Field To Forest:
MAPPING THE FOOD MOVEMENT ECOSYSTEM
TO DEVELOP WINNING STRATEGY

By Navina Khanna
Field to Forest:
Mapping the Food Movement Ecosystem to Develop a Winning Strategy

By Navina Khanna, Movement Strategy Center Associate

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Show Me The Movement

When leaders from the sustainable food movement went to the White House in 2009, the President reportedly urged, “Show me the movement.”

By all measures, the food movement is, in fact, swelling. It’s happening on the ground, in backyards, school cafeterias, at farmers’ markets and at meat-packing facilities. It’s changing institutions from the USDA to the military and the White House. From the ’hood to the heartland, grassroots activism and energy is surging, and it is being felt and heard by corporations and policy makers. Conscientious and visionary leaders are emerging in all areas of the work. Most importantly, demand is growing for real solutions, for food systems transformation that restores and rebuilds our health, our communities, and our hearts and souls.

As momentum grows, a unique political moment has emerged. The time is ripe for a unified food movement, one that is powerful enough to achieve real solutions to the food crisis that touches every family and every neighborhood in the country.

Building a powerful, unified food movement today requires an unprecedented coming together of leaders from the many sectors of the food movement to define and articulate a common vision and strategy for real solutions, and to build public understanding and demand for real solutions.

This paper seeks to support the building of a food movement that can bring about the transformation we need. To do this we explore four questions that are crucial for understanding and building a powerful food movement:

1. How does the current food system operate — and why?
2. Where did today’s food movement come from?
3. What are the strengths and challenges of today’s food movement?
4. What vision can guide the food movement into the future?

This paper focuses on movement building for transformational change: thinking needed to create systemic and structural changes that will allow equitable, ecological systems to thrive. We seek to highlight the aspects of the food system and the food movement that have received the least attention and resources, drawing from history in highlighting the need to put these sectors at the core of building a unified winning food movement.
The Power and Success of the Current Food Movement

Over the past few years, the food movement has experienced a rare and powerful political opening. Thanks to many efforts on the ground, the need to deal with the symptoms of our broken food system has gained a toehold in the national political arena, with allies like Michelle Obama speaking out boldly against food disparities and championing access to healthy food in marginalized communities. Within a year of entering the White House, the First Lady launched Let's Move! to reduce childhood obesity, with a commitment to eliminating food deserts\(^1\) by 2017, demonstrated through several avenues. These include the Healthy Food Financing Initiative, modeled on Philadelphia's successful efforts funding grocery store entry into low-income neighborhoods, a new national food-oriented Americorps called FoodCorps, focused specifically on garden and nutrition education in schools, and a robust USDA initiative called Know Your Farmer, Know Your Food has been launched to connect consumers to their food.

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1. The term “food deserts” is used here for consistency with the Let’s Move! initiative. However, the term is controversial for a number of reasons: it assumes that a supply of any food is all that is needed to fill a void. Real solutions to “food deserts” will address quality, economic disparities, and power disparities. The term also disregards the legacy of indigenous desert communities who continue to cultivate traditional, healthy foods in a desert environment.
Over the last decade, food movement groups have come together in a series of policy battles, on Capitol Hill, and through online and offline grassroots organizing. The table below describes examples of some of the ways that organizations have addressed some of the problems with our current food system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>How We’ve Addressed It</th>
<th>Who’s Done It</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination against Black, Immigrant, Native, &amp; Female Farmers</td>
<td>• Legal action&lt;br&gt;• Organizing&lt;br&gt;• Petitions&lt;br&gt;• Policy advocacy</td>
<td>• Color of Change&lt;br&gt;• Federation of Southern Cooperatives&lt;br&gt;• Food &amp; Farm Policy Project&lt;br&gt;• Intertribal Agriculture Council&lt;br&gt;• Latino Farmers, Ranchers and Trade Association&lt;br&gt;• Rural Coalition&lt;br&gt;• Women Food &amp; Ag Network&lt;br&gt;• Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploitation of Farm &amp; Food Chain Workers</td>
<td>• Consumer organizing&lt;br&gt;• Legal action&lt;br&gt;• Internal labor standards/codes of conduct&lt;br&gt;• Worker organizing</td>
<td>• Center for New Community&lt;br&gt;• Domestic Fair Trade Association&lt;br&gt;• Farm Labor Organizing Committee&lt;br&gt;• Food Chain Workers Alliance&lt;br&gt;• ROC-United&lt;br&gt;• Student/Farmworker Alliance&lt;br&gt;• Several local groups, including Campesino to Campesino, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Lideres Campesina, United Farm Workers&lt;br&gt;• United Food &amp; Commercial Workers&lt;br&gt;• UNITE Here!&lt;br&gt;• Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Farmer Loss; Farm Land Loss.</td>
<td>• Advocacy&lt;br&gt;• Direct marketing&lt;br&gt;• Farmer organizing&lt;br&gt;• Growers’ Cooperatives&lt;br&gt;• Land conservation&lt;br&gt;• Zoning Laws</td>
<td>• American Farmland Trust&lt;br&gt;• Community Alliance with Family Farmers&lt;br&gt;• Farm Aid&lt;br&gt;• Land Stewardship Project&lt;br&gt;• National Family Farm Coalition&lt;br&gt;• National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition&lt;br&gt;• Several local groups, including land trusts&lt;br&gt;• Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health &amp; environmental impacts of industrial agricultural practices</td>
<td>• Organizing&lt;br&gt;• Advocacy&lt;br&gt;• Legal action&lt;br&gt;• Regenerative farming practices</td>
<td>• Local communities&lt;br&gt;• Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy&lt;br&gt;• Food &amp; Water Watch&lt;br&gt;• Food Democracy Now&lt;br&gt;• Organic Consumers’ Association&lt;br&gt;• National Organics Coalition&lt;br&gt;• People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals&lt;br&gt;• National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition&lt;br&gt;• Pesticide Action Network&lt;br&gt;• Healthy Farms Healthy People&lt;br&gt;• Others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e.g., confined animal feeding operations; genetic engineering, synthetic fertilizers & pesticides)
Problem                   | How We’ve Addressed It                                      | Who’s Done It                                                                 |
---                        | ---                                                          | ---                                                                          |
Disconnect between health and food access | • Education  
                                 • Organizing  
                                 • Corporate campaigns  
                                 • Policy advocacy | • Healthcare without Harm  
                                 • Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy  
                                 • Public Health Institute  
                                 • PolicyLink  
                                 • Community Food Security Coalition  
                                 • Local communities |
Lack of hunting & fishing rights | • Organizing  
                                 • Advocacy | • Intertribal Agriculture Council  
                                 • Indigenous Environmental Network  
                                 • Local communities |
Lack of healthy food options in low-income communities | • Urban farms & gardens  
                                 • Community-owned grocery stores  
                                 • Corner store conversions  
                                 • Grocery store attraction  
                                 • Farmers’ markets  
                                 • Produce stands | • Local communities  
                                 • Healthy Corner Store Network  
                                 • Public Health Law & Policy  
                                 • National Good Food Network  
                                 • PolicyLink  
                                 • Center for Rural Affairs  
                                 • American Planning Association  
                                 • Others |
Unhealthy foods served in school | • Organizing  
                                 • Advocacy  
                                 • Leveraging institutional buying power  
                                 • Growers’ collaboratives  
                                 • Community-based solutions | • Parent Teacher Associations  
                                 • School Food Focus  
                                 • Farm to School  
                                 • Community Food Security Coalition  
                                 • Local school districts  
                                 • Local communities  
                                 • Others |

Through these efforts, participants in the food movement have achieved a number of recent wins. The examples below illustrate the power of our political moment.

**On The Ground**

- In 2010, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, a group of over 4,000 tomato pickers in southern Florida, won a battle with the Florida Tomato Growers Association that provides their first pay raise in over 30 years. This win reflects a multi-year strategy that relied on perseverance by and direction from the workers, and support from strong allies. The Student Farmworker Alliance, Just Harvest, many faith communities, and the Real Food Challenge, among others, played critical roles in mobilizing boycotts and demonstrations in solidarity with the tomato pickers. The economic and public pressure from these actions eventually led to their win.

- Two long-awaited court victories were won on behalf of Native and Black farmers who had charged the USDA with discrimination. As a result, Native farmers received a $780 million settlement and Black farmers received a $1.15 billion settlement. Rural Coalition led the 2008 Farm and Food Policy Project’s diversity initiative, which made these cases a policy priority.
• In 2008, a coalition of anti-hunger, labor, faith, small farm, environmental, consumer, and other groups formed the US Working Group on the World Food Crisis (now the US Food Sovereignty Alliance), to offer comprehensive, systems-based solutions to the world food crisis that was making headlines. In 2010, the group helped focus attention on the joint USDA/Department of Justice investigation of the lack of competition in the food and agricultural sectors. The coalition organized producers and consumers to testify at workshops across the country, and generated nearly 250,000 public comments in support of the government agencies taking action against corporate monopoly over the food system. The alliance launched with its first convening in the fall of 2011.

On The Web
• In 2010, salmonella and e. coli outbreaks spurred the writing of a new food safety bill that was supported by big agriculture — but had the potential to destroy the economic vitality of small-scale local agriculture. Through an almost purely online organizing effort, food and farming groups challenged the misleading rhetoric of agribusiness and activated their members to make over 100,000 phone calls to legislators to include amendments that wouldn’t jeopardize small-scale agriculture. This win demonstrates the online organizing power of the food movement, a force that could be mobilized to greater ends in the future.

• In 2011, Food Democracy Now! and several other organizations put out a call to action for their members to help stop the “Secret Farm Bill” that would have taken America’s biggest agricultural policy behind closed doors with the congressional Super Committee. In a matter of days, they generated over 70,000 phone calls to stop this process from moving forward. Together, the organizations have turned out more public comment than ever for a fairer Farm Bill.

On Capitol Hill
• In 2011, the Community Food Security Coalition and the National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition worked together with congressional representatives to introduce comprehensive food systems legislation. As a result, Representative Pingree and Senator Brown introduced the Local Farms, Food, and Jobs Act to strengthen local and regional food systems infrastructure and increase access to fresh, healthy food in neighborhoods and schools.

• In 2010, Congress introduced the Healthy Food Financing Initiative to provide funding for infrastructure development to increase access to fresh, healthy foods in areas without. Since its launch, $77 million have been allocated to the program, and the FY 2013 Obama budget includes $285 million for its implementation.

• In 2009, many groups, including anti-hunger, farm-to-school, public health, and food security groups came together around the Hunger-free, Health Kids Act (CNRA). When the bill finally passed Congress, it included important wins, increased support for local procurement, and achieved the first jump in reimbursement rates for free and reduced lunches in over 30 years.

• In 2004, a group of foundations convened a high-stakes working group on the 2007/8 Farm Bill that achieved several policy wins. The Food and Farm Policy Project included representatives from diverse sectors of the food system and progressive food movement. The deepened
relationships built during this initiative and lessons learned from this policy work are shaping the movement’s fight in the 2012 Farm Bill battle.

The Farm Bill, a $284 billion piece of legislation up for renewal this year, determines most of our food policy. Its purview includes subsidies on commodity crops, environmental programs, and how much money goes to food stamps. Transformative policy change is unlikely in 2012, particularly given the current economic climate. However, in this political moment, over 30 grassroots groups, national coalitions, and DC-based advocacy groups have already begun discussions in an effort to “Get Our Act Together” on the Farm Bill. This effort to increase transparency and consistency in communications focuses on equity and fairness in Farm Bill discussions. If grassroots groups and advocacy groups are able to authentically dialogue, this could be a pivotal moment to help eaters and legislators alike feel the moral imperative for food systems transformation, and create a public understanding and demand for policy change, using lessons from past policy coalition efforts and other movements.

Through these initiatives, the food movement is coming into its power and ability to make lasting, transformative change. To artfully seize the political moment, movement forces will need to come together in a unified strategy to leverage change. To develop a shared framework and strategy, a common understanding of the problem we are trying to address, and the movement’s history will be essential. The next section describes the impacts of the current food system.

How Does The Current Food System Operate — And Why?

Walk through any low-income urban neighborhood and you see liquor stores full of highly-processed, packaged food. As Angela Glover Blackwell, director of PolicyLink, says, in some communities, “It’s easier to get a gun than a tomato.” You have to leave the neighborhood to get to the nearest grocery store, to any place with a full line of fresh fruits, vegetables, and meats. If you can make it to such a store, you fill the cart with the food of your choosing, within your budget. But even then, are you really making a choice? Four companies process more than 85% of all U.S. beef; one company controls 40% of the U.S. milk supply. In fact, just four firms control more than half of all food sold in grocery stores.²

We need food to survive, but we have lost control of our food supply. Ways of producing, procuring, preparing, and sharing food reflect our cultural traditions and shape our future, but few of us have any connection to our food sources or to the basic resources necessary to sustain us: land, air, and water.

The last 500 years have seen a rapid decline in the connection between people and our food sources. Displacement and land appropriation denied indigenous people access to traditional hunting, gathering, and cultivation sites, while the forced migration of enslaved people, followed by unequal access to property ownership, limited many ethnic groups’ direct connection with land and traditional agricultural techniques. The industrial revolution spurred mechanized agricultural techniques; continued mechanization, and subsequent urbanization, moved us from agriculture to agribusiness.

More recently, the current food system is largely the result of failed post-WWII policies and programs: today, taxpayer dollars over-subsidize the production of corn, wheat, and soy without supporting local food systems that get real food to real people and build real community wealth. These policies were intended to support farmers through established farm prices and income support, and fight hunger and malnutrition with supplemental income through food stamps for consumers. However, they also hide the true costs of food production, including environmental and socio-economic costs. The subsidy of the “commodity crops” without price floors has allowed corporations to buy corn, wheat, soy and other commodities at extremely low prices, while turning a high profit on the processed products. Today, agribusiness processes and markets 95% of the food in the U.S.3

The consequence is this: while there’s plenty of food being produced in the U.S. (more than enough for everyone), the food is produced and processed in an environmentally and socially irresponsible way — and is inaccessible to the average consumer. A 2007 study by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation found that “healthy, fair, green, and affordable food” (what many call “real food”) represents less than 2% of the overall U.S. food economy. Put another way, it’s almost impossible for the typical American to get a meal that doesn’t involve real threats to health and the environment, as well as labor exploitation. This system that puts corporate profit over people and the planet feeds our alienation from food and agriculture, and is reflected in myriad ways:

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**CONSEQUENCES OF OUR BROKEN FOOD SYSTEM**

**Health disparities:**
- Diabetes
- Heart disease
- Obesity
- Other diet-related chronic disease

**Economic Inequities:**
- Monopoly
- Artificial pricing
- Disproportionate money to marketers (over farmers)
- Unequal access to produce
- Exploitation of labor

**Forced migration:**
- Urban migration
- Cross-border migration

**Ecological catastrophe:**
- Threats to native/endemic species’ survival
- Over nitrification of waterways
- Reduced wildlife habitat
- Aerial and groundwater contamination
- Increased greenhouse gas emissions

**Alienation and disconnection:**
- Between people and the land
- Between people and food
- Between consumers and growers
- Between people and culture

**OUR CURRENT SYSTEM CREATES:**
The public health crisis: Childhood obesity rates have more than tripled in the last 30 years, and diet-related chronic disease is the number one cause of death in low-income communities. Respiratory problems abound, particularly amongst children who live in communities abutting confined animal feeding operations.

The "world food crisis": In 2010, the number of hungry people on our planet surpassed 1 billion, spurred in part by corporate control over the global seed industry and food distribution systems driving farmers off their land. In India alone, over 250,000 farmers have committed suicide to absolve their debts to agrochemical companies. Here in the U.S., the USDA classifies fifty million people as “food insecure”. In a tragic catch-22, anti-hunger advocates fight to ensure that all people have access to food on a daily basis – but many solutions are actually dependent on perpetuation of a cheap food system, which allows corporations to regularly donate huge amounts of surplus processed and packaged food.

The environmental crisis: The current system requires 10 calories of fossil fuels to produce just one calorie of fast food. Food and agriculture industries now account for fully one-third of our greenhouse gas emissions. In the U.S. alone, we lose more than an acre of farmland per minute due to both development and the financial squeeze on family farms. Simultaneously, conventional agriculture is driving a loss of habitat and of topsoil: the United States currently loses 2 billion tons of topsoil each year, mostly due to erosion caused by agriculture.

The crisis of our humanity: Cheap food is dependent on cheap labor. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 7 of the 10 worst paying jobs in the U.S. are food system jobs — and that’s for workers who are getting paid. In Florida alone, there have been nine successful prosecutions against forced field labor — modern day slavery — since 1997.

The food system is full of complicated interwoven processes from production through processing, distribution, consumption and waste, along with all of the manufacturing, packaging, branding, services, material inputs, labor, and policies associated with each of these. In today’s system, everyday people have little democratic participation or decision-making power over the process. From field to table everybody loses — but some lose more than others:

- The Centers for Disease Control predict that fully one-third of all youth born this decade will develop diabetes: for youth of color the prediction jumps to one half. Many of these youth lack access to fresh, healthy foods they can afford.

- Fifty million people in the U.S. don’t know where their next meal will come from. More than one quarter of Black and Latino households experience this “food insecurity” (25.7% and 26.9% respectively), compared to one tenth (10.7%) of white households; over one third (37.5%) of households headed by single mothers, and one quarter (27.6%) of households headed by single fathers.

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4. [http://www.ewg.org/losingground](http://www.ewg.org/losingground)
5. For more information on labor abuses in our food system, see the Applied Research Center report The Color of Food, downloadable from [http://www.arc.org/content/view/2229/](http://www.arc.org/content/view/2229/)
experience the same. Because only the cheapest food, and often surplus food, is distributed to these families as emergency food, it is reliant on exploitative labor (many food chain workers are themselves food insecure), and is unhealthy food, causing diet-related chronic diseases and linking health disparities directly with economic disparities.

- The corporate organic movement has blossomed, but most small farmers still rely on income from work outside of farming. Despite a 20% annual growth in the organic sector each year since 2000, small farmers are still struggling: 60% of small farmers make less than $10,000 in gross annual sales. At the same time, of all privately owned U.S. agricultural land, Whites account for 96% of the owners, 97% of the value, and 98% of the acreage (USDA, 2002). Farmers of color and women have historically faced discrimination in accessing both land and resources to support their agricultural operations.

- Labor laws currently exclude farmworkers from the National Labor Relations Act, which means they are prohibited from organizing, children are allowed to work in the fields, and there is little regulation of working conditions in the fields. Agricultural workers are therefore subject to harsh conditions, including chemical pesticide exposure, inadequate water, shade, or restroom breaks. Because of these conditions, very few people with a choice are willing to work agricultural jobs. Those that do are often recent and undocumented immigrants, and thus have little power to take legal action against abuses in the field. In addition to the health hazards of high stress and toxic chemicals, a majority of farm workers are themselves food insecure.

Remarkably, agribusiness continues to offer false solutions to the economic, environmental and social crises of our current agri-food system.

Powerful companies peddle diet-soda to reduce calorie intake and diabetes, genetically modified organisms that can resist increased chemical inputs to boost agricultural production, and cheap but unhealthy fast foods in low-income neighborhoods, at the same time they perpetuate power disparities that leave eaters with little connection to or control over their food sources.

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8. As of February 2011, the USDA is offering financial compensation to Black, Native, Latino, and women farmers who experienced discrimination accessing their services between 1981- 2000.
WHO’S MOST HURT BY OUR CURRENT FOOD SYSTEM?

**PRODUCTION**

- **Factory Farm Neighbors**
  - Higher rates of asthma, cancer and pesticide poisoning.

- **Industrial Farmers**
  - Higher cancer rates and reproductive health issues from toxic outputs.

- **Farm Workers**
  - Face physically harsh working conditions, labor abuse, below-minimum wages, no paid overtime.

- **Small & Mid-size Farmers & Ranchers**
  - Under-resourced relative to big agriculture.

- **Indigenous Peoples**
  - Not permitted to hunt & gather in traditional ways; relegated to marginal lands.

- **Black Farmers**
  - Faced significant USDA discrimination; limited access to land, resources, and aid.

- **Immigrant Farmers**
  - Face language and cultural barriers to entering markets, and accessing resources and assistance.

**PROCESSING & DISTRIBUTION**

- **Food Service & Grocery Store Workers**
  - Face physically harsh working conditions, labor abuse, below-minimum wages, no paid overtime.

- **Poultry & Meat Processors**
  - Face physically harsh working conditions, labor abuse, below-minimum wages, no paid overtime.

- **Industrial Farmers**
  - Higher cancer rates and reproductive health issues from toxic outputs.

**CONSUMPTION**

- **Rural Consumers**
  - Despite living in agricultural areas, often no access to real food.
  - Few economic opportunities.

- **Low Income Urban Consumers**
  - Pay higher prices for worse food sold at corner stores close to home.
  - Higher levels of diet-related chronic disease, unemployment, and poverty.
  - Limited access to/ownership of land to grow food.

- **Incarcerated People**
  - Fed harmful meals.
  - Sometimes forced to work as unpaid farm laborers.

- **Indigenous Peoples**
  - 1/5 of youth now obese.
  - 1/3 of all youth & 1/2 of youth of color will develop diabetes.
  - Food & beverage industry targets youth.
  - Fed harmful school meals.

- **Youth**
  - Extreme poverty & food insecurity twice as likely as other families.
  - Very limited access to healthy & traditional foods
  - Highest rates of diabetes.

- **Low Income Urban Consumers**
  - Pay higher prices for worse food sold at corner stores close to home.
  - Higher levels of diet-related chronic disease, unemployment, and poverty.
  - Limited access to/ownership of land to grow food.
Agribusiness in Action

At the end of 2010, Farm Policy Facts, a coalition of the American Sugar Alliance, the National Cotton Council, the National Association of Wheat Growers, Minnesota Corn Growers Association, and USA Rice Federation, spun off a new project called The Hand that Feeds U.S., whose mission is to “educate and establish better relationships with urban reporters” and put agriculturebusiness in a “better situation leading up to the next Farm Bill”. The next year, a coalition called the US Farmers and Ranchers Alliance formed to fight regulation of agribusiness.

Monsanto is simultaneously increasing control of the global seed supply and political power, with a former Monsanto lobbyist named the Deputy Commissioner for foods at the US Food & Drug Administration. In collaboration with the Gates Foundation, Monsanto is also preparing to launch the new Green Revolution in Africa, controlling seeds and inputs while depleting soil, water, and traditional knowledge sources.

Real Solutions vs. False Solutions

With any social injustice, both false and real solutions are offered. False solutions address one or more symptoms of the problem, without addressing the structural roots of it. Real solutions are both lasting and transformative. False solutions to our broken system abound — most perpetuate the same system of corporate control of resources. Real solutions, while rare, are surfacing in communities across the globe. A few examples of real and false solutions for the food system are below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>False Solution</th>
<th>Real Solution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pest infestations</td>
<td>Planting pesticide-resistant genetically modified crops that allow farmers to spray heavily during infestations</td>
<td>Planting biologically integrated systems that encourage wildlife diversity, including predators that control pests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of food access</td>
<td>Placing second-tier big box grocery stores in urban areas that lack food access</td>
<td>Creating community-owned and operated food retail centers that provide quality food, good jobs, and social and economic benefits to the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker Exploitation</td>
<td>Guestworker programs that allow workers legal status while working</td>
<td>Increasing wages; opportunity to unionize, and enforced codes of conduct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obesity and Diabetes</td>
<td>Programs that focus on individual behavior change without increasing access to healthy food.</td>
<td>Increasing wages, affordability, and access to healthy food. Ending target marketing of junk foods to low-income people of color and teens.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The last few decades have seen a rising movement that makes major critiques of the industrial food system. This movement is working to put decision-making back in the hands of the civic culture, to create equitable, economically and ecologically resilient food systems. The diagram on the following
ENTRY POINTS & APPROACHES TO FOOD SYSTEM TRANSFORMATION

PRODUCTION
- personal gardens
- rooftop/institutional gardens
- urban farms
- urban planning
- school gardens
- community gardens
- migrant farmworkers
- international peasant farmers
- land conservation
- indigenous people’s movement
- fair trade
- animal rights
- immigrant farmers
- sea & fish
- sustainable agriculture
- small & mid-size farmers
- black farmers
- peri-urban
- permaculture
- semi-rural

PROCESSING & DISTRIBUTION
- food chain workers' rights
- access to markets
- food hubs
- farm to school/institution
- growers collaboratives
- community supported agriculture
- local economies

CONSUMPTION
- animal rights
- climate change
- organic & ecological production
- GMOs
- fad diets
- organics
- culture
- terroire
- whole foods
- chefs
- slow
- obesity
- diabetes
- heart disease
- affordability
- local
civic & economic ownership
- global north/south relations
- anti-hunger

ISSUES
- false solution: walmart
- false solution: synthetic “low-fat” options

REGIONAL FOOD SYSTEMS
- farm to school/institution
- growers collaboratives

LOCAL & DIRECT
- farmer’s markets
- community-owned groceries/cooperatives

RETAIL
- healthy corner stores

PLEASURE & PERSONAL HEALTH
- false solution: synthetic “low-fat” options

ENVIROMENTAL
- false solution: big box stores

PUBLIC HEALTH
- false solution: big box stores

ACCESS & ECONOMY
- false solution: big box stores

page illustrates issue areas and entry points that engage eaters in food systems transformation. As the movement aligns to define a shared vision for equitable, ecological food systems, bearing these entry points in mind can help in developing strategy that cultivates a public demand for food systems transformation. The next section of this paper describes the landscape of the movement to transform the agri-food systems.

Where Did Today's Food Movement Come From?

Saying that voting with your fork is the way to make change is like saying that healthcare reform will happen by seeing a different doctor.
— Oran Hesterman, Fair Food Network

The food movement is diverse and disparate – it’s happening in hundreds of places, in hundreds of ways. It’s happening in abandoned urban lots, in schools in northeast Iowa, on the lawn of the USDA. It’s even showing up in book clubs: The Omnivore’s Dilemma made the New York Times bestseller list 3 years in a row and “locavore” became the 2009 word of the year. That same year, the White House planted a Kitchen Garden where the first lady has hosted more events than she has state dinners, and an African-American urban farmer — the son of a sharecropper — was awarded a MacArthur “Genius” grant. In 2010, Florida farm workers won their first pay raise in 30 years, the Department of Justice held a series of hearings investigating consolidation in agribusiness, and over 100,000 people called their legislators to ensure that small scale agriculture was protected in a new food safety bill.

However, like the parable of the blind men and the elephant, one’s perceptions of the movement depend on the part one touches. What is the food “movement”? Is it about heirloom tomato varieties? Is it about community gardens? Food stamp benefits? Farm worker exposure to pesticides? Stopping GMO’s? Ending hunger? Bringing grocery stores to low-income communities? Dismantling free trade agreements? All of the above?

A Brief History of Today’s Food Movement

Long before the terms “organic” and “locavore” helped to name the rejection of mass-produced food, indigenous groups and immigrant families in the U.S. struggled to maintain healthy food systems grounded in cultural and environmental sustainability, including traditional hunting, gathering, and production grounds and rooting in cultural food traditions as a form of self-reliance and self-determination. Today, those struggles often go unrecognized in the increasingly popular “food movement” that traces its roots to the 1960’s, when simultaneous social movements emerged from the grassroots.

In direct response to the huge investment in large-scale, technologically heavy farming operations promoted by the government, organic production and the sustainable agriculture movement took off in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s. As environmentalists celebrated the first Earth Day, small farmers and “back-to-the-landers” resisted high-tech agribusiness with their pitchforks, pushing institutions

REAL FOOD: A NEXUS FOR JUSTICE

EDUCATION JUSTICE
- Bad food in schools – kids can’t learn or focus
- Nutrition linked with behavior
- Fast food/junk food marketing in schools
e.g. – Inner City Struggle

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE
- Unequal access to land/water
- Air, water, soil pollution
- Unequal distribution of healthful & junk foods
e.g. – People Organized to Win Employment Rights (POWER)

REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE
- Limited control or choice over what we put in our bodies
- Hormones & chemicals in food
e.g. – Tewa Women United

EDUCATION JUSTICE
- Bad food in schools – kids can’t learn or focus
- Nutrition linked with behavior
- Fast food/junk food marketing in schools
e.g. – Inner City Struggle

GLOBAL JUSTICE
- Imbalanced trade policies
- Corporate control of seeds & chemicals
- Farmers forced into market farming or off land
- Land grabs for carbon credits & commodity crops
e.g. – Community Alliance for Global Justice

RACIAL JUSTICE
- Unequal access to food, land; capital for food & farming enterprises
- 7 out of 10 worst-paying jobs are food chain jobs, held mostly by people of color
- Historic USDA discrimination
e.g. – Food Chain Workers Alliance

CLIMATE JUSTICE
- 1/3 greenhouse gases from food & farming
- Farming communities hit first & worst
- Seed monopoly limits climate adaptation
- Small farmer livelihoods threatened by climate mitigations
e.g. – Movement Generation

IMMIGRATION JUSTICE
- Trade = forced migration for farmers
- Cheap food exports & abuse possible because of incongruent agriculture labor laws
- Lack of code of conduct/oversight
- ICE raids in the food chain
e.g. – Tierra y Liberdad

GENDER JUSTICE
- Female headed households most impacted by hunger
- Female food and farm workers vulnerable to sexual harassment and wage discrimination
- Body image acculturation impacts healthy food choices
e.g. – Lideres Campesinas

HEALTH JUSTICE
- Disparities in access lead to obesity, diabetes
- Higher asthma rates near factory farms
- Corporate control over junk food marketing
- Pesticide, antibiotic, chemical exposure
e.g. – Praxis Project
to heed the warnings of Rachel Carson’s Silent Spring. In 1973, the first organic farmer certification organization was formed.

With the new wave in industrial agriculture, processed foods were on the rise, the fast food industry was booming, and TV dinners were becoming a household norm. High fructose corn syrup exploded into the market and into processed foods, but many eaters resisted with their dinner forks. Counter culture consumers formed healthy food cooperatives and natural grocery stores. When Alice Waters launched the restaurant Chez Panisse in 1971 she and her contemporaries ignited a wave of chefs and home cooks embracing organic, local, and artisanal foods.

Resisting with their forks wasn’t a choice for many people, however, then or now: huge sectors of our society do not have access to land to farm, or disposable income for restaurant dining. During this same era, low-income communities of color were organizing in struggles for what we now call food justice. Through the United Farm Workers, for example, a thousand agricultural laborers who came together in 1964, organized, marched, and led a nationwide grape boycott that six years later led to contracts eventually led to contracts for better working conditions. Activists also took matters into their own hands: the Black Panthers started a program in church basements and community centers to provide free home-cooked meals to students who would otherwise go to school hungry. In 1969 their free breakfast program was adopted at Panther chapters nationwide; thanks to their work, the federal government now funds a free breakfast program in qualifying public schools nationwide.

The 1980’s saw the opening of the first Whole Foods Market as well as an explosion of McDonald’s franchises; internationally, Slow Food International was born. Shortly thereafter, the first youth urban farm projects began, with Boston’s The Food Project in 1990 and Milwaukee’s Growing Power. Throughout this time, the food security movement was bubbling up; the Community Food Security Coalition, the first national coalition bringing together community groups working on access to affordable, nutritious, and culturally appropriate foods was born in 1994.

Also in the 1990’s, the rise of genetically modified organisms and unfair trade agreements spurred mass resistance. Thousands took to the streets to resist the global corporate monopoly, including the monopoly of the global food supply. Peasant farmers organized around the world and were joined in solidarity by a growing anti-globalization movement in the US. Perhaps the most memorable statement of this juxtaposition was the suicide of South Korean farmer Lee Kyung-hae, who stabbed himself outside the 2003 WTO conference while wearing a sign saying “WTO kills farmers”.

These efforts have shaped the food movement of the 21st century – in the last decade, an explosion of urban farm projects has redefined agriculture, while community advocacy groups are re-shaping urban policy to embrace food systems change. The coining of the term “food justice”, branded by Oakland-based People’s Grocery in 2002 has led to an exponential growth in similar efforts nationwide. Farm to School efforts have coalesced nationwide, and sustainable agriculture programs are cropping up in universities across the country. Published in 2006, Michael Pollen’s The Omnivore’s Dilemma brought a new wave of food consciousness to the masses. Low-income and communities of color continue organizing for justice and self-determination, and reclaiming food sovereignty is part of that discourse.
Detroit: Practice & Policy by the People

Deep in the winter of 2006, at a bookstore in north Detroit, the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network was born. This was a full year before the last full-line chain grocery store left the city. Often described as ground zero of the economic crisis, Detroit is also renowned as a Mecca of food justice. The city has doled out over 100,000 demolition permits, leaving swaths of vacant land. A study by Michigan State University found that the more than 4,000 acres of available land could supply up to 75% of fresh vegetable and 40% of fruit needed for Detroit residents.

To learn how, planners need only look to the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network. DBCFSN has created a 2-acre model urban farm in the City’s largest park, re-defining the “best use” of underutilized city spaces.

DBCFSN has also led the development of Detroit’s Food Policy Council, and is working to influence city planning. DBCFSCN president Malik Yakini says, “We’re not interested in plans where the corporate sector enters and offers our people employment,” says DBCFSCN president Malik Yakini. “This is about ownership. Its about self-determination.” To Malik and the DBCFSN, community leadership is paramount to success. “People need to be mobilized to work for their own benefit. Then, and only then, can they hold politicians accountable.”

At the same time, the broader public is responding to symptoms of our broken food systems. For example, childhood obesity reached epidemic proportions prompted the American Public Health Association, parents, politicians, philanthropists, and everyday people to take a new look at food. New initiatives intersecting disciplines have arisen to address this deadly symptom, with advocates’ committed to end the epidemic through creative and collaborative mechanisms. Youth groups themselves are coalescing around platforms like Rooted In Community’s Youth Food Bill of Rights that calls for sweeping and systemic change to address the problems of which childhood obesity is one symptom; they are taking action in their own communities and through social media and online organizing efforts developed by Live Real.

In solidarity with the global peasant farmer movement, a new US Food Sovereignty Alliance was created, growing out of the decades of work by Food First and other ally organizations. The USFSA brings together urban and rural farmers, fishers, ranchers, and farm and food chain workers in common cause. The 2011 “Occupy” movement has spurred new conversations and action to reclaim the commons – to move away from private property ownership and put control of land, water, and food in the hands of the people.

Today, these parallel roots are converging in a powerful food movement poised to make real change.
What Are The Strengths, Challenges, and Opportunities of Today's Food Movement?

This political moment offers a rare opportunity for visionary leaders to align and build on deep and impactful work. As illustrated in the diagram below, the various sectors of today's food movement have significant overlap. If the different sectors of the food movement can work together (the caterpillar becomes a butterfly!), they can generate the strategy and critical mass needed to advance a movement for an ecological and equitable food system.

Currently, these sectors make up a loose but distinct food movement:

- **Anti: hunger:** The anti-hunger movement focuses on individual food security - getting essential emergency food to hungry people. Through food banks, food pantries, and shelters, participants redistribute food that’s donated from individuals and corporations, and use monetary donations to purchase food for distribution. Food pantries and other service providers are also hubs.
for enrollment in EBT (formerly food stamps) and other supplemental assistance programs.

- **Community Food Security:** Community food security is the idea that people in all communities “have access to affordable, nutritious, culturally appropriate food through non-emergency food sources”, called community food security. Community food security advocates often work on behalf of marginalized communities to implement solutions such as opening new grocery stores to areas without them, or cultivating food in areas without farms or gardens. Advocates seek to make connections along the food system, from farm to table, to implement creative, system-wide solutions.

- **Food Justice:** Food justice efforts are uniquely based in marginalized communities: low-income communities and communities of color, including Black, immigrant, and Native farmers, migrant farm workers, food chain workers, and urban and rural consumer communities. Young people play a key role in food justice organizations: over 100 organizations across the country work to develop the leadership of youth from low-income communities around food. Food justice focuses on eliminating power disparities in access to knowledge, economic and decision-making power, and of course, real food. Much of the work of food justice is devoted to praxis – the blending of theory and action that includes knowledge transfer, skills development, and community engagement to create alternatives to the current system, and work towards governance of a new system.

**The Same Side of the Field**

Small farmers and farm workers both lose because of policies structured to benefit large-scale, mechanized agriculture. So what if they worked together to create alternatives, and toward policy change?

The 20-acre California-based Swanton Berry farms was the first organic farm in the U.S. to sign on to a contract with the United Farm Workers and carry a Union label. They pay their workers hourly, instead of a piece rate, and provide substantive benefits, including vacation pay. As they say on their website “What would be the point of farming organically if the workers were underpaid, over-worked, or treated without respect?”

**From Personal to Public**

For decades, health food advocates and the medical community have focused on the need for individuals to make better choices to improve personal health. With many diet-related epidemics on the rise, the public health community has recently begun to recognize that economic and social inequities impact food choices, as illuminated in the 2008 PBS series: *Unnatural Causes: Is inequality making us sick?*
• **Food Sovereignty:** The global food sovereignty movement, led by Via Campesina, a network of over 150 million farmers and peasants worldwide, is based in peasant-farmer struggles around the globe. Food sovereignty can be understood as “the right of peoples to define their own food and agriculture... and policies and practices that serve the rights of peoples to safe, healthy, and ecologically sustainable practices.”¹⁰ The concept is much newer here in the U.S., where only 2% of our population engages directly in agriculture, but the struggle for community control plays out at each point in the food system, from production to processing to consumption.

• **Small Farm/Family Farmer:** One measure of a community’s food security is whether the area produces enough food to feed itself. Many farmers and advocates strive to ensure the vitality and preservation of small and mid-size farms, both critical parts of thriving regional food systems.

• **Sustainable Agriculture:** Defined as agriculture that is environmentally sound, economically viable, and socially just, sustainable agriculturalists practice and advocate for regenerative, ecologically integrated farming systems. Industrial agriculture (large-scale, mechanized, and high-input) is extractive and high-input, while sustainable agriculture can actually build healthy soil, protect water supplies, and enhance biodiversity. It tends to be practiced only on small and mid-size farms.

• **Personal Health and Pleasure:** Ultimately, every eater wants food that’s good for them and that tastes good. This desire moves mass groups of people to action, whether to eliminate antibiotics from milk or preserve food safety, to mandate nutrition labeling on packaged foods, or to experiment with new diets heralded by leading chefs.

Each of these sectors has made important accomplishments toward equitable and ecological food systems that work for everyone. Collectively, these sectors have had a huge impact on society, raising popular and political consciousness about the food system.

¹⁰. Peoples Statement on Food Sovereignty, La Via Campesina et al 2002
### Challenges and Opportunities

As the food movement sectors have grown and flourished, deep divisions have emerged and persisted between those focused on reform (improving the current system) and those seeking to address the structural and systemic inequities that perpetuate the current food system. Recognizing and understanding these challenges is important for identifying and undertaking the alliance building needed within the food movement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHALLENGE</th>
<th>OPPORTUNITY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The <strong>anti-hunger community</strong> is at the frontlines of feeding hungry people every day, and focuses primarily on meeting caloric needs. For reasons that can be traced to decades of complicated policy decisions and negotiations, inexpensive calories are most readily available in processed foods produced by big corporations — who often donate surplus food and/or money to “feed the hungry.” Anti-hunger groups have therefore often ended up in alliance with agri-business, a relationship that conflicts with the aims of other of the food movement and anti-hunger advocates themselves, who are caught in a catch-22 providing unhealthy food to those most in need. The anti-hunger/agribusiness relationship has been particularly challenging during previous Farm Bill negotiations, when anti-hunger advocates have sided with subsidizing large scale agribusiness to preserve SNAP resources in a split orchestrated by pro-agribusiness legislators.</td>
<td>Currently, almost 60% of the Farm Bill’s $284 billion go towards nutrition programs, including food stamps and WIC, and billions of dollars are channeled toward free and reduced cost lunch programs in schools through the Childhood Nutrition Reauthorization Act. Policies and infrastructure that enable SNAP users to purchase real food at affordable prices could enable consumer spending to provide a huge boost to creating thriving local food systems. Some steps have already been made: the use of SNAP (supplemental nutrition assistance program) benefits at farmers’ markets is now encouraged, and policies that once prohibited local preferencing for school food are changing, thanks to robust Farm-to-School efforts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As the community-based movement has gained a popular toehold, the problem of <strong>food insecurity</strong> has in some circles been reduced to geographic surveys highlighting food access issues and developing infrastructure to address access. A division has emerged between food security and food justice advocates: to achieve community food security, advocates might promote the placement of a grocery store in a neighborhood with limited access to affordable healthy food. Food justice advocates would argue that the store would need to reduce power disparities by benefitting the community economically, too.</td>
<td>As long as structural economic and power disparities persist, inequities in access to good food will persist. Channeling resources directly to communities and working to boost economic and political power in disenfranchised communities can help level the playing field and increase community control over vibrant local food systems.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHALLENGE</td>
<td>OPPORTUNITY</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Because small farmers</strong> are struggling and because agriculture has traditionally been perceived as a rural practice, small farm advocates are often focused on economic development for rural farming communities, and urban food activists are focused on access to affordable food. This often leads to between urban and rural activists fighting for resources.</td>
<td>Integrated community controlled urban-rural food systems that include production, processing, and distribution could boost economic vitality for both communities while preserving small farms and increasing access to good food in urban areas. A focus on policy changes that support investment in, and development of this infrastructure would help, as would local and regional zoning policy to allow more integration of small farms into urban areas.</td>
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<th>CHALLENGE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The <strong>sustainable agriculture</strong> and family farm movements have focused primarily on environmental sustainability and a living wage for producers. This higher price point for farmers often translates into higher prices for consumers. – making sustainably produced food difficult for many people to afford. As a result organic and artisanal foods can seem irrelevant to communities where hunger, eviction, and threats of deportation or police brutality are more immediate concerns than the growing practices used on leafy greens (that probably aren’t sold in the neighborhood).</td>
<td>Real food costs more because the environmental, social, and health costs of industrial agriculture are externalized. Investment in regional processing and distribution infrastructure could help ensure that good food reaches all communities — while also improving jobs and recirculating dollars regionally, strengthening the whole economy. Simultaneously, we need a focus on policy change that prohibits environmentally or socially destructive production methods (e.g. farms that don’t comply with stringent environmental or labor standards should not receive federal subsidies), and to focus on access to real food as preventative healthcare.</td>
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<tr>
<th>CHALLENGE</th>
<th>OPPORTUNITY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labor exploitation</strong> is often secondary in each of these movements, if at all acknowledged.</td>
<td>Food security has primarily focused on access to good food for consumers; sustainable agriculture has focused on environmental issues, and farm movements have focused on struggling small-scale farmers.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Most of the twenty million food chain workers are food insecure, because their wages are so poor. Small farmers and farm workers both suffer under a system that rewards large-scale, industrial agriculture. Recognizing and addressing mutual interests can help catalyze a more robust, integrated and successful movement by implementing oversight for comprehensive labor protection and fair compensation in all sectors of the food system.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Many groups fighting for racial and economic justice are estranged from a food movement that is dominated by discourse about organics and heirloom vegetables that pays little attention to everyday threats to life and livelihood like racial profiling, immigration battles, police brutality, or housing foreclosures. The dominant food movement currently does not explicitly draw connections between interrelated liberation struggles. These groups use a community organizing approach to build power in frontline communities to win change, while the dominant food movement tends to focus on creating alternatives.

As people most impacted by the systemic injustice visible throughout the food system and intersecting arenas, low-income communities of color have a critical role to play in leading change. Today, in addition to efficient and effective organizing for labor and food access reforms, many of these groups are now embracing food sovereignty as part of the struggle for self-determination. Many of these local community groups are brought together through environmental justice, climate justice, and health justice initiatives. Deep relationship-building between these groups, who have experience-based expertise in organizing, and farm and food justice groups who understand the complexities of the food system and are grounded in resilience efforts has the potential to catalyze transformational change grounded in all strengths across the spectrum of movement-building.

Hundreds of organizations and millions of individuals are a part of the growing food movement. Many have already come together to build community and work towards collective action, and the last few years have deepened new partnerships. For example:

- The Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, Public Health Institute, and Public Health Law and Policy are build bridges between public health professionals and food systems change agents through the Healthy Farms, Healthy People project.

- Why Hunger and the Fair Food Network focused on strengthening relationships with and between justice-oriented anti-hunger advocates and emergency food providers.

- With support from Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and others, The Praxis Project coordinat-ed the Communities Creating Healthy Environments (CCHE) initiative, and the Funders’ Collaborative on Youth Organizing supported a Healthy Communities initiative. These initiatives provided resources for community organizing and youth organizing groups to address food system disparities in the context of other social justice struggles. Praxis also partnered with Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation to launch Eat4Health, supporting grassroots community leaders in bridging their local work with federal food policy advocacy.

- Restaurant workers, farmworkers, and workers in food processing and distribution came together to launch the Food Chain Workers Alliance to build power and advocate change.

- Youth from across the country came together at Rooted In Community to draft the Youth Food
Bill of Rights, and youth groups from across the country came together to launch Live Real. Together, these organizations are using social media, arts, and culture to build the power of youth taking action locally and nationally.

- The Community Food Security Coalition convened a national network of capacity-building providers grounded in social justice to effectively support local community groups and transform the landscape of expert-learner training models for food systems change.

- In early 2012, 30 diverse community-based organizations, national coalitions, and DC-based advocacy groups came together to discuss ways to make equity a priority in the 2012 Farm Bill, in a now-ongoing effort increase communication and transparency between groups working on different sectors of the Bill.

- In solidarity with the global peasant farmer movement, twenty organizations launched the US Food Sovereignty Alliance, prioritizing three areas: trade and immigration policy, land grabs, and the rights of Mother Earth.

However, there is still a great deal of divergence, and the food movement overall has yet to come together to develop a shared analysis that gives equal priority to equity and ecology.

**National member-based organizations, coalitions, and networks in the good food movement**

* = food related work is one part of the organization’s work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization Name</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Reach</th>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Focus area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alianza Nacional de Campesinas/National Alliance of Female Farmworkers</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Female farmworkers in over a dozen states</td>
<td>Network, Organizing</td>
<td>Farmworker Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Community Gardening Association</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>~75 organizations nationwide</td>
<td>Education, Networking</td>
<td>Community Gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>State-based members in 49 states plus the District of Columbia &amp; Puerto Rico</td>
<td>Education, Organizing, Advocacy</td>
<td>Farmworker Advocacy, including Child Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread for the World</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>74,000 individuals; churches nationwide</td>
<td>Advocacy, including e-advocacy.</td>
<td>Ant-hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoFed</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>40 student teams nationwide</td>
<td>Technical Assistance and Support</td>
<td>Cooperative Economics; College Campus Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization Name</td>
<td>Year Founded</td>
<td>Reach</td>
<td>Approach</td>
<td>Focus area</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Food &amp; Justice Coalition (formerly California</td>
<td>2003 (CA);</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>Organizing, Advocacy</td>
<td>Food Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food &amp; Justice Coalition)</td>
<td>2012 (National)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Food Security Coalition</td>
<td>1996; closed 2012</td>
<td>300 organizations</td>
<td>Coalition of organizations; Policy Advocacy</td>
<td>Food Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congressional Hunger Center</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Bi-partisan Congressional Group</td>
<td>Policy</td>
<td>Anti-hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate Accountability International*</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Tens of thousands of members nationwide</td>
<td>Consumer Organizing</td>
<td>Corporate Food Monopolies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Fair Trade Association</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Over 30 organizations</td>
<td>Labeling</td>
<td>Labor Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Working Group*</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Over 1,200,000 online list members</td>
<td>Grassroots Online Organizing</td>
<td>Consumer Organizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Labor Organizing Committee</td>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>Thousands of migrant farmworkers nationwide</td>
<td>Union organizing; Advocacy</td>
<td>Farmworkers Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm to School Network</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Over 2000 programs nationally</td>
<td>Education and Technical Assistance</td>
<td>Distribution; Institutional Purchasing; Local farms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nations Development Institute*</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>29 organizations in food</td>
<td>Grantmaking to Tribal Groups</td>
<td>Native American Foods &amp; Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeding America (formerly Second Harvest Association of</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Over 200 food banks in all 50 states</td>
<td>Service; Policy Advocacy</td>
<td>Anti-hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Banks</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Food &amp; Water Watch</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Over 200,000 online members</td>
<td>Grassroots Online organizing</td>
<td>Consumers &amp; Farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Chain Workers Alliance</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Workers &amp; worker organizations across food chain</td>
<td>Research, Organizing, Advocacy</td>
<td>Labor Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Democracy Now</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Over 150,000 online members</td>
<td>Grassroots Online Organizing</td>
<td>Consumer and Farmer Rights; Food Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growing Food &amp; Justice Initiative</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>National network with community-based Local Empowerment Groups (LEGs)</td>
<td>Trainings; Networking; Gatherings</td>
<td>Dismantling Racism; Culture &amp; Spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization Name</td>
<td>Year Founded</td>
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<td>Approach</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intertribal Agricultural Council</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Tribal producers</td>
<td>Technical Assistance; Policy Advocacy</td>
<td>Native Farmer Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Via Campesina North America</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>200 million farmers globally</td>
<td>Networking; Organizing; Resilience</td>
<td>Food Sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moms Rising*</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1 million+</td>
<td>New Media; Organizing; Advocacy</td>
<td>Families, Workplace Justice, Health Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Black Farmers Association</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Black farmers nationwide</td>
<td>Advocacy</td>
<td>Black Farmers’ Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Family Farm Coalition</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Family farmers nationwide; 24 organizations in 32 states</td>
<td>Organizing; Policy Advocacy</td>
<td>Family Farmers; Food Sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Good Food Network</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Buyers; growers; food industry</td>
<td>Network-building; Training</td>
<td>Food Distribution Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Immigrant Farming Initiative</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Over 20 immigrant farming projects nationwide</td>
<td>Networking; Technical Assistance</td>
<td>Immigrant Farmer Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Latino Farmers &amp; Ranchers Trade Association</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Latino farmers and farmworkers nationwide</td>
<td>Organizing; Technical Assistance; Policy Advocacy</td>
<td>Latino Farmers, Ranchers &amp; Farmworkers Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition</td>
<td>2009 (merger)</td>
<td>Over 80 member groups nationwide</td>
<td>Policy Advocacy</td>
<td>Sustainable Agriculture Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Young Farmers Coalition</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Young farmers nationwide, with state-based coalitions</td>
<td>Network-building; Policy Advocacy</td>
<td>Beginning (young) Farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic Consumers Association</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Over 850,000 online members</td>
<td>Grassroots Online Organizing</td>
<td>Consumer Organizing for Organics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pesticide Action Network North America</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>North America chapter of global citizens network</td>
<td>Research; Grassroots Organizing; Advocacy</td>
<td>Consumer &amp; Farmworker Health; Food Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Hunger Program</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Faith-based Individuals and churches nationwide</td>
<td>Education; Organizing; Advocacy</td>
<td>Economic Justice; Labor Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Food Challenge</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Over 300 college campuses nationwide</td>
<td>Organizing; Corporate Campaigns</td>
<td>Institutional Purchasing; Student Organizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rooted In Community</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>National network of youth farming organizations</td>
<td>Networking; Education; Organizing</td>
<td>Youth Leadership; Culture &amp; Spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization Name</td>
<td>Year Founded</td>
<td>Reach</td>
<td>Approach</td>
<td>Focus area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Coalition/Coalicion Rural</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>National coalition uniting socially disadvantaged farmer and farmworker groups</td>
<td>Organizing; Policy Advocacy; Technical Assistance</td>
<td>Access and opportunities for socially disadvantaged farmers and farmworkers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC-United)</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Restaurant workers nationwide</td>
<td>Training; Organizing; Policy Advocacy</td>
<td>Restaurant Workers' Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Farmworker Alliance</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>National network of students</td>
<td>Organizing; Corporate Campaigns</td>
<td>Farmworker Rights; Student Solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow Food USA</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Over 19,000 members; 250,000 on email list. 200 chapters nationwide; US chapter of Slow Food International</td>
<td>Networking; Advocacy</td>
<td>Local, Artisanal Foods that are “good, clean, and fair”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of Concerned Scientists*</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>400,000 citizens and scientists nationwide</td>
<td>Research, Policy Advocacy</td>
<td>Sustainable Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITE HERE!*</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>90,000 food service workers</td>
<td>Organizing</td>
<td>Labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Food &amp; Commercial Workers</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Over 1,300,000 workers nationwide</td>
<td>Union organizing</td>
<td>Labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Food Sovereignty Alliance</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Over 20 organizations and networks</td>
<td>Networking; Organizing; Advocacy</td>
<td>Food Sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Food &amp; Agriculture Network</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Women farmers from 25 states</td>
<td>Networking</td>
<td>Women in Agriculture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given this landscape, what will it take for this swelling movement to turn the tide on the current system? How can we achieve a cultural, political, and economic shift powerful enough to make real and lasting change?

A successful movement needs the diverse resources, strengths, knowledge, and passion of all participants — each of us has a role to play in dismantling the power structures that uphold the current food system. Small farmers, farm workers, and low-income eaters all suffer because of the policies that support the domination of agribusiness the growing social and environmental costs of an industrial agri-food system. For the food movement to be transformative, however, it must hold equity and ecology equally sacred. The field is ripe for cultivation of a strong movement that brings these actors together to develop a national food justice strategy. Understanding the parts and the consequences of the current system — in essence, seeing the whole elephant — can help free us all from its dangerous consequences.
MEMBER-BASED ORGANIZATIONS COMPRISED OF FRONTLINE COMMUNITIES

PRODUCTION

- Pesticide Action Network
- Farm Labor Organizing Committee
- National Family Farmers Coalition
- Intertribal Agriculture Council
- National Black Farmers Association
- National Immigrant Farming Initiative

PROCESSING & DISTRIBUTION

- Factory Farm Neighbors
- Farm Workers
- Small & Mid-size Farmers & Ranchers
- Indigenous Peoples
- Black Farmers
- Immigrant Farmers
- Food Chain Workers Alliance
- Poultry & Meat Processors
- Rural Coalition
- Food Service & Grocery Store Workers

CONSUMPTION

- Indigenous Peoples
- Incarcerated People
- Youth
- Low Income Urban Consumers
- Rural Consumers

- Several local initiatives
- ROC united
- Food Chain Workers Alliance
- United Food and Commercial Workers
- Rooted in Community
- Live Real
- Many local organizations
- Some local initiatives
Unifying Around Real Solutions

Together, the forces described in this document — and the budding relationships between these forces — are on the verge of transformative change. As recognition of the worsening consequences of our current food system grows, a broad and deep food movement is emerging, sowing seeds for change. This movement is working towards a world where real food is the norm — not the exception — from the corner store to Capitol Hill. A world where no parent has to choose between feeding their children and paying the rent and where kids can concentrate in school because they are truly nourished. A world where insects, animals, and trees are part of a thriving agro-ecosystem, not collateral damage, and where planting in a vacant urban lot is valued, not fined. This growing movement is working toward a world where the people who grow our food are free from fear of exploitation and deportation: a world where farming is a respected and valued profession accessible to people of all backgrounds; a future where kids once again outlive their parents.

Within this movement there are divisions: sectors working in isolation, and sometimes at odds. But beyond these challenges lie real opportunities to strengthen the movement, both through an understanding of the real solutions needed and through the development of unified strategy to move everyone toward them.

As this paper demonstrates, real solutions exist and demand for them is growing. Real solutions address the economic, ecological, and cultural needs of all eaters — unlike false solutions that only address symptoms of the problem, while perpetuating the power disparities that shape the current food system.

To build this movement, we need visionary leaders working together in a strategic and trusting way, to grow a movement that can challenge power structures, address fundamental injustices, and restore the health of our bodies, our communities, our planet, our hearts, and our souls.
Appendix:
Movement Leaders Interviewed For This Report

Aimee Witteman/National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition
The National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition (NSAC) is an alliance of grassroots organizations that advocates for federal policy reform to advance the sustainability of agriculture, food systems, natural resources, and rural communities.

Anim Steel/The Food Project
Founded in 1991, the Food Project’s mission is to grow a thoughtful and productive community of youth and adults from diverse backgrounds who work together to build a sustainable food system. They produce healthy food for residents of the city and suburbs and provide youth leadership opportunities, and strive to inspire and support others to create change in their own communities. Anim is the Director of National Programs.

Anna Lappe/Small Planet Institute
The Small Planet Institute seeks to identify the core, often unspoken, assumptions and forces — economic, political, and psychological — that take our planet in a direction that as individuals none of us would choose, and to disseminate this information about root causes. Anna authored Diet for a Hot Planet and co-authored GRUB and Hope’s Edge.

Brahm Ahmadi/People’s Grocery
People’s Grocery coined the term “food justice”. Their mission is to build a local food system that improves the health and economy of West Oakland. Brahm is now developing a for-profit grocery store in the same community, called People’s Community Market.

Damara Luce/Just Harvest USA
Just Harvest USA aims to build a more just and sustainable food system with a focus on establishing fair wages, humane working conditions and fundamental rights for farmworkers. They achieve this through broad public education and mobilizing support for farmworker-led and other grassroots campaigns. Damara Luce is the National Coordinator.

David Wallinga/Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy
David directs IATP’s Food and Health program, which works to shift markets and change public policy to support healthier food systems that use less fuel, create less pollution and leave the soil healthier, while supporting family farmers and rural communities.

Deb Eschmeyer/National Farm to School Network
The National Farm to School Network is a collaborative project of the Urban & Environmental Policy Institute at Occidental College and the Community Food Security Coalition. Staff provide free training and technical assistance, information services, networking, and support for policy, media and marketing activities for farm to school programs nationwide. Deb is the communications and outreach director. She is also Kellogg Food and Society Policy Fellow, and co-launched Foodcorps, a new Americorps style network doing garden based education in middle and high schools across the U.S.
Doron Comerchero/Rooted In Community
The Rooted In Community National Network (RIC) is a national grassroots network that empowers young people to take leadership in their own communities. Its purpose is to encourage and prepare young people for leadership in bringing community food security to their own local communities. Doron has been a RIC leader since 1999, and is also the founder and director of Food,What?! a Santa Cruz based youth empowerment program using food, as a vehicle for bringing about personal growth and transformation.

Eric Holt-Gimenez/Food First
Food First is a “people’s think-and-do tank,” whose mission is to end the injustices that cause hunger, poverty and environmental degradation throughout the world. Food First carries out research, analysis, advocacy and education with communities and social movements for informed citizen engagement with the institutions and policies that control production, distribution and access to food.

Joann Lo/Food Chain Workers Alliance
The Food Chain Workers Alliance is a coalition of worker-based organizations whose members plant, harvest, process, transport, prepare, serve, and sell food, organizing to improve wages and working conditions for all workers along the food chain. Founded in July 2009, the Alliance works together to build a more sustainable food system that respects workers’ rights, based on the principles of social, environmental and racial justice, in which everyone has access to healthy and affordable food.

Oran Hesterman/Fair Food Network
The Fair Food Network believes that the many long-standing symptoms of the broken food system, whether environment, health-related, or financial, can be resolved by redesigning our food system based on principles like diversity, equity, sustainability, ecology, and resilience. Through thought-leadership and mentoring, grass-roots and national networks, collaborations and communication, and entrepreneurship and skills training, Fair Food Network will help to realize the vision for a more sustainable and just food system. Oran is the Founder and President of FFN.

Siena Chrisman/Why Hunger
WHY advances long-term solutions to hunger and poverty by supporting community-based organizations that empower individuals and build self-reliance, i.e., offering job training, education and after school programs; increasing access to housing and healthcare; providing microcredit and entrepreneurial opportunities; teaching people to grow their own food; and assisting small farmers. WHY connects these organizations to funders, media and legislators. Siena is Why Hunger’s Director of Strategic Partnerships and Alliances.
About The Author

Lead author Navina Khanna began working towards equitable, ecological food systems in 1997, after an extended wilderness trip that transformed her relationship to land. Since then, she has worked with farmers, workers, urban eaters, and collaborated with many organizations and public agencies to catalyze local, regional, and national agri-food systems transformation - as an educator, community organizer, and policy advocate. She has also trained dozens of parents, teachers, and teenagers to organize their own communities for food justice. She is a co-founder and the current Field Director of Live Real, a national initiative dedicated to amplifying the power of young people and frontline communities shaping a radically different food system through policy and practice.

Navina holds an MS in International Agricultural Development from UC Davis, where she developed curriculum for the first undergraduate major in sustainable agriculture and food systems at a Land-Grant University, and a BA from Hampshire College, where she focused on using music & dance for ecological justice. She is also a certified Vinyasa yoga teacher and permaculturalist, and loves to play outside. A first generation South Asian American, Navina’s worldview is shaped by growing up — and growing food — in the U.S. and India.

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