

Mapping Food Security in America

An Analysis Through White Pony Express' Food Rescue Programme



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1. Foreword

This study is submitted in partial fulfilment of the course requirement for the Master of Public Affairs (MPA) at the Goldman School of Public Policy (GSPP), UC Berkeley. All judgments, conclusions, and recommendations put forth are the authors alone, and may not necessarily reflect those of the GSPP department, or the University of California, Berkeley. The current report has been amended from the original report, to ensure that sections and recommendations specific only to White Pony Express (WPE) as an organisation did not breach any confidentiality clauses.

As with most efforts, this report too was enabled by the generosity of an array of individuals, who helped me selflessly by offering me the most valuable commodity in the Milky Way; time. I am grateful beyond description to all these individuals, some who would like to be named, whilst others prefer not to be.

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I would like to thank Women Forward International (WFI) for making this research possible through their substantial support, and for directing light on food insecurity in an effort to understand how gender disparities and other factors are impacting American households today. And lastly, I would like to thank the staff at White Pony Express, not least Pete Olsen, Helen Jones, and Erica Brooks for contending to my requests, often on short notice, and helping me see what food insecurity looks like at a granular level.

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“If Liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in government to the utmost”. – Aristotle

2. Executive Summary

Food security has once again come to the fore in the last few months as the world tackles the corollaries of the Covid-19 pandemic. It is exactly in times of recession, austerity, and other large-scale adversities that cause system-wide shocks, which catapult food insecurity to the surface. In many ways, food security is a measure of the ability of individuals to absorb the shocks and vulnerabilities in a given society, especially in a developed nation context, which is this focus of this report.

Food insecurity in America is governmentally dispatched through various food assistance programmes under the Department of Agriculture (USDA), the largest of these being the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). Auxiliary to this are all the informal systems covering needs, such as food banks and food pantries. While this may seem like a small enterprise, Feeding America – a network organisation for food banks and pantries – has over 200 food banks and 60.000 food pantries as members all across America, and ranks as the second largest non-profit by revenue¹.

The principal goal of this report is to provide an analysis of and recommendations on food security that can be expended by the wider community of stakeholders operating in this space as a form of think piece or advocacy tool.

Food Banks and food pantries fulfil an essential role in covering many who for various reasons are ineligible or unwilling to subscribe to governmental food assistance schemes. Food insecurity is not just hunger and does not only affect those below the poverty line. More and more, it is occurring among the middle-class strata and evidences the cascade of vulnerability existing in the American society that is exposing individuals to food insecurity. Differentiating between severe and moderate levels of food insecurity, community-based non-profits reveal the ways in which irregular food insecurity occurs among many individuals considered middle class or professional as opposed to chronic food insecurity among those below the poverty line.

¹ <https://www.forbes.com/companies/feeding-america/?list=top-charities#15cfe08c223f> (accessed 01.04.2020)

(accessed 01.04.2020)

Looking to solutions, this report goes on to propose a Basic Income model to remit the underlying causes that ultimately lead to food insecurity, as a think piece and advocacy tool for the wider network of organisations working within the ambit of food security. This would not only address many of the vulnerabilities that trigger food insecurity, but it would also enable fewer people to subscribe to economic security programmes and reduce overall volatility.

2.1.Key Recommendations for WPE and the Wider Community of Concern Working on Food Security

The recommendations are aimed at WPE's strategic and funding donors², as well as the wider stakeholders working on food insecurity, whom I shall refer to as 'Community of Concern'.

2.1.1. WPE and the wider Community of Concern must conduct a comprehensive stakeholder analysis and mapping prior to any advocacy on a Basic Income Model

In order to seek leverage and impact change, WPE and/or the wider Community of Concern should conduct a comprehensive analysis of external stakeholders, who would have an influence in achieving their goal. A strategy for seeking a Basic Income frame in the U.S. will involve a thorough assessment of who needs to be influenced in order to bring onboard as allies, who will need to be convinced, and who will be difficult to influence. A stakeholder mapping will support the wider Community of Concern in devising specific strategies of engagement for each stakeholder sought influenced. It will also help prevent a key stakeholder from not being identified and approached, which might determine the success or failure of the entire strategy. This is an essential step for a well-defined advocacy strategy.

2.1.2. WPE and the wider Community of Concern should advocate for a Basic Income Model to be implemented in the United States

WPE and/or the wider Community of Concern should use this report – in specific section 7 – and advocate with federal as well as state level policymakers to advocate for a Basic Income scheme to remit the lack of adequate social safety nets, which prevent many from having a buffer against income volatility, caused by sudden unemployment or illness among many

² As opposed to the in-kind donors who provide WPE with food and non-food items for distribution purposes

other determinants, ultimately plummeting individuals into a cycle of food insecurity. Initially, WPE and the wider Community of Concern should commission a feasibility study, in order to have benchmark data for advocacy purposes.

2.1.3. WPE and the wider Community of Concern should monitor current pilot studies on Basic Income and utilise it for data driven advocacy to launch a comprehensive and representative pilot scheme in the United States

WPE and/or the wider Community of Concern should advocate with key policymakers at the federal and state-level to fund a pilot study on Basic Income. Whilst there have been sporadic instances of such projects being launched in parts of America, the one proposed hereunder should be based on lessons-learned from the ones already implemented in various parts of the world, such as the Finland basic income experiment, or the Alaska Permanent Fund. The pilot should look at rigorous data standards to ensure that the project can live up to the highest standards possible and safeguard itself from critics as well as provide data-driven proof that a Basic Income Model does mitigate volatility and reduce the risk of food insecurity.

2.1.4. WPE and the wider Community of Concern should push for food security to be understood as part of a wider system of insecurity and vulnerability

WPE and/or the wider Community of Concern should advocate for a better understanding of food security by emphasising how it is ultimately an indicator of the general lack of security among individuals against system-wide shocks, such as recession, austerity, and other large-scale adversities, which catapult food insecurity to the surface. It should therefore not be examined in silo. Within the international humanitarian response system, both gender and protection are seen as cross-cutting themes, which means that they must be included in sector-wide responses³. Thus, food security should be seen as a cross-cutting theme that should be looked at in tandem with other policy focus areas, such as affordable housing, health, poverty reduction, income inequality and so on. This will aid the understanding of food insecurity in a developed nation context, where it is not just the face of hunger, but also impact middle class individuals and professionals.

3. Introduction and Context

This report takes as its starting point an impact analysis of White Pony Express' school pantry programme, as commissioned by WPE's strategic donor, Women Forward International (WFI). The objective of the exercise is to showcase the impact that WPE's food rescue programme is having on the lives of the vulnerable, with special focus on women. It will examine how WPE and its strategic donors, as well as the wider civil society nexus tackling food insecurity, whom I will term 'Community of Concern', might focus efforts on fundamental reform, where food security is placed within a rights-based approach. Under this frame, nation states have the primary duty to ensure and uphold that citizens have a standard of living that is *adequate "for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control"*³. Thus, the primary burden of finding solutions and responding to food insecurity should be placed on governments and not civil society structures.

This report seeks to answer a number of overall questions to support these findings:

- With our knowledge of the current context and likely scenarios/developments regarding food security, how can WPE and the wider Community of Concern provide a value-add to address the social and economic inequities that are contributing factors in food insecurity?
- What solutions would mitigate the volatilities that ultimately lead to food insecurity, without requiring a complete reform of the current infrastructure?

While the prospect of finding solutions to end food insecurity might not be around the corner, the aim of this report is to propose ways of situating food security within a narrative of systemic improvements that may address root causes of food insecurity. It will further address ways for WPE to become better at tracking progress of their programmes, impact, and align their mission values and goals with output indicators. The purpose is to provide

³ <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> (accessed 09.04.2020)

insights that will benefit WPE and the wider Community of Concern in their efforts to address the growing levels of food insecurity in America.

4. Methodology and Constraints

Before diving into the subject matter, a few thoughts on methodology. The measures that were put in effect in San Francisco and much of the Bay Area in early March 2020 in mitigating the spread of Covid-19, required me to review the entire scope of the analysis. I shifted focus from an impact assessment to an analysis of food security in America through WPE's food pantry programme.

There are two overarching objectives to this report. First, it aims at defining food security as a theoretical and practical term, then examining the current trends within an American context, where food pantries are positioned in the larger food security nexus. Secondly, this report should, as a whole, be utilised by WPE and the wider Community of Concern – such as Women Forward International – to effectively launch strategic level action to address the systemic causes and vulnerabilities that lead to food insecurity⁴.

It should be noted that this report in no way undertakes an exhaustive account and mapping of food security in America, nor is it a detailed programme review of WPE's operations. Such an undertaking would require a very different timeline than what was set up for an impact study.

This report builds on a literature review, which draws on existing analyses, data, and assessments of food security, with special focus on the United States. I use both quantitative and qualitative methodology to understand the subject matter, with a greater emphasis on qualitative data. Apart from secondary sources, additional qualitative data was generated through semi-structured, key informant interviews with WPE staff, in-kind donors, as well as an economist working on food security and safety nets in America. The interviews allowed a focus on validating and triangulating findings from the literature review, with specific emphasis on aspects relevant to this study. Due to Covid-19 shut downs and challenges, further interviews were not possible, as I would have ideally liked to have interviewed staff

⁴ This last objective will be presented in the latter half of the report as a systems and design thinking to tackle the inequities and risks that ultimately cause food insecurity.

from WPE's partnering schools to get their input on the school pantry scheme, as well as conduct interviews with key officials from the Contra Costa County, as well as Alameda Food Bank.

5. The Anatomy of Food Insecurity

5.1. The Origins of the Term

Food security originated in the 1970s – used by international organisations, such as the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) – with reference to global threats of hunger, famine, and starvation. Initial definitions of food security focussed on the production and supply of food at a global level. This, however, altered over the years so that it came to encompass not only the production and supply aspects of food, but also the preoccupation vis-à-vis nutrition, purchasing power, and social control. The most commonly used definition today is one attributed to a 1986 World Bank report, defining it as *“access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life⁵”*.

5.2. The Legal Formation Sanctioning Food Security Rights

The language and framework for food security has its root in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 (as illustrated in Table 1 below). The 30 fundamental rights comprising the UDHR form the cornerstone of international humanitarian Law (IHL) and International human rights law (IHRL)⁶. The Right to Adequate Food (RTAF) is found in Article 25 (1) of the UDHR stating that *“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of*

⁵ De Souza, Rebecca, *“Feeding the Other: Whiteness, Privilege, and Neoliberal Stigma in Food Pantries”*, Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, 2019; p.37

⁶ IHL and IHRL are complementary bodies of law, which both go under the common notation of international law. The main difference between the two lies in their applicability. A large body of IHL can be traced back to ancient civilisations, as well as religious jurisprudence within all faiths. However, the actual codification of IHL took place in Geneva, Switzerland, in the second half of the 19th Century, led by Henri Dunant, the founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Dunant, left despondent after witnessing the atrocities during the battle of Solferino, decided that to avoid similar barbaric action, it was necessary to proscribe a code of conduct for war, i.e. ‘Rules of War’. IHRL was codified in the second half of the 20th Century, in the wake of the horrors of WWII and inspired by the ideology of the Enlightenment. Whilst IHL applies singularly during times of war, occupation, and armed conflict, IHRL applies BOTH to peacetimes and during armed conflict. <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/what-difference-between-ihl-and-human-rights-law> (accessed 15.04.2020)

himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control”⁷.

In 1966, this was further codified in Article 11 of the ‘International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights’ (ICESCR), and ratified by many nation states in the years hence. However, a notable exception is the U.S. that *“continues to express resistance towards economic and social rights”⁸*. There are further notations to the RTAF in the ‘Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women’, the ‘Convention on the Rights of the Child’, ‘The Right to Food Guidelines’⁹, and indirectly through other conventions and charters.



⁷ <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> (accessed 18.04.2020)

⁸ Pollard, Christina M. and Booth, Sue, “Food Insecurity and Hunger in Rich Countries—It Is Time for Action against Inequality”, *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health*, 2019; p.2

⁹ These Guidelines were envisaged as part of the World Food Summit of 1996, where civil society organisations came together and called for industry protocol and guidelines for RTAF. The draft document was endorsed by more than 1000 non-governmental organisations and finally formalised in the Right to Food Guidelines. The Guidelines instruct both State parties and non-State parties to draft their national strategies and programmes to fight hunger and malnutrition by using the Guidelines as a blueprint. The Guidelines were formally adopted by the Council of FAO in 2004 (“The Right to Adequate Food”, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights; Geneva, 2010; p.8).

States that have ratified the ICESCR are thus subject to an evaluation of current state of affairs vis-à-vis food security by the Special Rapporteur on the right to food¹⁰. Since the U.S. has not ratified the ICESCR, no such review is available for data comparison purposes. This is one of many reasons why measuring and mapping food security in America remains a complicated task, as stakeholders working on benchmarking such figures have to do so by triangulating a lot of different data sources. Data from Canada from 2012 shows *“57% of people living on social assistance were food insecure and concluded that Canadian cash transfers were insufficient for an adequate standard of living”*¹¹. It further revealed that housing costs were one of the main reasons why many individuals were forced to go through food banks in order to be able to eat¹².

Highlighting the above legal frame is not just about definitions, but about asserting a right-based approach to food security. From a (human)rights-based approach, individuals/citizens are rights-holders, who are able to make legitimate claims, and States are duty-bearers that are responsible, and can thus be held accountable for their actions (under international law)¹³.

5.3. Food Insecurity No Longer Just a Matter of Hunger

According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), in 2019, more than 890 million people in the world did not have enough to eat. Food insecurity has traditionally been associated with hunger purely. However, this denotation has evolved over the last 10-15 years to encapsulate a broader definition, which includes not only severe food insecurity, but also equally moderate food insecurity. According to the FAO, people experiencing **severe food insecurity** *“have typically run out of food and, at worst, gone a day (or days) without eating”*, whereas people experiencing **moderate food insecurity** *“face*

¹⁰ Pollard, Christina M. and Booth, Sue, “Food Insecurity and Hunger in Rich Countries—It Is Time for Action against Inequality”, Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health, 2019; p.2

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ <https://www.humanrights.dk/learning-hub/introduction-human-rights-based-approach> (accessed 05.05.2020)

uncertainties about their ability to obtain food, and have been forced to compromise on the quality and/or quantity of the food consumed”¹⁴.

This is an essential embracement and modification to the definition of food security. Much has changed over the last two decades when it comes to the production, distribution, and consumption of food assignable to urbanisation, globalisation, and technological advances, which has impacted people’s access to food¹⁵. With this modification, one is able to examine food insecurity in a developing as well as a rich/developed nation context. In the latter, for the most part, food security is not just hunger and the very visible consequences hereof, but also embraces others who – while they may not be hungry – may still be food insecure¹⁶.

The impetus to address food security globally as a policy goal is supported through the Global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) – specifically Goal 2 – under which nation states have agreed to end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture by 2030¹⁷.

5.4. Food Security in the American Context

Official data displays that approximately 11.1 percent of American households were food insecure¹⁸ at some point during 2018, with 5.6 million households being at the bottom of the food security ladder¹⁹. With the cost of living continuously rising for Bay Area residents, it is becoming increasingly difficult for families to follow suit vis-à-vis a suitable income to match the rising costs²⁰. Whilst Bay Area residents have the second highest median household income in the U.S., the rising cost of living means that they are still struggling to afford even

¹⁴ FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO. 2019. The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2019. Safeguarding against economic slowdowns and downturns. Rome, FAO; p.5

¹⁵ Ibid, p.2

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2016/goal-02/> (accessed 03.05.2020)

¹⁸ The USDA defines "food insecurity" as the lack of access, at times, to enough food for all household members; https://www.ers.usda.gov/webdocs/publications/90023/err256_summary.pdf?v=0 (accessed 22.02.2020)

¹⁹ <https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/chart-gallery/gallery/chart-detail/?chartId=58378> (accessed 25.02.2020)

²⁰ <http://www.bayareaeconomy.org/the-cost-of-living-continues-to-rise-for-bay-area-residents/> (accessed 25.02.2020)

basic needs²¹. This often means that in order to secure housing and other basic necessities, many families are forced to cut down costs in other areas, such as high-quality food and nutrition.

Data from 2017 revealed that households with children had a substantially higher rate of food insecurity (15.7%) than those without children (10.1%)²². Approximately 13 million children in the US do not have enough food to eat²³. The impact on children who experience food insecurity is staggering, and research has shown children who live in lower income, food insecure households have poorer health outcomes, at higher risk of developing asthma, struggling with anxiety or depression, performing poorly in school or physical activities, with more absences and suspension rates.

Evidence further shows that food insecurity rates are the highest among female, single-headed households, together with households with income levels below the poverty line²⁴. Food insecurity is at 23.1% for households with children headed by a single man, whilst it climbs up to a staggering 34.4% for households with children headed by a single woman²⁵.

The principal way in which developed nations address food security is by mitigating/reducing poverty through economic security programmes (welfare programming) and food assistance schemes²⁶. In America, The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), a federal level institution, governs one of the biggest food assistance programmes, namely the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance programme (SNAP). It is a programme that allocates cash grants to low income families and households, based on eligibility. There are currently 15 federal nutrition assistance programmes, which include Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), SNAP, and school meals, and It is estimated that these food assistance schemes serve one in

²¹ <https://frac.org/wp-content/uploads/hunger-health-impact-poverty-food-insecurity-health-well-being.pdf> (accessed 24.02.2020)

²² <https://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/pub-details/?pubid=90022> (accessed 24.02.2020)

²³ <https://patch.com/us/across-america/america-s-hungry-kids-13m-u-s-kids-don-t-have-enough-eat> (accessed 21.02.2020)

²⁴ <https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/chart-gallery/gallery/chart-detail/?chartId=58384> (accessed 21.02.2010).

²⁵ De Souza, Rebecca, 'Feeding the Other: Whiteness, Privilege, and Neoliberal Stigma in Food Pantries', Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, [2019]; p.17

²⁶ Pollard, Christina M. and Booth, Sue, "Food Insecurity and Hunger in Rich Countries—It Is Time for Action against Inequality", Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health, 2019

four Americans during the span of a year²⁷. However, what is even more baffling is that these federal level food assistance schemes have not been adequate in meeting food assistance needs, requiring community level and third sector organisations to step in and act as auxiliary to the federal programmes in the form of food banks and pantries²⁸.

SNAP spending has decreased over the years since the Great Recession of 2008/2009, with a decrease in the average benefits dispensed. Between 2016 and 2017, there was a reduction in participants to the SNAP programme by almost 5 percent. Further, the *“per-person benefits averaged \$125.99 per month, which represented a 7 percent drop from 2014 after the end of the Recovery Act benefit increase”*²⁹. Some of the reasons for a drop in SNAP participation were attributed to strict poverty governance³⁰ procedures combined with low benefits that made it essentially not worth the hassle of qualifying and signing up to, as well as the stigma of being on welfare³¹.

5.5.Civil Society Structures

Food security has become one of the key needs-based agenda of civil society³² organisations in America and *“embedded in churches, schools, and volunteer associations, with tens of millions of donors and volunteers”*³³. Feeding America – which functions as a network organisation for food banks and pantries – has over 200 food banks and 60.000 food pantries as members all across America. According to Forbes Magazine, it ranks as the second largest

²⁷ <https://www.fns.usda.gov/programs> (accessed 09.04.2020)

²⁸ De Souza, Rebecca, *‘Feeding the Other: Whiteness, Privilege, and Neoliberal Stigma in Food Pantries’*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, [2019]; p.27

²⁹ De Souza, Rebecca, *‘Feeding the Other: Whiteness, Privilege, and Neoliberal Stigma in Food Pantries’*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, [2019]; p.40

³⁰ The term ‘poverty governance’ refers to the ways in which the poor are monitored, disciplined, managed, and made to comply to a set of rules in order to prove that they are good citizens, who are deserving of the entitlements afforded to them under social economic programmes (Joe Soss, Richard C.Fording, and Sanford F. Schram, *“Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race”*; Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 2011). It is a term that very much builds on post-structural discourses, in specific the French philosopher and theorist, Michel Foucault’s theory on governmentality and bio-power.

³¹ De Souza, Rebecca, *‘Feeding the Other: Whiteness, Privilege, and Neoliberal Stigma in Food Pantries’*, Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, [2019]; p.40

³² During the latter half of the eighteenth century, ‘civil society’ as a term no longer specified a particular mode of well-ordered political association. Instead, it came to signify all realms of freedom and activity outside the official sphere of politics (Keane, J. (ed.) (1988) *Civil Society and the State*. London, Verso.

³³ Fisher, Andrew and Saru Jayaraman, *“Big Hunger: The Unholy Alliance between Corporate America and Anti-Hunger Groups”*, The MIT Press, 2017; p.3

non-profit by revenue³⁴. However, unofficial figures may be much higher, since membership in Feeding America is so restrictive in requirements that some organisations fail to join.

Food banks are non-profit units that have the capacity to store and distribute large quantities of food. Food is often donated to a food bank via a network of public and private partnerships, including local neighbours, big corporations, small privately-owned enterprises, restaurants, and local grocery shops³⁵. Food pantries, which are also registered non-profit entities, effectively run as supply centres and tend to be smaller in size than food banks. They have a smaller capacity for storage, which is especially essential with perishable items, such as fresh produce and in some cases defines who is willing to donate what to them. Food pantries also tend to be more locally embedded in communities, and often follow the framework of Community Based Organisations (CBO) in an effort to meet the needs of local citizens. Thus, they tend to vary in size, scope, and mission goals. Many donors are attracted to food pantries, because results are immediate and marked.

Subsequent to a food security centred situation analysis, I will now pivot to White Pony Express, and examine the organisation mainly through their food rescue and school pantry programme.

6. White Pony Express (WPE)

White Pony Express was founded in 2013 by local Contra Costa community members, who wanted to contribute to reducing hunger and poverty in their communities. In Contra Costa County, approximately 10% (over 116,000 people) live below the poverty level³⁶. Based in Walnut Creek, California, the efforts were led by Dr. Carol Weyland Conner, a retired psychologist and an active member of the Walnut Creek community, who has also helped establish other non-profit organisations in the area³⁷.

³⁴ <https://www.forbes.com/companies/feeding-america/?list=top-charities#15cfe08c223f> (accessed 01.04.2020)

³⁵ <https://www.feedingamerica.org/hunger-blog/what-difference-between-food-bank-and-food-pantry> (accessed 01.04. 2020)

³⁶ <https://uwba.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/ContraCosta-Snapshot.pdf> (accessed 24.02.2020)

³⁷ <https://www.eastbaytimes.com/2015/01/07/hometown-hero-walnut-creek-woman-helps-create-stable-of-contra-costa-charities/> (accessed 03.04.2020)

WPE has two main programmes: a food rescue and delivery programme, and a programme for non-food items called a General Store/mobile boutique. The Mobile Boutique is – as the name indicates – a mobile event, where new and like new clothing, shoes, toys, children’s books and games are distributed to Contra Costa residents, who are in need. For this programme. WPE partners with local businesses, clothing retailers and individual donors to sort, organise and deliver high quality goods that are free of charge. To date, WPE has distributed 500.000 items that include books, toys, and clothing³⁸.

6.1. Food Rescue and School Pantry Programme

WPE’s food rescue programme was established in 2013, and as WPE started to establish partnerships with schools, the programme became known as a 'school pantry programme' in 2015. However, as policy, WPE has decided that distributions are open to anyone who is able to find way to a WPE food distribution site. Today WPE has partnerships with 11 schools in Contra Costa County³⁹. To date, WPE has distributed 9.5 million pounds of food⁴⁰. WPE’s aim with the food rescue programme is to address food insecurity by providing high quality, nutritious food, whilst also mitigating the enormous amount of food that is wasted each year.

The U.S. has some of the highest rates of food wastage in the developed world, with an estimated 40% of food going to waste each year. In 2010, This was estimated at 133 billion pounds and \$160 billion worth of food⁴¹ by triangulating data between the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and United States Department for Agriculture (USDA). USDA and EPA joined forces in 2015 in order to cut food waste in America by 50 percent by the year 2030, in line with Goal 12.3 of the UNSDG Framework⁴². California is one of the most progressive states when it comes to climate policy and action and have set an even more ambitious goals than the national 2030 Food Loss and Waste Reduction Strategy. The goal is for *“75 percent recycling, composting or source reduction of solid waste by 2020 calling for the state and the*

³⁸ <https://www.whiteponyexpress.org/free-general-store> (accessed 15.04.2020)

³⁹ Interview with Erica Brooks, Chief Growth Officer of WPE

⁴⁰ <https://www.whiteponyexpress.org/food-rescue> (accessed 09.04.2020)

⁴¹ <https://www.usda.gov/foodwaste/faqs> (accessed 05.05.2020)

⁴² <https://www.epa.gov/sustainable-management-food/united-states-2030-food-loss-and-waste-reduction-goal> (accessed 05.05.2020)

*Department of Resources Recycling and Recovery (CalRecycle) to take a **statewide** approach to decreasing California's reliance on landfills⁴³”.*

CalRecycle established a State Bill (SB1383), requiring food producers in California to reduce their disposal of organic waste by 50% in 2020 and by 75% in 2025. The longer-term objectives behind this Bill is to reduce greenhouse gas production and air pollution by drastically cutting down on waste that ends up in landfills⁴⁴. This is also in line with the UNSDG objectives, specifically Goals 2 and 12. WPE works with CalRecycle Central Contra Costa County Solid Waste (Recycle Smart) to educate and encourage businesses to not chuck away excess food and instead to do in-kind donations to organisations, who are able to distribute food to those in need. WPE has established several partnerships with corporate as well as non-corporate businesses along this business model to divert food waste from the waste stream⁴⁵. WPE currently has 62 food rescue in-kind donors⁴⁶, who provide the food that supplies the 11 school pantries that WPE has set up in some of the poorest districts of Contra Costa county.

6.2.WPE's Capacity for Intake and Re-distribution of Food

As mentioned in a previous chapter, food banks have the capacity to store and distribute large quantities of food, whereas food pantries have a smaller capacity for storage. This is a key determinant for many donors, why they prefer donating to food banks rather than food pantries. However, when it comes to perishable items, both intake capacity and time are two key determinants.

CoCo San Sustainable Farms⁴⁷, a non-profit working on food equity and health, have converted buffer lands into fertile agriculture soil in order to grow salad and vegetables for schools in an effort to combat 'nutritional poverty', especially for schools in low income

⁴³ <https://www.calrecycle.ca.gov/75percent> (accessed 31.03.2020)

⁴⁴ <https://www.calrecycle.ca.gov/climate/slcp> (accessed 31.03.2020)

⁴⁵ Interview with Pete Olsen, WPE School Pantry and Food Sourcing Manager

⁴⁶ See Appendix II for full list.

⁴⁷ CoCo San Sustainable Farms was started by Dr. Carolyn Phinney (together with a local California farmer), a UC Berkeley graduate. As an environmental and political activist, she saw an opportunity in utilising recycled agricultural-grade water, which would otherwise be dumped in the Bay, and which is high in nitrogen and other micronutrients, and using the buffer land near sanitary process plants that no one wanted to grow high quality fresh produce through regenerative agricultural practices. CoCo San is founded on four goals: equity, education, environmental protection, and economic development (interview with Dr. Carolyn Phinney, President and Executive Director of CoCo San Farms).

districts and communities. Carolyn Phinney, who is the President and Executive director of CoCo San Farms is one of the biggest in-kind donors and supporters of WPE.

In her words, *“WPE is interesting for us because they are a fast distributor. We were suddenly producing huge amounts of produce. And we would take it to a food bank about half a mile from the farm. Well, they would take it to a distributor, and then the distributor would take it to the non-profits, and the non-profits then give it to their people. So, if I were to bring lettuce on a Friday, then it couldn’t get into someone’s mouth before Wednesday or Thursday. Well that’s a very highly perishable product. Cindy Gershen⁴⁸ from Mount Diablo high school told me about WPE and that they pick up from the farm and distribute the same day or the next day. And that’s how I got connected to WPE. Then we started dropping off more and more to WPE⁴⁹”*.

Alyssa Seibert, who is the Social Impact and Sustainability Manager with Imperfect Foods (IF), added that they *“get a lot of requests for food donation. Whenever there is a request, we do an analysis of whether we need to have another partner and we make sure that the mission is aligned. How much will they be picking up, how often? Is it a good match? WPE is able to pick up a lot from us. They are a reasonable distance away from San Francisco, so we wanted to make sure there was enough to pick up each time [3/4 food pallets]. They could move a lot and very quickly. This was important as space can be challenging at our end. We still support smaller organisations, but it helps with some that can pick up a lot like WPE⁵⁰”*. She further goes on to say that *“The biggest difference between food banks and smaller pantries is the difference in the quantity that they can handle. WPE seems to be filling a gap between smaller and bigger⁵¹”*.

6.3. Humanising the Subjection to Food Insecurity

Dr. Carolyn from CoCo San Sustainable Farms adds that *“WPE is delivering to actual people. The thing that is great about WPE is that when I would go there, they would tell me about a*

⁴⁸ Cindy Goshen is a chef and teacher at Mount Diablo Unified School District which is one of the partners to WPE’s school pantry programme (<https://www.mdusd.org/chefcindygershen> (accessed 07.05.2020))

⁴⁹ Interview with Dr. Carolyn Phinney, CoCo San Sustainable Farms

⁵⁰ Interview with Alyssa Seibert, Social Impact and Sustainability Manager for Imperfect Foods

⁵¹ Ibid

specific person that was going to get the food. ‘Oh you know, Suzie has stage four cancer and she loves your Kale’. So, there was a human story and I love the people at the food bank, but of course it’s like dropping the produce into a black hole. I mean I don’t get paid, none of us do, and we’re haemorrhaging money, but it’s a demonstration project for us that we can prove that you can use this buffer land to make a difference in someone’s life⁵²”.

One of the biggest advantages to being a Community Based Organisation is that you are able to move swiftly, without a heavy machinery to boggle you down, whilst also having the in-depth knowledge of the local communities whom you seek to serve. This is one of the main reasons why when the big international aid agencies operate in the field – often in complex settings – they establish partnerships with national and local civil society organisations, as these have access to knowledge and a network that is unmatched. It also means that it is often the smaller organisations that are able to produce fast results in a short time.

⁵² Interview with Dr. Carolyn Phinney, CoCo San Sustainable Farms

“In any given culture and at any given moment, there is always only one 'episteme' that defines the conditions of possibility of all knowledge, whether expressed in theory or silently invested in a practice.” – Michel Foucault

7. Systems Thinking

In this section, I would like to shift focus from evidence-based programming and metrics for impact, to look at systemic structures and triggers that impact food insecurity in America, and solutions that may address the cycle of vulnerability. I will refer to this as ‘cascade of risk vulnerability’. Part of the goals of this study is to make proposals to the wider Community of Concern operating within the ambit of food security. Part two of this report will cover this objective. The findings will be presented at a UN high level meeting in NYC on June 02, 2020.

7.1. Food Insecurity is Not Going Away

“The root cause of hunger and malnutrition is not a lack of food but a lack of access to available food. For example, poverty, social exclusion and discrimination often undermine people’s access to food, not only in developing countries but also in some of the most economically developed countries where there is an abundance of food⁵³”.

After decades of continual regression in severe food insecurity across the globe, this trend stagnated in 2015 and has remained effectively unchanged, with a slight rise in certain regions⁵⁴. Food insecurity is not going away, and whenever there are great periods of recession or uncertainties, it seems to surface to the top of headlines, policy debates, as well as among the population. More than 36 million Americans have filed unemployment claims since the covid-19 pandemic started. Not surprisingly, headlines of America’s hungry and food insecure have occupied front page covers since the pandemic started⁵⁵. The link between income volatility and food insecurity is striking.

⁵³ “The Right to Adequate Food”, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights; Geneva, 2010; p.4

⁵⁴ FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, “The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2019. Safeguarding against economic slowdowns and downturns”. Rome, FAO, 2019.

⁵⁵ See for example <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/apr/02/us-food-banks-coronavirus-demand-unemployment>; <https://abcnews.go.com/Health/disease-covid-19-exposes-health-risk-food-insecurity/story?id=70349076>; <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/06/us/politics/coronavirus-hunger-food-stamps.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Homepage>; <https://www.csis.org/programs/global-food-security-program/covid-19-and-food-security>; and <https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/social-sector/our-insights/food-security-and-the-coronavirus-crisis-a-view-from-feeding-americas-coo> (all accessed on 10.05.2020)

According to Hilary Hoynes, Professor of Public Policy and Economics at UC Berkeley, *“food insecurity reacts in the same way as other kinds of measures of household vulnerabilities act. So, when in recessions, poverty goes up, there is food insecurity and it increases [...] what you tend to see is that in bad economic times, the questions that come together to inform the definition of food insecurity, get more extreme as you get down the list⁵⁶”*.

Often when we think about food insecurity, we think primarily of **severe food insecurity**⁵⁷, and associate it with those living on the margins of society, the unemployed, or images of famine children with protruding bellies. However, according to one of the largest non-profits working on hunger in the America, more than 50 percent of people who use food banks have jobs⁵⁸. There are many studies that have examined the linkages between poverty and food insecurity⁵⁹. However, understanding food insecurity among those who are not termed poor, remains a more challenging operation, as it is an area of research that has not received much attention.

7.2.Cascade of Risk Vulnerability

According to a report from the Center on Budget and Policy (CBPP) Priorities – a high profile research think tank that advocates for economic security policies in order to minimise wealth inequality – social welfare programmes in America, such as social security, tax credits, and food assistance have decreased poverty rates by almost 50 percent over the last 50 years, evidencing that, whereas in 1967 these security schemes lifted almost 4 percent out of poverty, the figure increased to 43 percent in 2017⁶⁰. Further, the report highlights census data showcasing that nearly 37 million people – of which 7 million comprise children – were lifted above the poverty line in 2018, largely due to the achievements under social welfare

⁵⁶ Interview with Hilary Hoynes, Professor of Public Policy and Economics, Goldman School of Public Policy, UC Berkeley

⁵⁷ See p. 7 of this report.

⁵⁸ <https://adage.com/article/cmo-strategy/feeding-america-uses-ai-find-face-hunger/2198756> (accessed 10.05.2020)

⁵⁹ See for example M. Caraher and J. Coveney (eds.), *“Food Poverty and Insecurity: International Food Inequalities, Food Policy”*, Springer International Publishing, Switzerland, 2016

⁶⁰ Trisi, Danilo and Saenz, Matt *“Economic Security Programs Cut Poverty Nearly in Half Over Last 50 Years - Figures Highlight Programs’ Effectiveness”*, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities; November 2019

programming⁶¹ through both government assistance and tax policies⁶². CBPP's excellent data driven reports highlight the impact economic security programmes have had on reducing overall rates of poverty.

What most of the data shows is that many of these safety net programmes are able to lift more people above the poverty line. However, what the data does not explain is that, while significantly more people are able to climb above the poverty line, significantly more and more Americans are becoming economically insecure. Having a job no longer guarantees economic security, and new research findings reveal that 78% of American who are on a payroll are currently living 'paycheck to paycheck'⁶³. The survey also reveals that nearly three out of four workers have debt, whilst one in four stated that they are unable to set aside savings of any sort for the future⁶⁴.

Professor Hoynes states that *"five to six years ago, I used the experience of the great recession in the US to try to understand how our social safety net performed in the presence of what was at the time a very dramatic economic downturn that was long lasting. And what we saw was exactly as you were saying we would predict about the current [Covid-19] situation and that is the risk of food insecurity really moved up the advantaged distribution. And one of the things that we looked at to try and understand that increase in food insecurity was to try to investigate to what extent the fact that food insecurity rose among the more advantaged Americans partly came out of the fact that the great recession was this housing based recession that wasn't just concentrated in terms of economic fallout on the most vulnerable in society. So that explained part of it"*⁶⁵.

⁶¹ The researcher's include the following economic security data in their calculations: Social Security, unemployment insurance, workers' compensation, veterans' benefits, TANF, state General Assistance, SSI, SNAP, National School Lunch Program, Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), rental assistance (such as Section 8 and public housing), home energy assistance, the EITC, and the CTC. Trisi, Danilo and Saenz, Matt "Economic Security Programs Cut Poverty Nearly in Half Over Last 50 Years - Figures Highlight Programs' Effectiveness", Center on Budget and Policy Priorities; November 2019 (p2)

⁶² Ibid)

⁶³ <https://www.forbes.com/sites/zackfriedman/2019/01/11/live-paycheck-to-paycheck-government-shutdown/#4795fcdd4f10> (accessed 09.04.2020)

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Interview with Hilary Hoynes, Professor of Public Policy and Economics, Goldman School of Public Policy, UC Berkeley

Other researchers have theorised that the reason non-poor Americans may be food insecure is that food insecurity tends to be *“episodic, not chronic due to income volatility or lack of liquid assets”*⁶⁶. A study of 90 families who were recipients of SNAP benefits established that even minor variations in income or expenses could result in food insecurity – a factor that is also prevalent among those not considered poor, and that financial stress was commonly linked with food insecurity among Americans⁶⁷.

A researcher from the University of Wisconsin conducted a qualitative, community-based research project in 2016, which showcased food insecurity among individuals who were above the poverty line, and who did not use any form of food assistance, such as food pantries⁶⁸. Since the 20 people included in the study were not poor, but all professionals and from a middle-class background, the researcher used a so-called ‘Asset Vulnerability Framework’ (AVF) to establish causes of food insecurity⁶⁹. The main objective of the research was to gain an understanding of why these individuals are food insecure, and why food pantries are not an option for them. Results showcased that the participants had two main costs that were non-negotiable: housing and transportation. To compensate for the budgetary restrictions, they were cutting down on both the quantity and quality of food, and complex shopping strategies that involved a hunt for bargains, haggling at farmers markets, and buying frozen meals.

“Not eating for days was a frequent strategy of a middle aged professional woman who lived alone; she stated she regularly goes without eating for 2 days and has not eaten for as many as 5 days in a row. She is very budget conscious, buying all her food at a “dollar store,” and is mindful of eating healthy, buying frozen vegetables because she cannot afford fresh. Living paycheck to paycheck, she prioritized her mortgage, car payments, utilities, and medical bills. With no equity and no cash, she is unable to reduce her living or transportation expenses by

⁶⁶ Zepeda, Lydia, “Hiding hunger: food insecurity in middle America”, Agriculture and Human Values, volume 35; p. 244

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ The respondents were mostly White, educated, middle class, adults from an affluent Midwestern city. The study comprised 6 men and 14 women, of which 7 stated they were working professionals and 7 were students (Zepeda, Lydia, “Hiding hunger: food insecurity in middle America”, Agriculture and Human Values, volume 35; p. 245)

⁶⁹ Zepeda, Lydia, “Hiding hunger: food insecurity in middle America”, Agriculture and Human Values, volume 35; p. 246

moving, she is further burdened with medical bills not covered by her health insurance and the increasing cost of premiums, and experienced severe health problems that affected her ability to work, as well as periods of unemployment. Her story illustrates how food is the expense of last priority and “fasting” for days a means to make ends meet⁷⁰”.

The researcher goes on to note that it is striking that food insecurity and hunger can be felt in prosperous households. Another case is presented, where the annual household income was at \$100.000, but where the married women experienced two months of food insecurity, forcing them to skip meals and living mainly on rice. In this case, food insecurity was linked to one of the women becoming suddenly unemployed, and even when she regained employment, they were unable to buy food *“until her wife’s first paycheck⁷¹”*.

Skipping meals was the most commonly used strategy among the 20 people interviewed. In some cases, the negative health impact resulted in insomnia, hypoglycaemia, depression, and other outcomes. Several participants mention how their health is compromised due to inferior food choices due to limited purchasing power. Nearly all of the participants hid their hunger from family and friends, as well as colleagues, due to fear of societal shaming and blaming. This was why they were reluctant to using food pantries. In almost all of the cases, food insecurity was linked to sudden change in financial circumstances, due to unemployment, illness, and lack of savings⁷².

What is really interesting about the Asset Vulnerability Framework used to determine food insecurity is that it differentiates between poverty and vulnerability⁷³. This is a key differential in that measuring poverty among those who are above the poverty level becomes a somewhat incorrect metric to determine food insecurity, in that poverty is a static measure at a point in time, whilst food insecurity among those who are above the poverty level is more prone to uncertainties and vulnerabilities, which I term as a cascade of risk vulnerability.

For instance, if you are suddenly unemployed, you are at great risk of losing your health insurance, as in the American context, healthcare is still primarily tied to job security. Figures

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ Ibid

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Ibid

from 2019 reveal that 32 percent of Americans have zero savings set aside, whilst 58 percent had less than \$1000⁷⁴. Further, 21 percent of working Americans aren't setting any savings aside at all (one in five working American)⁷⁵. This means that if, due to unforeseen circumstances, you suddenly lose a steady source of income, there is a great risk that you won't have an adequate 'buffer' in the form of savings to get you through a rough patch. Depending on your housing situation, this poses another risk vulnerability, in that if you have mortgage payments, you may not be able to afford payments, thus falling behind and possibly risking high interest rates due to missing a few mortgage payments. If you are not a homeowner, but likely to be paying a high rent, then this could expose you to further risk vulnerability, as missed payments may mean eviction.

A survey from 2017 displayed that approximately 78 percent of Americans are living paycheck to paycheck, with nearly three in four workers saying that they are in debt, whilst more than half of minimum wage workers said they had to work more than one job in order to cover costs⁷⁶. This cascade of risk vulnerability is causing many middle-class Americans to become food insecure. And using the AVF measure to determine food insecurity for those above the poverty line, we know that food insecurity occurs irregularly rather than persistently and is therefore also harder to quantify the long-term effect of this on the middle-class Americans.

U.S. Senator and attorney, Cory Booker terms it a crisis in financial stability and attributes it to economic inequality and a devaluation/de-appreciation of work and labour, further stating that *"many of us are two flat tires away from having to sell something or go into debt"*⁷⁷. In the qualitative study of food insecurity among middle-class professionals, several respondents identified changes in how their labour was valued as increasing their vulnerability to food security⁷⁸. Professor Hoynes pronounces that *"Many US States do not have state minimum wages above the federal minimum, which is still \$7,65 an hour. A lot of*

⁷⁴ <https://finance.yahoo.com/news/58-americans-less-1-000-090000503.html> (accessed 10.05.2020)

⁷⁵ <https://www.bankrate.com/banking/savings/financial-security-march-2019/> (accessed 10.05.2020)

⁷⁶ <https://www.forbes.com/sites/zackfriedman/2019/01/11/live-paycheck-to-paycheck-government-shutdown/#26c93fba4f10> (accessed 10.04.2020)

⁷⁷ <https://www.esquire.com/news-politics/politics/a26934288/cory-booker-south-carolina-speech/> (accessed 15.04.2020)

⁷⁸ Zepeda, Lydia, "Hiding hunger: food insecurity in middle America", Agriculture and Human Values, volume 35; p. 247

*people are paid sub minimum wage, and the social safety net that we have is strong in some places but clearly not fully adequate to ensure food security. But the bottom line in terms of why America has food insecurity is unfortunately very simple; we're a country that tolerates low wages, we're a country without a robust safety net. And it's just that simple*⁷⁹.

In 2018, there were 27.9 million people without health insurance In America. Unemployment has skyrocketed in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, which will augment the number of people without health insurance by millions, exposing a larger part of the population to a cascade of risk vulnerability in the years to come⁸⁰.

Poverty and economic inequality have been growing in America over the last twenty years. According to some researchers, food assistance programmes are tactically designed to keep people food insecure. These programmes assist low to no-income individuals, by providing a regulated ration of food that pre-empt the physical pains of hunger but are not adequate in providing food security. They deliver *"just enough food to keep poor people from starving or protesting in the streets, but not enough for people to live healthy, stress- free, and happy lives"*⁸¹.

7.3. Why We Need to Look at Food Security from a Systems change lens

Activists working on food security in America assess it as a systemic issue and a public policy failure that one of the richest countries in the world is unable to guard its citizens from food insecurity, and call for a reform of the current food system to one that is anchored in a Right to Adequate Food charter, as well as increasing minimum wage⁸². This circles back to the point made earlier in this report about individuals as rights holders and States as the primary duty-bearers under international law. The Right to Adequate food, as we established, is codified in Article 11 of the ICESCR, and ratified by many nation states, but not by the U.S.

⁷⁹ Interview with Hilary Hoynes, Professor of Public Policy and Economics, Goldman School of Public Policy, UC Berkeley

⁸⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/apr/16/profit-over-people-cost-over-care-americas-broken-healthcare-exposed-by-virus> (accessed 28.04.2020)

⁸¹ De Souza, Rebecca, 'Feeding the Other: Whiteness, Privilege, and Neoliberal Stigma in Food Pantries', Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, 2019; p.43

⁸² De Souza, Rebecca, 'Feeding the Other: Whiteness, Privilege, and Neoliberal Stigma in Food Pantries', Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, 2019; p.38

Thus, it makes it difficult to hold The United States to account as a duty bearer vis-à-vis the right to food.

Activists who have been trying to change the food system have been met with *“technical, informational, and therapeutic solutions focused on distributing surplus industrial food, increasing health awareness, and building food skills among poor citizens. These are small-scale and short-sighted solutions that place the burden of solving the problem of hunger on local communities and individuals, while state and corporate actors renege on their responsibilities⁸³”*. In this system, food pantries – although small players in the larger system – perform a fundamental role in the governmental strategy to outsource an essential state duty⁸⁴.

There are several factors in the U.S. context that make it difficult to implement adequate welfare reforms to address the cascade of risk vulnerability that ultimately leads to both irregular as well as chronic food insecurity. It would take away focus from the objective and scope of this report to dive into a full account of these, so I will only illustrate a few for the purpose of the point I want to make. In the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, some have gone as far as declaring America a failed state, asserting that the failure to respond adequately to a national emergency is not due to the pandemic, but the underlying failures of America, which reveals *“a corrupt political class, a sclerotic bureaucracy, a heartless economy, a divided and distracted public [...] a dysfunctional government [...] partisan politics and terrible policies⁸⁵”*.

7.3.1. A Deficient and Asymmetrical Safety Net

In “Holes in the Safety Net: Federalism and Poverty”, there are two main trends that are highlighted as weakening and impacting welfare services and economic security programmes in America; the tension between federal and state sovereignty and the conditionalities that are increasingly being placed on qualifying for and receiving social welfare services, such as

⁸³ Ibid, p.18

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.19

⁸⁵ <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/06/underlying-conditions/610261/> (accessed 20.04.2020). See also <https://theintercept.com/2020/04/10/the-failed-state-of-america/> (accessed 12.04.2020)

Medicaid⁸⁶. The governing structure in the U.S. *“is not an “either the federal government or state governments” one, but a complicated, interdependent relationship of cooperative, and uncooperative, federalism”*⁸⁷. Even where there are clear federal level directives in implementing these programmes, there are provisions that allow many states to apply for waivers from the standard and instead implement with their own modified versions.

Professor Hoynes adds that *“looking at welfare reform in the US and how the 50 different states have responded to this federal call to do welfare reform and what is in the U.S. that has led to some states being more protective of the old system compared to other states [...] a central feature of a more recent history of America is adding conditionality to the safety net that we have, typically acquiring demonstration of work in order to get the benefits such as they are. And that’s now even being introduced into Medicaid, so there are states in the US that have been granted waivers from the federal government to implement work requirements as a measure on top of income requirements to receive Medicaid, which is about the most insane thing that you could ever think of, given that a lot of people are not very healthy that are on Medicaid”*⁸⁸.

Much of the rationale behind this stems from the fact that federalism is seen as an opportunity for states to effectively function as ‘laboratories of democracy’ and for a strong opposition in America to acknowledge a *de jure* approach to socio-economic rights, as is the standard practice in other developed nations⁸⁹. In the 1980s, the attack on welfare programming was propagated through a permutation of racism and the undeserving poor, which led to the 1996 welfare reform bill, signed by then President Bill Clinton⁹⁰. Many believe that this bill hugely weakened the safety net function of welfare programming by, for

⁸⁶Rosser, Ezra (Editor), “Holes in the safety net: federalism and poverty”; 1 Edition. | New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.1

⁸⁸ Interview with Hilary Hoynes, Professor of Public Policy and Economics, Goldman School of Public Policy, UC Berkeley

⁸⁹ Rosser, Ezra (Editor), “Holes in the safety net: federalism and poverty”; 1 Edition. | New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019; p.1

⁹⁰ Ibid, P.4 and <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/08/20-years-welfare-reform/496730/> (accessed 05.05.2020)

example, placing conditionalities of work requirements, as well as how long recipients could claim welfare for; the poor had to prove that they were deserving of help.

“One of the factors that really comes out in that analysis is the role of race and the State. So that’s part of the history of the welfare state in America and I think feeds into this narrative of ‘who is the deserving and who is the undeserving’ because there are a lot of ways that the state operates very strongly in terms of corporate tax break. But this sort of work imposition comes from this distrust of the poor to truly be needy, and so we need to have people ‘show’ us that they are part of the social contract of America by not being lazy and living off the State and requiring these work requirements⁹¹”

It has also resulted in huge disparities in terms of dispersal, depending on which state one might be in. In the Deep South as well as parts of western U.S., there is essentially little to no presence of a safety net, thus increasing the risk of vulnerability to poverty and food insecurity⁹².

7.3.2. Neoliberalism and the American State Design

During the second half of the twentieth century, the US was, without a doubt, an economic hegemon, as witnessed through the *“recentralization of monetary power in its hands at the end of World War II”⁹³*, and the incomparable Marshall Plan that placed the burden of reconstruction of nation states and their economies on the United States. The United States was *“interested not only in internationalism, but also in the importance of its own export surplus”⁹⁴*. With the set-up of the Bretton-Woods⁹⁵ system of monetary management in 1945,

⁹¹ Interview with Hilary Hoynes, Professor of Public Policy and Economics, Goldman School of Public Policy, UC Berkeley

⁹² <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/08/20-years-welfare-reform/496730/> (accessed 05.05.2020)

⁹³ Karagiannis, Nikolaos, Madjd-Sadjadi, Zagros, Sen, Swapan (Editors), *“The US economy and neoliberalism: alternative strategies and policies”*; Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN, 2013; p. xviii

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ The Bretton Woods system of monetary management came about in the aftermath of World War II during a conference held in New Hampshire in July 1944 and attended by all 44 Allied Nations. The belief was that the economic problems left unaddressed post First World War had very much been a trigger for the Second World War, thus pursuing remedies to avoid the rise of similar circumstances from occurring again. In regulating common, international monetary systems, governing institution such as ‘the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development’ (IBRD) (now part of the World Bank Group) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were established (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bretton_Woods_system accessed 05.05.2020))

Keynesian⁹⁶ macroeconomic policies – i.e. using effective government policies to manage collective demand in order to both address and prevent economic recessions – would guide the agenda of most nation states in the decades hence⁹⁷. What is worth noting is that the United States owning two-thirds of the gold reserves at the time – required that the Bretton Woods system be pegged on both gold and US dollar as a fixed exchange rate system. This effectively ended in 1971, after president Nixon *“unilaterally closed the gold window, and though the major countries attempted to manage the values of their currencies against the price of gold for the next two years, by 1973, in the wake of the first oil crisis, it was clear that the fixed exchange rate system’s time had come and gone”*⁹⁸.

Criticism toward Keynesian economic policies started to grow strong in the United States in the 1960s onward. The biggest opponent of Keynesian theory was Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago School of Economics⁹⁹, and many also see his rise to significance based on his critique of Keynesian policies, advocating instead for monetarism; a return to a free market, deregulation, minimal interference by government, and free trade. In 1976, Friedman won the Nobel Peace Prize in Economic Sciences – a recognition not only in terms of the prestige that follows such a merit, but also an event that pivoted a focus away from Keynesian policies to those proposed by the Chicago School, with an *“emphasis on prices, inflation, and human incentives, a direct counter to Keynes’ focus on employment, interest and public policy”*¹⁰⁰. Thus, by the late 1970s/early 80s, *“governments around the world were in retreat from market intervention, and deregulation and privatization were the order of the day. Other policy innovations include welfare and other entitlement reforms, a rollback of civil service*

⁹⁶ John Maynard Keynes was one of the most influential British economists of the twentieth century. He is acknowledged for introducing the first systematic approach to macroeconomics (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Maynard_Keynes accessed 10.05.2020)

⁹⁷ Karagiannis, Nikolaos, Madjd-Sadjadi, Zagros, Sen, Swapan (Editors), *“The US economy and neoliberalism: alternative strategies and policies”*; Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN, 2013; p. 11

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ The Chicago School of Economics is a neo-classical school of thought at the University of Chicago, best known through Milton Friedman and John Stigler, two of its second-generation school leaders (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicago_school_of_economics (accessed 09.04.2020)

¹⁰⁰ <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/m/milton-friedman.asp> (accessed 10.04.2020)

*protections, and an opening up of traditional government operations to competition from the free market*¹⁰¹.

This shift away from Keynesian economic governing model to a laissez faire economic model in the early 1980s became known as neoliberalism, with Friedman and the Chicago School as primus motor. In the 1990s, it was the root structure underpinning the ‘Washington Consensus’, which led to so-called structural adjustment programmes for developing nations seeking loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) respectively¹⁰². According to Noam Chomsky, the prime engineers behind the neoliberal, Washington consensus are big corporations and the United States, who have designed policies to protect their own economic interests and wealth¹⁰³.

Since the 1980s, neoliberalism has ruled as economic doctrine in the United States, during Democratic and Republican presidencies. In an effort to maintain its global, economic hegemony – as established post World War II – the neoliberal policies have been fuelled by a strong national security (military) objective. This has, in turn, augmented economic inequality domestically and made it harder to deliver adequate socio-economic schemes¹⁰⁴. Critics also point out that during the Bretton Woods era (1946 to 1973), real GDP per capita in the United States increased by 83 percent. From 1973 to 2010 – during the neoliberal era – real GDP per capita in the United States has only increased by 81 percent¹⁰⁵.

“As a political economic project, a core belief of neoliberalism is that an unfettered market with less government will provide more efficient services and jobs. Neoliberalization involves the privatization of public resources and spaces, the minimization of labor costs, reductions in

¹⁰¹ Karagiannis, Nikolaos, Madjd-Sadjadi, Zagros, Sen, Swapan (Editors), “The US economy and neoliberalism: alternative strategies and policies”; Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN, 2013; p. 14

¹⁰² The Washington Consensus refers to DC based institutions, such as the IMF, WB, and the US Department of Treasury who coined 10 policy prescriptions for an economic reform package for countries developing and fragile nations in need of assistance. (<https://www.intelligenteconomist.com/washington-consensus/> accessed 10.05.2020). However, these economic aid packages have often been criticised for placing conditionalities, especially to the structural adjustments programmes, whereby countries have to agree with the proposed neoliberal economic policies as a condition to the loans given (<https://publichealthreviews.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s40985-017-0059-2> accessed 12.05.2020)

¹⁰³ Chomsky, Noam, “Profit Over People - Neoliberalism and Global Order, 7 Stories Press, New York, 1999

¹⁰⁴ Karagiannis, Nikolaos, Madjd-Sadjadi, Zagros, Sen, Swapan (Editors), “The US economy and neoliberalism: alternative strategies and policies”; Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN, 2013; p. 1

¹⁰⁵ Karagiannis, Nikolaos, Madjd-Sadjadi, Zagros, Sen, Swapan (Editors), “The US economy and neoliberalism: alternative strategies and policies”; Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN, 2013; p. 13

*public expenditures, and elimination of regulations for private corporations. Neoliberalization also involves the devolution of responsibility from the state to private actors and entities—a primary reason we have seen a growth in charitable food assistance over the last thirty years*¹⁰⁶.

Foreign Policy Magazine – in a recent article – declared that the United States is in urgent need of reviewing its current, neoliberal economic ideology to better tackle the problems facing the country, not least inequality and climate change. Today, *“even domestic policy experts are experiencing a genuine reckoning as they accept that economists got a number of things wrong and significant correctives are overdue”*¹⁰⁷.

A call for an alternate economic model in the US will be a difficult task, as just witnessed through the democratic campaigns of Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warner, who have both put forth progressive policies for a social and economic reform. Historically, Americans have not preferred marked state interference, with most seeing it as an encroachment of personal liberties. This is a very different association to central government than in many other developed countries, especially in western Europe, where there is strong confidence in the central state, even when the sitting politicians are not well liked. The American population’s distrust of State interference fits, by and large, well with the libertarian and neo-liberal form of economic governance. Most of US public budgeting policy is based on the principles of the Chicago School of Economics, so any measures of reform will take a long time to transform.

My reasoning for not proposing a solution that looks at reform of the current system to see what can be done better within the current food system, is largely based on what I have presented in this chapter. Any reform to the social safety net, which would impact food security positively, would be challenging and take on a long-time horizon. That is not to say that it’s a zero-sum game, and what I suggest would go against a reform of the current structures. It merely means that what I propose in the next section will look at ways to

¹⁰⁶De Souza, Rebecca, ‘Feeding the Other: Whiteness, Privilege, and Neoliberal Stigma in Food Pantries’, Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, 2019; p.53

¹⁰⁷ <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/02/07/america-needs-a-new-economic-philosophy-foreign-policy-experts-can-help/> (accessed 12.05.2020)

strengthen the risk of vulnerability, which forces many into both chronic and irregular food insecurity from a different angle and would produce more immediate results and impact. Changing public policy requires complex and diverse strategies, and each must be weighed against long term and short-term goals and impact.

In the frame of this report, what I will propose next, is a measure to increase resilience to income volatility, which could provide individuals with the buffer needed to get through periods of negative externalities and force them into a cycle of vulnerability.

8. Basic Income Model as a Systems Solution

Wealth and social inequalities are key determinants of food insecurity. As such, any form of mitigation of food insecurity must include ways to tackle social and economic inequities¹⁰⁸.

What I offer is the concept of basic income, as projected by the British economist, Guy Standing. There are a number of tenders out there on universal basic income, but what is compelling about Standing's strategy is that it is well-thought through, rights- and evidence based, as well as simple in methodological scope. The outline conferred here draws primarily from his white paper to the Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer titled, *"Basic Income as Common Dividends: Piloting a Transformative Policy"*¹⁰⁹. Standing's proposal is diligently detailed. I will therefore only highlight the essential elements, as it would otherwise augment this report beyond its scope.

8.1. Basic Income

Guy Standing traces the genealogy of the concept back to the Magna Carta and the British Constitution under the 'right to subsistence attainable through the commons' frame¹¹⁰. This loops back to what we established earlier vis-à-vis food security being founded in a rights-based approach under international law. He defines basic income through a human rights

¹⁰⁸ Pollard, Christina M. and Booth, Sue, "Food Insecurity and Hunger in Rich Countries—It Is Time for Action against Inequality", *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health*, 2019; p.3

¹⁰⁹ Standing, Guy, "Basic Income as Common Dividends: Piloting a Transformative Policy – A Report for the Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer", *Progressive Economy Forum* https://www.progressiveeconomyforum.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/PEF_Piloting_Basic_Income_Guy_Standing.pdf (accessed 12.04.2020)

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p.5

perspective as an amount that would be paid to each individual and make a considerable difference to the income of especially those currently earning or receiving low wages. It would be paid out in cash (or a similar substitute), as an essential tenet is one of agency, thus not impacting the ability of each individual to choose how to spend it (non-earmarked).

It is an essential prerequisite that this income be made steady and predictable, thus be paid out on a regular basis and without any uncertainties. It should effectively be unconditional and be paid out to each individual regardless of gender, race, marital or household status, income or wealth, employment status, or disability status. As mentioned, Basic Income would apply to everyone equally and not be affected by income status or personal circumstances, as is the case with means-tested benefits. It should also be amended as a legal document, thus becoming a permanent right¹¹¹.

Standing makes it clear that it should not be seen as an either/or, in that Basic Income could essentially be implement together with the existing welfare policies¹¹², but not weaken the rights of those with special needs by replacing special needs benefits on a Basic Income wage. The difference suggested instead is that special needs should be granted based on medical criteria rather than the current system of means-testing¹¹³. The intention with Basic Income is to provide everyone with the same basic security.

Guy Standing presents two forms of basic income models; a General Basic Income and a Commons Dividend. The General Basic Income model comprises a cash payment made that replaces another benefit or subsidy normally provided by the state. Commons Dividend rest on the doctrine that every citizen should gain a part of the country's accumulated wealth and be compensated for the loss of common resources that belong to all equally. Guy Standing describes it as "dividends of capitalism" to its citizens.¹¹⁴

Basic Income should also be seen as a reformation of the welfare state, with a shift from the methods of means-testing, which in principle is a means by which you differentiate between

¹¹¹ Ibid, p.8

¹¹² Ibid, p.5

¹¹³ Ibid, p.9

¹¹⁴ Ibid

the deserving and underserving poor¹¹⁵. One of the advantages of Basic Income is that it would render means-testing obsolete, which is one of the biggest issues with the current welfare system in the U.S. and beyond.

8.2. The case for Building a New Distribution System

There are several benefits to Standing's Basic Income Model, which would remit the cascade of risk vulnerability that catapults many in the developed world into situations of irregular and chronic food insecurity. The biggest benefit which would follow a Basic Income Model is that it would provide *"citizens with security for their basic needs of a home, subsistence and health [whilst] abolish[ing] sanctions and render[ing] food banks unnecessary"*, thus laying *"the foundations for a prosperous and sustainable economy for the benefit of all"*¹¹⁶.

The case for a basic income is based on a human right and ethics-based approach. Such a policy would provide a buffer against shocks, such as sudden unemployment, recession, and other large-scale adversities, as it is not based on conditionalities, which permeate the current social welfare model, with punitive measures instituted as governing tools. It divides along the lines of 'good vs. bad' welfare recipients, thus assigning rewards and punitive measures accordingly. Currently, there are millions who are in need of the federal food schemes, such as SNAP, but who for various reasons are unable to qualify. For example, those who are above the poverty line, but still vulnerable to irregular stretches of food insecurity due to various events, would in most cases be unable to qualify.

The strongest case for basic income is that it offers basic security, which according to Standing is referred to as a 'superior public good'¹¹⁷ by economists. This is an especially important benchmark when mitigating food insecurity in that it is income volatility due to various reasons that plummets people into food insecurity.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p.25

¹¹⁶ Standing, Guy, "Basic Income as Common Dividends: Piloting a Transformative Policy – A Report for the Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer", Progressive Economy Forum, p.4 https://www.progressiveeconomyforum.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/PEF_Piloting_Basic_Income_Guy_Standing.pdf (accessed 12.04.2020)

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p.

8.3. Demonstrating Efficacy through Piloting Schemes

Standing's report is partly strong because of the comparative analysis of various Basic Income pilot schemes which he brings to the table. In the interest of brevity, I will only highlight a few that illustrate why basic income is feasible and can deliver results. The first case is the 'Alaska Permanent Fund'. Initiated in 1976 – and still being dispersed – the State of Alaska started to issue dividends to all citizens from the oil manufacturing royalties and has generated annual returns of almost 10% based on a diverse portfolio of investments¹¹⁸. Most notably, the Fund *"and its dividends have reduced poverty and economic insecurity, and have been associated with increased employment"*¹¹⁹.

The second case is 'Finland's Basic Income Experiment', which is technically not a basic income pilot, due to the compromises in design of the pilot. Standing lists it as a good case for policy development, as it contains many of the steps and stakeholders needed to set up a basic income pilot scheme. The final results of the project were presented at the end of April 2020, and showcase reduce stress, heightened economic security, and increased overall wellbeing¹²⁰. One key finding worth noting was documented by a Guardian journalist, who travelled to Finland and *"interviewed one of the previously unemployed recipients of the basic income, and reported that he had used the time and money to build up a workshop for making and selling shaman drums. As reported, it was not the money that had made that possible but the lack of behavioural conditions that had previously forced him to look for jobs and use up time to satisfy the employment bureau's demands"*¹²¹.

Standing mentions several pilots in the U.S. context, one in Oakland, California and the other Stockton, California (and other states). Both of these showcase an interesting point; that stakeholder engagement and involvement at the decision-making level and at the civil society

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p.61

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ https://www.kela.fi/web/en/news-archive/-/asset_publisher/IN08GY2nIrZo/content/results-of-the-basic-income-experiment-small-employment-effects-better-perceived-economic-security-and-mental-wellbeing (accessed 10.05.2020)

¹²¹ Standing, Guy, "Basic Income as Common Dividends: Piloting a Transformative Policy – A Report for the Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer", Progressive Economy Forum, p.65 https://www.progressiveeconomyforum.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/PEF_Piloting_Basic_Income_Guy_Standing.pdf (accessed 12.04.2020)

level are crucial in rolling out basic income schemes. In Oakland the project largely failed due to lack of political interest, and in Stockton it was by and large a success because the local Mayor had the backing of the community¹²².

The Commons Dividend model is very interesting, and a feasible model for establishing basic income. One such case in point is the Norwegian Sovereign Wealth Fund known as the Government Pension Fund of Norway, which technically is not a Basic Income Model, but indirectly functions as such. The big difference is that Norwegians do not get cash grants, but the Norwegian State funnels large parts of its profit from the revenues of oil into the welfare state. It's premised on an ethical frame, contending that future generations should also benefit from the use of the commons; in this case North Sea oil.

The United States could effectively also divert its oil revenue into a comparable governmental fund. However, the biggest obstacle to this is the fact that most 'oil commons' in the US are under private ownership. But it's worth exploring if there are other common resources that could be used as a Commons Dividend.

In the wake of the covid-19 crisis, many conservative governments are even looking at such models. Even in the United States 'no strings attached' grants are being distributed to those in need¹²³. It would therefore be a very opportune time for WPE and the wider Community of Concern operating within the ambit of food security to start advocating for a basic income model as an effective tool for addressing vulnerabilities that ultimately manifest as food insecurity.

I have chosen not to draft an exemplary basic income pilot scheme, as there are too many unknowns (location, size, main lead, budget, scale, and scope). For this, a feasibility study would firstly be needed.

9. Looking Ahead

The observations and recommendations presented in this report are aimed at strengthening WPE's organisational as well as programmatic capacity in its forward trajectory. Secondly,

¹²² Ibid, p.67-68

¹²³ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/opinion/coronavirus-oversight-congress-trillions.html> (accessed 02.04.2020)

they are aimed at the wider Community of Concern network of stakeholders who are working toward mitigating food insecurity. While this report focusses on the U.S. context in mapping the underlying causes of food insecurity, not least among middle class households and those above the poverty line, the lessons learned can be applied in other developed nation framework to recognise that food insecurity is about much more than just hunger.

This report should be instrumentalised to form a cohesive strategy for engagement with external stakeholders on mitigating food insecurity and – ultimately – calling for a basic income model that would remit many of the vulnerabilities causing food insecurity.

The report should also be utilised by WPE to run a series of workshops, aimed at strengthening impact metrics and revisiting the Strategic Plan to include concrete steps for how the organisation wishes to align its mission and values with specific goals and outcomes.

WPE and the wider Community of Concern is also encouraged to challenge institutional mind-set and position food security in a broader, rights-based agenda. Since food insecurity can be viewed as the physical manifestation of the underlying policy failures, it should be tackled within a broader perspective of the Right to Adequate Food and Standard of Living under international law. Thus, the primary burden of finding solutions and responding to food insecurity should be placed on governments and not civil society structures.

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Alyssa Seibert, Social Impact and Sustainability Manager at Imperfect Foods; 21.04.2020

Dr. Carolyn Phinney, President and Executive Director of CoCo San Sustainable Farms; 20.04.2020

Erica Brooks, Erica Brooks, Chief Growth Officer at WPE; 09.02.2020, 24.02.2020, and 12.04.2020

Helen Jones, Food Rescue Operations Manager at WPE; 24.02.2020

Hilary Hoynes, Professor of Public Policy and Economics, Goldman School of Public Policy, UC Berkeley; 24.04.2020

Pete Olsen, WPE School Pantry and Food Sourcing Manager Olsen 09.03.2020 and 28.03.2020



Three WPE volunteers on 09.03.2020

Appendix

Appendix I

Which site did you receive this survey? <i>(Please tick one)</i>				
<input type="radio"/> Site 1	<input type="radio"/> Site 2	<input type="radio"/> Site 3	<input type="radio"/> Site 4	<input type="radio"/> Site 5
<input type="radio"/> Site 6	<input type="radio"/> Site 7	<input type="radio"/> Site 8	<input type="radio"/> Site 9	<input type="radio"/> Site 10
Age: What is your age? <i>(Please tick one)</i>				
<input type="radio"/> Under 12 years old	<input type="radio"/> 12-17 years old	<input type="radio"/> 18-24 years old		
<input type="radio"/> 25-34 years old	<input type="radio"/> 35-44 years old	<input type="radio"/> 45-54 years old		
<input type="radio"/> 55-64 years old	<input type="radio"/> 65-74 years old	<input type="radio"/> 75 years or older		
What is your sex? <i>(Please tick one)</i>				
<input type="radio"/> Male	<input type="radio"/> Female	<input type="radio"/> Other		
Ethnic origin: Please specify your ethnicity? <i>(Please tick one)</i>				
<input type="radio"/> White	<input type="radio"/> Hispanic or Latino			
<input type="radio"/> Black or African American	<input type="radio"/> Native American or American Indian			
<input type="radio"/> Asian / Pacific Islander	<input type="radio"/> Other			
Education: What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? <i>If currently enrolled, highest degree received</i>				
<input type="radio"/> No schooling completed				
<input type="radio"/> Nursery school to 8th grade				
<input type="radio"/> Some high school, no diploma				
<input type="radio"/> High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent (for example: GED)				
<input type="radio"/> Some college credit, no degree				
<input type="radio"/> Trade/technical/vocational training				
<input type="radio"/> Associate degree				
<input type="radio"/> Bachelor's degree				
<input type="radio"/> Master's degree				
<input type="radio"/> Professional degree				
<input type="radio"/> Doctorate degree				
Marital Status: What is your marital status? <i>(Please tick one)</i>				
<input type="radio"/> Single, never married	<input type="radio"/> Married or domestic partnership			
<input type="radio"/> Widowed	<input type="radio"/> Divorced			
<input type="radio"/> Separated				
Are you a single income household? <i>(Please tick one)</i>				
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No			



To respond:  or 

1



WPE FOOD PANTRY SURVEY



3610 0001

Are you the primary income provider in the household?

(Please tick one)

☐ Yes ☐ No

Do you currently have health insurance?

(Please tick one)

☐ Yes ☐ No

Have you had health insurance in the last...?

(Please tick one)

☐ 2-4 years ☐ 5-9 years ☐ 10-14 years

What is the size of your household?

(Please tick one)

☐ 1-2 ☐ 2-3 ☐ 3-4 ☐ 4-5
☐ 5-6 ☐ 6-7 ☐ 7-8 ☐ 9-10

How satisfied are you with the School Pantry Programme provided by WPE?

(Please tick one)

☐ Very satisfied
☐ Satisfied
☐ Somewhat satisfied
☐ Neutral
☐ Somewhat unsatisfied
☐ Unsatisfied
☐ Very unsatisfied

How often do you come to the food pantry?

(Please tick one)

☐ Once a week ☐ Twice a week ☐ 3-4 times a week ☐ Once a month
☐ Twice a month ☐ 3-4 times a month ☐ 5-8 times a month

What could be done better or differently?



To respond: ☒ or ☐

1



WPE FOOD PANTRY SURVEY



3610 0002

Appendix II



Food Rescue Donors

1. 365 by Whole Foods Concord
2. Acalanes High School
3. Anaviv Catering and Events
4. Bay Area Rescue Mission
5. Bounty Garden
6. Cheesecake Factory
7. Chefs to End Hunger/LA & SF Specialty Foods
8. Brentwood Union School District
9. C & L Produce
10. Cash and Carry
11. Choice Lunch Hayward
12. Church of JC Latter Day Saints
13. CoCo San Sustainable Farm
14. Concord Produce
15. Concord Senior Center
16. Contra Costa Oncology
17. Copia/GoCopia
18. Costco Concord
19. Crowne Plaza Hotel
20. CytoSport
21. Farmers Market Alamo
22. Farmers Market El Cerrito
23. Farmers Market Martinez
24. Farmers Market Moraga
25. Farmers Market San Ramon
26. Farmers Market Shadelands
27. Farmers Market Walnut Creek
28. Food For Thought Catering
29. Fresh Approach
30. Harvest Foods
31. Hookston Senior Apartments
32. Imperfect Foods
33. Lunardi's Danville
34. Marriott Inn San Ramon
35. Meher Schools
36. Methodology
37. Moraga Gardens Farm
38. My Sustainable Table
39. Performance Foods
40. PG&E Test Kitchen
41. Private Donor - Drop Off
42. Rocco's Pizza
43. Safeway Concord Ygnacio Valley
44. Safeway Rossmoor
45. San Ramon Valley High School
46. Small Cakes
47. Sprouts Distribution Center Union City
48. Sprouts Dublin
49. Sprouts San Ramon
50. Sprouts Walnut Creek
51. Starbucks FoodShare Program
52. Sufism Reoriented
53. Sukhi's Gourmet Indian Food
54. Trader Joes Danville
55. TJ's Lafayette
56. TJ's Oak Grove (Concord)
57. Urban Farmers
58. Whole Foods Dublin
59. Whole Foods Lafayette
60. Whole Foods San Ramon
61. Whole Foods Walnut Creek
62. Whole Foods Ygnacio Valley