not), or other social, ecological and economic qualities such as fair trade, cage-free, or vegan (Benford and Snow 2000, 623). Benford and Snow suggest the concept of frame articulation as a discursive processes that involves the "alignment of events and experiences so that they hang together in a relatively unified and compelling fashion. Slices of observed, experienced, and/or recorded "reality" are assembled, collated, and packaged" (Benford and Snow 2000, 623). The French-fry and the food system of which it is a part attend to this discursive function.

Inviting any interested person and key public officials of government was an effort to remind both parties that both representatives and constituents were aware and familiar with what community food security is, how to achieve it and if and how a council would be an appropriate mechanism to facilitate it. However, how those “hearing and interpreting the message receive the new frame, and the extent to which consensus develops is often partial and fluid” (Williams 2004, 97). Surveys filled out at the conclusion of the summit revealed that one-third of the participants failed to understand the need for a policy council, and did not understand the purpose of the USDA speaker. This signals that framing work on community food security must evolve and needs further elaboration or clarity. Many constituents centered on food and farming have been disassociated far enough and long enough to the extent that re-linking their interests, and how they fit together in the same local system is challenging. Resonance of a local food policy council to attend to the community food security frame holds true for only half of participants, possibly because listeners don't always receive discourses and absorb them whole, but interpret them according to their own frameworks and contexts (Whittier 2002, 304). Nonetheless, over thirty participants expressed interest in the work group, and “out of the summit came a group dedicated to creating a food policy council to continue the work of building connections, identifying and acting on issues and supporting community and individual efforts to improve the food system” (CPW “Summary Report” 2004).

The Food Policy Council Work Group and Motivational Framing

For four months following the summit (March to June, 2004), the Food Policy Council Work Group was formed to write “a recommendation for what a food policy council could and should look like in Lane County and presenting this recommendation to the appropriate people and groups”(CPW “Summary Report” 2004). The work group consisted of 4 LCFC representatives, 5 FFLC representatives, a county commissioner and variety of ten other participants including representatives from the extension service, the university of Oregon, the local supermarket president, Rick Wright, a local farmer and processor, and the Eugene school district dietician. Two other members were gleaned from local action groups. The group met twice a month and drew upon existing food policy council founding and operating documents, mission statements, affiliations, and histories from places as diverse as Iowa, New Mexico, Portland and Ottawa .

At the initial meeting, group members discussed why a food policy council should be formed for the county at this time:

A lot of things have been coming together in the past few years that makes this a good time: the Community Food Projects Grant, which allowed us to go to 6 communities in Lane County and help them look at their community needs and resources to make new connections. The County Food Planning Summit, which brought together more organizations with county-wide perspectives on planning. The sustainable business report on the natural food industry in Lane County from the center for watershed and community health. Northwest Direct Marketing Program, which is looking at production capacities, direct marketing, and what happens to communities with food stamp/farmer's market programs. Also the Portland FPC has been going for two years now, breaking ground for the Lane county group (Food Policy Council Work Group 2004).

Members also mentioned that a food policy council could serve as a coordinating function between existing groups, assist policy makers in making wise decisions, allow the county to be ready to respond effectively to change, and address a wide variety of issues to prevent and respond to a potential crisis. This enables the group to further embellish the justification for creating a food policy council. It serves as the motivational task for framing community food security as the council's guiding frame, and “provides a 'call to arms' or rationale for engaging in ameliorative collective action” (Benford and Snow 2000).

Brian Rohter, co-leader of the Portland/Multnomah FPC discussed with, and informed the group on the creation of the Portland/Multnomah council, which came about from a summit

sponsored by the Interfaith Network (part of the Ecumenical Ministries Council of Oregon) called "A Place at the Table". This summit was much like the County-wide food planning summit. A Portland city commissioner attended "A Place at the Table" and collaborated with a local food network to plan the creation of a council. The Portland/Multnomah council emerged as an advisory body to the county and city boards on actions to affect local food. The meeting with Rohter afforded the group a question and answer forum on the structure and feasibility of the Portland/Multnomah council, how it began and problems encountered on the way to its inception. The Lane County group could borrow and build upon their experience in an attempt to avoid common stumbling issues.

Networking is an important dynamic of framing according to David Law and Martin Rein, who assert that "there is the need to fix belief, which over time gives rise to opposition and then to formal challenges of the dominant frame...this process often occurs in many different places, contributing to the spread of interest in decentralized decision processes both at the national level and in deliberative local democracy. Such processes open the possibility of learning from the experience of others coping with similar problems in different contexts, as well as learning from actions organized explicitly to challenge dominant policy positions" (Law and Rein 2003, 175). In this way, networks like this one can provide a sense of continuity by permitting the exchange and sharing of ideas, strategies, and experiences that can create broad patterns of similar experiences rather than isolated social movement incidences. These ties are significant for social learning, Law and Rein assert, drawing upon Sable's (1994) ideas of learning by monitoring, "when a series of one-off exchanges is transformed into continuous discussion; when the status quo is persistently perturbed, either because it is inherently uncertain or unstable or because it is in a joint exploration of the limits of understanding and of common ends that prompts a reconsideration on the part of the actors involved of 'views of self, the world, and interests arising from both'" (Law and Rein 2003, 204). They contend that social learning in this fashion, is an essential aspect of the processes of re-framing and policy change.

The work group turned again to Governor Kitzhaber's Oregon Plan for watersheds as a framework, for examining and organizing around the community food system concept. Bob Dopplet, from the University of Oregon's Institute for Community and Watershed Health, was invited to the second work group meeting and presented on systems thinking as a tool to conceptualize the food system. He explained to the work group that "Systems thinking is a way of looking at how a system works by considering all of the constituent parts, the relationships between them, and the larger structures, models and visions that produce the system. By looking

at the system in this way, you can see the larger picture and avoid narrow crisis-response action when problems come up” (Dopplet 2004). As an illustrative example, Dopplet added, “if farmers want to increase production, it is vital to look at the other parts of the system and make sure that it won't imbalance the whole by out-pacing consumer demand or distribution capacity”(Dopplet 2004). Much like framing and re-framing, systems thinking involves changing ones vantage point in relation to identifying issues and their potential solutions. It involves avoiding the “crisis-response treadmill of stimulus-response, which is implicit in linear thinking. In linear thinking, causality runs one way from cause to effect, and all factors are equally important. With systems thinking, responses shift to involve acting to a stimulus by reactive learning” (Dopplet 2004). According to Dopplet, a deeper level of learning entails reconsidering the structure of a system in order to redesign it, and rethinking the structure in terms of where it comes from and what it is grounded in. Attempts to “re-frame beliefs and perspectives about the structure” is the final goal of reactive learning.

In systems thinking, the connections in time and space are sought and efforts to understand delays, recognize feedback loops and consider the consequences of actions as best as possible are underscored-how the connections and relationships feed back to affect the entire system. A system is “any group of interacting, interrelating or interdependent parts that form a complex and unified whole with a specific purpose” and the food system is composed of social, political, environmental, and economic interacting systems, with their own aims, intent and purposes. Additionally, all of the parts must be present and functioning to achieve its purpose effectively, the order in which parts are arranged affect system performance, the parts of the system are interdependent thus creating more than the sum of their parts, and the system seeks to maintain stability through feedback. This underpins the systemic structure's performance (Dopplet 2004).

Both hard and soft variables embedded in the structure include policies, programs, materials, money, people, information for the former and beliefs, perceptions, fears, thinking patterns, perceived performance gaps and norms and values of culture, for the latter. It also involves perspectives, beliefs, trends and patterns of behavior that reinforce events and daily life. Taken as a whole, these variables present opportunities for learning and act as leverages for change. Finally, understanding the food system as a food shed and borrowing systems thinking to embellish it can help locate major bottlenecks in the system, what will happen if one part if the system is optimized, and what key indicators can be used to help measure the status of the system over time (Dopplet 2004).

Systems thinking is among the tools the institute offers to local watershed councils. Conceptualizing the food system in ways similar to the watershed framework, borrows cultural tools to both re-frame and find leverage points in the system, as well as among and between its stakeholders. Perceiving a food system as a watershed emphasizes how human activity is embedded in the natural environment of a particular place, and refocuses attention to measures of natural limits rather than natural conditions as obstacles to be overcome. It also entails understanding the complex set of processes including on-farm production, processing, storing, distributing and the marketing of foods, waste disposal and recycling (how the by-products are absorbed by the local environment), as well as the impacts of these on human health, nutrition, the economy, and how the feedback loop of changes to one component affects all the others. A local food system or as Kloppenburg and colleagues frame it, a 'foodshed' influences and is influenced by the bio-physical, socio-cultural, and economic-political spheres for a specific group of people in the context of a specific place (Kloppenburg et al. 2005). Kloppenburg and colleagues put forth, "How better to grasp the shape and the unity of something as complex as a food system than to graphically imagine the flow of food into a particular place? Moreover, the replacement of 'water' with 'food' does something very important: it connects the cultural ('food') to the natural ('shed'). The term 'foodshed' thus becomes a unifying and organizing metaphor for conceptual development that starts from a premise of the unity of place and people, of nature and society" (Kloppenburg et al. 2005). The term 'foodshed' and local food system, emphasizes the "socio-ecological relations embedded in food" (Allen 2003, 63).

Campbell refers to systems thinking and analysis as essential for food systems assessments. This is necessary because of the multiple systems in use and the strategies of food policy councils in identifying the overlaps and gaps for the community at large pertaining to environmental, social and economic health. What she means is that, the nature of a food system assessment, necessitates a broad synoptic view of a given geographic location, for instance, a city, county or even bio-region (e.g. the The Ten Rivers Food Web links Benton, Linn and Lincoln counties in Oregon). Next, both the assets and gaps in the geographically defined space are assessed and evaluated. What is interesting is that multiple systems are at play in a given local food system. Food emergency sources depend on the conventional food system, as well as the majority of consumers. The corporate food system affects what and how much the average eater consumes, which also relates to the nutritional and health quality of a location's population. Land use and urban planning are systems that intricately intertwine with the food system, as well as the food service and retail industry that accounts for a substantial part of the system within the

location's economy. Food, nutrition, and outdoor gardening classes are components of the educational system, not to mention publicly owned community gardens that both intertwine with community development and culture systems around food (Campbell 2004).

For the work group, conceptualizing the structure of multiple systems and discourses at work and narrowing down the system's components to address the problems gleaned from the food forums and summit required more strategic and discursive framing work. The work group identified areas of community food security needs or problem areas, gleaned from the food forums' claims that the consumer market for local, ecologically produced food exists but requires greater education and information. Real time access to consistent supplies of healthy foods were also lacking in many communities. Additionally, the needs of the local food production and distribution sector for economic development were too complex and stifling. These three claims pertain to economic and market-oriented issues within the local food system. In terms of emergency planning, Lane County and the entire conventional food system for that matter, had become overly reliant on distant food sources that could become unavailable during emergencies or disruptions in the current oil-based transportation system. With the abandonment of historical practices of accumulating and storing community food surpluses, an over-reliance on "just-in-time" national food distribution practices has resulted in an outer limit of a 7-day community food reserve supply in the face of natural or man-made disasters, or the failure of transportation systems. Despite these potential food system emergencies, the county lacks a comprehensive, systemic knowledge about county and community food production and supply. Finally, claims reiterated and embellished by the work group concern a perceived lacuna in administrative planning and public policy. This includes an absence of published research on food planning strategies for government use, a locally diverse and uncoordinated system of agencies and departments determining food-related policies and practices across the county, and an absence of a unifying, standard-setting body for educating, advocating, and fund-raising for food issues in local public health.

Merging the problematic claims with the re-conceptualization of the food system to propose solutions and policy development for food security across the county involved more prognostic framing work at the work group level. As can be seen from these multiple diagnostic and prognostic framing processes, "frames are not static, reified entities but are continuously being constituted, contested, reproduced, transformed, and/or replaced during the course of social movement activity. Hence, framing is a dynamic, ongoing process" (Benford and Snow 2000, 628). This speaks to the evolution of frames and that a crucial aspect of frames is that they

are not static. They are constantly evolving in an interplay between both political and cultural external constraints and opportunities. The rise of issues such as 'Peak Oil', increasing food scares, impending recession, as well as the successes of the Farmers' Market, increasing CSA memberships in the community, Eat Local campaigns highlighting locally produced foods at various local grocery stores for both cultural and economic development, and the newly established Office of Sustainability in the county seat present opportunities to re-formulate the claims backing the community food security frame. Although county seat council members and the mayor often support discourses on 'sustainability' and 'Peak Oil', it is often seen as paying lip service to ideals that are overridden by business as usual (Armstrong, 2008). For example, local tax dollars are often poured into non-local, and unsustainable business and transportation development, or development centered on profits and growth. These types of political and cultural opportunities influence how the food security frame is re-evaluated and changed, shifting the scope of economic and political claims to emergency planning, and the absence of comprehensive and coordinated planning within government around food.

Seven claims of the most urgent and salient issue areas within the Lane County food system were reformulated by the work group. These seven issues are Hunger and Food Access, Homeland Security and Emergency Planning, Jobs and Businesses, Natural Resources, Public Health, Comprehensive Food Planning and Leveraging Resources. However, merely identifying issue areas of a food system or 'foodshed' and framing and articulating them can be problematic. It can be inferred for example, that if an examination of a food system requires a holistic or systems approach, then an investigation into one problem area could not stand alone without consideration of the other issue areas. For example, according to FFLC, food is the most ready source to cut out of monthly expenses for low-income constituents, because there are no bill collectors to fend off in family food budgets. Resource constraints on the ability to procure food can emerge from the absence and availability of living-wage jobs, including those lost in the food industry as the local food infrastructure was dismantled. Hundreds of jobs were lost when the last cannery, Agripac was closed.

On the other hand, local food producers and farmers have also suffered. The expense involved in shipping produce to out of area processing facilities before redistribution back to local community outlets since the closing of the cannery has proved costly enough to discourage farmers from growing food for local consumption, turning to non-food crops such as grass seed and nursery plants. Medium sized farms and family farms have also stopped producing for local consumption deterred by the high costs of liability insurance requirements, and produce

certification to distribute to local grocer outlets. These farms also generate little or no income from farming, and must rely on off-farm income from the imbalances in market shares. Primary operators of small and medium-sized farmers are, on average, over 65 years of age and older as of 2002, and nearing retirement, while less than 7 percent of the same sized farms had primary operators under the age of 35, due to the high cost of entry (USDA "2007 Farm Bill Theme Papers" 2006). Concerns over who will replace the retired farmers is increasing, and whether or not the land will be passed down through heredities or sold for development. This has left farming as a profession to less than 2% of employment in the United States, spawning debates on removing farming from the U.S. census as an actual source of work (Buckland 2004; Magdoff et al. 2000; Jackson 2005). This leaves the country landscaped far from a Jeffersonian ideal for a democracy composed of small farmers.

Alongside these issues, much of the inputs (seed, fertilizers) and outputs (processing and packaging) related to food production has become concentrated within a handful of U.S. based international firms vertically and horizontally integrated into market monopolies that constrain small and medium-sized farms, limiting the entry of new farmers into the sector globally, domestically, and locally (USDA "2007 Farm Bill Theme Papers" 2006). The environmental consequences associated with the way conventional and large-scale food for export is produced, processed and distributed has incurred high social and ecological costs. Inputs associated with large-scale agriculture and conventional farming methods are one of the most prominent sources of non-point source pollution from pesticide and herbicide use in agricultural run-off, and contribute to severe problems with water sources, damaging lakes, streams and fragile habitats. Combined with the mono-cropping of many hectares of agricultural land for economies of scale, large tracts of land are left overtaxed and degraded. Land loss due to soil erosion have also left fewer hectares of land available for growing food, while local farmers feel the threats and vulnerability of their farms to urban growth.

Whereas many have pointed to industrialization as major factors of increased green house gases associated with climate change, the conventional food system and large scale agriculture's dependence on petrochemicals for inputs and petroleum to package and transport food around the world to feed growing urban populations is problematic. A continuous and cheap supply of petroleum is called into question with theories of 'Peak Oil', as gas prices continuously climb. This situates the availability of food for all constituents, not only the low-income and elderly in a precarious position. Not only does the dependence on trucking and long-distance transport pose challenges to local farmers, but it also poses serious problems for the

environment. Moreover, long distance transport of large agri-business produce costs are not factored into retail costs, and the over-reliance on packaging processes for food products-to ship them far distances are subsidized by tax payer dollars that could be spent on other social goods, such as education, public health and emergency feeding.

Food related disease and illnesses, including diabetes, heart disease, pancreas cancer and obesity have placed severe constraints on the U.S. economy and health care costs, sometimes leading to bankruptcies or the need to access emergency food boxes for families. The types of food available and in abundance for low prices has led many to opt for junk food or fast food over nutritious whole foods based on their abilities to pay. Over processed and sugar laden foods also pose problems, especially when they are marketed and offered to students in public schools, while problems with childhood obesity and type II diabetes escalate. These problems are on the rise while a lack of an economic infrastructure for local food purchases by schools and institutions persists. But schools and other public institutions are not alone. Challenges also confront retailers in their ability to access local whole foods and food products for retail. The lack of infrastructure to acquire a consistent supply of local food, and the paper work associated with purchasing food through multiple, individual local growers compared to a central distributors is burdensome and too costly.

The loss of farmers and farming contributes to the loss of knowledge in how food is grown, and some have argued that this also entails a loss of social and cultural capital, availability of culturally appropriate foods, empowerment, connection to place, and community cohesiveness (Berry 1997; Anderson and Cook 2000). Lack of consumer knowledge and buy-in to purchasing local, healthy and seasonal foods is both a cultural and economic issue. The current food system has created a wide-spread over-dependence on cheap, over-processed and pre-cooked foods. It has also replaced what many families would convene at the dinner table for, for microwavable tv dinners. Many have lost the knowledge of how to cook from whole foods, and canning for over-winter eating is becoming a lost art (Levall 2007). The historical cultural, political and economic constraints on the consumption of locally produced foods, and the loss of knowledge that the current food system has created is illustrated by my last Thanksgiving meal.

I invited my away-from-home graduate-school colleagues to my home for the feast. I decided to make the traditional turkey and dressing, green bean casserole, cranberry sauce and pumpkin pie that I would have had the pleasure of eating at my families home if I were able to be there. I bought the pumpkin start when it was only two inches tall at the Lane County Farmer's Market in early June with my food stamps that I was granted from accepting work-study as

financial assistance for graduate school. I tended to and watched the plant grow to its maximum potential until the first week in November. I harvested it, cut off the stem to two inches to avoid rot. The night before Thanksgiving day I gathered all of the necessary ingredients of what I thought I might need to turn the pumpkin into pie. The one thing I lacked was a recipe-I had never made one myself-much less from a pumpkin that I had grown. I got on the Internet and typed in the search box "pumpkin pie recipe". The first 5 sites that 'popped up' listed ingredients such as Carnation instant milk, "ready bake" pastry shells and Libby's canned pumpkin. Interestingly, with more research I discovered that commercial canned pumpkin is from a variety of butternut squash, not true pumpkins! One site that advertised "pumpkin pie from a real live pumpkin" even instructed to microwave it. I don't own a microwave.

Kim Levall, a Food Policy Council Work Group member, has referred to the loss of knowledge in how to cook and prepare foods from whole ingredients and its relationship to overall health, nutrition and food security. For this member, this loss of knowledge signals the ubiquity of the corporate food system including its social and ecological costs (Levall 2007). The conventional or corporate food system relies heavily on a lack of information or knowledge beyond the food products price for consumers. The opacity of how foods are grown or processed by excluding information on the ecological and social costs hidden behind bar codes allows the global food system to operate without influencing consumer spending decisions. According to Michael Pollan, the more consumers know about how their food is produced the more likely values other than price will affect their purchasing decisions, and this has played out with the rise of the organics food industry (Pollan 2006).

Many of these issues were integrated and outlined in the white papers that the work group crafted to present to varying tiers of local, city, county and state policy makers, public representatives, agencies and private food system stakeholders. Each white paper explains both problems and opportunities in each of the seven issue areas-beginning with the weaknesses and statistics on the state of the food system in each issue area, followed by positive developments and possibilities, and ending with the actions that the food policy council will take in building upon the strengths and improving the weaknesses. The white papers (see Appendix C) consisted of the main framing work according to Jessica Chanay, the principal investigator of the grant and the FFLC assistant director, to begin rebuilding the local food system infrastructure. As a discursive framing process, communicating the community food security interpretation through 'White Papers' rather than a public event, public comment period or protest, further aligns the council strategically with the bureaucratic structures of the state, mirroring conventional or

technocratic policy processes. But, this alone cannot counter the complexity and abstractness that the community food security frame involves.

Choosing what claims to articulate in the white papers gleaned from both FOOD for Lane County's and the Lane County Food Coalitions own organizational claims, claims that initiated the grant, and claims that were made during the food forums and the food summit has shifted, condensed and expanded in varying ways over the course of the framing process. This aspect is explained by Benford and Snow as 'frame amplification'. Benford and Snow put forth that frame amplification as a discursive and strategic process involves "accenting and highlighting some issues, events or beliefs as being more salient than others. These punctuated or accented elements may function in service of the articulation process by providing a conceptual handle or peg for linking together various events and issues. The punctuated events function like synecdoches, bringing into sharp relief and symbolizing the larger frame or movement of which it is a part" (Benford and Snow 2000, 623) . The white papers function as the conceptual peg, and are the outcome of the framing work that is continuously reconstituted during the course of interaction and movement activities (Benford and Snow 2000).

The work group presented the white papers to "city councils, mayors and city administrators, the Lane County Commission, and community civic groups" (CPW 2003, 14). They also identified, recruited and selected an initial council membership for the LCFPC, prepared membership orientation materials, and designed a draft council structure for the first year of the LCFPC operations. "Thirty people have participated in the work group process, representing many parts of the food system, including farmers and ranchers, nutritionists, food retailers, policy makers, anti-hunger advocates, educators, direct marketers, food processors, students, consumers, community gardeners, food systems advocates, community organizations, media activists, school food services, faith communities, economic development staff and food systems researchers" (Food Policy Council Work Group "Recommendations for the Development of a Food Policy Council in the Lane County Area" 2004).

From July to September, 2004, a negotiating committee was formed to decide where and how the food policy council would exist, with what funding, and under which non-profit as a parent sponsor. After meeting with and proposing the affiliation with the Lane County Food Coalition, the negotiating committee decided that the group did not have the time or representation to link together. "The negotiating committee recommended instituting a separate group with the authority to finalize FPC decision-making" (CPW 2003, 16). This recommendation led to the creation of a design team.

The Design Team completed a vast menu of activity, including finalizing the initial Food Policy Council organizational documentation and resolution letters of support completed by local councils of government and community organizations. They also made general decisions “regarding FPC affiliation, structure, funding, functioning, community partnerships/support, and membership development” (CPW 2003, 16), and designed community and media outreach publications and presentations. Finally, “members of the design team not pursuing FPC involvement completed the screening of applicants and selected an initial pool of Council members. The Design Team developed the orientation session for the first LCFPC meeting and a draft agenda to provide guidance to new members for the first year of FPC development” (CPW 2003).

The Lane County Food Policy Council officially began operations with a hosted dinner on January 30, 2006. The creation of the Lane County Food Policy Council as a structural vehicle to address community food security began in 2005, with resolution No. 05-4-13-1 from the Lane County Board of Commissioners. The Lane County Food Policy Council's mission is “to provide opportunities for a diverse cross-section of people to address our community's relationship to its food system and to facilitate projects and policies that will promote community food security; strengthen the local food economy; and conserve and enhance agricultural capacity for future generations” (Lane County Food Policy Council 2006). Drawing upon key indicators of community food security, the council is structured to concentrate on access to food, including increasing the capacity of the community to feed itself in the case of emergencies, an economically vibrant food system with strong markets for local food, environmental impacts in the food system (regeneration of soils, air, watersheds and wildlife habitat), and educational opportunities to empower the entire and future community in nutrition, waste cycling, food business development and community food planning. Employing a two-pronged approach to community food security, the council was designed to facilitate projects that work on rebuilding the local food infrastructure, and educate and act as analysts or a think tank among the various local food system stakeholders for policy formation and action.

Once official, the council sought numerous models for integrating community food security perspectives into existing programs. Efforts included encouraging the use of food stamps at local farmers' markets and Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) farms at various community events, including “That's My Farmer”, and strengthening connections and providing support for the School Gardens Project, Food On! Programs to integrate more local foods into schools, and the Willamette Farm and Food Coalition's (formerly the Lane County Food

Coalition) Buy local! campaign. The food policy council also endorsed two House Bills on Oregon Agriculture and public schools. House bill 3476 allocates 7 cents per school meal served to incorporate Oregon grown agricultural products, while HB 3307 created a Farm to School Program within the Oregon Department of Agriculture. The Lane County Food Policy Council also endorsed HB 3185 to award mini-grants to schools starting school gardens and other food-based learning curricula.

Finally, a year after its inception, the council organized and facilitated a meeting between a farmer, a miller and a local natural foods distributor. Amidst rising wheat prices, the farmer met with other local farmers to encourage a transition from growing grass seed to wheat. Fifty years ago, the Willamette Valley farmers provided for most inhabitants by growing a wide diversity of crops, including close to three hundred thousand acres of wheat. Sixty percent of what was grown in the Willamette Valley in 2006 was grass for grass seed, which is shipped all over the world. The Willamette Valley is hailed as the grass seed capital of the world. Less than fifty thousand acres of wheat were planted in the valley in 2006. In other words, prime Oregon farmland is being used primarily to grow a non-edible luxury item instead of food (Armstrong 2008).

With the promise of the grain miller and food distributor to purchase, process and distribute the wheat, even offer advance contracts, the farmer made significant strides, insuring other farmers a measure of security that what they would grow could be sold. This achievement in facilitating the “connection between farmers and local infrastructure is effectively a form of community supported agriculture, but on a larger scale” (Armstrong 2008). With consensus achieved among stakeholders, the council stepped in once again to facilitate coordination between the businesses and local government officials.

The results of the meeting concluded with the farmer, miller, and distributor agreement, and the Lane County Food Policy Council further aided in helping to negotiate tax breaks and zoning waivers with the county to enable moving the distributor and mill closer to the farms, for further transportation efficiency. The producer, processor, distributor and county agreement attends to rebuilding and retaining a local food system infrastructure that considers food miles, local self-reliance, emergency planning, economic development, and reconnecting rural and urban partnerships concerning food, farms and access. Most importantly, the outcomes of the meetings provided a concrete measure by which to assess the feasibility and accessibility of the community food security frame. Zeroing in on sustainability, emergency planning and jobs and business development in the local food system, the stakeholders could move forward with a

market as movement strategy that did not have to necessarily embrace the other policy issue areas that community food security includes, such as comprehensive planning, public health, or hunger and food access for low-income community members. Planners were also educated by drawing attention to an often taken for granted aspect of food and security at the local scale. The local food system does include a variety of systems including the various alternative systems as well as the conventional food system, and the council's task is to facilitate win-win scenarios and benefits that achieve the goals of a healthy and sustainable food system, while recommending policies that have salience and make sense in often overlooked issues.

The flexibility of the community food security frame rests upon the logic of systems thinking that underpins it. The council can gain a better understanding of how the local food system is functioning and assess issues or gaps where it fails to achieve efficiency, greater economic security or access with a food systems analysis. Systems thinking in this regard functions as a tool and can be utilized in part as a conceptual handle for the council to gain a better understanding of the inner-workings of the system at large in order to recommend actions to improve it, such as was done with the county and wheat. The food systems concept functions for systematically conceptualizing and sorting what is happening among the complexity of interacting systems and where those interacting systems fail to account for issues such as decentralizing the food supply chain through local agricultural and processing capacity and distribution and sourcing routes, aspects that are not merely economic (conventional, mass produced system) or social (emergency feeding food system), but also ecological and often political.

It is also interesting to make note that the grain miller is a Eugene based branch location of Grain Millers Inc., which is based out of Minnesota. It is not a locally-owned mill, but it is the last remaining mill in the Willamette Valley. Moreover, Grain Millers also processes both organic and conventional oats, wheat, rye and barley and only organic corn and soy for both food and feed. The Eugene branch also performs value-added processing in mixes with cereal grain and flour. Most of the ingredients the mill processes are produced out of state, but will begin processing local grains in addition to its current grains, following the stakeholder meeting. Additionally, Grain Millers is an ingredient supplier to customers worldwide (Grain Millers Inc 2008). Aspects from various food systems (sustainable, organic, conventional, mass produced, and global) are involved in the processing of these grains, however this does not necessarily contradict tenants of the local community food security frame for Lane County.

Likewise, the distribution company, Glory Bee Foods Inc, is a certified organic processor and distributor, processing over 100,000 gallons of honey per week, and distributes more than 300,000 pounds of products per week, locally, state wide and regionally. They ship honey related products from Eugene to places as far as Ashland and the Canadian boarder (Shinabarger 2003) and are the only natural foods distribution company in Eugene. As far as distribution concerns are assessed, Glory Bee distributes only organic and natural foods, foods produced sustainably, but distributes these products outside of the local foodshed as well as locally.

Grain Millers Inc, considered leaving the state if a site was not available for expansion, and Glory Bee's current site incurred inefficiencies from wasteful costs and safety issues. Moving outside of the urban center of Eugene, closer to farms, allowed both the mill and distributor to expand operations, lessen food miles locally, and retain a crucial aspect of the local food system infrastructure aside from production. Yet it also contributes to re-localization of crop production that has disappeared due to economies of scale. Under the community food security frame, the rebuilding and retaining of the local food infrastructure re-links a web of networks and interconnections under the theme of sustainability. For the stakeholders, this means expansion, new markets, increased sales, and an investment in additional markets. For the food policy council, the community food security frame ensures retaining the processing facility, prevents them from leaving the county which would take jobs, and the economic return to the community. It also lessens food miles, not only in producing and processing and tracing food from farm to plate, but also geographically within the area. Critics of farm to plate food mile tracing contest that wholesale distribution systems can confuse food mile calculations, noting that food grown where it will be purchased, may still travel hundreds of miles through the system before arriving back at a local store. In this instance, food miles have not only been reduced locally, but also among the farm produce distribution hub. Moreover, "while emotional Peak Oil or climate change presentations, sadly have done little to change business as usual, food discussions do" (Armstrong 2008).

All in all, the Lane County Food Policy Council helped prevent a crucial link in production processing and distribution from disappearing, while the stakeholders involved in the arrangement did not have to embrace the holistic and systems thinking logic that underpins the community food security frame wholesale. But, the council can back stakeholder interests and communicate to government and local officials and planners the viability of this venture in terms of long-term planning and economic and environmental impacts of the local food system that are often overlooked, which often comprises of twenty percent of all local economic activity. In sum,

systems thinking contributes to a flexible frame-one that can be accessed by different stakeholders with diverse ideological frames and aims, and among different constituents in different systems (conventional, mass produced, organic, alternative and hunger-food banks or emergency feeding), and enables the Lane County Food Policy Council to bring the diverse interests together to find and design solutions and policies strengthening Lane County's food system.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Eaters must understand that eating takes place inescapably in the world, that it is inescapably an agricultural act, and that how we eat determines, to a considerable extent, how the world is used -Wendell Berry, 1990

Movements act as carriers of beliefs and perceptions regarding the course and conditions of reality. They often operate by constructing meaning or interpretive frames for participants and potential adherents in attempting political or policy change. Benford and Snow regard movement success as based on the proffered frame's ability to attend to core framing tasks, produce resonance between frame articulators and potential adherents, and align with the perceptions of participants or those in opposition.

The foundation for social movement framing emerges when people's beliefs or perceptions are challenged over some aspect of reality that causes doubt in the workings of policy. This can lead to challenges to the status quo and existing policy frameworks. These challenges might reject the dominant policy framework wholesale, or a specific aspect of it, and attempt to replace it entirely, or in part with a new frame. According to Benford and Snow, frames are constructed as movement adherents negotiate a shared understanding of the problem they identify as in need of changing, make attributions of who or what is to blame, articulate a new set of arrangements and urge others to act in concert (Benford and Snow 2000). Frames also perform an interpretive function and in this regard, help to organize how reality is perceived, including assumptions that are sometimes taken for granted, and mitigate incongruencies between belief and doubt. Frames are laden with values, interests and what counts as truths or facts, and are also products of collective problem settings and problem solving.

The process of naming the problem, attributing its cause to a source, deciding on what to do about it, and motivating potential adherents are what Benford and Snow coin "core framing tasks". These tasks, (termed diagnostic, prognostic and motivational) attend to the interrelated problem of facilitating agreement, and inspiring and legitimating action. Benford and Snow

argue that the degree to which frame-makers attend to these tasks will largely determine participant mobilization. Next, how well the frame resonates with potential adherents is determined by how well it makes use of existing cultural or dominant beliefs, and how salient the frame is, in terms of centrality and relevancy to the lives of potential constituents. Credibility and legitimacy are also factors that affect frame resonance. In addition to core framing tasks and resonance, framing is also laden with discursive and strategic processes, or frame alignment processes, while attending to core framing tasks which can constrain or facilitate framing and framing activities.

Finally, frames are “continuously being constituted, contested, reproduced, transformed, and/or replaced during the course of social movement activity”, and “are affected by a number of elements of the socio-cultural context in which they are embedded” (Benford and Snow 2000, 628). This constant evolution occurs among the interplay between internal framing work and the external political and cultural context, which can constrain framing or present opportunities for its success. The context in which frames are made can also affect both meaning or frame construction, and also the structure of the organization supporting the frame. Feedback between the internal framing-work of the movement and the external political and cultural contexts can also shape one another. Although frames “emerge from interaction between the challenges to dominant culture” and political structures and discourses, those very cultural and political discourses and structures are also “continually shifting and multiple even at any given time (and equally contradictory and changeable)” (Whittier 2002, 301). With this in mind, movement adherents might construct frames that draw upon these dominant discourses, giving rise to new interpretations of existing policy or adding to it, which in turn prompts movement adherents to reassess how their claims are made (Whittier 2002, 301). Likewise, shifting cultural and political contexts can affect the timing of the proposed frame and how amenable it is to society's perception of social change (Tarrow 1998).

To begin with, the character of this movement is undeniably atypical. The community food security movement is a unique social movement with multiple meanings. It is not characterized by direct political contention and protest, but functions as some have pointed out—a quiet revolution, and alternatively referred to as the local food movement. Participation in this movement can be brought about by something as simple as personal choice and taste, as well as a call for more adequate information to make choices and distinctions on food purchases. The community food security movement is also characterized by concerns on the nutritional value of available foods and access to them. Movement adherents claim that food transported thousands

of miles from the point of purchase loses valuable nutrients and taste. Other adherents of community food security focus on the availability of locally produced nutritious foods making their way into schools and onto the tables of those most in need through school gardens projects in low-income area schools, gleaning, local farmers market donations to food banks and emergency feeding operations, and community gardens (Food Security Learning Center 2007).

Community food security is a movement that is also about solidarity, social justice and economic equity, with food dollars going to local farmers who produce food, or to fair trade standards that support farmers world-wide whose subsistence farming lifestyles and local food systems have been displaced by the conventional, mass produced global food system. At present, less than twenty cents on the dollar returns to the farmer in the U.S., or to support the community from where the food was produced (Food Security Learning Center 2007). The remaining eighty percent of every dollar spent on food goes to marketing and packaging. Thus, the conventional, mass produced food system spends four fifths of the cost of food on educating, by swaying customer preferences and causing excess packaging wastes. The community food security movement is also about educating. This education includes, not only the public and consumers on food choices and nutrition, but also about changing cultural appetites to reflect locally and seasonally available foods, and integrating local food system issues in educational curricula.

Others enter the movement with environmental concerns-how much food waste ends up in landfills, issues of soil degradation, non-point source water pollution, fragile habitats impacted and contributions to global warming through the conventional food system's dependence on long distance transportation. The community food security movement is also about strong local economies and jobs, and keeping local food dollars local. It is also about diversification, access and security ("less vulnerability of food system to widespread contamination, intentional attacks, and disruption from natural catastrophes") (Food Security Learning Center 2007). Community food security is about building "the local economy and restor[ing] pride in a community's self-reliance" by rebuilding networks to link food producers and processors with consumers for better local economic security. This, movement adherents claim, "return[s] control of the means of production and exchange to the community, giving it more power and autonomy" (Food Security Learning Center 2007). In essence, the food security movement is a movement that attempts to show "how our food system is connected, how our food grows, how it's processed, who grows it, what we eat, where it comes from, who goes hungry and why" and "re-weaving a complex web of connections—social, economic and political in nature—that are being torn asunder by our industrial global food system" (Food Security Learning Center 2007).

In terms of assessing the community food security frame in Lane County, aspects of Benford and Snow's typology of core framing tasks warrant mention. Benford and Snow write, "Since social movements seek to remedy or alter some problematic situation or issue, it follows that directed action is contingent on identification of the source(s) of causality, blame and/or culpable agents...However, consensus regarding the source of the problem does not follow automatically from agreement regarding the nature of the problem. Controversies regarding whom or what to blame frequently erupt between the various SMOs comprising a social movement as well as within movement organizations" (Benford and Snow 2000, 616). For the community food security movement, diagnostic framing tasks entailed identifying the problems in the current food system, followed by the decision to create a council to address ways to rebuild the local food infrastructure, or the prognostic task of what to do about those problems. There appeared to be no controversies on whether reaching consensus on identification of a central culpable agent was important or essential among the organizations comprising the movement in order to move forward in creating the council, such as free-market capitalism, or the conventional food system in general. All of the organizations that come together to make up the CFS movement are composed of different sizes, discourses and identities. Since Lane County's food system consists of a variety of alternative food systems in addition to the conventional food system, "attribution of blame for a problem can acquire quite different meanings and policy implications within dominant or oppositional contexts", or contexts that might be initially perceived as oppositional (Whittier 2002, 304). Thus, as an initial attempt to start a conversation about the local food system and identify barriers, gaps, and multiple systems players, they can coalesce and promote a loose structure, which makes coexistence of a variety and diversity of discourses and identities possible. This loose structure also facilitates compatibility of different organizations and stakeholders with different sources of blame (Whittier 2002, 297-8).

Next, Benford and Snow note that oftentimes, "The identification of specific problems and causes tend to constrain the range of possible "reasonable" solutions and strategies advocated" (Benford and Snow 2000). Some solutions were formed in local food action groups, because of the acute nature of the problem identified. For example, linking gleaners with farmers, creating local farmer's market and the solutions and strategies advocated required greater networking, communication and agreements among local stakeholders. Other problems identified centered on globalization, free market, regulatory, legal and economic barriers. These issues addressed at the forums, summit and in the work group would have to be weighed by a

council that could facilitate arrangements, and act as a liaison among private stakeholders and government agencies, corresponding to the claim of a perceived lacuna in government planning and policy on food. Food, unlike other commodities is a basic human need, and has a limited shelf life. Additionally, unlike other commodities such as shoes or computers, one can only eat so much food. Yet despite municipality attention to housing, education and water or sewage, no agency is devoted to local food systems issues. Instead, food issues are tangentially ascertained by a number of uncoordinated agencies and departments. However, treating food more as a basic need and ensuring access despite one's ability to pay for it, over treating food as any other commodity, runs counter to certain aspects of the conventional food system. It also poses challenges to the logic of economies of scale and the ecological, social and economic externalities associated with treating food as such. Employing the social justice aspects of the community food security frame opens up challenges to the range of reasonable solutions proposed when made among many groups, particularly when those groups consist of not-for-profits, social groups, and private businesses.

In this regard, framing Benford and Snow contend "takes place within a multi-organizational field consisting of various SMOs constituting a movement industry, including potential opponents, targets of influence, media and bystanders. Thus it is not surprising that an SMOs prognostic framing activity typically includes refutations of the logic or efficacy of solutions advocated by opponents as well as a *rationale for its own remedies*" (Benford and Snow 2000, 617). Opponents might be the proponents, adherents, or stakeholders in the global, export-oriented food system, or the main USDA interest and commodity groups. However, similar to the problems of identifying the source of the problem or culpable agents, refutation of the logic of the conventional or global food system would alienate the food banks and emergency feeding operations, which are dependent upon the conventional food system and corporate food donations. Refuting the logic of the conventional food system might also alienate or spawn counter-frames from larger local commodity farmers, local agribusiness, the Extension Service, and farmer and business groups such as the Farm Bureau or the Chamber of Commerce. "Framing contests do occur within multi-organizational and multi-institutional arenas", and the coalition does take this into account (Whittier 2002). By employing a tactical repertoire that is consistent with the USDA and the community food security grant, the coalition can remain diplomatic, truly acting as a coordinating council among the various systems stakeholders functioning within in Lane County's food system. They can facilitate greater networking among the different systems to attend to the gaps, barriers and inefficiencies identified. For the

movement, and the nature of multiple food systems at work in any given locale, Whittier writes, movements “rarely mobilize by rejecting the dominant discourses ...wholesale” (Whittier 2002, 303-304).

Finally, the white papers that were crafted around the seven issue areas for community food security, are constructed around weaknesses that are perceived to need urgent attention, the strengths or propriety of the Lane County food system, and what the council will do to build on strengths and minimize the weaknesses. The white papers in this regard, function as motivational framing tasks; constructing vocabularies of urgency, efficiency, severity and a “call to arms” to provide adherents with compelling accounts for engaging in collective action. Moreover, solutions were created within weeks of the local community food forums in smaller communities, by merely starting a conversation around the community food security concept. More than half of the summit participants supported creating a county-wide food policy council by the summit's conclusion, and offering to head up its creation. The work group likewise attended to motivational framing tasks by addressing and providing rationales to the question “of why now?” to further attend to how well the frame might resonate and align with potential constituents.

Conditions that can affect framing efforts, according to Benford and Snow include the relationship between the proposed frame and the larger belief system, and the centrality and relevance of the frame to potential adherents lives. Credibility and legitimacy can also constrain framing, as well as whether or not the frame corresponds to existing cultural beliefs and myths. Having the USDA Community Food Projects representative present at the summit drew attention to local food security as a homeland security issue, including the recent surge of food scares and over-reliance on distant food sources. These conversations might have inspired the work group to include and re-frame emergency planning as a homeland security issue in the white papers, but for purposes of frame resonance, allying with the USDA speaker signals to conventional food stakeholders that the community food security frame is consistent with federal policy. It also adds credibility and legitimacy to the local community food security frame.

Local community member's testimonies were also strategically presented to attend to the centrality of the frame. However, as was noted, everyone can understand the feeling of hunger if they have skipped a meal, but whether or not the issue has priority or takes precedence over other priorities, might pose challenges to some participant organizations or individuals, such as private stakeholders, food businesses or environmental groups.

Benford and Snow put forth that once movement adherents have attended to the core framing tasks and resonant features of a frame, changes in society for a social movement can be

made through a variety of frame alignment processes. Strategic frame alignment processes, according to Benford and Snow, are deliberative, goal oriented processes that are developed and deployed to recruit new members, mobilize adherents or acquire resources or both. They are strategic efforts to link or align the interpretive frame with prospective constituents or actual or potential resource providers.

For example frame bridging, includes extending the scope of problems covered by a frame for constituent and social group mobilization, as long as the various problems covered by a frame are plausibly connected to one another. Both LCFC and FFLC built upon and linked their respective missions through the food system concept for USDA funding, although their organizational cultures were already based on integrative solutions (e.g. school and community gardens, gleaning, donations, CSA's). It was only a matter of consensus mobilization and testing their assumptions by further locating acute problems in local communities across the county in both urban and rural areas. The food forums attended to this task. The coalition provided a broad enough framework with the local food systems concept to facilitate dialogue in identification of specific gaps and discontinuities in accessing, producing, processing and distributing local food. The summit further elaborated the diagnostic and prognostic framing tasks-to identify other problems from a wider array of organizations and constituents on a county-wide level, and garner their support for the creation of the council. The local food system concept for identifying barriers to local food security strategically illustrated the scope of the frame.

For the Lane County community food security movement, the range of issues covered by the frame are delineated in the white papers, and with the food system concept. This was successful in gaining a diversity of members and supporters from a wide range of agencies and groups (LCHAY, Golden Temple, Lane County Farmers' Market, Extension Service, Eugene 4j area schools, and religious groups). Although each group comes to the movement with their own collective identities and cultures, they can relate to how their goals fit within the community food security frame through the idea of the local food system. Further, the food system concept is broad enough to plausibly connect the organizations together by illustrating the multiple systems at work, but this broadness could also be a recipe for its failure. The local food system concept might be too abstract, and not culturally resonant enough in terms of urgency or priority, and what compromises are acceptable, such as acknowledging the interdependence of emergency feeding and the conventional and corporate food system, while that very system is seen by some as posing challenges and detriments to family farms.

Frame bridging also relates to a form of frame alignment conceptualized as frame extension, whereby the food security frame or primary frame is extended to include what is perceived as important to potential adherents, which in this case would be farmers, processors, retailers, planners, even homeland security proponents. Once again, the council's white papers, written for the purpose of meeting with government officials were centered on seven topics or injustice claims gleaned from community members during the food forums, from comments from various government representatives, the USDA keynote speaker, attendees to the summit, and from the personal beliefs and perceptions of work group members. However, the seven problem areas that were finally agreed upon might possibly be too many to strategically frame. The connections between the issue areas might appear to be too complex or abstract in a policy world of catch phrases and 5-second sound bites. On the other hand, the food forums, summit and work group process was to get wider representation and support at a larger county-wide scope, and to illustrate the tools and concepts that a food policy council would use in linking a broad diversity of interests, and how they would consider and integrate those interests for policy proposals and analysis. Extending the food security frame through the local food systems concept and the white papers provides a foundation from which a council of authorities and community members can assess policy recommendations and work in coordination among all groups, in an effort to find win-win solutions similar to watershed councils.

The idealization, embellishment, clarification or invigoration of existing beliefs, and how the frame taps into cultural values and narratives refers to what Benford and Snow coin, frame amplification. Amplifying by way of clarifying an interpretative frame that bears on a particular issue or problem, such as hunger and food security is a valuable process for movements with constituents that are different from the beneficiaries of the movement, or if the frame contradicts activities or core values of the dominant culture. Once again, by attending to the frame's resonance implicit in the summit with Leona's and other summit-goers testimonies, the coalition was able to clarify and invigorate the existing federal food security frame that is based on individual and household abilities to acquire food, and expanding the frame to issues and values that were community-wide in scope. This aspect also relates to the fourth form of frame alignment strategies involving changing old meanings and generating new ones. The food system concept and systems thinking are tools to change perceptions-to re-frame hunger and individual food insecurity to all constituents-because all are eaters and food is "personal and universal to everyone and is fundamental to the inner workings of a community" (Food First 2007).

As a potential transformative frame, community food security hitches on to the food security frame (individual resource constrained hunger) promoted by federal policy. The movement co-opts this frame and expands it by adding 'community'. This changes the meaning and scope of the term and constructs new meaning in terms of security and food to a more broad, wider range of issues (homeland security, local farmer base and food businesses, protection of farmland, emergency planning, food miles and hunger and poverty). The transformation of the food security frame was successful in the Oregon House Bills on sourcing local food in school lunches for Oregon at large. It was also successful, to a degree in facilitating the farmer, miller and distributor agreement. These examples provide concrete measurable outcomes of the successful re-framing of food security that would not have been possible by treating food issues as merely hunger issues, or individual and household accessibility issues. As Whittier argues, "movements draw on hegemonic discourses and categories and to construct discourses" in this case, homeland security, food scares, foods with regional specialty and food insecurity, "that are both transformative, yet constrained by the hegemonic meanings they wish to challenge. If we overlook collective identities and discourse, we miss the ways that movements' construction of oppositional identities" and discourses can modify institutions (Whittier 2002, 306).

While strategic processes are deliberative and goal oriented, discursive processes are about interaction and interpretation. Both processes interpret and strategize about political opportunities and cultural acceptability, but discursive processes better highlight how the frame interacts with the larger dominant discourses, and whether the frame emerges at an appropriate time, such as society's amenability to social change. Discursive processes also involve the conversations that occur in relation to movement activities, and "operate at the level of meaning, shaping what is thinkable, possible, comprehensible" (Whittier 2002, 304). When frames are contested, rendered problematic and renegotiated during disagreements or perceived incongruencies among core framing tasks, discursive processes can help mitigate conflicts over meaning, or the action-oriented components of framing, and between many different collective identities that make up a movement. Benford and Snow suggest the concept of frame articulation, which includes connecting and aligning events and experiences so that they hang together in a unifying and compelling fashion that provides a new vision or vantage point to the problem (Benford and Snow 2000) when frames are contested, or merely made to contest the status quo.

The food system concept presented at the summit with the "French-fry eaten in your town" tries to provide a new vantage point for food. Food is essential, yet often taken for granted

and often laden with assumptions that regulatory agencies successfully attend to food safety, acceptability for human consumption, health and nutrition, and are coordinated for a continuous supply. Many do not question how food comes to the dinner table from the field where it is grown, how or by what methods it is processed, and where it is from. The diversity of organizations involved in the movement need a unifying metaphor and portray it in the local food system concept, illustrated in the French-fry narrative at the summit. The potato metaphor is also used for mobilization and to mitigate among potentially contentious stakeholders or groups that could pose a counter frame. The food system concept alleviates this problem to a degree, by accounting for all of the multiple systems at work.

The Food Policy Council Work Group also employed the discursive processes of frame articulation in meetings, borrowing the concept of the watershed and systems thinking to fit together the problems identified through the food forums, summit and the work group member's perceptions of problems in constructing the white papers. Utilizing systems thinking in the work group functions as a tool for the purpose of facilitating a new vantage point. Systems thinking underpins the community food security frame, but it is also a flexible tool in that contentious stakeholders can borrow aspects of the frame and utilize them in such a fashion that does not have to compromise their interests, but rather point to new or innovative links among different stakeholders in the county's food system. This is illustrative in the large scale coordination between the conventional grass seed farmers, the grain miller and large scale distributors. Organically Grown Company can also utilize community food security as a large scale distributor-that distributes organic, locally grown produce to regions as far as Canada and Southern California. In other words, aspects of systems thinking can be borrowed and utilized in a manner that is compatible with many of the systems that make up the Lane County food system-including the conventional food system (that many low-income community members and food banks depend upon) and the ecologically sustainable food system, or the local food system. Other examples include Lochmead farms, which is not organic, but it is a local thriving business processor, providing jobs and economic activity that might provide for the betterment of those affected by individual or household food insecurity. On the other hand, Organic Valley dairy is not a local firm, but it processes milk produced locally that is environmentally sustainable and keeps local organic dairy farmers in business. If systems thinking is used in conjunction with the tenants of community food security (social justice, environmental sustainability, economic vitality), then recognition of the multiple system's interrelationships is highlighted and tensions and contention are diffused.

Drawing on systems thinking logic for assessing the local food system, enables a variety of combinable and re-combinable relationships among a variety of stakeholders-stakeholders that might be contentious or from different food systems. This is to put forth that anyone stakeholder does not have to accept the entire holistic, systems thinking aspect of the community food security frame, but can draw upon the framework of community food security and its sustainability focus or food miles, or any of the seven issue areas outlined in the council's white papers alone or in combination. Accepting one aspect or issue area, does not necessarily translate into accepting the other six, such as emergency planning or emergency feeding and hunger. Unfortunately, food security in terms of hunger and access might not have high salience or stature in terms of urgency, or severity-the socially constructed vocabularies provided to adherents with compelling accounts for engaging in collective action and sustaining their participation (Williams 2004), or for private business with shareholder responsibilities. On the other hand, the movement has transformed the federal food security frame of individual hunger into a more abstract, but also fluid frame that is flexible among a variety of food systems proponents , that in the end departs from addressing the systemic and root causes of hunger that are consequences of community-wide issues. These issues might include the economic viability of the community, employment, education and alternative food networking links such as food recovery and other collaborative efforts.

These aspects, in turn, relate to the discursive framing process of frame amplification, which includes accenting and highlighting some issues as more salient than others. The rise of food scares and healthy foods (e.g. non-gmo's, trans-fats) were not highlighted but hunger, declining family farms, economy were. Interactions in the course of movement gatherings, and claims of salient issues have been renegotiated and re-prioritized. They have transformed FOOD for Lane County's recognition of systemic causes of hunger, and as a deeper and wider community problem relating to nutrition issues, Homeland Security, emergency planning, and the stability of local farms and food businesses. But it is also important to note that the local food bank did not arrive at the interconnections of these seemingly separate issues alone or first. The course of the framing of food and security began with the creation of the National School Lunch Program, first as a measure for national security, then on to individual and household measures of hunger after the eighties recession. The Community Food Security grants created in the 1996 Farm bill, attend to innovative projects connecting hunger, nutrition and family farms, of which the coalition was a recipient of. The USDA Community Food Security Act , was a state response from a coalition of national activists working in conjunction with the Community Food Security

Coalition gaining lobbying power and access (Whittier 2002). The Community Food Security grants have also changed, or been re-framed over time to become more inclusive-expanding from hunger, low-income (food insecurity from the FNS), to increasing the food self-reliance of communities, promoting comprehensive responses to local food, farm, and nutrition issues and improving the availability of locally or regionally produced foods to low-income people. Expanded criteria included the development of innovative linkages among the public, for-profit, and nonprofit food sectors, encouraging long-term planning and infrastructure development of communities, rural poverty, welfare dependency, job training, and a variety of multi-agency approaches.

As was illustrated with the Community Food Security Act, the cultural and political context in which the movement operates can facilitate or constrain the success of movements, including “configurations of law, political access, representation , economic relations” (Williams 2005) as well as elites, state power, and oppositional movements (Tarrow 1998). Social movements create “frames that draw on both oppositional and dominant beliefs, in dialogue with the larger culture and institutional contexts in which the movement makes its claims (Whittier 2002, 301), as they attempt to transform dominant meanings. Movement adherents perceptions of openings of when the time is ripe and the accuracy of those perceptions play an important role in framing success. However, movement adherents can also misinterpret those openings, or fail to perceive them when they arise. This leads to a number of questions: Is the political and cultural climate in Lane County amenable to the new frame? How does history affect habits, and create institutions where food is taken for granted and valued based on its cheapnesses, and at the same time misses gaps? As the development of any of the food systems evolve, surprises can and do arise.

Other systems have emerged alongside and between the conventional system, such as the emergency food system and alternative food networks, such as community supported agriculture, to attend to some of these gaps. However, coordination among them for maximum efficiency and effectiveness is sometimes scattered and often happenstance. Although the non-dominant systems have found innovative ways to work together, less coordination occurs between them and the conventional food system, and the conventional food system is what much of the county depends upon. The county's food system is composed of all of the linked activities that result in the production and exchange of food. It is given that the local food system functions primarily via the dominant food system, but community food security seeks to provide a buffer, re-build and strengthen the local system for reasons other than maximizing profits for shareholders. One

such reason includes emergency planning in case the conventional food system breaks down or fails. The conventional food system relies heavily upon the logic of economies of scale, which rests upon the assumption that pools of resources that are most efficiently produced in specific areas can be efficiently transported around the planet. With rising fuel costs, some suppose that the cheap labor and lax environmental standards from outsourcing our food, making mass produced food cheap, will soon be offset by these higher transport costs (Armstrong 2008). The logic that the conventional food system rests upon is hinged and built upon a diminishing and finite resource.

Additionally, the conventional food system and its attendant habits of convenience and low costs are likewise challenged by an increase in food scares such as e-coli, mad cow, avian bird flu entering into food supplies, the rationing of rice in the Bay Area this year, and the increases in the price of wheat by 40%, rice over 100% and all food in general by 20% due to rising transportation costs. Issues such as these have begun to filter more frequently into mainstream media. Food prices in the U.S. have been maintained and consistent in ratio to income (typically ten percent of American incomes) since the late seventies. Coupled with claims of 'Peak Oil', and climate change the cultural and political context and timing for a re-framing of food security is prime.

Locally, Lane County is home to nearly 40 certified organic farmers and food producers, and over 30 organic or natural foods processors and distributors. The area is unique in that it has multiple systems in existence alongside the conventional, mass produced food system, as a part of a long-standing alternative sub-culture for more than 20 years. Some of these systems are characterized by countercultural ideologies expressed through natural foods and natural living. Countercultural preferences have played a significant role in the seasonal, organic and local foods industry and concern for the environmental and health consequences associated with food production. Many of these long standing food producers and processors have been organizationally structured as employee owned operations, such as OGC as a farmer-created and run distribution cooperative then company, some are consensus based structures, some are networked as processors and food retailers and restaurants, and some are linked through alternative, countercultural venues such as the Oregon Country Fair and the Eugene Saturday Market creating a community of cooperation. The local history of the county is also marked by self-sufficiency, progressive land use laws to protect agricultural land, producer's and farmer's markets, extensive emergency food networks, long traditions of non-profits, as well as a vast array of urban and community-school gardens and organizations that have been pursuing missions

to relink consumers with food producers to protect the local food system.

In Lane County, food and Farming was framed rather simply in the past as a simple and symbiotic relationship. Until the late 1950's the Producer's Market functioned to supply the local population with food. Over time the local food infrastructure was dismantled effecting both the availability of urban employment in processing foods and rural farming livelihoods. A twenty-five year span occurred between the closing of the initial producer's market, where producer and consumer engaged eye-to-eye, until its re-opening in the mid-seventies. The new farmer's market, in terms of affordability doesn't cater to everyone. It does cater to informed eaters (those who value the social and environmental benefits of locally diverse farms and transparency of how it is grown, processed, and produced). This could point to problems in the move to eat local in terms of class bias, and for that matter, the entire eat local movement across the U.S. However, this issue is addressed to a degree, with systems thinking and with innovative practical solutions. For example, locally and organically produced food is sourced through the food bank's Youth Farm, community-school gardens partnerships and with the farmer's market which provides donations of unsold produce, or produce damaged in transit to and from market. This food is unable to be sold primarily based on cosmetic appearances, but makes great additions to soup kitchen meals. Additionally, the school gardens project run by the Willamette Farm and Food Coalition focuses on creating school gardens and food curricula in low-income schools first. Although innovative projects have been created to address inequity based on income constraints to the bounty of local food, many of these projects are pilots or models, and have yet to be introduced across the county. The social justice aspect of community food security still remains a stumbling block.

From personal experience, eating only locally for two months now, as a *locavore*, which won the 2007 Oxford University Word of the Year, I have had to forgo other things-resorting to biking over driving, for example. The expenses associated with eating only locally produced food incur much higher portion of my income. The ratio of my monthly food expense to income is much higher. It is a luxury to eat local. To offset this, I glean and rescue food from work, which is an upscale, fine-dinning restaurant that sources 85% of ingredients from local sources. Many low income community members are not in such a fortunate position. I also grow a large amount of my own food from starts I can purchase with food stamps at the farmer's market. I coordinate with my neighbors growing different tradables in home gardens (including eggs), rotating garden work parties to save time and for more efficient labor, we grow food in old river bed soil with lots of minerals, in my neighborhood that in a time past was once a large farm orchard, with a

roommate who works for an organic farmer-from which he too can glean. And rent from a woman who works at the transfer station for BRING and St. Vincent de Paul's, who also gleans used gardening equipment. Instances of this type of networking are not unique in the area.

Social networks outside of policy prescriptions such as these, are the very thing that confronted the federal framing of 'food security' in the early nineties. Federal measures could not account for the social networks in people's ability to acquire food. Creating, facilitating and strengthening these types of social networks, as well as between food systems stakeholders and municipal and state governments, are the types of solutions that it will take to ensure community food security.

In addition to individuals networking within their communities, the best line of defense for the movement is to encourage the formation of many alternatives in addition to, rather than in opposition to, the conventional, global food system. And for the Lane County Food Policy Council, an ability to facilitate partnerships and communicating the importance of them to various governing bodies works towards "assuring that thriving alternatives exist" (Pollan 2006). Further, Michael Pollan sums it up nicely in his article, *No Bar Code: The Revolution Will not be Shrink Wrapped*, "feeding the cities may require a different sort of food chain than feeding the countryside. We may need a great many different alternative food chains, organic and local, biodynamic and Slow, and others yet undreamed of...The great virtue of a diversified food economy, like a diverse pasture or farm, is its ability to withstand any shock. The important thing is that there be many food chains, so that when any of them fails-when the oil runs out, when mad cow or other food-borne diseases become epidemic, when the pesticides no longer work, when drought strikes and plagues come and soils blow away-we'll still have a way to feed ourselves" (Pollan 2006).

Assessing the local food system and local supplies, facilitating new partnerships and educating and recommending policy prescriptions and solutions is what the council has succeeded in doing however, small and incremental since the emergence of the frame. The food policy council has begun as an appropriate vehicle in facilitating among the multiple systems at work, as exemplified with the farmer, miller and distributor agreement. The community food security frame negotiated a measurable impact and created an effective space for positive joint efforts, and win-win solutions. On the other hand, this is merely the first concrete example. The community food security movement as propounded by the Lane County Food Policy Council is still in its infancy, and further research is necessary as more time has passed.

Furthermore, given the local context, Dan Armstrong's "secluded piece of paradise"

might also pose problems for extending the community security framing work with systems thinking across cases. Lane County is undeniably unique. Lane county proponents to re-localize, which can be understood as attempting to go back to something that once was, might produce inhibitions and fears for some. In Lane County, this means not that far back for many aspects of the local food system, in fact certain aspects are already there, and a vast number of counter-cultural adherents unique to this location are still anticipating this type of cultural change, and have been since the mid-seventies. "Movements include not only public challenges oriented toward the state but also the vast array of actions undertaken by individuals and small groups in everyday life as part of a struggle for social change" (Whittier 2002, 292).

Nonetheless, local food security issues or problems are different for Oregon as opposed to Arizona. Local food security problems are also different for Lane County than they are for the Portland-Multnomah metropolitan area. In fact, despite the unique cultural and political contexts that have facilitated the framing of community food security in Lane County, the council and the community's re-framing could serve as a model for other communities. This is not too far off base given Oregon's progressive nature in other areas, such as land use planning, environmental protection, recycling, sustainability policies and experience with deliberative, discursive "adaptive governance" processes. In this sense, discursive frame alignment processes, more than strategic alignment processes are more useful in explaining the interplay between the internal and external contexts that shape, hinder and facilitate successful social movement framing, for this case in particular.

Food issues are embedded in many local, state, and federal government agencies, and in the natural, social and political environment. Many distinct types of issues confront local communities and movement proponents must "balance their beliefs about what is possible with their views on what matters, what compromises are acceptable, and who they are" while "interpreting political opportunities, cultural acceptability, goals, and the tactics they employ to promote change" (Whittier 2002, 299). With community food security, this is done among commodity lobbying groups that make up the dominant discourse of the centralized, iron policy triangle structure. This is an historical artifact of institutional inertia, which can inhibit or hinder maximum local efficiency and uniqueness. As can be seen, this dominant discourse and structure is not built to respond to locally-specific acute problems, yet. And the resources both natural, social-cultural and political, and solutions that can be gathered in these places are also distinct, for each locations resources and environment in which food is produced, like Berry remarks, "depends on how the world is used" (Berry 1990).

APPENDIX A

FOOD FORUM FLIERS

West Lane Residents

Let's talk food!

Ever want to discuss ~

Who grows the food you eat?

Who sells locally grown food in your community?

If there's enough food for everyone?

The quality & nutritional value of different foods?



Community Food Forum:

Making connections to strengthen our community for farmers, processors, retailers, cooks and, most importantly, eaters (you)!

★ *When?*

*Thursday
February 13th
6:30 - 8:30pm*

*Snacks
Provided!*



★ *Where?*

*Veneta
Community
Center
25192 E. Broadway*

Call ahead if you need childcare: 346-3651



FOOD Sponsored by FOOD for Lane County ♦ Questions? Contact Justin Grishkin @ 346-3651

Community Food Forum
February 13th 6:30pm
Veneta Community Ctr.
Questions: 346-3651

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APPENDIX B

LETTERS TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS



February 19, 2004

Partners:

FOOD for Lane
County

Lane County
Food Coalition

Lane County
Extension
Service

University of
Oregon:
Urban Farm
Program &
Community
Planning
Workshop

Lane County
Farmers'
Market

Metropolitan
Affordable
Housing
Corporation

King Estates
Winery

Farm Service
Agency

Laughing
Stock Farm

Wintergreen
Farm

FOOD for Lane County and the Lane County Food Coalition invite you to attend **Countywide Food Planning Summit to be held on March 6, 2004**, from 8:30 to 5:30 at Oak Hill School in Eugene. You have been identified as a key stakeholder with a countywide perspective to bring to this issue. The day's activities are designed for you and your organization to help plan for a strong local food system in our county.

The Summit will give you a framework for understanding our food system issues. The approach we will begin with has been called "community food security" because it illustrates how a strong community food system needs to address issues as diverse as economic opportunity, community development, disappearing farmland, rural poverty, increasing hunger, and diet and health related problems. The approach allows us to develop and promote solutions to food system deficiencies that are integrative and provide multiple benefits to many constituents. It provides ways that we, as a community, can align our resources, policies and collective effort to ensure Lane County is food secure.

Lane County is fortunate to have some of the most fertile soil in the nation with a climate that can support many crops. Our local Farmers' Market highlights the bounty of our county. Yet all is not well. In 1999, only 20% of all acres harvested in Lane County were food crops. Local farms are struggling to survive. Fifty-five farms have closed since 1996. Low-income families are struggling as well. Our poverty rate is 14.4%, which is higher than the state average. One in five people in our county accessed emergency food assistance last year. The type of food we are consuming is affecting our community's health. Diet-related diseases such as obesity and diabetes are on the rise, particularly for our youth. Food waste is another issue. Lane County threw away nearly 43,000 tons of food in 2001. That's 16% of all waste going into our landfill. While the solutions to these problems are not simple, answers do exist.

One tool that has been used by over 35 communities, regions, or states in the United States to help plan for a strong regional food system is a food policy council. We will be discussing the creation of a Lane County Food Policy Council. Over the last two decades, food policy councils have sprouted up across the United States to respond to complicated food issues and take responsibility for planning for future food needs. Food policy councils address a variety of concerns such as promoting markets for local producers, examining regulatory barriers to markets, keeping food dollars in the region, assessing citizen access to food, strengthening the social safety net, promoting economic development, and planning responses to emergencies that could disrupt our food supply, such as natural disasters and food safety. The enclosed pamphlet provides examples of what food policy councils have accomplished and what could be considered for Lane County.

The Countywide Food Planning Summit is an outgrowth of a grassroots effort called "Let's Talk Food" that identified food issues in specific geographical areas of Lane County and developed projects to strengthen local communities. The pamphlet summarizes comments from the six local food action groups that met in Lane County over the past year.

The next step is to unify our efforts by involving a wider range of organizations in Lane County to come together and plan for the kind of food system we want to create for the future.

At the Summit you will have an opportunity to meet with policy makers and network with other county organizations. You will also learn about the food policy council concept and hear what communities have accomplished through this structure. Liz Tuckermanty, a National Program Leader with the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Washington DC, will be the keynote speaker and will give us a national perspective on strong regional food systems. She has worked with many communities in the development of their food policy councils.

There is no cost for participating in the Summit. Partial funding comes from a grant to FOOD for Lane County through the US Department of Agriculture. King Estates Winery is donating a catered lunch and wine reception when the Summit concludes at 5pm.

We hope you will join us for this very important opportunity to ensure that we have healthy food for our community for many years to come. Please mark your calendar and fill out the attached RSVP card. If you have questions contact Susan Bowie at 343-2822, ext. 350 or Email her at sbowie@foodforlanecounty.org.

Sincerely,

Jessica Chanay, Interim Director
FOOD for Lane County

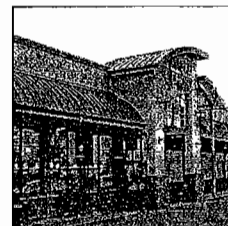
Kim Leval, President
Lane County Food Coalition

Susan Bowie
Community Food Advocate

APPENDIX C

LANE COUNTY FOOD POLICY COUNCIL WHITE PAPERS

The Lane County Food Policy Council



A Food Policy Council is a joint citizen and government advisory body that reviews and recommends policies to strengthen the local food economy and improve access to healthy and nutritious food.

Council members represent the diversity of stakeholders involved in the food system, including farmers, processors, retailers, anti-hunger organizations, nutritionists, governments and citizens.

Jobs & Businesses

The Lane County food industry is a vital component of the local economy. Many opportunities exist to grow the local food sector. The Food Policy Council will support coordination and linkages to food industry and agricultural business development.

The Food Sector is a vital component of the Lane County economy:

- ▶ The food sector (agriculture, processing, wholesale, retail and food service) provides 21,000 jobs, \$232 million in annual payroll and \$1.4 billion in annual sales to Lane County.¹
- ▶ The natural foods industry provided over 330 jobs and \$8.4 million in payroll to Lane County in 2002 (note: these numbers represent fewer than half of natural food industry businesses).²
- ▶ In 2004, the Lane County Farmers' Market grossed more than \$1.27 million and brought consumers and tourists to downtown Eugene, helping to reinvigorate the downtown area.³

Weaknesses and missed opportunities:

- ▶ Local farmers and food sector businesses lack access to affordable financing to expand existing operations and take advantage of new business opportunities.
- ▶ Lane County is losing resource-rich farmland that could be used to develop and expand new agricultural and value-added activity.⁴
- ▶ Lane County farmers lack sufficient local crop and livestock processing options, which decreases our community's capacity to retain local dollars and fill local markets.

Opportunities and positive signs:

- ▶ Branded and organic/natural food products offer price and revenue premiums for farmers.
- ▶ Demand for organic food products is increasing at 20% annually.⁵
- ▶ Value-added agricultural development offers workers attractive wages and benefits.

Possible actions of the Lane County Food Policy Council:

- ▶ Support the development of cluster-based value-added agriculture businesses.
- ▶ Work with economic development agencies to support food sector growth in Lane County.
- ▶ Support expansion of the Lane County Farmers' Market and development of local farmers' markets in rural communities.
- ▶ Aid in the development of a natural foods industry trade organization.
- ▶ Promote buy-local campaigns and development of "place-based food" brand images.
- ▶ Promote farmers' markets and direct farm purchasing as a tourism activity.
- ▶ Promote institutional purchasing of locally grown and processed foods.

Lane County Food Policy Council Design Team
Contact: Jessica Chanay
343-2822 or jchanay@foodforlanecounty.org

¹ US Census Bureau, 1997 Economic Census.

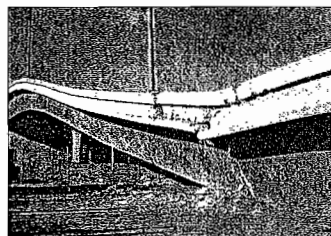
² Shinabarger, Tim, *Growing the Natural Foods Industry in Lane County*. Program for Watershed and Community Health, University of Oregon, 2003.

³ Personal Communication, Noa O'Hare, Manager, Lane County Farmers' Market.

⁴ American Farmland Trust. *Farming on the Edge*. Accessed at "www.farmland.org/farmingontheedge/index.htm" on February 9, 2005.

⁵ Demitri, Carolyn and Catherine Green. *Recent Growth Patterns in the U.S. Organic Foods Market*. USDA Economic Research Service, September 2002.

The Lane County Food Policy Council



A Food Policy Council is a joint citizen and government advisory body that reviews and recommends policies to strengthen the local food economy and improve access to healthy and nutritious food.

Council members represent the diversity of stakeholders involved in the food system, including farmers, processors, retailers, anti-hunger organizations, nutritionists, governments and citizens.

Homeland Security & Emergency Planning

The Lane County Food Policy Council will help assess food supply vulnerabilities and support organizations and local governments on actions to enhance the security of the local food system and access to food during natural and human disasters.

Weaknesses in our readiness for emergencies:

- ▶ The average food item travels more than 1,500 miles from farm to plate.¹ Most U.S. cities do not have more than a 7-day supply of food.² In the case of a prolonged disruption of transportation routes (due to natural or human causes) Lane County residents may be at risk of food shortages.
- ▶ According to RAND analysts, US agriculture and food industries are vulnerable to deliberate and accidental disruption.³ Little planning has been accomplished to reduce potential economic, social, and health impacts of such a disruption.
- ▶ National economic or trade crises have the potential to affect food access for Lane County residents, especially low- and middle-income residents.
- ▶ The county's ability to feed its residents during a prolonged or wide-spread disaster has never been tested and few plans are in place for that eventuality.

Opportunities and positive signs:

- ▶ The County Emergency Management, the Red Cross and FOOD for Lane County have agreements to provide food during short-term or contained emergencies and natural disasters.
- ▶ The Red Cross has successfully provided food aid during localized disasters in Lane County such as the 1996 flood and 2002 wind storm.

Possible actions of the Lane County Food Policy Council:

- ▶ Assess food supply vulnerabilities in partnership with the Red Cross and Emergency Management programs to support county and cities on contingency planning to ensure an adequate food supply during a prolonged or wide-spread disaster.
- ▶ Support coordination of emergency plans among non-profit and government agencies.
- ▶ Help identify opportunities to promote diversity and de-centralization in the food supply chain by supporting local agricultural and processing capacity; distribution and sourcing routes.
- ▶ Support community education in emergency preparedness and basic skills such as food safety, preparation, preservation and gardening.

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The Lane County Food Policy Council

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Natural Resources

We are fortunate to have bountiful and beautiful natural resources, but there are divergent opinions about their best use. The Food Policy Council will help engage diverse stakeholders in discussions about our food system and support planning for our community's current needs without diminishing the capacity of future generations of Lane County residents to meet their needs.

Weaknesses and missed opportunities:

- ▶ From 1994 to 2004, 6,500 acres of Lane County farmland went out of production while more than 4,000 acres transitioned from food to non-food crops.¹ This has negative implications for the area's economy, quality of life, and future capacity of our community to feed itself.
- ▶ Lane County sent more than 42,000 tons of food to the landfill in 2001.² A recent study from the University of Arizona in Tucson indicated that forty to fifty percent of all food ready for harvest never gets eaten.³
- ▶ In Lane County, the majority of fertile, valuable farmland is located in the Willamette Valley, which has also been identified as the 5th most threatened prime agricultural land in the nation.⁴

Opportunities and positive signs:

- ▶ A growing number of Lane County farmers are switching to more sustainable farming operations, which have shown to use 60% less fossil fuel per unit of food than conventional industrial farms.⁵
- ▶ In 2004, FOOD for Lane County diverted over 1,500,000 pounds of food from the landfill.
- ▶ The Lane County Farmers' Market provides opportunities for farmers to vend their products.
- ▶ Eugene's 6 community gardens enjoy broad community support and often have waiting lists.
- ▶ Watershed councils have provided useful models for engaging diverse stakeholders in constructive dialogue on contentious land use issues.

Possible actions of the Lane County Food Policy Council:

- ▶ Support efforts to develop municipal food composting capacity in Lane County.
- ▶ Recommend policies that support urban gardening and agriculture.
- ▶ Help expand efforts of local food businesses to participate in a food rescue program.
- ▶ Support protection of prime soils and agricultural land in Lane County.
- ▶ Research the potential for purchasing farmland conservation easements.

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¹ Based on data from OSU Extension Service, Oregon Agricultural Information Network.

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Public Health

The Lane County Food Policy Council will work with public, private and community partners to support the nutritional health of our community through innovative projects such as farm to cafeteria, institutional purchasing and educational initiatives.

Troubling signs in the health of our citizens:

- ▶ According to the Nutrition Council of Oregon, 28% of eighth graders and 21% of eleventh graders are currently overweight; 22% of adults are obese. Currently, our state has the highest prevalence of adult obesity of any state west of the Rockies.¹
- ▶ In Oregon, two diet-related health conditions, diabetes and cardiovascular disease, accounted for 39% of all deaths, almost 48,000 hospitalizations and \$730 million in expenses in 2000.²
- ▶ Only 20% of Lane County 11th graders eat the recommended amount of fruits and vegetables.³

Opportunities and positive developments:

- ▶ The OSU-Extension nutrition education programs (EFNEP and OFNEP) bring quality nutrition and life-skills education to low income families and youth in Lane County.
- ▶ In 2004 the Lane Coalition for a Healthy, Active Youth (LCHAY) formed to address childhood obesity in Lane County. Members include medical professionals and community partners.
- ▶ Eugene and Springfield have approximately 20 school gardens. Gardening at school has been shown to increase first graders' willingness to try vegetables.⁴
- ▶ FOOD for Lane County's three gardens brought 80,000 pounds of nutritious vegetables to food bank clients in 2004.
- ▶ Farm-to-school programs have been shown to increase fruit and vegetable consumption in children.⁵ The Food-On project is facilitating the creation of these programs in Lane County.

Possible actions of the Lane County Food Policy Council:

- ▶ Support school districts, farmers, and community partners in bringing local produce to local cafeterias, such as schools, hospitals and nursing homes.
- ▶ Support the integration of school curricula on nutrition, cooking and agriculture.
- ▶ Request the Oregon Department of Agriculture explore Department of Defense certification for the DoD Fresh program, which transports local food to schools.

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Hunger & Food Access

An important indicator of food system health is the number of residents experiencing hunger and food insecurity. The Food Policy Council will work with public and private food assistance providers and anti-hunger advocates to improve access to food and address root causes of hunger.

Weaknesses and missed opportunities:

- ▶ 1 in 5 Lane County residents, including 1 in 3 children, ate from an emergency food box in 2004.
- ▶ An OSU study in 2003 reported that working Oregonians in two-income households have a hunger rate almost four times higher than the national average.¹
- ▶ A survey of Lane County food box recipients shows that 62% also receive food stamps. Of these, nearly 70% report they run out of food stamps in two weeks or less.² 44,000 Lane County residents receive on average \$84/month in food stamps (\$2.90/day or \$0.97/meal).³
- ▶ Research shows that when rich and poor children eat the same diet, poor children are more likely to become overweight due to higher levels of the stress hormone cortisol.⁴
- ▶ 43% of low-income seniors in Eugene run out of food at some point during the month. Of seniors who do not seek assistance, even when they need it, 44% say they are too embarrassed to ask for help.⁵

Opportunities and positive signs:

- ▶ The 2004 *Act to End Hunger* report recommends the development of local food policy councils in Oregon to positively impact hunger.⁶
- ▶ A 2003 Oregon Food Bank study reported that \$16 million in federal dollars could be brought into Lane County if food stamps were fully utilized by those who were eligible to receive them.⁷
- ▶ Infants with WIC nutritional support are half as likely to be in poor or fair health compared to their peers with WIC access barriers.⁸
- ▶ Oregon is first in the nation for the percent of low income children receiving school breakfast.⁹ The school breakfast program increases student test scores and reduces behavioral problems.

Possible actions of the Lane County Food Policy Council:

- ▶ Help identify the local causes of hunger in our community and barriers to food access.
- ▶ Support policies that address the root causes of hunger.
- ▶ Recommend new low-income housing developments have close proximity to food retail centers and space for community or individual gardens.
- ▶ Support food preparation, safety and nutritional education programs.

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Comprehensive Food Planning

Currently, there is no mechanism for comprehensive food planning in our county or municipalities; decisions are not always evaluated for their food system impacts. The Food Policy Council will help identify gaps and support long-range food system planning.

Weaknesses and missed opportunities:

- ▶ The average food item travels more than 1,500 miles from farm to plate. As gasoline prices rise the cost of long distance food shipping will also increase.^{1,2} Rising shipping costs will impact local food businesses and disproportionately affect low-income residents.
- ▶ Historically, county and city planners have not conducted food system planning, reducing our community's ability to be proactive about food issues.³
- ▶ There is currently a lack of published research on food planning strategies for governments.
- ▶ Decisions affecting the food system are currently made by different agencies and departments:
 - Parks and Recreation - community gardens;
 - Housing Policy Board & Transportation Planners - food access;
 - Planning Dept. - rural and urban land use;
 - Schools - food, agriculture & nutrition education;
 - Human Services Commission - emergency food aid;
 - Public Health - nutrition, education & disease prevention;
 - Economic Development - food and agriculture business development and support; and
 - Emergency Management - disaster planning.

Opportunities and positive signs:

- ▶ The links between planning and public health and nutrition are increasingly gaining attention.
- ▶ Food planning is an integral component of sustainable communities.
- ▶ Many organizations and community members are interested in supporting a more comprehensive approach to nutrition, food production, business and policy.
- ▶ Food policy councils are seen as a model for food system planning with over 40 existing and forming councils nationwide.

Possible actions of the Lane County Food Policy Council:

- ▶ Coordinating or conducting a comprehensive assessment of the food system in Lane County.
- ▶ Support coordination, research, and deeper levels of communication between entities that make decisions impacting the local food system.
- ▶ Encourage the incorporation of food planning in city and county comprehensive plans.
- ▶ Develop a workshop or lecture series on food planning issues.
- ▶ Examine food planning models from cities and counties across the nation.

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¹ Pirog, Richard, Timothy Van Pelt, Kamyar Enshayan, and Ellen Cook. Food, Fuel, and Freeways: An Iowa Perspective on How Far Food Travels, Fuel Usage, and Greenhouse Gas Emissions. Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture. June 2001.

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Leveraging Resources

The Food Policy Council will work with local governments, organizations, foundations and businesses to leverage resources and identify and pursue new sources of funding.

► **The following organizations are involved with aspects of the local food system and are potential partners in food planning efforts:**

Cancer Prevention Coalition	Neighborhood Organizations
Catholic Community Services	North West Christian College
Chambers of Commerce	Oregon Agri-business Council
CVALCO	Oregon Faith Roundtable Against Hunger
Eugene Permaculture Guild	Oregon Pacific Red Cross
FOOD for Lane County	OSU-Lane County Extension Service
Friends of Eugene	Peace Health and McKenzie-Willamette Hospitals
Healing Harvest	Provender Alliance
Interfaith Network for Earth Concerns	Salvation Army
Lane Coalition for Healthy Active Youth	School Garden Project
Lane Community College	Slow Food Eugene
Lane Council of Governments	St. Vincent de Paul
Lane County Farmers' Market	1000 Friends of Oregon
Lane County Food Coalition	University of Oregon
Lane County School Districts	UO Urban Farm
Lane Metro Partnership	

► **Local businesses are also potential partners: grocers, processors, growers, wholesalers, restaurants, caterers, landscape designers, and health practitioners.**

► **Government Departments and Agencies:**

Human Services Commission	Farm Service Agency
Public Health	Departments of Agriculture
Planning	Library, Recreation and Cultural Services
Housing Policy Board	Housing and Community Services Agency
Parks and Open Space	Transportation Planning
Emergency Management	Waste Management
Community and Economic Development	Commission on Children and Families

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