A STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF FOOD SECURITY DISCOURSE, MOBILIZATION, AND CONGRESSIONAL CHAMPIONS

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This dissertation is dedicated to

Madeleine and Sophie and baby.

All good work requires sacrifice.

Thank you for your sweet smiles and

your sacrifices for me, your mother.

May it inspire you to always choose to reach your potential.

I know it is great.

Be confident. Be kind. Remember we love you.

ABSTRACT

Hunger and food insecurity are lingering public health problems, made more challenging by their evolving definitions, broad landscapes of interest groups, and complex political solutions. There is an important role for public health professionals and congressional committees in shaping the discourse and fortifying their relevance in food security policymaking. In short, the what, when, and who of issue definition becomes a foundation for food security policymaking. This study used in-depth content analysis to examine the evolution of food security discourse and interest group mobilization between 1974 and 2009 in media coverage of the issue of food security. Additionally, over 200 congressional documents were analyzed to investigate the role of specialized congressional committees in sustaining political attention to the issues of hunger and food security. The findings of this three-paper dissertation indicated that the evolution of food security conceptualization is ongoing and less comprehensive than anticipated. The study also found public health groups' remained at the periphery of mobilization on the issue. Finally, results demonstrated that congressional attention to hunger was significantly sustained during periods when a select committee, along with prominent policy entrepreneurs, was dedicated to the issue. The chapters and conclusion of the dissertation discuss ways in which public health groups can refine their media presence and move from the margin of mobilization to more effectively drive food security discourse in both the informal media venue and more formal policymaking venue of Congress in order to positively influence public health policies and outcomes related to food security.

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INTRODUCTION

Public Health Significance

A fundamental element of well-being and a recognized human right is physical and economic access to food sufficient to meet an individual's dietary needs in a dignified and culturally acceptable manner (ICESCR, 1966; United Nations, 1948). Hunger and malnutrition are an affront to human rights and dignity. Variations of the right to food include freedom from hunger, food insecurity, and malnutrition, and enough food for an active and healthy life (Nord, Coleman-Jensen, Andrews, Carlson, 2010). While there are various definitions, the 1996 World Food Summit in Rome, Italy, organized by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), declared: "food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), 1996).

Four dimensions of food security follow from this definition: availability, access, utilization, and stability (FAO, 2006; FAO, 2008). Availability refers to the supply of food nationally and globally while access refers to economic and physical ability to obtain food available. Utilization refers to components that determine individual nutrition status, such as nutrition education, food preparation, diversity of diet and intra-household distribution of food. Stability refers to factors that may impair the constancy of the three other dimensions (e.g. adverse weather conditions, political instability, unemployment, food prices). Optimal conditions in all four dimensions result in food security.

Measurement and data, interventions, and policies acknowledge these dimensions implicitly or directly and are generally designed to track or target one or more of these dimensions. As such, these four dimensions provide a meaningful framework for understanding and designing solutions to the problem of food insecurity.

Hunger and food insecurity are distinctly different: hunger is a physiological manifestation of severe food insecurity due to lack of or reduced food intake; food insecurity refers more generally to economic and social conditions that limit access to sufficient nutritious food (National Research Council, 2006). With these distinctions, hunger and malnutrition *may result* from food insecurity, but food insecurity does not guarantee that individuals of a household are experiencing clinically manifested hunger or malnutrition. Despite these finer points and considering both definitions, statistics reveal that globally and in the U.S. many people are limited in their ability to live an active and healthy life because they are hungry or food insecure.

Worldwide estimates of hunger from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations have decreased from nearly 1 billion (19%) undernourished people in 1990-1992 to 842 million (12%) in 2011-2013 (FAO, 2013). Yet the greatest reductions were seen in the period prior to 2007/2008, resulting in a status quo of prevalence of chronic hunger since 2008 (FAO, 2012) (Figure 1). While most households in the United States have dependable means for accessing enough food for an active, healthy life, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) reports the percentage of U.S. households that were food insecure has not significantly changed from 14.9% of households (17.9 million) in 2011 to 14.5% of households (17.6 million) in 2012

(Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Singh, 2013). Since the U.S. financial crisis of 2008-2009, food insecurity levels have been at their historical high and remain essentially unchanged from year to year (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2012). Food insecurity is a persistent and significant public health problem.

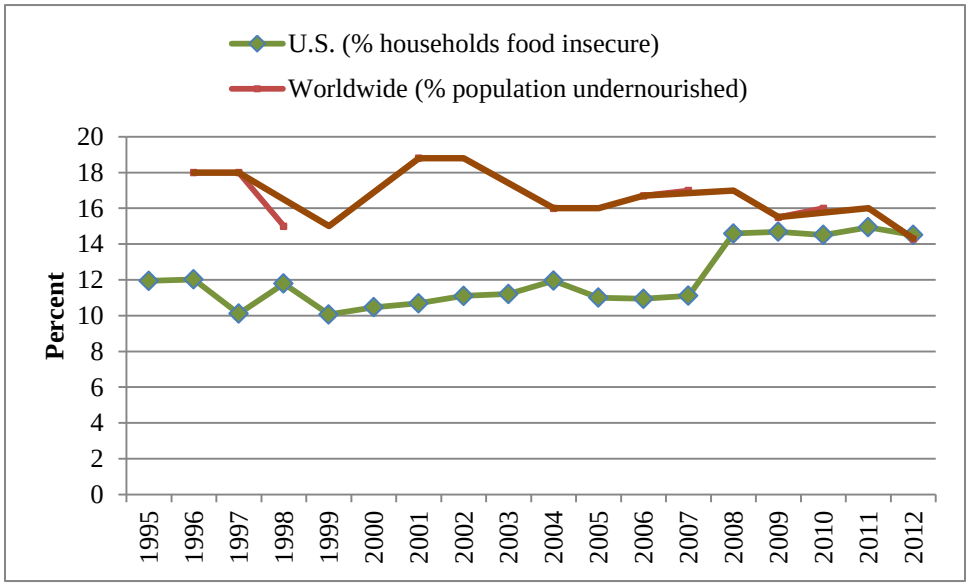

Figure 1. Trends for U.S. Food Insecurity and Worldwide Undernourishment

Definition and Measurement of Food Insecurity in the U.S.

The truncated USDA definition of food security is "access by all people at all times to enough nutritious food for an active, healthy life" (USDA, 2010a). In USDA official reports, the definition is further elaborated as: "access by all members [of a household] at all times to enough food for an active health life. At a minimum, food security includes the ready availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods, and an assured ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways (without resorting

to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, or other coping strategies)" (Nord, Coleman-Jensen, Andrews, and Carlson, 2010).

In 2006, the USDA replaced the term "hunger" with varying descriptions of food insecurity severity upon recommendations from the Committee on National Statistics of the National Academies (CNSTAT) (National Research Council, 2006). "Very low food security" replaced the term "food insecurity with hunger" and "low food security" replaced "food insecurity without hunger" in order to distinguish the difference between hunger and food insecurity. The term used for assessment purposes by the USDA is food insecurity – "a household-level economic and social condition" that is a result of inadequate or uncertain access to food (USDA, 2013a).

The new labels for describing ranges of food security – high, marginal, low, and very low food security – are not merely semantics; they have practical impact. They allow for definitions that are conceptually and operationally sound and convey relevant information to policymakers and the public. The new terms also better reflect hunger in the context of U.S. conditions, which usually implies a resource-constrained hunger. Finally, the differences in definitions and terminology act as targets for assessment of "success" in policy solutions. In order to achieve food security, a society must know what it is aiming for in its policies and programs.

Since 1995, the U.S. has assessed food security via an 18-item household food security module designed by the USDA (Nord, Coleman-Jensen, Andrews, and Carlson, 2010). Food security survey questions address known conditions and behaviors that are associated with households having difficulty meeting basic food needs. Households are

classified as food insecure if they report three or more food-insecure conditions (Nord, Coleman-Jensen, Andrews and Carlson, 2010). Most Americans who experience food insecurity do so on a recurrent, although not chronic, basis. USDA analyses find that, on average, food insecure households are food insecure seven months during the year, and very low food security households experience associated conditions for 1 to 7 days of the month on average (Nord, Andrews and Carlson, 2009).

Scope of Food Insecurity in the U.S.

In 2012, seven million (5.7%) U.S. households had *very low* food security at some time which disrupted sufficient food intake and affected normal eating patterns (Figure 2). In 2012, 49.0 million people (15.9% of U.S. individuals) experienced food insecurity during the year. The prevalence of very low and low food security is essentially unchanged from 2008. Between 2008 and 2011—years corresponding with the U.S. economic crisis and its aftermath—the prevalence of both food insecurity overall and very low food security were higher than any year since the first national food security survey in 1995 (Andrew-Carlson, Nord, Singh, 2013).

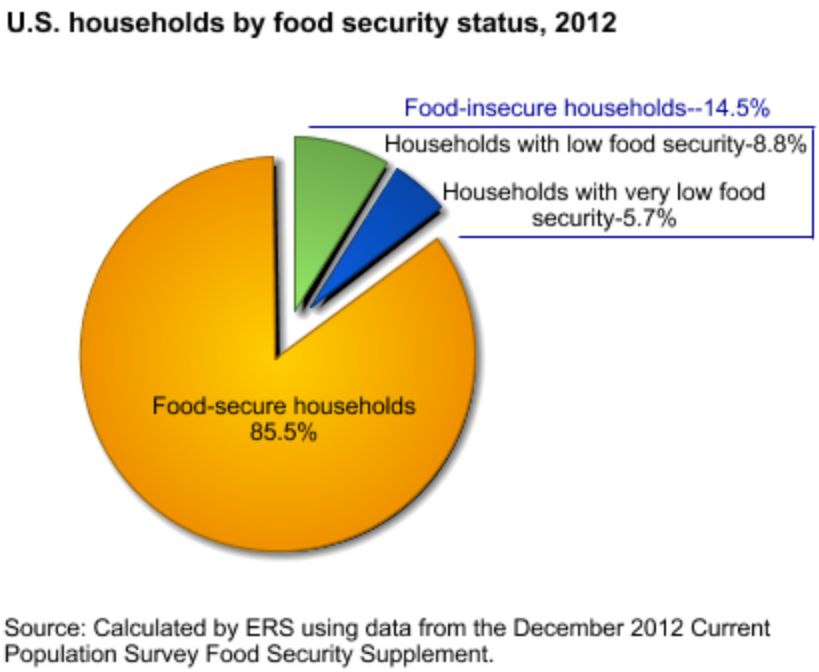

Figure 2. U.S. Households by Food Security Status, 2012

Rates of food insecurity, both low and very low food insecurity, are notably higher than the national average (14.5%) and notably lower than the national average in households with the specific demographics noted in Figure 3 (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Singh, 2013). Although children are generally shielded from very low food insecurity through the actions of their parents and federal food safety net programs, still as many as 8.3 million children (11.3% of U.S. children) lived in food insecure households in 2012 (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Singh, 2013).

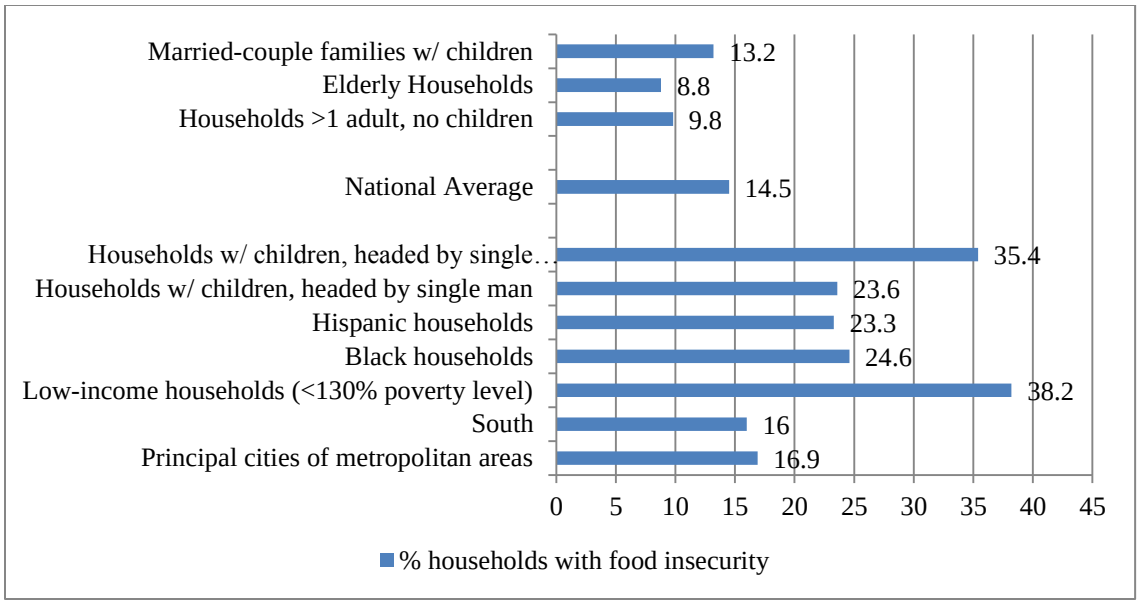

Figure 3. Households with food insecurity (low and very low) by demographics, compared to U.S. average (14.5%), 2012. Source: Household Food Security in the United States in 2012 data. USDA, ERS, ERR-155, September 2013.

Coping strategies adopted by individuals and reported in food security surveys include: eating less varied diets, skipping meals, selling their possessions, participating in federal food assistance programs, and getting emergency food from community sources. Using these strategies often allows household members to obtain enough food to avoid substantially disrupting their eating patterns or reducing food intake (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Singh, 2013). However, dependence on these emergency strategies is not the ideal response to food insecurity as such methods do not necessarily alleviate food insecurity and violates the conditions necessary for food security (e.g. social acceptability, dimension of stability).

Health Consequences of Hunger and Food Insecurity

Research confirms intuition that lack of food or nutrition, a basic human need, contributes to decreased physical and mental health in adults and children (Cook, Frank, Berkowitz, et al., 2004; Larson and Story, 2010). Food insecurity is an underlying cause of malnutrition which increases morbidity and mortality, especially in vulnerable groups such as pregnant women, children, and the elderly (WHO website, 2009a; WHO website, 2009b; American Dietetic Association, 2003; Food Research and Action Center (FRAC) website, 2009). Malnutrition in children is associated with impaired psychosocial and cognitive development and poor academic performance (Alaimo, Olson, Frongillo, 2001; American Dietetic Association, 2003; Cook and Frank, 2008; ChildTrends Data Bank, 2013). Poor nutrition interferes with growth and development, is associated with overweight and obesity in young children from food insecure households, and predisposes children to infectious and chronic conditions, as well as diseases such as iron deficiency anemia, heart disease, diabetes, osteoporosis, and higher rates of hospitalization (Stuff, Casey, Szeto, et al., 2004; Seligman, Bindman, Vittinghoff, et al., 2007; WHO website, 2009b; Bronte-Tinkew, 2007). The psychological deficits and behavioral problems associated with food insecurity in young children are particularly troubling as it has been associated with higher anxiety, depression, and suicidal symptoms through adolescence (Alaimo, Olson, Frongillo, 2002; ChildTrends Data Bank, 2013). Food insecurity can negatively affect productivity and family life as well (American Dietetic Association, 2003; WHO website, 2009a; WHO website, 2009b;

FRAC website, 2009). Even "marginal" food security has recently been found to be associated with the poor health and developmental outcomes above (Cook et al., 2013).

Food insecurity relates to the seemingly paradoxical states of obesity and hunger (Casey et al., 2006; Bronte-Tinkew et al., 2007; FRAC website, 2009; Larson and Story, 2010; National Research Council, 2011; ChildTrends Data Bank, 2013), and domestic nutrition assistance programs (Larson and Story, 2010). Although federal food assistance programs such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) have the potential to affect obesity, there is not clear research on the pathways through which such influences occur and thus how policy should proceed (ChildTrends Data Bank, 2013; Larson and Story, 2010). Recent policy proposals and initiatives have focused on creating healthier, more food secure environments, particularly for children (e.g., Let's Move Campaign, initiated by First Lady Michelle Obama), in order to address the growing problems of overweight and obesity in the U.S. ("Let's Move" website, 2010; "Know Your Farmer, Know Your Food" website, 2010).

To bolster the already convincing evidence of poor health consequences associated with food insecurity and overweight, the economic costs of these health problems also elevate public and political concern. Hunger and obesity-related costs to the healthcare system pose economic challenges for both the public and private sectors. One study predicted an 8.5% decrease in Medicare spending and an 11.8% decrease in Medicaid spending if obesity were absent from our society (Glickman and Veneman, 2013). A 2011 conservative estimate of hunger-related costs (including food assistance, illness, psychosocial dysfunction, and diminished learning and economic productivity) placed the annual U.S. cost burden of hunger at $167.5 billion (ChildTrends Data Bank,

2013). The costs of hunger and food insecurity to human life morally outweigh the economic costs, but both consequences are intuitively dire and deserve the utmost public health and policy attention.

Food Security Policy

A brief overview of policy approaches and solutions to hunger and food insecurity in the U.S. introduces an understanding of the potential special interests that factor into the discourse and mobilization on the issue of food security. In the U.S. there is substantial legislative history addressing the determinants and outcomes of hunger, malnutrition, and food insecurity. Largely, the public policy approach to food insecurity lies in recurrent iterations of the Farm Bills and Child Nutrition Program legislation. These policies cover dietary standards, food and agricultural industry regulation, agricultural technology, foreign food aid, and domestic nutrition assistance safety nets – all elements of food security.

The Farm Bill: Vehicle for Food Insecurity Policy Solutions

The Farm Bills provide sustained and systematic government intervention that plays a significant role in addressing U.S. food insecurity. This complex, omnibus legislation represents the pinnacle of agriculture and food policy in the U.S. The bill is reauthorized roughly every five to seven years in attempts to encompass the four dimensions of food security: availability, accessibility, utilization, and stability. First passed in 1933, the Agricultural Adjustment Act (P.L. 73-10, 48, Stat. 31), or Farm Bill, was originally designed to legislate support and control of the food and farm economy.

Over time, this legislation has evolved to cover both the production and nutrition assistance dimensions of food and agricultural policy in the U.S. Food security policy solutions in the Farm Bill are based primarily on direct food and nutrition production, procurement, and distribution. The largest expenditure of the Farm Bill is the Nutrition Title (Title IV) which includes the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly the Food Stamp Program (Johnson & Monke, 2012). In the 1977 Farm Bill food stamps evolved from a provisional and pilot program to a permanent nationwide entitlement program, increasing access to food security assistance in U.S. (Berry, 1982; National Agricultural Law Center, 2003). The 1977 Farm Bill was also the first to include a nutrition-, food stamp-, or food-specific title (National Agricultural Law Center, 2003).

During the study period of 1974 through 2009, seven Farm Bills have been enacted: the Food and Agriculture Act of 1977 (P.L. 95-113); the Agriculture and Food Act of 1981 (P.L. 97-98); the Food Security Act of 1985 (P.L. 99-198); the Food, Agriculture, Conservation and Trade Act of 1990 (P.L. 101-624); the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (P.L. 104-127); the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (P.L. 101-171); and the Food, Conservation and Energy Act of 2008 (P.L. 110-246) (National Agricultural Law Center, 2010).

The most recent Farm Bill, or the *Food, Conservation and Energy Act*, was passed in 2008 (P.L. 110-246) and contains 15 titles legislating a variety of issues, including research, conservation, trade, foreign food aid, forestry, and rural development (Johnson & Monke, 2012). Title IV, the Nutrition Title, of the 2008 Farm Bill, includes the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) (formerly the Food Stamp

Program) and other major, relevant food security and nutrition provisions. Title IV constitutes 68% of the projected budget, acting as the largest expenditure of the Farm Bill. These food security programs, along with separate, and smaller, but related policies such as the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) and the National School Lunch and Breakfast Programs (NSLBP), are described as "the cornerstone of the nation's nutrition safety net" (Landers, 2007). Such policies are significant contributors to and vehicles of food security in the United States.

As of November 2013 the Farm Bill is still being debated and continues to serve as a significant policy vehicle for traditional and innovative food security policy alternatives. In an unprecedented move in July 2013, the House proposed a Farm Bill that split the farm and nutrition sections (Nixon, 2013) which threatened funding stability for nutrition programs. The Senate maintained proposing five-year reauthorization of farm and nutrition program combined. Other House-proposed bills included cuts of up to $20 billion over a 5 year period from SNAP, which the Congressional Budget Office estimated would remove nearly four million people from the program in the first year (Nixon, 2013). Many public health and agricultural interests still see the 2013 Farm Bill as a critical opportunity to seek more congruently aligned reforms in food and farm policy that encourage improvements in domestic physical and fiscal health, leading to greater food security (Glickman and Veneman, 2013).

Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP)

The largest food security program in the U.S. is the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly the Food Stamp Program (Nord, Andrews and

Carlson, 2009; FRAC, 2010). The purpose and structure of the program has evolved over time but was originally designed to provide an outlet for surplus agricultural products while benefitting economically disadvantaged families. Today, it is the most significant cornerstone of food assistance in the U.S. SNAP works to address concerns of food security for the low-income population and, to the extent that it expands food purchasing power, it also supports demand for agricultural production. As such, SNAP, and the Farm Bill as a whole, encompasses the supply/demand, producer/consumer angles of food security.

In FY2010, the SNAP program participation rate for all eligible was 75% (38 million people), and 65% of eligible working poor (Eslami, 2012; Cunnyngham, 2012). Monthly benefits to food insecure families are set annually, based on the cost of the Thrifty Food Plan, food price inflation-indexed and vary by income, household expenses, and household size, but not by state or region (USDA, 2013a). With continuing economic tension, budget constraints, and political strife, the 2013 SNAP rates have been reduced from previous years. (Starting in November 2013, the maximum monthly SNAP benefit is $632 for a family of four; for a single individual, $189 per month maximum (Dean and Rosenbaum, 2013). The federal government administers uniform rules, pays the full cost of benefits and shares half of the administrative costs with states (FRAC, 2010; Richardson, 2008).

Other Nutrition Assistance Legislation and Programs

In this dissertation, I focus on the Farm Bill and specifically the SNAP program as the main vehicle for food security policy solutions. Other traditional, or long-standing,

food security provisions of the Farm Bill include block grant, food stamp-like programs in the territories and islands; The Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP); and the Commodity Supplemental Food Program (CSFP). These programs represent meaningful contributions to direct food and nutrition procurement and distribution as part of U.S. food security policy. Supplementing these direct relief efforts is the Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) which, since 1968, provides nutrition education to low-income households, particularly households with young children and youth.

Innovative non-SNAP food security programs have been added to the Farm Bill over the years that focus on specific communities and regions or emphasize systemic integration, sustainability, self-reliance, education, utilization, a holistic remedy for the current food system, and/or participatory processes. Some innovations and departures from the traditional base of food assistance provisions in the Farm Bill include: funding for Community Food Projects (CFPs), the Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP), initiatives to provide fresh fruit and vegetables in schools (FFVP), provisions for funding and distribution of commodities and fresh fruit to schools through the Department of Defense procurement facilities (the "DOD Fresh" program), and nutrition and health promotion projects.

Other freestanding legislation targets children's health, food security, and development through national child nutrition programs, including the Richard B. Russell National School Lunch Act, the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 (both amended by P.L. 111-

296 in December 2010), and the Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act of 2010.[1] These pieces of legislation regulate, strengthen, and expand food service programs for children, from special milk programs to the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). In many Farm Bill hearings, the role of the EFNEP was emphasized as an essential component of nutritional welfare assistance as was the importance of WIC, TEFAP, CSFP, and Farmers Market programs to supplement SNAP and create innovations within the broader food security fabric. Often young children and the elderly receive more than one form of food and nutrition assistance via a combination of these programs (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Singh, 2013). These separate, important provisions do contribute to food security in the U.S. but are not the policy or programmatic focus of this study.

Private Responses to Food Insecurity

Private sector responses to food insecurity are also prolific. Venues and initiatives such as food pantries, food banks, and soup kitchens offer means to many individuals and families to cope with food insecurity. Their role as sustainable contributors to food security in the U.S. has been debated (e.g., Poppendieck, 1998; Chilton and Rose, 2009), but they certainly play a significant role in addressing acute hunger and food insecurity. The public and private approaches represent the spectrum of human-rights based (federal safety-net programs) and needs-based (private sector charity programs) approaches to hunger and food insecurity. There is significant integration between private sector food

[1] These account for significant solutions to food insecurity of a most vulnerable U.S. population but are not included in the Farm Bill unless tangentially through funding or supply mechanisms, or minor revisions to operations.

banks and federal food security programs, such as TEFAP and CSFP, which serve as suppliers of food goods to food banks. Often, food security responses in public policy utilize or parallel the strategies of the private sector, or vice versa, inspiring "new," innovative, supplemental, and alternative food security responses.

The above public and private resources for food assistance have become essential to individuals and households experiencing food insecurity. Fifty-nine percent of food insecure households in 2012 reported participating in one or more of the federal nutrition assistance programs: SNAP, WIC, and the National School Breakfast/Lunch Program. Thirty-six percent of very low food security households used emergency food pantries during the year at least once and 5.7% ate at least one meal at an emergency food kitchen (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Singh, 2013). A complex relationship exists between food assistance and food insecurity as households that report using food and nutrition assistance programs can either be more or less food secure than low-income households not using these programs (Nord, Andrews, Carlson, 2009). However, until the ideal of food security is achieved through broader systems change, public and private nutrition assistance programs are an enduring and essential part of the food security landscape of the U.S. It is in these programs that the definitions, discourse, and various vested interests of hunger and food insecurity are realized and which policymakers aim to refine through legislation.

The sometimes piecemeal rubric of food security approaches in the U.S. have in common an emphasis on direct food distribution, emergency and short-term solutions, and emphases on availability and access dimensions of food security. By highlighting

some of the policy approaches see the variety of special interests that are involved in food security policymaking: the agriculture sector with all of its special commodity groups, food distribution sector, welfare interests, anti-hunger advocates, nutrition and health professionals, child welfare advocates, poverty-reduction and development advocates, local/regional/urban/rural development interests, and foreign aid and trade interests. Public health interest groups are not alone in their investments to influence hunger and food security policymaking.

Public Health Focus, Public Health Policy

Achieving food security and reducing hunger is one of the Millennium Development Goals set forth by the U.N. (Target 1.C, United Nations, 2013) and two of the *Healthy People 2020* objectives: to "eliminate very low food security among children in U.S. households" and to "reduce household food insecurity and in doing so reduce hunger" (U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services [DHHS], 2000; U.S. DHHS, 2009). The fact that food insecurity remains a lingering problem is made obvious by the need to carry over food security goals from the *Healthy People 2010* objectives to yet another decade of public health work. Enacting effective food security policy solutions relies heavily on navigating the landscape of relevant interested groups, creating a discourse that will garner public attention, and sustain political commitment.

Hunger and food security present an example of the importance of asking the right question, with the right language, and by the right people. When the question is: "How can we prevent people from being hungry?" the answer that best fits will be: "Provide food." But when the question is: "How can we help people achieve food

security?" the answer – the policies – will necessitate solutions that comprehensively address not only hunger, but also examine the system that contributes to food insecure conditions. A multifaceted question requires a complex answer. The evolution of discourse from a more pronounced focus on hunger to food insecurity is a revolution. Such a change would represent the ability of public health professionals and policymakers to expand the focus from eliminating abject hunger to goals of obtaining a "healthy, active life" (FAO, 1996). A policy is effective only to the degree that it first correctly identifies a problem, and then uses appropriate means to address the problem. Food security policy will only be as effective as the discourse that inspires political action.

How public policy is formed depends largely on how the problem is defined, who influences the framing of the issue for the public and policymakers, and how and who shapes the debate and final legislation in political venues. This dissertation examines: 1) the evolution of public discourse of hunger and food security from 1974-2009, 2) the presence and relevance of interest groups engaged in food security discourse, and 3) the congressional context of food security debate and legislation in order to explore how public health interests feature in the complex goal of achieving food security.

Theoretical Frameworks

Political theory provides a framework for examination of issue definition and discourse, mobilization, and key players of policymaking. While the terms used may actually be describing the same issue and conditions, rhetoric can frame the issue of hunger in a variety of ways: a supply and production issue; a misguidance of international

trade policy; a horrific lingering human condition, usually abroad; a visible sign of broader social ills; or a result of climatic changes over time. The discourse of food security – or any issue – directly relates to the alternatives and solutions which are crafted into policy. A logical first step in understanding food security policy is to understand what food security is, how it is conceptualized and discussed, and by whom. This dissertation lays the groundwork for future research by answering these questions.

Issue Definition and Discourse

A number of perspectives on policy agenda setting exist, several of which have emphasized issue definition as a key factor in the processes (e.g., Schattschneider, 1975; Cobb & Elder, 1983; Rochefort & Cobb, 1994; Stone, 2002). Elements that can influence change of an issue definition – or clear description of a problem or issue – include demographics, political and government structure, media attention, world or local events, and scientific evidence. Issue definition has the potential to craft strategic discourse, mobilize the previously unengaged, and identify new solutions for recurring problems (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Rochefort & Cobb, 1994). This dissertation closely follows the theory and methodological approaches of political theorists Baumgartner and Jones, who purport that the way problems are defined and framed in public discourse has an impact on decision-making in public policy.

According to Baumgartner and Jones, "new issue definitions are more important sources of change than the action-reaction model of cycles" (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, 246). In their "punctuated equilibrium theory," imperceptible or modest change does occur over long periods of time, creating periods of inertia or equilibrium. Public and

political attention devoted to an issue elicit small policy changes, but without specific, transformative, focusing events, modest movement by entrenched policy actors will not yield significant policy outcomes. Their studies reveal that punctuations of change often coincide with changing a singly-defined issue (one with only one or two policy images, e.g., hunger) into a multifaceted issue (one associated with numerous policy images, e.g., food insecurity). The change occurs through venue change and policy image expansion (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, 184). Through a longitudinal perspective, issue development is a process that creates critical junctures in the equilibrium and stability that is the face of the political realm.

"Punctuated equilibrium theory" describes the relationship of the key components of attention, mobilization, policy images (how an issue and/or a policy is understood and discussed), and policy venues in creating transformative events. These components can lead to issue expansion. One of the key channels associating problem definition to policy outcomes is public opinion, which includes perception and understanding of an issue; this is often heavily influenced by media framing of the issue (Baumgartner, Linn, and Boydstun, 2009). As such, this dissertation examines food security issue development, or the evolution of issue definition, via the components of attention and policy images in the media venue.

Media as an Important Venue in Policymaking

Although Kingdon (1984) claimed that congressional hearings and media did not reflect the agenda of government elites, Baumgartner and Jones (1993) and many others (e.g., McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Hays & Glick, 1997) point to public media as a material

piece of the policymaking process and a way in which interest groups make themselves relevant within the official political sphere. Policymakers can use the media to learn constituent preferences and as a mouthpiece to further their own political interests (Cook, 1989; Herbst, 1996; Kedrowski, 1996; Cooper & Johnson, 2007). But the media also acts as a mouthpiece for public interest groups and the general public (Graber 2002). Studies have found that national media is a contributor to and measure of public salience of policy issues (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Schlag, 2001; Kingdon, 2003), and can be instrumental in public health promotion and stronger public health legislation (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001; Apollonio et al., 2007). For example, Holder and Treno (1997) found that increased media mobilization and media framing directed public attention to specific prevention components of alcohol abuse, making media advocacy a more effective public health tool than paid public information campaigns on alcohol issue awareness.

Mobilization and Interest Groups

Mobilization of the general public invariably gives rise to policy entrepreneurs (individual political actors either inside or outside of government who embrace a cause or issue, are willing to invest resources, and hope to influence the political agenda), and interest groups who influence issue definition in ways that will matter in policymaking, seek out appropriate policy venues, and thus produce policy outcomes (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, 184). Specialized interest groups influence policymaking through agenda setting and issue development (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Kingdon, 2003). Before interest groups can promote their specific issue definitions in a formal political arena, the public stage is a first testing ground (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Baumgartner and Jones,

1993). The second paper, in Chapter 3, asks the research question: Which interest groups and political entrepreneurs are present, relevant, and influential in shaping food security and hunger discourse in the media between 1974 and 2009?

There is a rich body of research on the origins, maintenance, categorization, role, and influence of interest groups in U.S. policymaking. Interest group literature proposes that once interest groups emerge, they form niches of policy expertise (Lowi, 1964; Bosso, 2005). Their *raison d'etre* and ability to survive is dependent upon their ability to create and promote a specialized aspect of an issue (Bosso, 2005). Lowi (1964) and Walker (1983) elucidated the origins, maintenance, and categorized issue areas of organized groups. Niche groups differ in their access to, influence on, and power relationships within the political process (Schattschneider, 1975; Walker, 1983). Walker (1983) found that in the public policy areas of education, mass transportation, and environmental protection, new groups emerge as a *consequence of*, rather than as prelude to, legislation. In response to the complicated nature of issues and their policy, more interest groups emerge to address different facets of an issue (Walker, 1983). In the second paper, Chapter 3, I contend that groups or advocates who do not exhibit media presence are not as politically relevant as groups that receive media attention. Employing the methods of Baumgartner and Jones (1993) significant indicators of issue saliency and interest group presence in media coverage such as policy images, framing, and venue are measured.

Congress as an Important Policymaking Venue

With responsibilities to hold hearings and debate, draft, propose, and revise legislation, congressional committees are powerful players in policymaking. A central concern of research on interest groups should focus on the intersection of mobilization and government action, or the formal political agenda in which policy networks pursue issue definitions during congressional debate (Lowi, 1964; Schattschneider, 1975; Leech et al., 2002). While examination of the media and external sources of attention (media, the general public, interest groups) are important indicators of issue development and even influence policy alternatives, a closer look at the internal dynamics of formal policymaking, or the legislative sphere, is also requisite.

In this dissertation, the congressional venue is represented through the hearings of congressional committees. The literature of policymaking and agenda-setting highlights the degree of impact of congressional committees. Kingdon (1984) points to how consistent indicators (measurements, data, and research) combine with focusing events (often a crisis, personal experience or powerful symbol) and with political entrepreneurs to transform conditions into problems (Kingdon 1984). When problems gain salience through these means, they catch not only public attention but also supply added motivation for congressional attention (Kingdon, 1984). A problem, combined with a policy window, allows issues to arise on the political agenda. Having a new, special, or select committee and its chairperson engaged on an issue is a policy window in itself (Kingdon, 1984, 168), and an opportunity for significant or sustained political attention. Not only are congressional committee hearings relevant to official concerns on the formal

agenda, but once a congressional committee claims jurisdiction over an issue, it rarely voluntarily abandons the field, issue, or program (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, 206). The problem of hunger combined with the policy windows created by the formation of congressional select committees represents an example of how food insecurity arose on the political agenda until those same committees were dissolved. Kingdon provides a useful framework, noting key indicators, for exploring the formal, political agenda venue of congressional committees.

Research Question and Hypotheses

The first paper investigates the role of discourse and issue definition, and asks the question: How have the definition, policy image(s), and framing of food security evolved between 1974 and 2009? While emergence of *specific terms* and words is of interest, the changing *conceptualizations* of food security best illuminate how the public and media discuss this issue. Food security is a multidimensional issue that garners diverse interests, from agricultural to public health to environmental interest groups. The first paper compares, over time, the changes in problem definition and policy image in media documents and explores if and when new policy images emerge. It was hypothesized that from 1974 to 2009, the policy images of food security will evolve from an agricultural frame emphasizing food production and agricultural supply to a public health frame emphasizing nutrition, diet quality, and lifestyle. An additional hypothesis is that over time new policy images will emerge, diversifying from 'traditional' (or narrow) food insecurity solutions and policies of providing direct food aid to reveal a more system-wide (multi-faceted) approach to food insecurity. Such changes are indicative of

transformative events that influence the status quo equilibrium of food security policymaking.

The second paper, in Chapter 3, moves from the discourse itself to the individuals and groups who craft the language and rhetoric. In the paper, I address the research questions: Which interest groups and political entrepreneurs are present, relevant, and influential in shaping food security and hunger discourse in the media between 1974 and 2009? Has the landscape of food security interest groups changed between 1974 and 2009? What are the effects of these changes in mobilization? In particular, have public health interests been able to create an influential niche in food security mobilization?

The third paper hones in on the congressional venue for food security policymaking. After the first and second papers addressed questions of issue definition and mobilization in the media, the third and final paper asks: Who, in the congressional venue, is influential in shaping food security discourse between 1974 and 2009?

Research Design and Analyses

Selection of Study Time Period: 1974-2009

This dissertation uses data from 1974 through 2009. The 1970s represent a significant origin of major institutions (e.g., Food Research and Action Center (FRAC), Community Nutrition Institute (CNI), the Food and Nutrition Service (FNS) of the USDA) and policy changes relating to food security (Food and Nutrition Service USDA website 7/12/2012; FRAC.org, 2010). Worldwide consciousness of food prices, food cultivation and preparation, nutritional concerns, and food culture issues increased with

platforms such as the first U.N.-sponsored World Food Summit in 1974 and the first FAO-founded World Food Day in 1979. At the same time, food system literature by Wendell Berry and Francis Moore Lappé (Pollan, 2010) seemed to spur the beginnings of a 'food movement.' In the 1977 Farm Bill, food stamps evolved from a provisional and pilot program to a permanent nationwide entitlement program equalizing benefits across the U.S., directing U.S. policy toward increased access to food security assistance (Berry, 1982; National Agricultural Law Center, 2003). Previous Farm Bills also did not include a nutrition-, food stamp-, or food-specific title until the 1977 Farm Bill (National Agricultural Law Center, 2003). The USDA acknowledged the 1970s as a new era that refocused food insecurity policy responses from problems of under-consumption and under-nutrition to new challenges related to diet quality, health promotion, and overall well-being (USDA, 2001). In response, the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs issued the *Dietary Goals for the United States* in 1977 along that vein. In order to capture the flourishing of public interest and precursors to important Farm Bill changes in 1977, and to include the latest (2008) Farm Bill passage, the study period was 1974-2009. This dissertation does not address debates and discussions associated with the 2013 Farm Bill as these dialogues are ongoing at the time of dissertation composition.

Data Sources and Sample Selection: Media Documents

Media documents represent the systemic agenda and denote public attention (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). Media documents for the period between 1974 and 2009 were obtained through two sources: *The New York Times* (1951-present) via Proquest Historical Newspapers and LexisNexis Congressional Political News. The latter source

provides political perspective and news from *The Hill* (1995-present), *Roll Call* (1989-present), and *The Washington Post* (1977-present) as part of their database; the former provides national coverage of politics, society and events of the time, and is a commonly used media-based measure of public attention in social science research (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Epstein & Segal, 2000; Ripberger, 2011).

The data sources were queried for articles with "food security," "food insecurity," or "hunger" in the headline between January 1, 1974 (or the earliest each database accommodates, see previous paragraph) and December 31, 2009. The total subsample of media documents was n = 1,026, with 614 being excluded after a preliminary read through (see Figure 4 for exclusion details; further details on inclusion and exclusion criteria in Chapter 2).

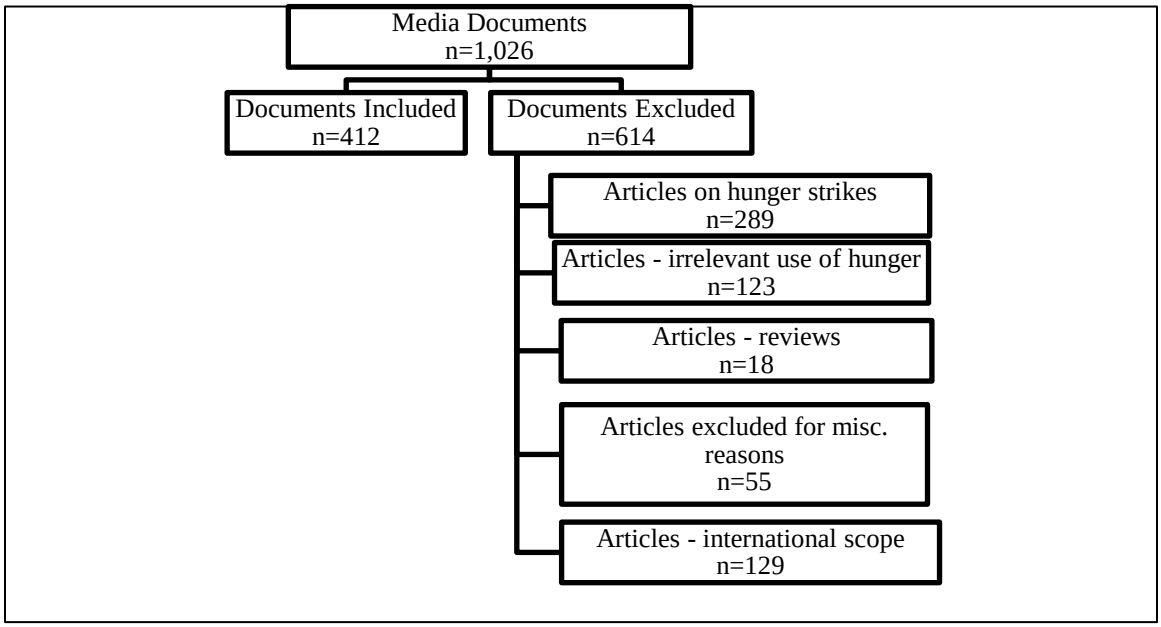

Figure 4. Flowchart of Inclusion/Exclusion of Media Documents

The remaining 412 media articles were each re-read for conceptual content analysis via a coding instrument designed to extract the definitions, policy images, and framing of food insecurity (see Appendices A and B). A flowchart and details of inclusion and exclusion criteria of the sample media documents are provided in the individual papers in Chapters 2 and 3 (Figures 6 and 13).

Data Sources and Sample Selection: Congressional Documents

The congressional record is part of the formal agenda and denotes official political attention (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). A query was conducted and limited to congressional hearings and Congressional Research Service (CRS) reports in LexisNexis Congressional (now ProQuest Congressional) for documents with "food security," "food insecurity," or "hunger" in the index of subject terms field between January 1, 1974 and December 31, 2009. The total sample of congressional documents was n = 557 (See Figure 5). The final query that resulted in the sample used for this study was conducted on August 22, 2012; data is added to the ProQuest Congressional database on a continuing basis.

The unit of analysis was a single day during hearings; in other words, each CRS report was considered one document, while each day of a hearing, if multiple days of a hearing were held, was considered one entry for analysis. For the purposes of the analysis each date will be referred to as a distinct document.

Of the sample of congressional documents, a prescreen was conducted based on a preliminary reading of the summary only, not the entire document. The prescreen

required exclusion of 275 documents (49%) which were unrelated or peripheral to the purposes of this study based on the following criteria: 18 documents were excluded because the content referred to budget justifications, appropriations or strictly administrative matters; 16 documents were excluded because the content referred to "various bills and resolutions" with minimal coverage of the issues of interest, usually in an administrative manner, if at all; 146 documents were excluded because food security, food insecurity, or hunger were adjacent or resulting issues either too tangentially related to or not at all the subject of the document (e.g., "Improving Health of the Poor: A Development Cornerstone"); 51 documents were excluded due to a very specific reference to foreign humanitarian crises or food insecure conditions in a single country with limited or no reference of specific U.S. involvement in food insecurity assistance (e.g., "Crisis and Chaos in Somalia"); and, 44 documents reference the Farm Bill yet the content was still tangential to the issue of food insecurity (e.g., "Implementation of the Conservation Compliance Provisions of the Food Security Act of 1985"). Total documents excluded upon prescreen was 275. After the prescreen, the remaining 282 congressional documents were each re-read for in-depth, full text conceptual content analysis (Figure 5).

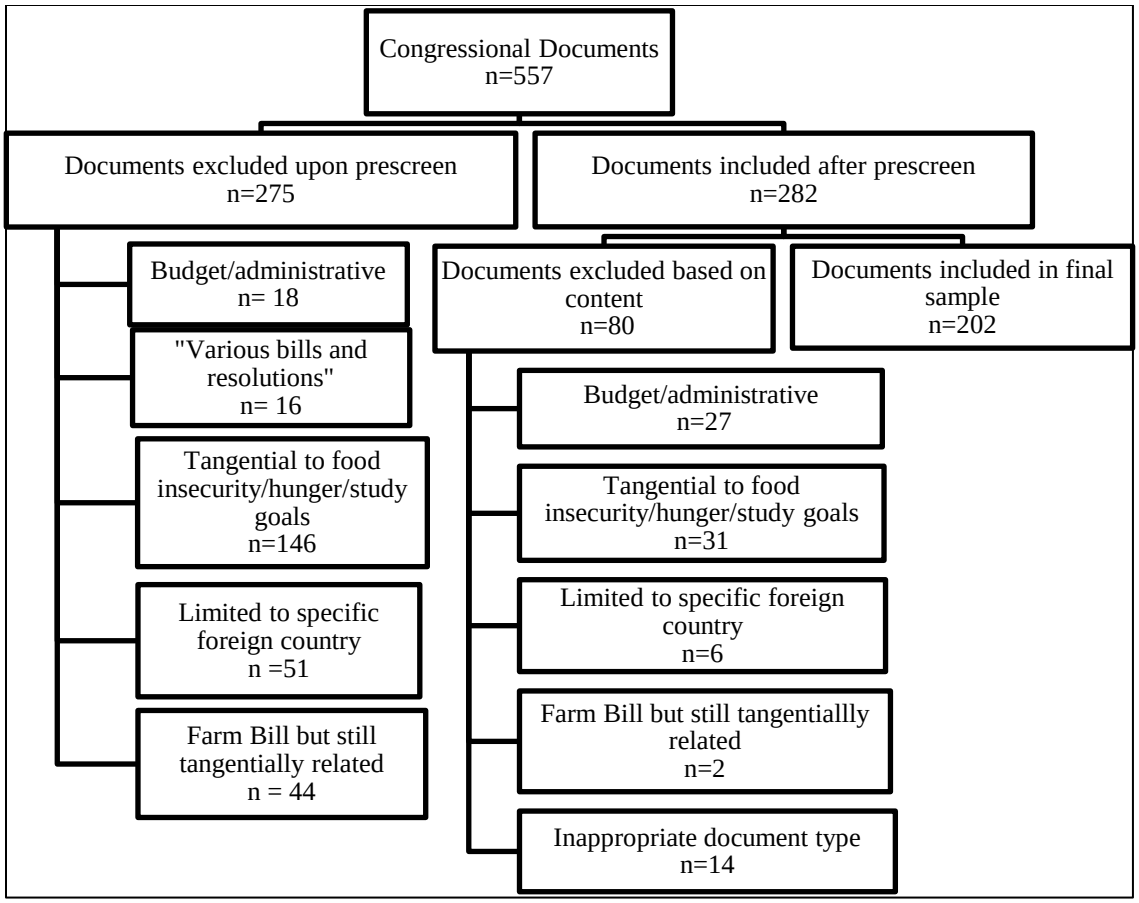

Figure 5. Flowchart of Inclusion/Exclusion of Congressional Documents

Content Analysis

I, along with one research assistant, conducted the coding for conceptual content analysis. The coding instrument, codebook, and instructions were self-designed and served as a guide to extract definitions, policy images, framing, and interest group details related to food security from media and congressional documents. The codebook and coding instrument are included in Appendix B and Appendix C, respectively. As the coding instrument was not an established, validated instrument, the study sought to increase validity and credibility by: a) grounding the variables used in the theoretical

approaches of Baumgartner and Jones (1993); b) using similar data sources as Baumgartner and Jones; c) using a multiplicity of data sources for evidence; and d) whenever possible, using established definitions, policy images, and rhetoric common in the literature surrounding food security and agriculture, (e.g., USDA food security reports, Farm Bill Visualizer codebook (Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future's Farm Bill Budget Visualizer, 2012).

For media documents, the inter-rater reliability between primary researcher and research assistant was calculated at 73% based on double-coding a random selection of 10% of the media articles (n=103), with the majority of differences occurring as a matter of degree within each item (e.g., primary, secondary, partly, none), not the outright absence or presence of a concept. When outright disagreement on items, not degree, was calculated, the inter-rater reliability was 92%. For congressional documents, the inter-rater reliability between primary researcher and research assistant was calculated at 70% based on double-coding a random selection of 14% of the documents (n=78). When outright disagreement on items, not degree, was calculated, the inter-rater reliability for congressional documents was 93%.

Each document was coded for frequency of iterations of four relevant terms: food security, food insecurity, hunger, and farm bill. To assess issue definition, documents were also coded on the degree (primary, secondary, partly, none) to which various issue contextualization indicators were present: issue defined as hunger; issue defined as food insecurity (based on USDA [2006] distinctions between the terms 'hunger' and 'food insecurity.'); four food security dimensions (based on FAO [2008] definitions and

assessments of worldwide food insecurity): access, availability, utilization, stability; and, framing of each document overall from agricultural and public health perspectives (based on Baumgartner and Jones' (1993) methods to measure framing of an issue). Methods for extracting thematic framing through critical discourse analysis were also guided by the examples of Porter (2006) and Zhongdang & Kosicki (1993).

Continuing in the theoretical approaches of Baumgartner and Jones (1993), each document was also coded on the degree to which a variety of related policy images was present. Predetermined policy images, or public and political understanding of a public policy problem, included: public health, obesity, nutrition/malnutrition, anti-hunger advocacy, food production and supply, international hunger/food aid, food assistance programs, agriculture subsidies and payments, community- and local-food security, environment and conservation, trade and economics, farmer livelihood, and politics/policymaking. The inductive process of coding allowed for additional policy images and iterative developments to be identified and added to the coding process, including: research, political will and responsibility, development, biocrops/genetically modified organisms, and fundraising. Developments were discussed by the researchers and added to the coding instrument and then re-applied to the entire sample.

To assess mobilization, primary organizations or interest groups and individuals were coded for: name; top three associated policy images; tone as either positive or negative; issue or interest area based on predominant issues generally associated with food security (agriculture, public health/health, anti-hunger/food security, other); and type based loosely on Walker's (1983) typology of associations

(government/international organization, private/special interest group, public/non-profit group, individual (listing organization and/or state and party if a political representative)).

Per document, a maximum of ten primary groups or individuals were identified and fully coded for tone, type, interest area, and policy image. Secondary groups and individuals were recorded by name only and included in the final count of groups/individuals mobilized per document.

Analysis was organized by year to track the evolution of discourse and mobilization over time. Further details of analysis for each individual paper will be discussed within the context of the studies presented in subsequent chapters.

Human Subjects Research

Because this dissertation uses secondary and publicly available data for analyses and no human subject data, this research study was granted exemption status by the Institutional Review Board of Temple University under Exemption 4: Collection or Study of Existing Data of 45 CFR 46 Protection of Human Subjects, Section 101 (b). Exemption for this study, IRB Protocol #13680, was granted on 16 February 2011.

Dissertation Overview

The remainder of this dissertation consists of four chapters: three papers, each dedicated to exploring a component – either the what or who – of the evolving definition of food security, and a conclusion. The purpose of Chapter 2 is to argue that effective food security policy is the product of processes that first, correctly identify and define the issue, and second, produce the policies and programs that address the issue in its many

facets. To illustrate this, the study examines how and when the media, and thus the public, defines, conceptualizes, and frames hunger and food security discourse between 1974 and 2009. The paper highlights the slow and ongoing process of defining "hunger" in a more comprehensive way that includes the various components of "food security."

As a natural extension to the first paper, the second paper examines *who* has been influential in creating the discourse examined in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 provides an historical survey of media coverage to examine the presence and relevance of groups and individuals mobilized on the issue of food security from 1974-2009 and pays particular attention to the mobilization of public health interest groups. The research identifies: 1) the interests that have been instrumental in the development and evolution of food security discourse in the media; 2) the instances when they dominate the discourse; and 3) the types of groups represented. The paper highlights the activity of a variety of interest groups as they are represented in the informal policymaking venue of the media. Interest groups were categorized based on three main, relevant issue areas: anti-hunger advocacy, agriculture, and public health. The paper examines in depth the reasons why some groups appear more relevant to developing the discourse while others retain a low media profile and pays particular attention to the role of public health groups in food security media discourse.

The fourth chapter expands on the question of *who* influences food security policymaking from the informal to the formal government venue. The paper examines the role of congressional hearings and reports from 1974-2009 in food security discourse. Specifically, the paper notes the role of congressional select committees – particularly the

Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs (1968-1977) and House Select Committee on Hunger (1984-1993) – in engaging political interest and action on the issue of food security. The paper discusses these select committees and their associated political entrepreneurs as essential elements of prolonged and significant attention to hunger, malnutrition, and food security.

The concluding chapter summarizes the key findings from the three papers, points to the public health implications of strategic discourse and concentrated political commitment to food security, and outlines recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

WHAT'S IN A NAME? POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF AN EVOLVING DEFINITION OF FOOD SECURITY

An earlier version of this paper was published in 2013 in the peer review journal, *Food Studies, 2*(3): 61-77.

Abstract

A policy is effective only to the degree that it first correctly identifies a problem, and then uses appropriate means to address the problem. This paper illustrates the role of discourse and issue definition in effective policymaking for the issue of food insecurity, or hunger. Using media data from 1974–2009, we used conceptual content analysis and historical survey to examine issue definition prevalence, policy images, framing, and mobilization. The what, when, and who of issue definition becomes a foundation for formulating food insecurity policy. Hunger and food insecurity are distinctly different: hunger is a physiological manifestation of severe food insecurity due to lack of or reduce food intake; food insecurity refers more generally to economic and social conditions promoting access to sufficient nutritious food. Findings indicate that 'hunger' is the preferred terminology in media coverage and the actual definition of hunger is implied more often than the definition of food insecurity, despite the latter's broad nature and diverse dimensions. The policy images most associated with food insecurity discourse in this data were policy and anti-hunger advocacy. The diversification of policy images over time is much less than expected indicating that emerging issues relating health and food-system approaches to food security may not be as well integrated into discourse and

policymaking as the full definition of food security would require. In more recent years the media has endorsed some convergence in the level at which various dimensions and policy images are used to portray food security. The findings indicate that the evolution of food security conceptualization is ongoing. Food and agriculture policies, such as the Farm Bill, are dependent on the public and policymakers understanding the complexity of food security in order to enact farm- and health-friendly policy. The discourse surrounding and defining hunger and food security are key inroads to comprehensive, effective outcomes.

Introduction

Hunger is a complex, historical, and presently enduring problem. Where does the process begin in order to combat food insecurity in the U.S. and abroad? What are the first steps to creating effective, multi-dimensional policies that can address both hunger and food insecurity? Are these the same issue?

Discourse on hunger and food security can be misleading – either in over-dramatizing the conditions or misrepresenting improvements and achievements. Concern has been expressed over both official numbers and global discourse that frames hunger reduction falsely and prematurely as success (Lappé et al., 2013). As such, understanding and analyzing the framing of hunger discourse is as important a foundation as understanding and revealing the statistics of hunger. In turn, discourse can influence the intensity and direction of policy solutions, and analysis of discourse can illuminate some of the contributing factors to policymaking – issue definition and framing. Methods for extracting thematic framing through critical discourse analysis and framing analysis of

media is conducted frequently in the fields of linguistics and sociology (e.g., Scheufele, 1999; Snow et al., 1986) but has also been used in public health promotion (Porter, 2006) and public policy (Zhongdang & Kosicki, 1993; Iyengar, 1999). This study seeks to expand the application of these methods to the issue of food insecurity and hunger by examining the definitions and elements of framing.

This paper begins by identifying food insecurity as a persistent public health problem, points to the transitions in established definitions of this problem and the social and political landscape of the problem, and then briefly expands on how ambiguous and evolving rhetoric affects legislators in their deliberations of problem solving through policy. This paper describes the primary policy approach to addressing food security in the U.S. Theoretical foundations for the relationship between problem definition and media discourse within policymaking processes is provided. The findings from this longitudinal study illuminate the scope and breadth of the issues of hunger and food security as portrayed by evolving definitions and variations in framing between 1974 and 2009. This paper concludes by noting the influence a more concrete and comprehensive food security definition and discourse can have on policy formation and describe future directions for expanding on this foundational research.

Hunger: A Public Health Problem

The U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) measures hunger in terms of undernourishment, or dietary energy consumption that is regularly less than minimum energy requirements (FAO, 2008). Food insecurity can be defined as "the lack of access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life" (U.S. Department of

Agriculture (USDA), 2012). This paper examines the issues of hunger and food insecurity using these definitions. *The State of Food Insecurity in the World* estimated that from 2010 to 2012, 870 million people worldwide were undernourished, most of them women and children in developing countries (FAO, 2012). The U.S., however, is not without chronic persistence of food insecurity. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) first began measuring food insecurity in 1995. In 2012, 14.9% (17.9 million) of U.S. households experienced food insecurity (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2012). Food insecurity is seen at higher rates among areas of poverty, in households with children, in metropolitan areas, and in the West and South regions of the U.S. (Coleman-Jensen et al,. 2012). Ever since the U.S. financial crisis of 2008-2009, food insecurity levels overall have been at their historical highest and remain essentially unchanged from year to year (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2012).

Hunger: What's In a Name?

The rhetoric used to describe food insecurity, food insecure conditions, and hunger has evolved throughout the decades to focus on specific dimensions of the problem: availability, access, utilization, and stability (FAO, 2003; FAO, 2008; Eisinger, 1996; Allen, 2007). Particular discourse can emphasize availability of food reserves, access to healthy foods, nutrition education and correct food utilization to meet nutritional needs, and environmental and economic conditions that contribute to the stability of food security (FAO, 2006). Eisinger (1996) suggests that hunger has evolved into the concept of food security only after the issue of hunger was first equated with, and subsequently

separated from, concepts of malnutrition, poverty, commodity production and reserves, and food insufficiency.

In their 2003 report, *Trade Reforms and Food Security,* the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) tracked how the discourse of hunger has evolved to become more precisely defined. In 1974, the U.N.-sponsored World Food Summit, composed of 135 heads of State and 161 non-governmental organizations, defined food security as "the availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices" (FAO, 2003), emphasizing the supply and production end of food security. In 1983, the FAO food security definition shifted focus to *people* having physical and economic access to food (FAO, 2003). And in 1996, the World Food Summit added the concept of health to the definition (FAO, 1996). The truncated definition of food security used by the USDA is "access by all people at all times to enough nutritious food for an active, healthy life" (USDA, 2010). The discourse and approaches to food insecurity have also evolved to include considerations of political conditions, livelihood, social security, human rights, and food sovereignty in order to encompass a more multidimensional approach to the issue as championed by the economist and philosopher, Amartya Sen (FAO, 2003; Chilton & Rose, 2009).

This evolution of official food security definitions is mingled with a refining of the definition of hunger; and the two have distinct differences in spite of how often they are used interchangeably in discourse. Food insecurity refers more generally to economic and social conditions promoting access to sufficient nutritious food at a household or

population level. Hunger is a physiological manifestation or result of severe food insecurity due to lack of or reduce food intake (Bickel at al., 2000; USDA, 2010).

Along with specific changes in definition, the social and political context surrounding the terminology also evolved since the 1970s. The 1970s represented a significant origin of major institutions and policy changes relating to food security (Food and Nutrition Service USDA website 7/12/2012, FRAC.org, 2010). For example, the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC) and the Food and Nutrition Service (FNS) of the USDA were established in 1971, with the first U.N.-sponsored World Food Summit following closely behind in 1974 and, the FAO first World Food Day (October 16th) founded in 1979. At the same time food system literature by Wendell Berry and Francis Moore Lappé (Pollan, 2010) seemed to spur the beginnings of a 'food movement.'

The spread of consciousness of food issues also influenced the realm of policy. The USDA acknowledged the 1970s as a new era that refocused food insecurity policy responses from problems of under-consumption and under-nutrition to new challenges related to diet quality and promoting health and well-being (USDA, 2001). The U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs focused on nutrition and diet quality with the 1977 issuance of *Dietary Goals for the United States*. In the 1977 Farm Bill, food stamps evolved from a provisional and pilot program to a permanent nationwide entitlement program, creating increased access to food security assistance in U.S. policy (Berry, 1982; National Agricultural Law Center, 2003). Previous Farm Bills also did not include a nutrition-, food stamp-, or food-specific title until the 1977 Farm Bill (National Agricultural Law Center, 2003).

Pre-Policy: How Definitions and Discourse Influence Debate

The transformation in food security landscape and definitions influence political debate and is ongoing. Even very specific definitions of food security may yet convey different meanings to the broader public and policymakers. At the March 2012 Senate Agriculture Committee hearing on 'Healthy Food Initiatives, Local Production, and Nutrition," Sens. Pat Roberts (R-KS) and John Boozman (R-AR) repeatedly asked the witnesses, including Secretary of Agriculture Tom Vilsack, to define what "local" and "rural" meant in order to be able to legislate for more "locally grown" goods and "rural development." The definitions were either very constrained or unclear to the policymakers. If policymakers trying to revise the 2013 Farm Bill are confused about the exact definitions of "local" and "rural," it is understandable that a concrete definition of "food insecurity" –as distinguished from hunger – has been debated and part of public discourse as far back as the 1970s.

Legislators need definitions with measurable criteria for policymaking, but the public can also aid in the formation and is in turn influenced by the framing of an issue. The public does not readily engage in an issue it cannot envision. This can be harmful to both policymaking and public awareness. For example, in response to reports of food insecurity by FRAC, *The New York Times* reported, "But in that language may lie a lesson. No longer are advocates for the poor discussing 'hunger' with its dire implications, but 'insecurity,' a more nuanced, less compelling justification for help." (Kaufman 2003, February 23). Rep. Jim McGovern (D-Mass.) was one of many who criticized the USDA for changing its annual report terminology from "hunger" to "food

insecurity" in 2006, saying, "'Hunger is a political condition.' Calling hunger by any other name 'makes it more difficult to… deal with the issue.'" (Williamson 2006, November 22). Substituting language can be, as the above examples indicate, detrimental or confusing at worst, clarifying at best, to issue development and solutions. A policy is effective only to the degree that it first clearly refines discourse into a useful issue definition (Chilton & Rose, 2009), and then uses appropriate mechanisms to address the full scope of a complex, multifaceted problem.

Fashioning Food Security Policy

To date, the public policy approach to the issues of domestic food insecurity and hunger is a nutritional safety net traditionally comprised of five major programs: The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) (formerly the Food Stamp Program), the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), the National School Lunch and Breakfast Programs, The Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP), and The Commodity Supplemental Food Program (CSFP). These food security programs are described as "the cornerstone of the nation's nutrition safety net" (Landers, 2007) and are significant contributors to national-, community-, and household-level food security in the U.S.

The Farm Bill is the single largest piece of U.S. legislation that addresses issues of food security, including the majority of the aforementioned food security programs as well as agriculture policy in the United States. Every five to seven years, through a process of deliberation from various interest groups, government, academic experts, and political entrepreneurs, the breadth of food security and agricultural interests gets

whittled into one, albeit massive, Farm Bill. Divided into several 'titles,' the bill encompasses a number of issues ranging from conservation to agricultural subsidies to foreign food aid. Traditional food insecurity policy solutions in the Farm Bill, comprising 68% of the most recent 2008 Farm Bill budget, are based primarily on direct food and nutrition production, procurement and distribution, which includes SNAP (Johnson & Monke, 2012). The most recent Farm Bill, or the *Food, Conservation and Energy Act*, was passed in 2008 (P.L. 110-246) and contains 15 titles and serves as a significant backdrop for the debate of issue definitions and desired rhetoric. However, as this study shows, the issue of food security is redefined, re-imaged and debated also outside legislative corridors.

Moving from Issue Definition to Policy

Before legislation is crafted, a number of voices with a variety of pointed, specific conceptualizations must combine to create the groundwork and path for policy action. If the issue of food insecurity is defined and framed incompletely or incorrectly it is difficult to formulate a policy solution appropriate to the multifaceted issue of food security. This paper contends that pubic media acts as a meaningful piece of the policymaking process; how the public, academics, and lawmakers perceive, measure, and define food security has important policy implications. As such we take a longitudinal perspective to look at the initial steps of the policymaking process: issue definition and its evolutions from 1974-2009.

Theoretical Foundations

A number of perspectives on policy agenda setting exist, several of which have emphasized issue definition as a key factor in the processes. Schattschneider (1975) viewed conflicting problem definitions as a source for expanding policy alternatives. Cobb & Elder (1983) noted that language is a tool that enables the process of issue reconstruction. Stone (2002) outlined how strategic definitions are a result of conflicting conceptions of goals and values and policy discourse is driven by causes, manipulation of symbols and numbers, and competing group interests. Issue definition has the potential to craft strategic discourse, mobilize the previously unengaged, and identify new solutions for recurring problems.

Baumgartner and Jones (1993) also described the importance of issue definition in public policymaking: "new issue definitions are more important sources of change than the action-reaction model of cycles" (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, 246). In their punctuated equilibrium theory, imperceptible or modest change does occur over long periods of time, creating periods of inertia or equilibrium. Public and political attention devoted to an issue elicit small policy changes, but without specific, transformative, focusing events, modest movement by entrenched policy actors will not yield significant policy outcomes. Through a longitudinal perspective, issue development is a process that creates critical junctures in the equilibrium and stability that is the face of the political realm. Their studies reveal that punctuations of change often coincide with changing a singly-defined issue (one with only one or two policy images, e.g., hunger) into a

multifaceted issue (one associated with numerous policy images, e.g., food insecurity) through venue change and policy image expansion (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993).

One way in which issue expansion occurs is through issue redefinition. In turn, issue redefinition can be dependent on public opinion, perception, and understanding, which is often heavily influenced by media framing of the issue (Baumgartner, Linn, and Boydstun, 2009, 160; Kingdon, 2003). The public stage is a first testing ground of specific issue definitions before such issues debut in formal political arenas (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Media documents represent the informal, systemic agenda, denote public attention (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993), and act as a mouthpiece for public interest groups (Graber, 2002). Studies have found that national media is a contributor to and measure of public salience of policy issues (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Schlag, 2001; Kingdon, 2003), and can be instrumental in public health promotion and stronger public health legislation (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001, Apollonio et al., 2007). Policymakers can also use the media to learn constituent preferences and as a mouthpiece to further their own political interests (Herbst, 1996; Kedrowski, 1998; Cooper & Johnson, 2007). Mobilization of the general public invariably gives rise to policy entrepreneurs and advocates who influence issue definition in ways that will matter in policymaking, seek out appropriate policy venues, and thus produce policy outcomes (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993).

Essential to the general public and policy entrepreneurs, issue saliency and redefinition is often initiated through media coverage and is a material part of the policymaking pathway. This study employed the methods of Baumgartner and Jones (1993) to identify significant indicators of issue saliency such as definition and policy

images, and examine media framing of food insecurity and hunger between 1974 and 2009.

Methods

Selection of Study Time Period: 1974–2009

This paper provides an historical survey of media coverage to examine the evolving conceptualization of food security in public media discourse between 1974 and 2009. In order to capture the flourishing of public interest and precursors to important Farm Bill changes in 1977, 1974 was selected as a starting point to examine food security. The endpoint for the study is 2009, which includes debate and aftermath surrounding the most recently passed 2008 Farm Bill but does not delve into debate around the 2013 Farm Bill renewal which is still underway.

Sample Selection: Media Documents

A rich database for documentation analysis was formed of documents obtained through two sources: *The New York Times* (1951-present) via Proquest Historical Newspapers and LexisNexis Congressional Political News. The latter source provides political perspective and news from *The Hill* (1995-present), *Roll Call* (1989-present), and *The Washington Post* (1977-present) as part of their database; the former provides national coverage of politics, society and events of the time, and is a commonly used media-based measure of public attention in social science research (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Epstein & Segal, 2000; Ripberger, 2011).

A query for articles in these data sources of "food security," "food insecurity" or "hunger" in the headline between January 1, 1974 (or the earliest each database accommodates) and December 31, 2009 constituted the inclusion criteria for media documents. The total subsample of media documents was n = 1,026.

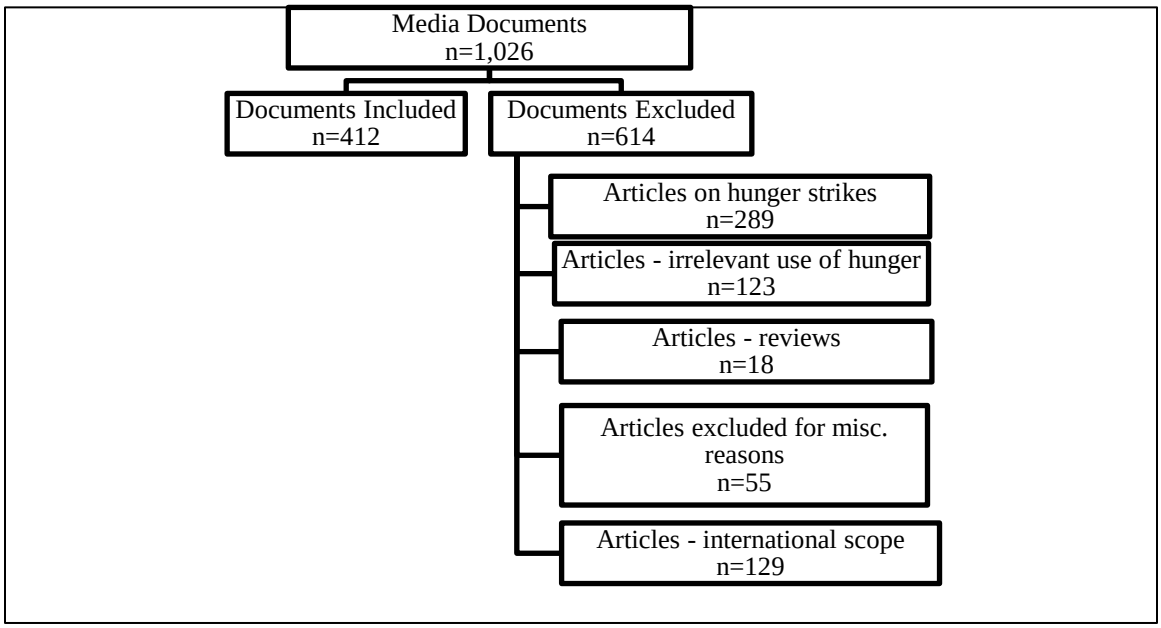

Figure 6. Flowchart of Inclusion/Exclusion of Media Documents

Upon preliminary view, 614 articles that were excluded primarily based on context or relevance (Figure 6); 47% were articles on hunger strikes and therefore not relevant to the study, 20% were excluded due to irrelevant use of the word "hunger" such as "hunger for championship medal," 9% were reviews (e.g., book, film, restaurant reviews) and 2% were excluded for various other reasons (e.g., article referred to a prescription drug designed to reduce hunger, format was a bibliography or photo caption, etc.). Twenty-three percent of excluded articles (n=140) were excluded from full coding despite being relevant to the study topic as these articles were about hunger and food insecurity but

were solely international in scope (e.g., focusing only on Cambodian refugees and famine). These articles focused on one, or a few, foreign countries and not the worldwide context of hunger. This subset was included and taken into account for parts of the analysis.

The remaining 412 media articles were each re-read for conceptual content analysis via a coding instrument designed to extract the definitions, policy images, and framing of food insecurity.

Content Analysis

The lead author and one research assistant conducted the coding for conceptual content analysis. The coding instrument, codebook, and instructions were designed by the primary researcher and served as a guide to extrapolate the content from congressional, media, academic, and legislative documents.[2] The variables and methods were grounded in the theoretical approaches of Baumgartner and Jones (1993).

The unit or level of analysis was the individual document. Documents were coded for frequency of iterations of four relevant terms: food security, food insecurity, hunger, and farm bill. Documents were also coded on the degree (primary, secondary, partly, none) to which various issue contextualization indicators were present in the text: issue defined as hunger; issue defined as food insecurity (based on USDA (2006) definitional distinctions between 'hunger' and 'food insecurity'); four food security dimensions: access, availability, utilization, stability (based on FAO (2008) definitions and assessments of worldwide food insecurity); framing of each document overall (employing Baumgartner

[2] See Appendix A for the Codebook and Appendix B for the Coding Instrument.

and Jones' (1993) methods to identify agricultural perspective versus public health perspective); and policy images. Methods for extracting thematic framing through critical discourse analysis were also guided by the examples of Porter (2006) and Zhongdang and Kosicki (1993).

Fifteen predetermined policy images derived from relevant literature and preliminary analysis were identified and measured in the documents: public health, obesity, nutrition/malnutrition, anti-hunger advocacy, food production and supply, international hunger/food aid, food assistance programs, agriculture subsidies and payments, community- and local-food security, environment and conservation, trade and economics, farmer livelihood, and politics/policymaking. Content analysis was an inductive process and as such allowed for additional policy images and iterative developments beyond the 15 pre-set policy image codes to be identified during the coding process: research, political will and responsibility, development, biocrops/genetically modified organisms, and fundraising. Developments were discussed by the researchers, added to the coding instrument and reapplied for analysis of the entire sample.

Issue definition, food security dimension, and policy image variables were scaled for intensity as 'primary,' 'secondary,' 'partly,' and 'none.' Analysis was organized by year to track the evolution of discourse and issue definition over time.

The inter-rater reliability between primary researcher and research assistant was calculated at 73% based on double-coding a random selection of 10% of the media articles (n=103), with the majority of differences occurring as a matter of degree within each item (e.g., primary, secondary, partly, none), not the outright absence or presence of

a concept. When outright disagreement on items, not degree, was calculated, the inter-rater reliability was 92%.

To address the issues of construct validity before full content analysis occurred, a preliminary, random sampling of all document types (including congressional and academic) was used to formulate and test the coding instrument, associated operationalization of variables, and the applicability of the coding instrument to suggested data. As the coding instrument was not an established, validated instrument, the study sought to increase validity and credibility by a) grounding the variables used in the theoretical approaches of Baumgartner and Jones (1993); b) using similar data sources as Baumgartner and Jones; c) using a multiplicity of data sources for evidence; and d) whenever possible, using established definitions, policy images, and rhetoric common in the literature surrounding food security and agriculture, (e.g., USDA food security reports, Farm Bill Visualizer codebook (Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future's Farm Bill Budget Visualizer, 2012).

Findings and Discussion

Overall, findings indicated that hunger remained the prevalent and preferred term and definition for the issue of food security for the 35 years of the study period. Access was the predominant food security dimension over time. The framing of food insecurity lay more in the public health field than in the agricultural field. Agricultural framing, supply-side policy images, and the availability dimension of food security were more prevalent in the 1970s. The evolution of traditional policy images did not appear to have significantly expanded to include more diverse or 'newer' or public health-focused policy

images. The trends did not indicate that media discourse of food security has evolved towards a more diverse or comprehensive, integrated food systems-approach focusing on *food security* not just hunger.

Public Interest / Media Coverage

In this study, in accordance with Baumgartner and Jones' (1993) approach, high media coverage served as a proxy or measure for public attention.[3] Figure 7 shows the number of domestic and international-only food security articles per year. Confirming what literature alludes to: the 1970s were a redefining era for food security and public interest with the highest media coverage in 1974. The highest level of media coverage of domestic food security and hunger was in 1983 during which a large number of articles addressed awareness of domestic poverty and hunger and heavily debated the role and policies of the Reagan administration. In very few years did international-only or internationally-focused articles receive as much media coverage as domestic-focused articles.

[3] Some analyses and comparisons were made between definitions or between policy images, where only absolute values mattered. At other times the number of articles per year is included as a reference to the relative direction of trends in the data or to help indicate when changes were more an artifact of level of media coverage.

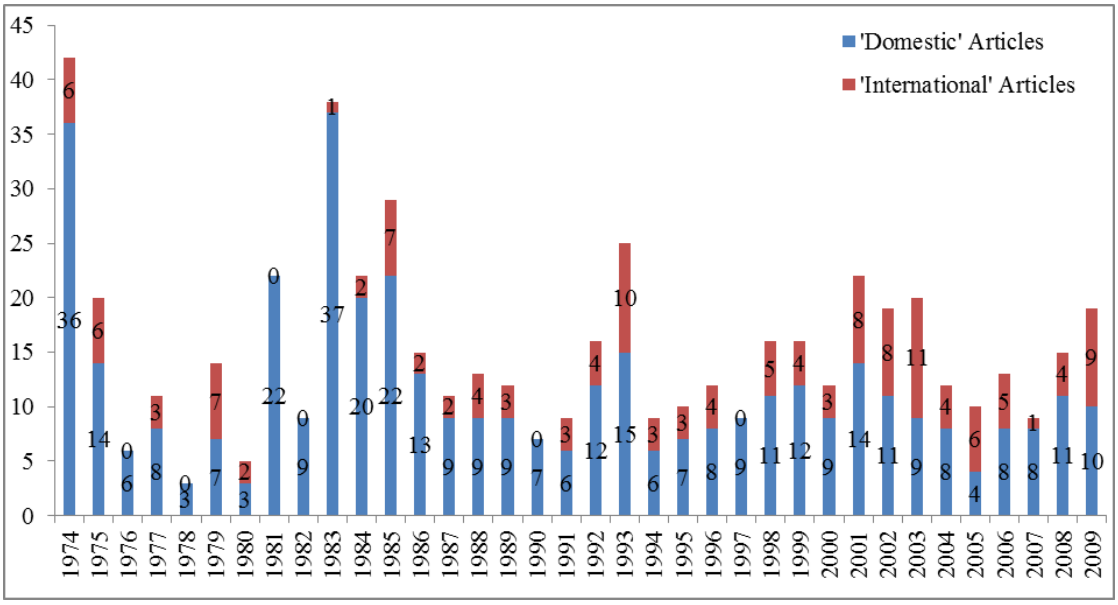

Figure 7. Sample of Food Security Media Documents, 1974–2009

Terminology and Definitions

When covering stories on food insecurity and hunger, public media discourse overwhelmingly preferred the terminology of hunger to that of food insecurity (Figure 8). However, the frequency of hunger and food insecurity as terminology followed parallel trajectories and trends over the 35 year study period and as such could allude to an underlying pattern or correlation controlled by some other variable not directly measured in this data. Two other terms of interest—food security and farm bill—were also far less used in media discourse.

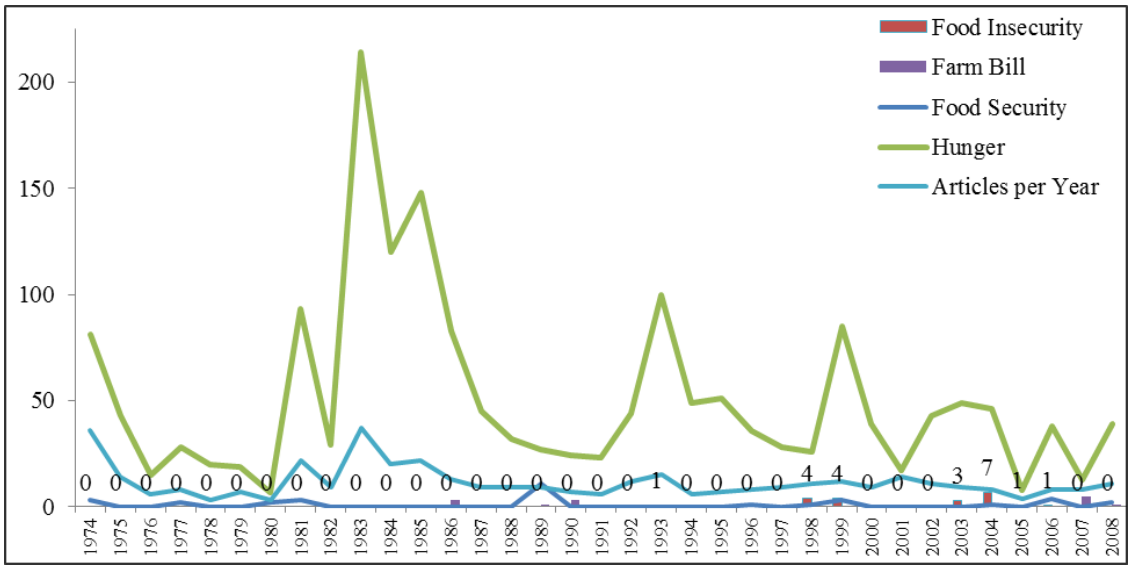

Figure 8. Frequency of Terms by Year, 1974-2009

The lack of evolution towards the use of the terms food security or food insecurity, despite the official use of this term by the USDA and other global organizations, was surprising. If food security, a more system-wide, multidimensional concept, is the desired solution to food insecurity and hunger, it is unfortunate for those affected and those affecting change that the term is not more fully integrated into public discourse and presumably public conscience.

The Farm Bill was almost never mentioned by the media: only four times in the 1980s, three times in 1990, once in 2004, five times in 2007 and once in 2008. Increase in this term was also unrelated to years when active debate on the Farm Bill was underway: 1977, 1981, 1985, 1990, 1996, 2002, and 2008. Correspondingly, the assumption might be made that the public was unable to link actual, relevant legislation with the issue of food security, making it challenging to engage in targeted legislative advocacy.

While there was no trend towards increasing food security, food insecurity, or the Farm Bill as frequent terms in describing the issue of food insecurity, there was a downward trend in the usage of the term hunger. Either more precision or more description was used to cover the issue without using the term hunger. Prevalent terms also used in media discourse and noted in the sample included: food scarcity, malnutrition, under nutrition, starvation, and famine.

Figure 9 highlights absolute values for comparison between the implied, dominant *meaning* of food insecurity in each article based on the 2006 USDA clarifications. The distinction is based on hunger defined as an individual-level *physiological* state, or *feeling* hungry from a lack of food, reduced food intake, or change in eating patterns and is a potential consequence of food insecurity. Food insecurity is defined as household-level economic and social conditions of limited or uncertain access to adequate food and refers primarily to environmental or macro causal factors that prevent a person from being or feeling security in their ability to have or prepare food. To the USDA, hunger is a severe form of food insecurity (USDA, 1997).

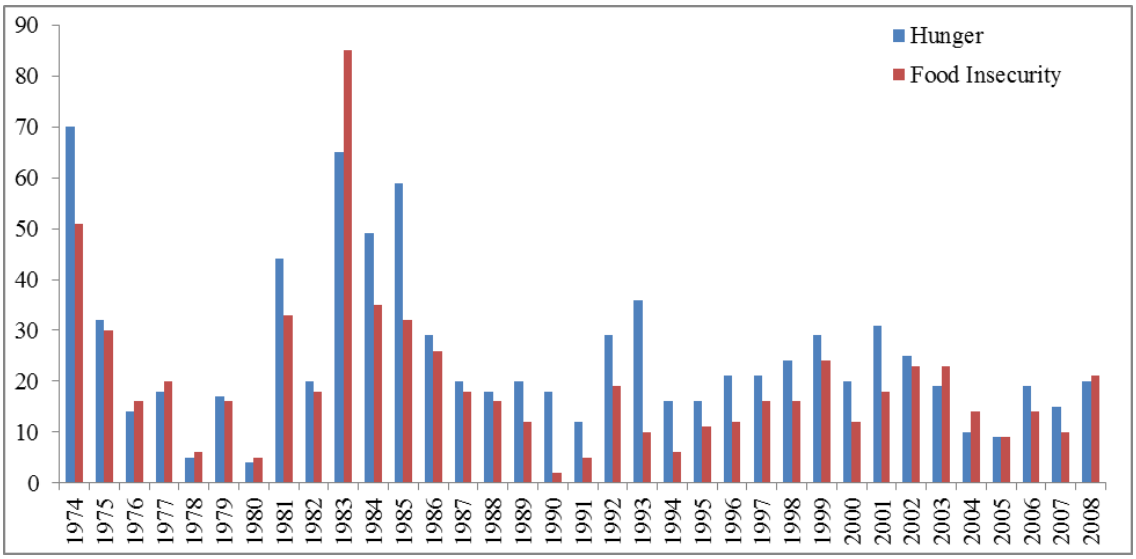

Figure 9. Issue Definition, 1974-2009

Only in 1983 was food insecurity the significantly prevailing definition in articles compared to hunger. Considering the broad nature of the definition of food insecurity it is interesting that it is still the less implied definition in media coverage as compared to hunger. There was no consistent increasing or decreasing trend in either definition of food insecurity over time because longitudinal trends were an artifact of the overall level of media coverage (see Figure 7).

Dimension

A useful longitudinal comparison of framing the issue of food security can be distinguished by four dimensions of food security: availability, access, utilization, and stability (Figure 10). The World Health Organization (WHO) and FAO (2008) use four dimensions to assess food insecurity at the country- and household-level. Availability refers to domestic and international supply and production of food and its trade. Access

refers to both physical and economic ability to access available and appropriate food. Utilization refers to non-food input resources, knowledge and skills required to provide an adequate diet (e.g., access to clean water, sanitation, cooking resources, and food storage, nutrition education). Stability refers to adverse weather conditions, political instability, or economic factors (e.g., unemployment, rising food prices) (FAO, 2008). As Figure 10 demonstrates, again, a parallel trend existed generally among the four different dimensions, suggesting that an underlying correlation exists. This may be attributed to a 'supply' of food security-related events in the world in a given year (e.g., famines, legislation passing, economic downturns, etc.) and it is hypothesized that as the events occurred, media coverage reported each event from several different angles or dimensions. Future research may delve into this hypothesis.

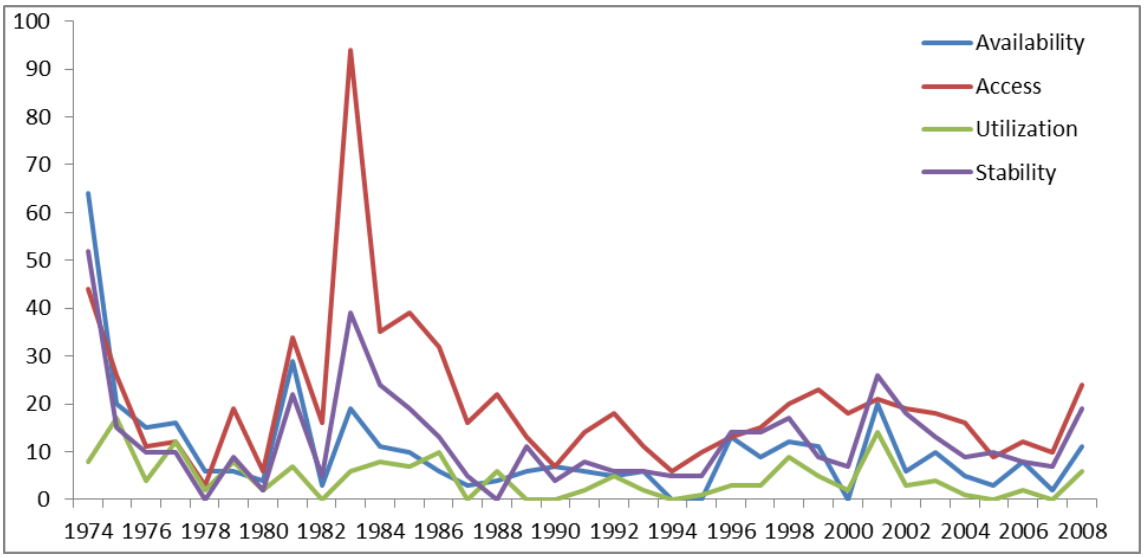

Figure 10. Dimensions of Food Security by Year, 1974-2009

Media discourse of food security primarily framed the issue in terms of access. Except for 1976-1978 and 2001, most articles focused on physical and economic access to food. The spike in all four dimensions in 1983 was an artifact of the number and scope of articles of that year. Because this was a U.S.-centric study, the dimension of utilization was generally the least prevalent aspect of food insecurity in the media. Non-food resources for food security, like food storage or clean water, are less common hindrances to obtaining food security in the U.S. However, nutrition education is also part of the utilization dimension, which might explain how this dimension features in domestic discourse as media documents often covered stories of food security advocates seeking increased funding for expanded nutrition education focus in domestic food security programs.

As the prevailing issue in 1974, the availability – or supply and production – of food, took a downward trend and since 1974 was always less prevalent compared to the access dimension. This parallels the 1974 World Food Summit debates that have branched out from focusing primarily on supporting agricultural production while later World Food Summits broadened goals to also eliminate causes of hunger such as poverty (FAO, 1995, United Nations, 2012). Finally, the trends seen in Figure 10 indicate that as of 2000 through 2009, the changes in dimensions mostly paralleled each other in the positive direction, perhaps indicating a more holistic approach to the issue of food security if all dimensions are discussed in tandem. Another interpretation is that the hierarchy of importance of the dimensions of food security is fixed and media coverage and public attention is set in an established understanding of the issue.

Framing

For the purposes of this study, and following the approach of Baumgartner and Jones (1993), coding for overall framing of the issue of food security was achieved through one question: "Is this article more from the public health or agriculture perspective?" While there are many ways to frame the issues of hunger and food security, these two represent approximate ends of a spectrum of framing, but are not mutually exclusive. For the purposes of this study, and following the approach of Baumgartner and Jones (1993) Public health framing was predominant in every year but 1977. Other exceptions to the trends occurred in 1990 and 1999 where public health framing had a downward trend and agriculture experienced an upward trend.

An inherent bias in this finding is that articles were selected and sampled based on a three term query: hunger, food insecurity, and food security; the most prevalent of the terms, hunger, is necessarily more public health than an agriculture in nature. Still, it is important to note when agriculture is able to rise as a focus of media articles: 1977, 1990, and 1999. If public health organizations are able to frame food security as a health issue, policies will likely incorporate public health research and goals. Alternatively, if entrenched agricultural interests are able to take control of hunger or food insecurity by framing the issue from their perspective, policies may be more aligned with their goals.

Policy Images

The public conceptualization or elements of framing of hunger, food security, and food insecurity were represented by a variety of policy images. Figure 11 shows the prevalence of policy images over the entire 35-year study period.

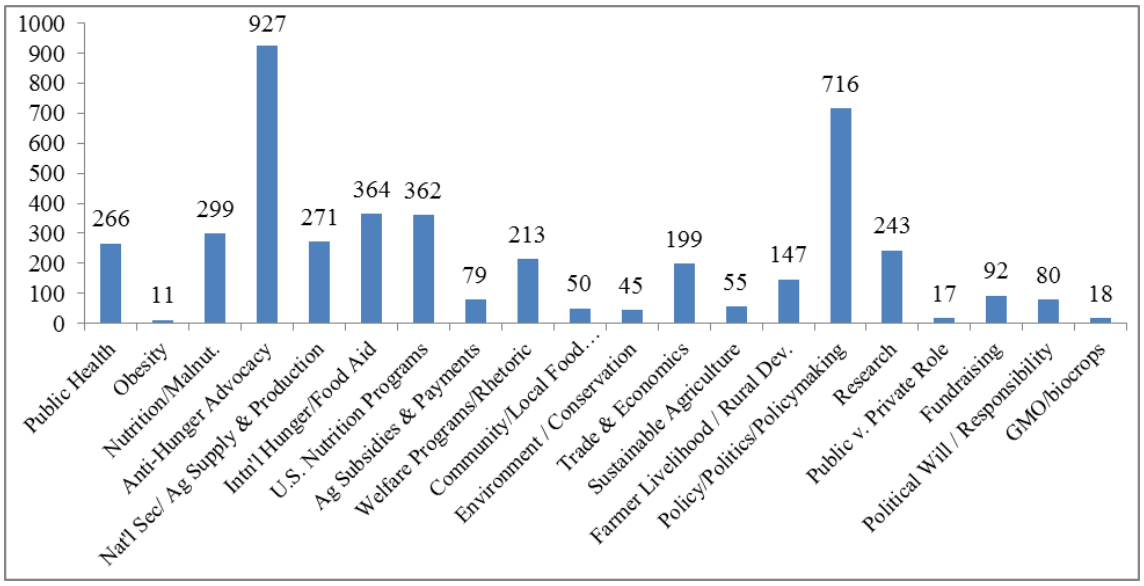

Figure 11. Policy Images from Media Documents, 1974-2009

Overall, articles relating food insecurity or hunger to anti-hunger advocacy and to policy/politics/policymaking were the most prevalent. **Anti-hunger advocacy** represented programs, policies, or individuals aimed at reducing hunger or its causes or effects, which included and was largely captured through articles on soup kitchens or food banks. **Policy/politics/policymaking** referenced the legislative process, outcome, or politicians. While not displayed longitudinally in Figure 11, the data revealed that between 1984-1988, anti-hunger advocacy policy images peaked (discourse measured at 188, the highest of the study), while the highest prevalence for policy/policymaking was in the 1974-1978 five-year increment (discourse measured at 166), trumping even anti-hunger advocacy (discourse measured at 121, 1974-1978).

Not surprisingly, both **international hunger/food aid** and **U.S. nutrition programs** were prominent policy images overall. U.S. nutrition programs were usually imaged by SNAP or the food stamp program, but WIC, The Emergency Food Assistance Program,

and school lunch and breakfast programs also contributed to this imagery. **Obesity** was a much less represented policy image than anticipated. It will be interesting to compare the obesity policy image prevalence in media documents to that from other sources (e.g., academic documents). **Nutrition/malnutrition** was only slightly more visible as a policy image than **national security/agricultural supply and production** – contrasting the two ends of the food system spectrum – the health effects of eating food and the production of food.

The **public versus private role** policy image reflected conversation and debate over the balance between public and private responsibility for the preventing and solving hunger. Public versus private role conceptualization was particularly prevalent during welfare debates in the early 1980s, heavily associated with the Reagan Administration, and also in the early 1990s with discussions about welfare related to the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) under the Clinton Administration. **Political will/responsibility** was coded as a separate policy image representing public petition for greater involvement on the part of political leaders both domestic and international, which again peaked in the 1980s. Media articles in the period of 1984-1988 as well as 1999-2003 included public letters urging policymakers to take action on the issue of hunger and show more political responsibility and allocated funding in response to overburdened soup kitchens and food pantries. During these periods some mention of the changing demographic of the hungry population – from single men to families with children – garnered media attention.

Discourse in 1979-1983 was marked by an increase in **U.S. nutrition program** policy images. This period corresponded with debates between anti-hunger advocates and

Pres. Ronald Reagan in regards to the administration's welfare reforms and budget reconciliation measures. Additional contribution to the trend of increased U.S. nutrition program policy images was a surplus of dairy products which triggered a greater release of commodities to the public in the early and mid-1980s as part of the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP), one of the U.S. safety net nutrition programs. **Welfare programs/rhetoric** mimicked the trends of U.S. nutrition assistance program discourse. An intuitive relationship exists between these two policy images.

National security/agricultural supply and production policy images trended downward from 1974-1988, with very modest recovery in the years since. By this time, most world leaders and leading food and agricultural organizations agreed that the world produced enough food for humanity, despite concerns about rapid population growth. By 1988, major worries about grain reserves and other global food supplies were significantly reduced in media coverage.

Surprisingly, both **agricultural subsidies and payments** and **community/local food security/self-reliance** were essentially flat-lined from 1984 through the 2000s. The expectation was that both these policy images would feature more prominently in recent years than was evidenced through the data. Future research should triangulate media coverage of these sub-topics of food security with other sources (e.g., government documents) and mobilization literature of agricultural interest groups to uncover why there is low representation of these agricultural threads in food security discourse.

Farmer livelihood/rural development, GMOs/biocrops/agricultural technology, sustainable agriculture, environment/conservation, and obesity are not new issues, but from a public health standpoint, they represent fairly nouveau associations with food

insecurity. Figure 12 shows how **obesity**, although an important public health topic, does not emerge in media discourse associated with hunger or food security until the 2000s.

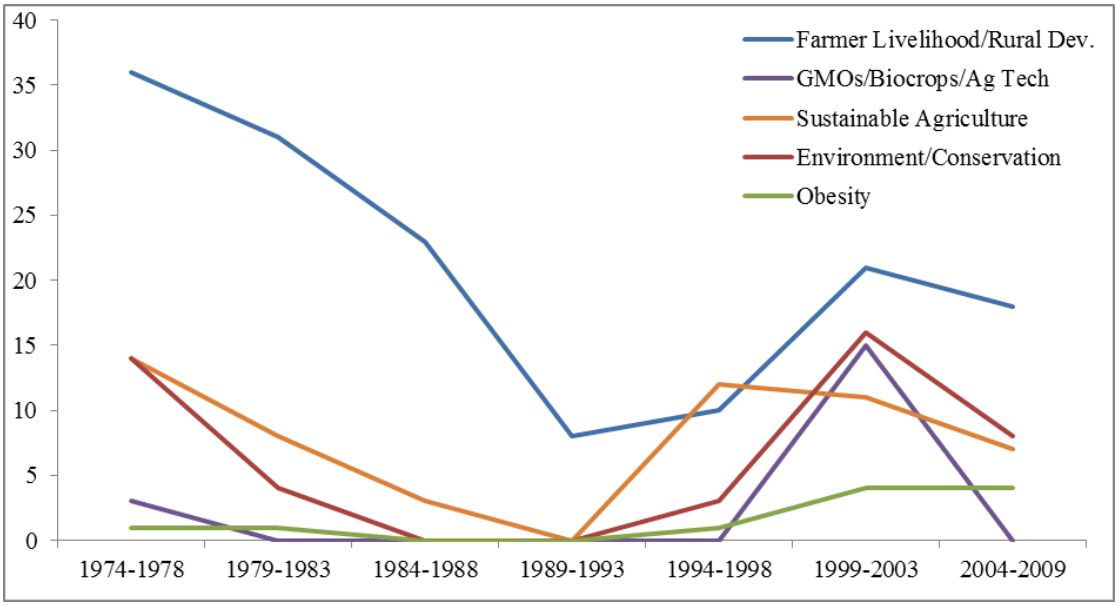

Figure 12. 'New' Policy Images

Sustainable agriculture referred to long-term, renewable approaches and agricultural practices and appears to have emerged earlier than other 'new-to-public-health' policy images (1994-1998). Although 'new' policy images in association with hunger and food security did increase in 1999-2003, **farmer livelihood/rural development** was already a prominent policy image as early as 1974. This might be explained by the relationship between farmer livelihood and the availability food security dimension. The availability of food for both national grain reserves and foreign export was high in the late 1970s due to bumper crops.

It is remarkable that the 1980s did not correspond with increases in farmer livelihood or **environment/ conservation** policy images. The 1985 Farm Bill was heralded as a

pivotal point in federal support of conservation through the Conservation Reserve Program (CRP) and the Highly Erodible Land (HEL), Sodbuster, and Swampbuster provisions (Sptize, 1987). Also in the early 1980s, a farm crisis was cited due to economic downturns and federal agriculture policies that were said to stilt family farmer livelihoods. However, media coverage of these policy images did not increase.

Other analyses of the data reveal a convergence of similar policy images (e.g., sustainable agriculture, farmer livelihood/rural development, environment/conservation, community/local food security/self-reliance, and agricultural subsidies and payments) at comparable levels of media coverage by the 2004-2009 time period rather than one or two dominant policy images rising above the pack. The same positive, parallel trends also exist for public health-related policy images such as international hunger/food aid, research/statistics/scope, and public health. This suggests that as food security discourse evolves, equal weight and coverage is given to the similar but numerous aspects of food security.

Limitations

This study is unique by way of its qualitative, intensive coding of a large number of documents addressing food security. This required use of a non-established coding instrument for conducting document analysis. The validity and credibility of the instrument was addressed by grounding variables in well-tested theoretical approaches, using similar data sources as Baumgartner and Jones (1993), and triangulating data sources to create the instrument. One of the study objectives was to examine the role of public health in the evolution of the issue of food insecurity. However, any under-

representation of agricultural frames or policy images is not due to error in sample selection, rather it is a finding of interest and artifact of the general topical relationships between hunger and public health. Finally, this report is limited in discussion of various mobilization venues and their influence on issue redefinition as theorized by Baumgartner and Jones (1993) because comparison between other subsample documents (academic and congressional) is not shared. However, further research will triangulate media findings with the other subsamples and further contextualize analysis. While this report identified thematic threads in media discourse of food security, the next steps of research need to provide more in-depth historical contextualization and interplay between public discourse and active policy development.

Conclusions

Creating a discourse that will garner public attention and yield effective policy action relies heavily on understanding what the rhetoric of food security conveys, and who is instrumental in developing conceptualizations of the issue. The 35-year findings of this study illustrate what the issue of food insecurity looked like and when it was defined in a certain way. It provides a fundamental premise on which to further explore the larger landscape and invested interests that are instrumental in shaping the issue of food security.

Hunger and food security present an example of the importance of asking the right question and using the right language. When the question is: "How can we prevent people from being hungry?" the answer that best fits will be: "Provide food." But when the question is: "How can we help people achieve food security?" the answer – the

policies – will necessitate solutions that comprehensively address not only hunger, but also examine the system that contributes to food insecure conditions. A multifaceted question requires a comprehensive answer. These findings did not reveal that a more multidimensional conceptualization and definition of food security yet exists. Rather, the data suggests that discourse is not living up to the full potential of embracing all aspects of a full definition of food security.

There is still wiggle room for redefining and re-imaging, and thus financially and politically supporting, specific food security programs of the pending 2013 Farm Bill. Further studies must examine the role of mobilized groups and advocates and policy implications, focusing on previous Farm Bills, and contextualizing these evolutions in food insecurity discourse. This study shows that there is untapped potential in clearly defining, measuring, and making hunger (be it domestic or international) a viable target to which policymakers can dedicate sustained effort and craft comprehensive solutions. In the meantime, it is up to the media and food security advocates to endorse a more clear and comprehensive definition of food security in a way that benefits public health as well as other Farm Bill interests.

CHAPTER 3

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF FOOD SECURITY MOBILIZATION

Abstract

It is generally assumed that public health professionals have a growing influence on food and agricultural policies. This paper provides an historical survey of media coverage to examine the presence and relevance of groups and individuals mobilized on the issue of food security from 1974-2009 and pays particular attention to the mobilization of public health interest groups. The research identifies: 1) the interests that have been instrumental in the development and evolution of food security discourse in the media; 2) the instances when they dominated the discourse; and 3) the types of groups represented. Findings indicate that the number of groups and public attention via the media have not significantly increased nor diversified between 1974 and 2009. Anti-hunger advocacy and service groups form the foundation of non-farm hunger discourse in the media, whereas private/special interest groups, such as agribusiness, retain a low media profile that under-represents their influence and agendas. Public health groups' presence in the media is consistently low throughout the years of the study and suggests missed opportunities to participate more fully in developing comprehensive, explicitly health-focused food security policy. We discuss ways in which public health groups can refine their media presence and move from the margin of mobilization to a more defined, unified leadership role amid the diversity of competing interests and complex agendas driving the issue of food security.

Introduction

Hunger and food insecurity are significant public health problems. Consequences of these conditions include decreased physical and mental health in adults and children (Cook, Frank, Berkowitz et al., 2004; Larson and Story, 2010), is related to overweight and obesity (Bronte-Tinkew et al., 2007; ChildTrends Data Bank, 2013), and results in significant healthcare and productivity costs (ChildTrends Data Bank, 2013). The U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) measures hunger in terms of undernourishment, or dietary energy consumption that is regularly less than minimum energy requirements (FAO, 2008). Food insecurity can be defined as "the lack of access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life" (U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), 2012). This paper examines the issues of hunger and food insecurity using these definitions.

The State of Food Insecurity in the World estimated that in 2010-2012 870 million people worldwide were undernourished, a decrease yet unsatisfactory decline from the all-time high of over one billion hungry people in 2009, most of them women and children in developing countries (FAO, 2012). In the U.S., food insecurity is seen at higher rates among areas of poverty, in households with children, in metropolitan areas, and in the West and South regions of the U.S. (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2012). From 1995 – when the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) first began measuring food insecurity – through 2000, food insecurity rates showed a slight but consistent downward trend (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2012). Ever since the U.S. financial crisis of 2008-2009, food insecurity levels overall have been at their historical highest and remain essentially

unchanged from year to year (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2012). But while the trends suggest stagnancy in eliminating hunger, the discourse surrounding food security suggests subtle but meaningful evolutions. Unfortunately, this more developed discourse on hunger and food insecurity has not managed to eradicate or significantly decrease the status quo of persistent hunger and food insecurity.

This paper points to the evolution in defining this problem as crafted by various interest groups. The rhetoric used to describe food insecurity, food insecure conditions, and hunger has evolved throughout the decades to focus on specific dimensions of the problem: availability, access, utilization, and stability (FAO, 2008). Interest groups espouse and promote specific definitions and aspects of food security in order to convey different meanings to the broader public and policymakers. This study examined the history of food security in order to understand interest group presence and relevance in defining and developing policy on the issue of food insecurity. Has the landscape of food security interest groups changed between 1974 and 2009? What are the effects of these changes in mobilization? In particular, have public health interests been able to create an influential niche in food security mobilization? Interest groups have influence throughout the policymaking process and use the media as a venue to make themselves relevant. As such, this study presents findings of media coverage to measure interest group presence and relevance in food security policymaking from 1974-2009.

Defining the Issue of Hunger: What's In a Name?

Before delving into the interest group landscape that shapes food insecurity policy, it is important to understand how the definition of the issue has evolved. The

definition of hunger has evolved greatly over the years (Eisinger, 1996; Allen, 2007). Eisinger (1996) suggests that hunger has evolved into the concept of food security only after the issue of hunger was first equated with, and subsequently separated from, concepts of malnutrition, poverty, commodity production and reserves, and food insufficiency. In 1974, the U.N.-sponsored World Food Summit, composed of 135 heads of state and 161 non-governmental organizations, defined food security as "the availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices," (FAO, 2003, 27) emphasizing the supply and production end of food security. In 1983, the FAO food security definition shifted focus to *people* having physical and economic access to food, as opposed to institutions or nations (FAO, 2003). The World Bank influenced future definitions to include temporal aspects of chronic versus transitory food insecurity due to their different causes and policy solutions (FAO, 2003).

In 1996, the World Food Summit added the concept of health to the definition with the phrase "access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO, 1996, 1) in order to focus on a more multidimensional approach to livelihood and social security as championed by the economist and philosopher, Amartya Sen (Drèze & Sen, 1991; FAO, 2003). The deliberations of interest groups, government, academic experts, and political entrepreneurs re-conceptualized food insecurity and changed its definition (Allen, 2007) which, in turn, contributes to domestic formations of appropriate policy solutions to food insecurity as typified in the U.S. Farm Bill.

Moving from Issue to Action: The Farm Bill

The Farm Bill is the pinnacle of agriculture and food policy in the United States and is reauthorized roughly every five to seven years in an attempt to encompass the myriad definitions and invested interests associated with food security. First passed in 1933 (P.L. 73-10, 48 Stat. 31), the Farm Bill was originally designed to legislate the support and control of the food and farm economy, in particular, to assure fair prices for farmers. The most recent Farm Bill, or the *Food, Conservation and Energy Act*, was passed in 2008 (P.L. 110-246) and contains 15 titles legislating a variety of issues, including research, conservation, trade, foreign food aid, forestry, and rural development (Johnson & Monke, 2012).

Traditional food insecurity policy solutions in the Farm Bill are based primarily on direct food and nutrition production, procurement and distribution. These programs, along with the farm commodity programs, would cease to operate if the Farm Bill was not renewed, with damaging effects to low income families dependent on food assistance and farms who depend on agricultural subsidies. Although this legislation is commonly known as the "Farm" or "Agriculture Bill," the largest expenditure of the Farm Bill is devoted to the Nutrition Title (Title IV) which includes the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly the Food Stamp Program. SNAP, along with other emergency food and food distribution programs such as the Commodity Supplemental Food Program (CSFP) and The Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP), utilized 67% ($406 billion) of the most recent 2008 Farm Bill budget (Johnson & Monke, 2012). Agricultural programs are rarely held in financial hostage by the large Nutrition Title;

however, the issue of nutrition spending is always heavily debated by both public health and anti-hunger advocates as well as agricultural interest groups (Johnson & Monke, 2012).

Actors Behind the Action

Food security is a long-standing, multidimensional issue that garners diverse interests, from agriculture to public health to environmental interest groups, each with their own agenda. The agricultural industry seeks policies that encourage a demand for seeds (most often biotech seeds), fertilizers, and pesticides. Organic groups seek policies that pursue more research on pesticides and crop breeding that affect specialty crops. Anti-hunger groups seek policies that increase and sustain funding for federal emergency and non-emergency nutrition programs and support non-governmental emergency food efforts. In short, groups focused on conservation, agricultural payments, foreign food aid, trade and commodities, rural development, and hunger alleviation deliberate on the penultimate formation of the omnibus Farm Bill, each with varying degrees of influence and financial input during the policymaking process (Food & Water Watch, 2012).

Agriculture, a dominant issue of the farm bills, is renowned for its iron triangles or policy subsystems – policy monopolies composed of powerful experts and actors who typically enjoy privileged access to the policy process (Berry, 1982). Organizations whose agendas might not survive the negotiations individually link themselves with more powerful interest groups and farm and food issues with greater policy influence and resources, creating "curious, strange-bedfellows" coalitions (Berry, 1982; Johnson & Monke, 2012; Food & Water Watch, 2012). For example, in 2008, small scale challenges

to the food security policy status quo were introduced and passed in the House by an alliance between right-leaning conservative taxpayer groups aiming to reduce excessive government spending and left-leaning environmental groups aiming to reduce agrochemical-dependence of commodity program farming (Food & Water Watch, 2012). Another example of seemingly incongruous partnering is that of Wal-Mart Stores, Inc. and Growing Power, Inc., a non-profit dedicated to helping communities build sustainable, equitable food systems, which alliance is driven by the need for financial contributions and desired growth in operations (Fisher, 2011). Such unlikely coalitions and partnerships have been traditionally effective ways to combine differing interests, such as agricultural and urban interests, within the Farm Bills (Berry, 1982).

The broad range of special interest groups who have a stake in the Farm Bill creates a diverse and often unusual mélange of partnerships and coalitions during congressional debate. Historically, congressional members of farm industry-heavy states have found willing partners in urban representatives who trade votes for support of food security programs like SNAP (Bammi, 1981; Berry, 1982). Funding and policy changes are dependent on the successful mobilization of various groups in promulgating their niche interests, defining their issues, seeking out appropriate policy venues, and thus producing their desired legislation (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Stone, 2002). The presence of interest groups in the complex and diversified policy process is related to their relevance in policymaking and as such deserves to be examined in greater detail.

Theoretical Foundations

There is a rich body of research on the origins, maintenance, categorization, role and influence of interest groups in U.S. policymaking. Interest group literature proposes that once interest groups emerge, they form niches of policy expertise (Lowi, 1964; Bosso, 2005). Their *raison d'etre* and ability to survive is dependent upon their ability to create and promote a specialized aspect of an issue (Bosso, 2005). Lowi (1964) and Walker (1983) elucidated the origins, maintenance, and categorized issue areas of organized groups. Niche groups differ in their access to, influence on, and power relationships within the political process (Schattschneider, 1975; Walker, 1983). Walker (1983) found that in the public policy areas of education, mass transportation, and environmental protection, new groups emerge as a *consequence of* rather than as prelude to legislation. In a response to the complicated nature of issues and their policy, more interest groups emerge to address different facets of an issue.

Specialized interest groups influence policymaking through agenda setting and issue development (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Kingdon, 2003). Indeed, a central concern of research on interest groups should focus on the intersection of mobilization and government action, or the formal political agenda in which policy networks pursue issue definitions during congressional debate (Lowi, 1964; Schattschneider, 1975; Leech et al., 2002). Before interest groups can promote their specific issue definitions in a formal political arena, the public stage is a first testing ground (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Baumgartner & Jones, 1993).

Baumgartner and Jones (1993) and many others (e.g., McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Hays & Glick, 1997) point to public media as a material part of the policy making

process and a way in which interest groups make themselves relevant. Policymakers can use the media to learn constituent preferences and as a mouthpiece to further their own political interests (Cook, 1989; Herbst, 1996; Kedrowski, 1996; Cooper & Johnson, 2007). But the media also acts as a mouthpiece for public interest groups and the general public (Graber, 2002). Studies have found that national media is a contributor to and measure of public salience for policy issues (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Schlag, 2001; Kingdon, 2003), and can be instrumental in public health promotion and stronger public health legislation (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001; Apollonio et al., 2007). For example, Holder and Treno (1997) found that increased media mobilization and media framing directed public attention to specific prevention components of alcohol abuse, making media advocacy a more effective public health tool than paid public information campaigns on alcohol issue awareness.

We contend that groups or advocates who do not exhibit media presence are not as politically relevant as groups that receive media attention. In their studies, Baumgartner and Jones (1993) focused primarily on two dimensions of media coverage – attention and tone. They selected issues (e.g. tobacco, pesticides) in the public media and noted the change in coverage (attention), coded for positive or negative tone, and identified a limited number (usually three) of policy images or "topical foci," associated with each article, and tracked these over time. Employing the approach and methods of Baumgartner and Jones (1993) significant indicators of issue saliency and interest group presence in media coverage such as policy images, framing, and venue are measured. The purpose of this study is to identify how and when the landscape of food security interest

groups changed between 1974 and 2009. In particular, we examine whether public health interests have become more or less relevant in food security media discourse.

Methods

Selection of Study Time Period: 1974-2009

The 1970s represent a significant origin of major institutions and policy changes relating to food security (Food and Nutrition Service USDA website 7/12/2012, FRAC.org, 2010). Worldwide consciousness of food prices, food cultivation and preparation, nutritional concerns, and food culture issues increased with platforms such as the first U.N.-sponsored World Food Summit in 1974 and the FAO-founded World Food Day in 1979. At the same time food system literature, informed by writers like Wendell Berry and Francis Moore Lappé (Pollan, 2010) seemed to spur the beginnings of a "food movement" attached to the ideas of sustainability, local "ecosystems" of connectedness between food producers and consumers, and grassroots activism. In the 1977 Farm Bill, food stamps evolved from a provisional and pilot program to permanent nationwide entitlement program, creating increased access to food security assistance in U.S. policy (Berry, 1982; National Agricultural Law Center, 2003). Previous Farm Bills also did not include a nutrition-, food stamp-, or food-specific title until the 1977 Farm Bill (National Agricultural Law Center, 2003). The USDA acknowledged the 1970s as a new era that refocused food insecurity policy responses from problems of under-consumption and under-nutrition to new challenges related to diet quality, health promotion, and overall well-being (USDA, 2001). In response, the U.S. Senate Select

Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs issued the *Dietary Goals for the United States* in 1977 along that vein. In order to capture the flourishing of public interest and precursors to important Farm Bill changes in 1977, we selected 1974 as a starting point to examine food security. The endpoint for the study is 2009 which is one year after the latest Farm Bill was passed. We do not address debates and discussions associated with the 2013 Farm Bill as these dialogues are still underway and changing as of this writing.

Sample Selection: Media Documents

Media documents for the period between 1974 and 2009 were obtained through two sources: *The New York Times* (1951-present) via Proquest Historical Newspapers and LexisNexis Congressional Political News. The latter source provides political perspective and news from *The Hill* (1995-present), *Roll Call* (1989-present), and *The Washington Post* (1977-present) as part of their database; the former provides national coverage of politics, society and events of the time, and is a commonly used media-based measure of public attention in social science research (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Epstein & Segal, 2000; Ripberger, 2011). We conducted a query for articles in these data sources for "food security," "food insecurity" or "hunger" in the headline between January 1, 1974 (or the earliest each database accommodates) and December 31, 2009. The total subsample of media documents was n=1,026 for the study period.

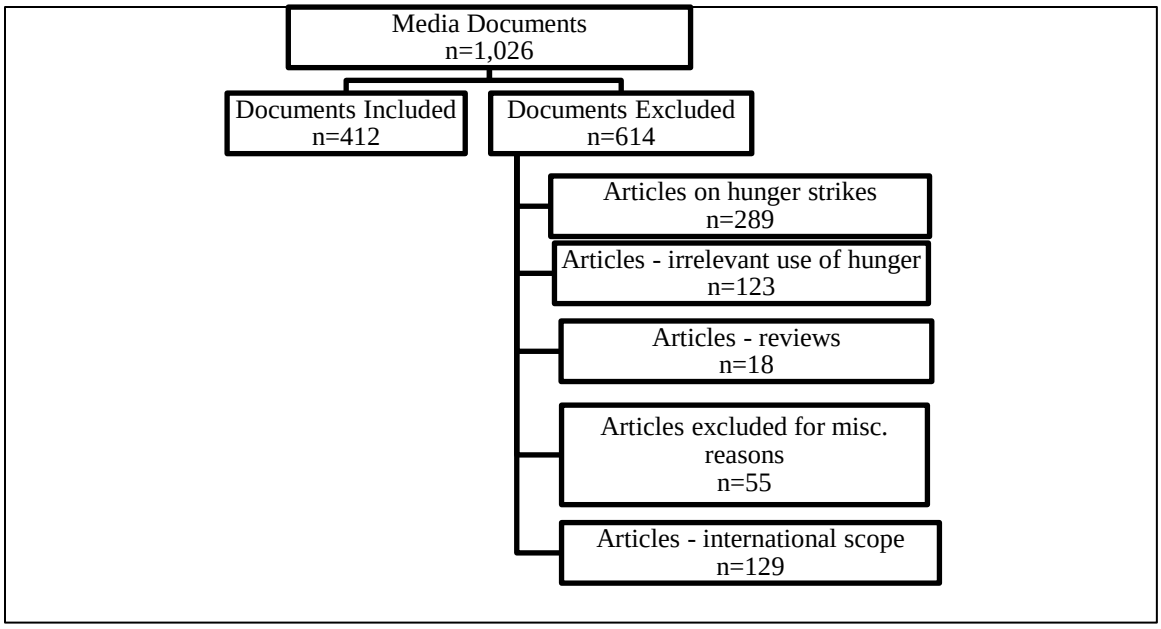

Figure 13. Flowchart of Inclusion/Exclusion of Media Documents

There were 614 articles that were excluded primarily based on context or relevance (Figure 13); 47% were articles on hunger strikes and therefore not relevant to the study, 20% were excluded due to irrelevant use of the word "hunger" such as "hunger for championship medal," 9% were reviews (e.g., book, film, restaurant reviews) and 3% were excluded for various other reasons (e.g., article referred to a prescription drug designed to reduce hunger, format was a bibliography or photo caption, etc.). Twenty-one percent of excluded articles (n=129) were excluded from full coding despite being relevant to the study topic as these articles were about hunger and food insecurity but were solely international in scope (e.g., focusing only on Cambodian refugees and famine). These articles focused on one, or a few, foreign countries and not the worldwide context of hunger. This subset was included and taken into account for parts of the analysis.

The remaining 412 media articles were each re-read for conceptual content analysis via a coding instrument designed to extract the definitions, policy images, framing, and interest groups of food insecurity.

Content Analysis

The lead author and one research assistant conducted the coding for conceptual content analysis. The coding instrument, codebook, and instructions were designed by the lead author and served as a guide to extrapolate the content from congressional, media, academic, and legislative documents.[4] The variables were grounded in the theoretical approaches of Baumgartner and Jones (1993). Predetermined policy images, or public and policy expert understanding of a public policy problem, included: public health, obesity, nutrition/malnutrition, anti-hunger advocacy, food production and supply, international hunger/food aid, food assistance programs, agriculture subsidies and payments, community- and local-food security, environment and conservation, trade and economics, farmer livelihood, and politics/policymaking. The inductive process of coding allowed for additional policy images and iterative developments to be identified and added to the coding process: research, political will and responsibility, development, biocrops/genetically modified organisms, and fundraising. Developments were discussed by the researchers and added to the coding instrument and then re-applied to the entire sample. The inter-rater reliability between primary researcher and research assistant was calculated at 73% based on double-coding a random selection of 10% of the media articles (n=103), with the majority of differences occurring as a matter of degree within

[4] A sample of the codebook and coding instrument can be made available online upon request to the lead author.

each item (e.g., primary, secondary, partly, none), not the outright absence or presence of a concept. When outright disagreement on items, not degree, was calculated, the inter-rater reliability was 92%.

To assess mobilization, primary organizations or interest groups and individuals were coded for: name; top three associated policy images; tone as either positive or negative; issue or interest area based on predominant issues generally associated with food security (agriculture, public health/health, anti-hunger/food security, other), and type based loosely on Walker's (1983) typology of associations (government/international organization, private/special interest group, public/non-profit group, individual (listing organization and/or state and party if a political representative)) (See Table 1, p. 83).

A maximum of ten primary groups or individuals were identified per document and fully coded for tone, type, interest area, and policy image. Secondary groups and individuals were recorded by name only and included in the final count of groups/individuals mobilized per document. Analysis was organized by year to track the evolution of discourse and mobilization over time.

Findings

The findings indicated a great deal of variation in media attention and mobilization. The number of groups mobilized and the amount of public attention via the media increased slightly but did not diversify between 1974 and 2009. Even though the discourse surrounding food security has changed, the same groups remained central to creating food insecurity discourse. Anti-hunger groups persisted as the most visibly

mobilized and predominant players in U.S. media discourse of food insecurity between 1974 and 2009. Emergency food distribution organizations involved in fundraising efforts were highly mobilized in the 1980s. Local food pantries and soup kitchens, musicians, political individuals critical of U.S. nutrition and food security programs, Pres. Reagan, Rep. Mickey Leland (D-TX), the House Select Committee on Hunger, and the USDA and U.N. organizations established prominent presence in food security media discourse. In this historical analysis, important groups, particularly public health groups and professionals, remained at the fringe of food security discourse.

Figure 14 provides visualization of changes in mobilization over time, with mobilization indicating the number of organizations and individuals present in media coverage, not necessarily their power, influence or level of engagement. The overall trend was a slow and steady growth in interest groups and individual mobilization. In absolute numbers, the early 1980s represented the highest numbers of all groups/individuals engaged in food security media discourse. This period also indicated the most consistent, sustained coverage of the issue. The lowest overall levels of media coverage in the sample occurred in 1980 and 2005 when there were only three articles and four articles, respectively. The highest peaks in mobilization (taking into account levels of media coverage/year) occurred in 1994, 1997, and 2003, with 2009 paving the way for continued increases. There was no indication that years when the Farm Bill was passed (1977, 1981, 1985, 1990, 1996, 2002, and 2008) exhibited any consistent or significant rise in media attention or mobilization.

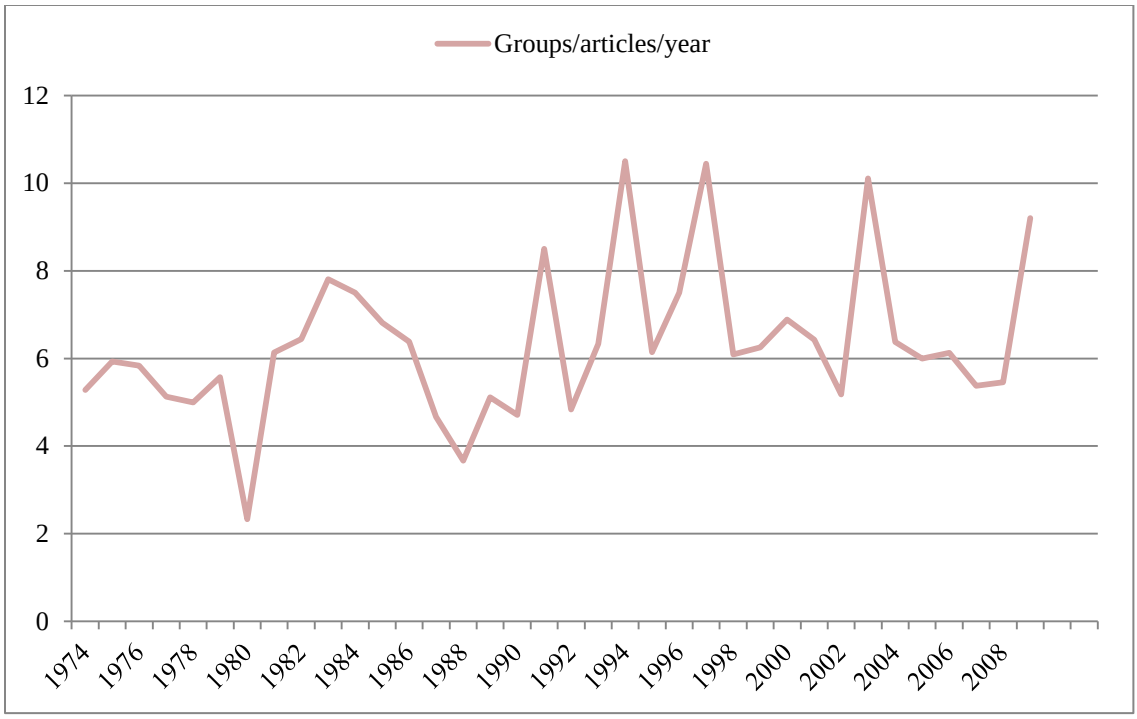

Figure 14. Mobilization: Number of groups and individuals per number of articles per year

Table 1 provides an example of the findings and classification used for coding mobilization using actual data. As an interest group's agenda and position in media coverage can change, identifying an interest group or advocate as distinctly either public health or anti-hunger in nature sometimes required fluidity based on an article's content. To further direct correct classification, the history and purpose of groups were explored through their organizational websites and publications. (Note: Table 1 is not a complete list of all actors identified and discussed. Many other individuals featured frequently in the historical survey of food security mobilization, but are not specifically noted in Table 1.)

Table 1. Examples of Group and Individual Mobilization by Issue Area and Type

Groups / Individuals	*Agriculture*	*Public Health*	*Anti-hunger / Food Security*	*Other*
Government /International Organizations	-USDA -FAO -Senate Agriculture Committee	-USDA-Food and Nutrition Service (FNS)	-U.N. World Food Program -House Select Committee on Hunger	-World Bank -House Older Americans Caucus
Political Individuals	-Earl Butz, Sec. of Agriculture -Henry Kissinger, Sec. of State	-Dr. Jean Mayer, Chair, White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health	-Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH) -Tom Vilsack, Sec. of Agriculture	Edwin Meese 3rd, Counselor to Pres. Reagan
Individuals	-Dr. Norman Bourlag, agronomist, 'father of the Green Revolution'	-Dr. Howard Spivak, Boston City Hospital	-Dr. J. Larry Brown, Physician Task Force on Hunger in America -Donna Lawrence, Dir. of Food and Hunger Hotline -Joel Berg, NYC Coalition Against Hunger	-Dr. Amartya Sen, economist -Lester Brown, Overseas Development Council
Private/Special Interest Groups	-Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association -Monsanto Co. -International Rice Research Institute	-GROW Clinic		-Ford Foundation -Mathematica Policy Research -Grocery Manufacturers Association of America
Public/Non-profit Groups	-Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) -Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP)	-Doctors Without Borders -Physician Task Force on Hunger in America	-Food Research and Action Center (FRAC) -Food Patch (People Allied to Combat Hunger) -Community Food Bank of New Jersey	-National Council of Churches -Partners for the Homeless

Note: Not a complete list of all actors identified and discussed.

Figure 15 provides a breakdown of groups and individuals by sector or type (government/international organizations, political entrepreneurs, private/special interest groups, public/nonprofit interest groups, and other individuals) and shows when these sectors dominated food security discourse during the period of 1974-2009. Because of the volume of data, trends were more visible when data was organized by 5-year intervals with the year 2009 added onto the last 5-year increment.

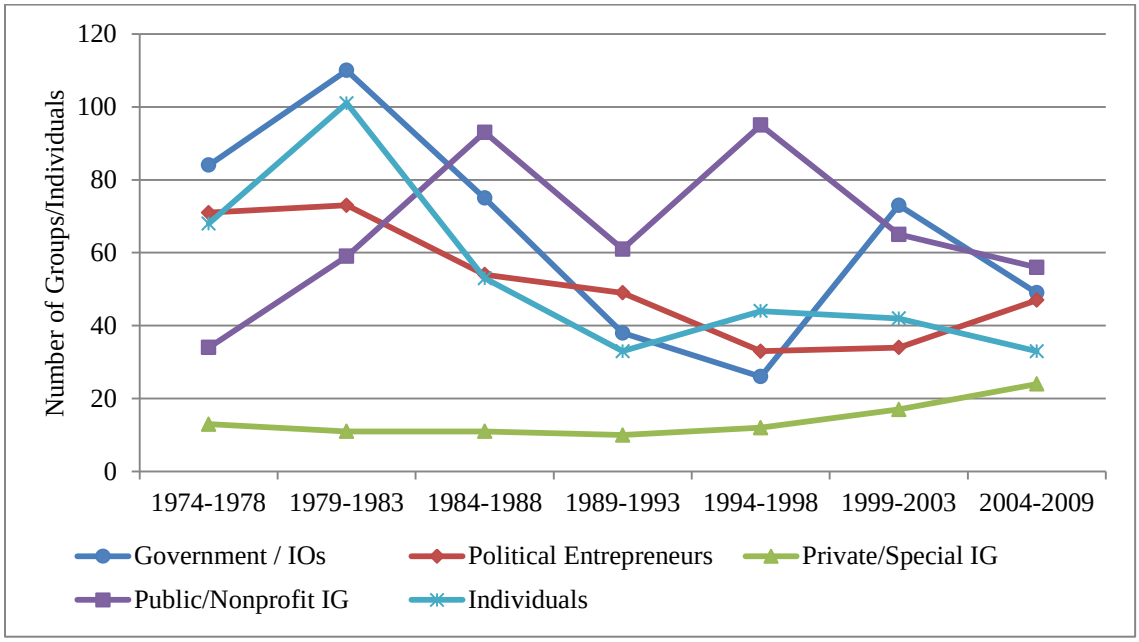

Figure 15. Mobilization by Group Type/Sector by 5-year Increment, 1974-2009

In the early years of the study period, government and political organizations held a strong presence in food security media coverage with policymaking as the most prevalently associated policy image. While the dominance of government groups in particular has declined since the 1970s, there was a greater equity of distribution across the different types of groups, with a converging trend in the mid-2000s. Since 2007, the

honing of all sectors – government, private/special interest, public/nonprofit, and individual advocates – might be indicative of a consolidation of goals, partnership, and coalition building between sectors. This data did not explore the direction, goals, cooperation or depth of specific groups or level of engagement on the issue of food security. Yet, the convergent trajectory points to a more cohesive, targeted, collaborative landscape of food security mobilization.

Private and Public Groups

Of primary groups coded in these articles, no single private/special interest group stood out during the 35 years of the study. Most were mentioned no more than a few times as a primary source in the media data. Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), Kraft Food Inc., International Rice Research Institute, and Mathematica Policy Research were mentioned in two to three articles each, but no single private organization could be considered a leader in food insecurity discourse. Most private/special interest groups were associated with research and funding policy images.

In the prolific public/non-profit sector, numerous individuals who founded or managed soup kitchens and food banks, most of them religiously affiliated made up significant counts of both primary and secondary groups/individuals. These groups were prevalent throughout the study period as the mainstay of food security discourse, with particular strength in mobilization in the 1980s. America's Second Harvest, Community Food Bank and Center for Food Action in the New Jersey and New York region were leading entrepreneurs in mobilization. Other domestically-focused, mobilized groups

included: Food Research and Action Center (FRAC), Share Our Strength, Salvation Army, Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, and Food-Patch (People Allied to Combat Hunger). International non-profit groups such as Bread for the World, CARE, Catholic Relief Services, PeaceCorps, World Vision, USA for Africa, The Hunger Project and Oxfam were also prominent contributors. International non-profit groups were most often associated with the following policy images: anti-hunger advocacy, development, international hunger assistance/food aid, nutrition, public health, and policy development or international goals development.

Presence of Government/Political Actors

Among government agencies, the USDA and the U.N. FAO were by far the most mentioned groups, as well as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Domestic government and international organizations were grouped together because of their policy-making influence. All U.S. presidents during the study period (1974-2009) were key political players, with President Reagan and his administration receiving the most media coverage and President Obama the least, reflective of his short time in office during the study period. The non-partisan U.S. Conference of Mayors was also highly mobilized, particularly in 1983 when its Task Force on Hunger and Homelessness was founded; the Conference perpetuates its presence via continuous efforts to document the growth and use of emergency food providers at the state-level (Eisinger, 1996). President Reagan's Task Force on Food Assistance and the U.N. General Assembly were also among the most mobilized groups covered in media. The House Agriculture Committee was mentioned more than its Senate counterpart, while the special subcommittees of

House Select Committee on Hunger and Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs played important roles in discourse, attention, and mobilization.

Most notable of all government individuals was, perhaps, the proliferation of coverage in both political and public media of Rep. Mickey Leland (D-TX) and the House Select Committee on Hunger. The maintenance of this select congressional committee from 1983 to its expiration in 1993 and the leadership and advocacy provided by Rep. Leland was remarkable in media food security discourse. This historical study followed how Leland founded a legacy by: consistently holding hearings to raise political and public awareness of international starvation, particularly the Ethiopian famines (Dunn, 1985); addressing domestic hunger in rural areas like Appalachia and demanding more congressional attention for vulnerable populations; his death while on a hunger relief mission to Ethiopia in 1989 (Oreskes, 1989); and finally, constant reminders of his pragmatic devotion continued via establishment of a Senate Hunger Caucus in 2004 and memorials to his name (Congressional Hunger Center, 2013). The mission and mobilization of the House Select Committee on Hunger continues today via the bipartisan non-profit Congressional Hunger Center, founded in 1993.

Mobilization by Issue Area

Figure 16 provides a breakdown of groups and individuals as classified by issue area (anti-hunger/food security, public health/health, agriculture) and shows when these groups dominated food security discourse during the 1974-2009 period.

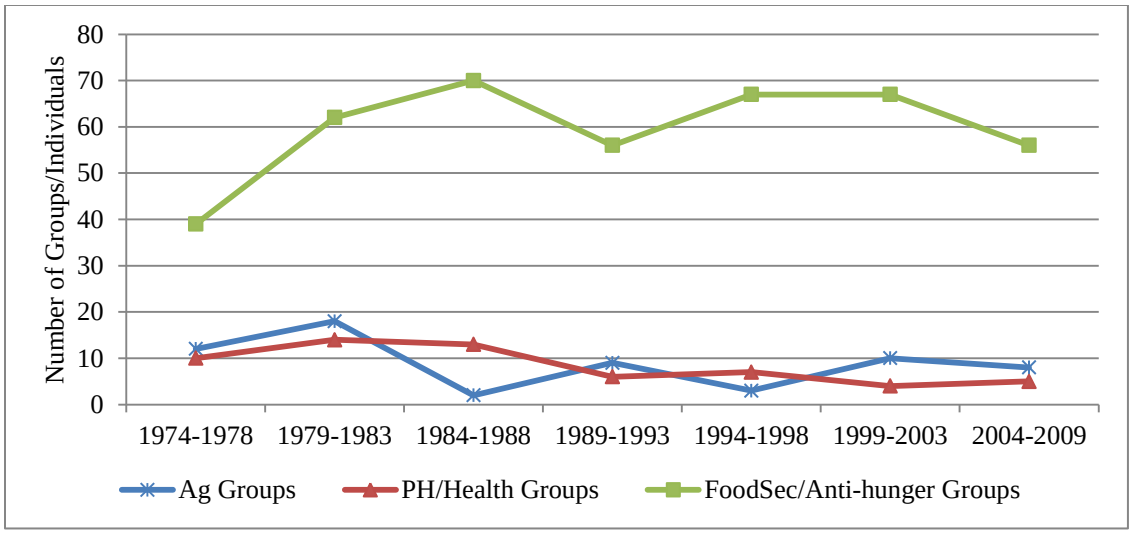

Figure 16. Mobilization by Issue Area by 5-year Increment, 1974-2009

Over the 35-year period, the trends did not consistently show an increased mobilization of any particular issue area, thus giving no support to a diversification hypothesis. The data showed a negative mobilization trend for public health/health groups over time; whether public health groups missed opportunities to rise above the fray or whether it was lack of real growth by these groups was not clear from the data, but they remained peripheral in shaping the media landscape of food security.

Anti-hunger and food security groups were the most visibly mobilized groups and received up to four times more media and public attention than public health groups, even in recent years. Anti-hunger groups might be considered a subset of public health interest groups, with goals to improve the health of particular populations. Still, many of the groups identified in the study were hunger-specific (e.g., Westchester Coalition of Food Pantries and Soup Kitchens, Mazon: A Jewish Response to Hunger, and Share Our Strength). Analysis distinguished between broader health and well-being interest groups

and groups whose objectives were hunger-specific or more distant from traditional "public health" organizations based on policy images and organizational goals. The majority of anti-hunger issue area mobilization was established through soup kitchen and food bank media presence as these groups addressed both the scope of the problem and solutions to reducing hunger.

Findings also revealed that musicians were highly visible and mobilized advocates for anti-hunger fundraising in the 1980s, particularly with the 1985 Live Aid concert and growth of the World Hunger Year (now WhyHunger) non-profit organization (Fussell, 1979). Farm Aid concerts also began in 1985 and these two parallel concerts portrayed the division between farm and non-farm issues as distinct issues for mobilization both under the same food security umbrella (Farm Aid, 2010; Associated Press, 1985).

Agricultural mobilization did not establish a prominent presence in food security media discourse. However, government and political agricultural voices were more present in the late 1970s and early 1980s, while in the 2000s agricultural mobilization was usually in the form of private, for-profit organizations. Research institutions (e.g., the International Rice Research Institute and university agricultural research centers) also provided an agricultural slant to the 35-year food security scene by focusing on agricultural production, safety, and development.

It is assumed and taken for granted, rather than substantiated, that "a growing coalition of public health professionals is advocating for food and agriculture policies that promote public health" (Muller et al. 2009, 226). Even with the low-lying mobilization of agricultural organizations, public health interest group mobilization was consistently

lower than agricultural mobilization with the exception of the 1984-1988 and 1994-1998 periods as measured by presence in media documents. Public health groups were present and thus mobilized throughout the study period, but this study did not find that these groups visibly increased in number or scope between 1974 and 2009. During both time periods, public health organizations used their research expertise to define the problem of hunger with numbers from the Physician Task Force on Hunger in America in 1985 and the 1995 government study of hunger by the USDA and Census Bureau (Nestle, 1999; Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, 1985). Public health and anti-hunger groups mobilized to share this information with the media and lawmakers. These upticks of public health influences were evident in the study data. However, quantifying and defining social problems – either at the micro-level or population level – were insufficient actions to sustain a media or policy presence (Muller et al., 2009).

Other peaks in public health media mobilization occurred when joint advances against White House Administrations unified public health with anti-hunger advocates. Both before and after the 1996 Farm Bill was passed, various groups (e.g., the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, American Dietetics Association) circulated conflicting reports on the magnitude of food insecurity contending that 96% of Americans "had enough to eat" and citing the more significant national nutritional problem as obesity (Koch, 2000). Meanwhile various other organizations (e.g., FRAC, U.S. Conference of Mayors, America's Second Harvest) warned of deplorable, increasing hunger in the U.S. public health groups then paired with anti-hunger advocates to respond to seemingly apathetic, ambivalent, and strict responses to hunger by the White House between 1994 and 1998. These groups relied heavily on political entrepreneurs such as

Rep. Bill Emerson (R-MO) and Rep. Mickey Leland (D-TX) to address welfare system changes and resulting emergency food assistance measures. However, as the data trends indicated, public health presence or engagement in these issues was not sustained long after 1998.

Cross-analyzing data in Figures 15 and 16 compared trends between various sectors/types and issue areas. The trend for mobilization of agriculture groups was opposite that of public/nonprofit interest groups. Anti-hunger/food security group mobilization trends paralleled public/nonprofit interest groups. This is perhaps indicative of the nature of agricultural groups which tend to be for-profit.

The longitudinal data highlighted two time periods of particular interest: 1984-1988 and 1994-1998. These two time periods coincided with a change in mobilization between public health/health and agricultural interest groups; a trade-off also occurred where a preceding or concurrent decline in government mobilization coincided with a rise in public/non-profit group mobilization. Both time periods were also associated with increased policy images of welfare debate and general public debate and concern over the balance between government and private sector contributions to issues of hunger and food security and a public call for greater political will and responsibility for solutions to these problems (Woodside, 1983; Corry, 1987). The documents of 1984-1988 and 1994-1998 focused on the complex welfare system, concepts of dependence, and over-extension of government into social programs, which prompted public reaction, media coverage, and subsequent mobilization by invested groups of both government and public interest sectors.

Limitations

The findings here represent only a portion of the qualitative and quantitative substance of the entire study. Media documents were selected as a subsample for this analysis which does not include comparison between other academic and congressional document subsamples thus limiting discussion of various mobilization venues and their influence on the policymaking process. Triangulation of data sources in further studies may illuminate more *political* mobilization and relevance of interest groups in shaping food security discourse and policy. Additionally, the sources used (e.g. *The New York Times*) may not be the best media venue for particular interests, for example, rural interests. Regional newspapers such as *The Des Moines Register* might more aptly provide coverage for agricultural interests. This analysis also did not control for competing media attention. The coverage of food security as an issue was not compared to other topical coverage and is thus a limitation of this data. The findings indicated a variation in presence of interest groups and individuals in food security media discourse; as such the relevance of these groups to food security policymaking is also varied. This study anticipated that between 1974 and 2009 mobilization on the issues of food security and hunger would expand in both quantity and scope. While the data does provide evidence of mobilization in general, the growth overall was slow through 2009.

Discussion

The Foundation of Food Security Mobilization: Anti-Hunger Advocates

Anti-hunger groups have established their relevance and niche in addressing both food insecurity and food security. For over 30 years, these groups successfully captured media attention and were central mobilizers in the formation of food insecurity discourse in the media. This study highlighted the work of anti-hunger groups partnering with Congress and political entrepreneurs such as Sen. George McGovern (D-SD), Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH) and the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and House Select Committee on Hunger to show political commitment to hunger-alleviation (Koch et al., 2000). The data from the early 1980s were a clear example of when public interest food security and anti-hunger activists effectively shaped non-farm hunger discourse and were the mainstay of mobilization. Historically, public interest groups play insignificant roles in farm-related programming, and are most effective lobbying on non-farm issues (Berry, 1982). However, this study did show that non-agricultural public interest groups have begun to creep into agricultural territory by increasingly espousing policy images of rural development, agricultural subsidies, farmer-to-consumer marketing, and the like. This may be reflective of a continued strategy of partnering with "strange bedfellows" (Berry, 1982) for political gain.

Few punctuations of the established prominence and even less reversals of mobilization existed between anti-hunger, agricultural, and public health groups during the 1974-2009 period. Anti-hunger groups have preserved the status quo as the natural leaders of food security media discourse. Perhaps the necessary integration and mutual

dependence of multiple sectors and issue areas in food security solutions is no greater, or at least no more visible, today than it was thirty years ago – leaving mobilization in a holding pattern.

Where Was Agricultural Mobilization?

In food security, private special interest groups, such as agribusiness, generally champion a powerful prestige and influence and have the finances to make their agendas known in the informal and formal circuits of policymaking (Berry, 1982). The low-laying presence of private sector/special, mostly agricultural, interest groups in food security media may be indicative of either more subtle, alternative, behind the scenes strategies of mobilization or an actual lesser degree of engagement by these groups on the issues of hunger and food security; the former seems more plausible. Food & Water Watch (2012) reported that agribusiness and private special interest groups spent $173.5 million in lobbying expenditures leading up to the most recent 2008 Farm Bill reauthorization. In 2008, $32,986,576 was made in Congressional and committee contributions by agriculture-specific businesses (National Institute on Money in State Politics, 2013). Agricultural organizations have a clear agenda made available and palatable to policymakers; however, their agenda is less visible to the public as this study found agricultural interest group mobilization always one third or less than that of anti-hunger interest groups. Another possible explanation for low agricultural media presence in this study's sources (e.g., *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*) is that agribusiness focuses on agriculturally-friendly media outlets, such as *The Des Moines Register* or *Kansas City Star,* for media attention. With readers, political influence, and business in

those areas more suited and suitable to the aims of agribusiness, agricultural interests may be more mobilized and visible in less-nationalized, region-specific, rural media venues. Agriculture has remained relevant and successful in spite of low national media visibility, perhaps because their influence and use of alternative political resources, media outlets, and tools can circumvent national media as a pathway to policymaking; they may more directly target policymaking officials for the benefit of farmers and agribusiness.

Where Was Public Health Mobilization?

Public health interest groups have remained on the periphery of food security media discourse. The policy images associated uniquely with public health groups and advocates in the media usually concentrated on micro-nutrition in children, international health and humanitarian crises, or elderly/aging healthcare. During peak years of public health mobilization (e.g., early 1980s), public health media presence was rarely uncoupled with policy images of welfare, poverty, and nutrition safety net program (food stamp) reforms, suggesting that public health mobilization lacked a public health-specific media message. Frequently, public health groups mobilized on immediate and present dangers of severe child malnutrition both abroad and domestically. However, focusing on narrow micro-nutrition objectives or strictly anti-hunger initiatives misses the full potential of a public health approach. While public health groups had a role and voice in addressing nutrition, food *insecurity* and hunger, anti-hunger organizations exhibited a greater willingness to adopt policy images outside the immediate realm of strictly anti-hunger approaches (e.g., job creation) and broaden their scope to address food *security* in a comprehensive manner. Public health mobilization has not grown in the past 30 years.

Their niche in food security discourse is secure but has unfortunately relegated their relevance below the echelons of leadership on the issue.

Why is Public Health at the Periphery?

This paper examined the presence and relevance of groups in media coverage of food security. We contend that if a group does not receive attention in the media, its political relevance is not as great as that of a group that receives media attention. We were particularly interested in finding out if public health professionals were at the center or periphery of public and political debates surrounding food security. We can speculate as to the reasons why public health remains at the margin of the mobilized. First, the issue of food security is a complex one that requires a comprehensive solution; it goes beyond eliminating hunger in the short term. The complexity of achieving food security may lend to ambiguous approaches to both discourse and policy. Much like the urban problem in the 1960s (c.f. Baumgartner and Jones, 1993, 242), achieving comprehensive policies addressing food insecurity and hunger is elusive, where government solutions sometimes cannot address the entirety of the problem. Interest groups focused on narrow policy objectives (e.g., hunger, low wages, food deserts, SNAP benefits, nutrition of school meals) that addressed only a piece of the pie rather than the mammoth, systemic problem of food insecurity (Baumgartner & Jones 1993, 242; Muller et al., 2009).

Second, public health interest groups have not had the money to compete with agricultural interest groups who have consistently flexed their financial muscle and influence with policymakers. Agriculture and nutrition are often seen (sometimes erroneously) as the two sides of a Farm Bill or food system coin with diametrically

opposed goals (Pollan, 2013; Food & Water Watch and Public Health Institute, 2011), although they rest under the same food security umbrella. History has demonstrated that agricultural interests, largely private and for-profit, have sway within policymaking networks (Berry, 1982) and financial capacity to play for the long-term (Food & Water Watch, 2012). The $1.9 million in public health lobbying for healthier school lunch options and other nutrition programs, and a conscientious, ramped up political presence by organic and specialty crop (fruits and vegetables) interests generating $3.6 million and $269,000 respectively on lobbying the 2008 Farm Bill (P.L. 110-234) is hardly laudable competition for the farm programs that received the most sustained lobbying attention in the 2008 Farm Bill by investing $85.8 million with a return of $90 billion in mandatory expenditures (Food & Water Watch 2012). It was the first time specialty and organic crops were featured in a Farm Bill whereas agricultural interests were able to maintain a status quo preeminence of the industrial agricultural model and its objectives (Food & Water Watch, 2012). It is difficult for public health interests, largely non-profit in nature, to compete in the political game without comparable financial clout.

Third, the field of public health is distracted from unifying behind a food-system-based, holistic food security agenda due to a) competing issues outside of public health and b) competing agendas inside public health. Downs (1972) suggests that rising to the top of media coverage with a clear message requires competing with all other social problems, public events, and non-news items. Often, public health overtures to food insecurity in the media were overshadowed or tied up into larger legislative and cultural battles like the War on Poverty espoused by President Johnson, welfare reforms in the

Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 (P.L. 104-193) or, global economic crises and recovery in the mid- to late- 2000s. In these cases, anti-hunger, food security, and public health objectives were tangential, not central, to these political priorities. War and international humanitarian crises were also persistent social problems that permeated media coverage and trumped the issue of food insecurity.

Within the broader public health field a plethora of social ills and diseases beg the attention of public health advocacy, therefore public health groups must also struggle to define their food security goals within a broader public health agenda. As such, food security is not a top priority. Health challenges such as HIV, obesity, tobacco and teen pregnancy are just a few public health issues that are considered priority "winnable battles" with known, effective strategies to achieve measurable change quickly (U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2013). *Healthy People* 2020 objectives of nutrition and weight status (CDC, 2013) are closely related contributors to food security, but hunger or even food insecurity cannot rise to the level of significance because the solutions are as much culturally and policy-based as they are scientifically or medically-based. Not only must hunger compete with obesity for attention in research and media circles but this dual nutrition problem, which can exist simultaneously within households and communities, represents a complex challenge for public health practitioners and policymakers alike (Parker, 2005). Food safety, with its terminology so closely related to food security, quickly becomes a competing agenda both formally (e.g., included in CDC Winnable Battles and *Healthy People* 2020 Objectives) (CDC, 2013) and informally as the lay public can be easily confused as to the unique scope of each

issue. The key is for public health organizations to commit to reducing hunger and creating food security and visually mobilize so that both the media and policymakers recognize a specific public health-orientation.

Observers and leaders of the food movement such as journalist Michael Pollan and activist Andy Fisher acknowledge and at times lament the lack of clear direction of the food movement that has perhaps long existed. Food-organization downsizes and critical leadership transitions in the late 2000s are signs of the ongoing process of selecting a unifying vision and direction for the food movement agenda (Fisher, 2013; Crossfield & Starkman, 2013; Community Food Security Coalition, 2012). The changes might be just what the movement needs, however: narrower scope, focused energy and expertise, and a more united food security agenda. This was what was hoped for and anticipated earlier on: a discourse and policy approach that is more holistic, more comprehensive, with a healthier approach and representation of our food system. This study shows that public health has yet to emerge as a significant presence and is just one of many interest areas struggling to define the scope and direction of the food movement and food security policy.

Conclusions

The 2013 Farm Bill is being debated in Congress at the time of this dissertation compilation, and, as one of the United States' bedrock food security and hunger policies, provides a recurring and significant opportunity for interest groups to redefine, reset and make relevant their objectives. It provides an opportunity for public health advocates to become more relevant as the focal point, not the border, of the mobilization landscape

shaping food security discourse. If, as Muller et al (2009) suggest, the public's health should be a key driver of food system policies, the 2013 Farm Bill represents an opportunity for public health leadership. Unless public health interest groups convey explicit messages and agendas to the media and policymakers, public health connections to anti-hunger and food security policies run the risk of being missed, subsumed, or subservient to other interests in the process of developing effective, comprehensive policies.

Further research may illuminate the more recent and heightened mobilization of interest groups whose expertise combines both public health and agricultural interests, whose goals are as broad as the food system is complex. While levels of engagement are not at their historical highest, indications from current public health and food security literature and current debates for the 2013 Farm Bill are suggestive of a continuing upsurge in combined, clearer policy agendas (e.g., Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy's "Healthy Food Action" 2013). Recent food security discourse in informal media venues and inside politics points to a greater recognition of the relationship between agricultural policy and the public's health (Roberts et al., 2012). When the discourse effectively gathers the many influences that have mobilized to create a more refined, comprehensive agenda, and when public health interests move from the periphery of the discussion to the center, the Farm Bill may be more commonly known in the future as the Food Bill, or at least the Farm and Food Bill.

CHAPTER 4

CONGRESSIONAL SELECT COMMITTEES:

CHAMPIONS OF THE ISSUES OF HUNGER AND FOOD SECURITY

Abstract

Political attention to the public health problem of food insecurity scarcely examines the scope, influence and output of congressional select committees that are dedicated to this issue area. This study used in-depth content analysis of over 200 congressional documents from 1974-2009 to investigate the role of congressional committees in bringing attention to food security in a formal government venue. Specifically, we note the role of congressional "select" committees in engaging political interest on the issue of food security. Periods of select committee tenure were compared to periods when no select committees were dedicated to the issue. Results demonstrated that congressional attention to hunger was strongly correlated with years when the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs (1968-1977) and House Select Committee on Hunger (1984-1993) were active. These committees and their political entrepreneurs were essential in sustaining attention, shaping the discourse, and influencing the policies designed to address hunger and food security. We conclude by discussing how food security and public health advocates might garner more sustained attention in congressional venues.

Introduction

Food insecurity can be defined as "the lack of access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life" (U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), 2012). While most households in the United States have dependable means for accessing enough food for an active, healthy life, the percentage of U.S. households that are food insecure has not significantly changed from 14.9% of households (17.9 million) in 2011 to 14.5% (17.6 million) of households in 2012 (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2013). Since the U.S. financial and crises of 2008-2009, food insecurity rates have remained essentially unchanged from year to year (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Andrews, & Carlson, 2012). Food insecurity, or hunger, is a persistent and significant public health problem.

Research confirms intuition that lack of food or nutrition, a basic human need and right, contributes to decreased physical and mental health in adults and children (Cook, Frank, Berkowitz, et al., 2004; Larson and Story, 2010). Food insecurity is an underlying cause of malnutrition, which increases morbidity and mortality, especially in vulnerable groups such as pregnant women, children, and the elderly (WHO website, 2009a; WHO website, 2009b; American Dietetic Association, 2003; Food Research and Action Center (FRAC) website, 2009). Malnutrition in children interferes with growth and development, is associated with overweight and obesity, and is associated with impaired psychosocial and cognitive development, poor academic performance (Alaimo, Olson, Frongillo, 2001; Alaimo, Olson, Frongillo, 2002; American Dietetic Association, 2003; Cook and Frank, 2008; Larson and Story, 2010; ChildTrends Data Bank, 2013). It predisposes children to infectious and chronic conditions, as well as diseases such as iron deficiency anemia, heart disease, diabetes, osteoporosis, and higher rates of

hospitalization (Stuff, Casey, Szeto, et al., 2004; Seligman, Bindman, Vittinghoff, et al., 2007; WHO website, 2009b; Bronte-Tinkew, 2007). Food insecurity can negatively affect productivity and family life as well (American Dietetic Association, 2003; WHO website, 2009a; World Health Organization (WHO) website, 2009b; FRAC website, 2009). Even "marginal" food security has recently been found to be associated with the poor health and developmental outcomes above (Cook et al., 2013). A 2011 conservative estimate of hunger-related costs (including food assistance, illness, psychosocial dysfunction, and diminished learning and economic productivity) placed the annual U.S. cost burden of hunger at $167.5 billion (ChildTrends Data Bank, 2013). The costs of hunger and food insecurity to human life morally outweigh the economic costs, but both consequences are intuitively dire and require the utmost public health and policy attention.

Policies and Political Commitment

In the U.S. there is substantial legislative history and dedication by select political leaders to address the determinants and outcomes of chronic hunger, malnutrition, and food insecurity and provide greater access to food security. Various iterations of the U.S. Farm Bills and Child Nutrition Programs legislation have sought to improve dietary standards, food and agricultural industry regulation, agricultural technology, foreign food aid, and domestic nutrition assistance safety nets – all elements of food security. The Farm Bill, reauthorized every five to seven years, is the pinnacle of agriculture and food policy in the United States and attempts to encompass the diverse definitions and invested interests associated with food security. First passed in 1933, the Agricultural

Adjustment Act (P.L. 73-10, 48, Stat. 31), or Farm Bill, was originally designed to legislate the support and control of the food and farm economy. Over time, particularly since 1977 when the Farm Bill (P.L. 95-113) first included a nutrition-, food stamp-, or food-specific title (Johnson & Monke, 2012), this legislation has evolved to cover both the production *and* nutrition assistance dimensions of food and agricultural policy in the U.S.

Food security policy solutions in the Farm Bill are based primarily on direct food and nutrition production, procurement, and distribution (Johnson & Monke, 2012). The largest expenditure of the Farm Bill is the Nutrition Title (Title IV) which includes the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly the Food Stamp Program (Johnson & Monke, 2012). SNAP is the largest federal food safety net program and assists millions of low-income families and individuals annually. In the 1977 Farm Bill (P.L. 95-113), food stamps evolved from a provisional and pilot program to a permanent nationwide entitlement program, resulting in increased access to food security assistance in U.S. policy (Berry, 1982; National Agricultural Law Center, 2013). The most recent Farm Bill (the *Food, Conservation and Energy Act*), was passed in 2008 (P.L. 110-246) and contains 15 titles legislating a variety of issues, including research, conservation, trade, foreign food aid, forestry, and rural development (Johnson & Monke, 2012). Prioritizing, and thus financially and politically supporting, these varied food security issue areas continues in the 2013 Farm Bill reauthorization which debates are still underway at the time of dissertation compilation.

Other forums for food security policymaking target children's health and development through national child nutrition programs, including the Richard B. Russell

National School Lunch Act, the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 (both amended by P.L. 111-296 in December 2010), and the Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act. These pieces of legislation regulate, strengthen and expand food service programs for children, ranging from special milk programs to the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infant, and Children (WIC). The Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act of 2010 authorized the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to make long awaited reforms to the school lunch and breakfast programs by improving the nutrition and hunger safety net for millions of children.

Policy entrepreneurs – or political actors who have resources and expertise to promote policy ideas – have paid attention to and then refocused attention on hunger in public and political spheres. President Nixon, in a call to Congress, was one of many presidents who lamented that malnutrition and hunger persisted in the U.S., a land of bounty. However, he recognized that "it is an exceedingly complex problem, not at all susceptible to fast or easy solutions" – which he said included not only "sufficient food income" but also knowledge of and access to nutritious foods for a healthy diet (Nixon, 1969). Former Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger was an active voice urging U.S. and global commitment to setting goals to eradicate hunger in the 1970s (Tolley & Ibrahim, under review). Political figures from both the right and left (e.g., Sen. George McGovern (D-SD) and Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS)) have, particularly pre-1980s, shown political clout in raising awareness of hunger (Samuels, 2013). In a study of public media discourse between 1974 and 2009, Rep. Mickey Leland (D-TX) also featured as a policy entrepreneur committed to the issue of hunger (Tolley & Ibrahim, under review).

The combination of aforementioned policies and political advocates form a formidable foundation to address hunger and food insecurity. Yet year after year, statements from political and advocacy circles continue to "reaffirm," "renew," "resolve further," and "reiterate" the possibility, need, and commitment to eradicate hunger and establish food security ("Hunger in a world of plenty," 2013). This study examined the history and influence of congressional committee attention to hunger and food security between 1974 and 2009 and highlights the ability of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger in sustaining congressional discourse on these issues.

Theoretical Foundations

Committees and Select Committees

As the "keystone of the Washington establishment" (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, 193) Congress is a venue for debate, consensus-building, and policymaking. As such the congressional venue is important in influencing and shaping discourse. Congress operates three types of committees to develop specialized knowledge, identify relevant policy issues, and oversee the maintenance of governmental operations and implementations of policies. These committee types are: standing committees, special or select committees, and joint committees, where membership is made up of both House and Senate members (Heitshusen, 2011). Some committees have precisely defined functions, specific oversight of government agencies, and/or specific pieces of legislation and programs in

which they focus. The majority of proposed legislation comes through standing committees (Schneider, 2012).

Members of Congress often seek appointments on committees that serve the needs and interests of their constituents. Alternatively, committees may be staffed with elected officials whose entrenched knowledge makes them well-versed in the issues espoused by the committee. Congressmen and women may also seek positions on powerful committees such as Foreign Relations or the House Ways and Means, as these provide increased opportunities for media attention and contact with leadership (Schneider, 2012; U.S. Senate, 2013).

Several committees may claim jurisdiction over broad policy areas, such as food security. The standing Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry and the standing House Committee on Agriculture, with their respective subcommittees, are invested in addressing a number of issues, including food insecurity. These committees embrace multiple approaches to food security on their agendas: the financing of existing programs, creating new programs, and introducing legislation to guide population health (e.g., nutritional recommendations and nutrition learning objectives). Beyond establishing food security – access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 1996)–, congressional committees recognize that food security policies also promote economic development and a robust farm and food economy both domestically and globally. Child Nutrition, WIC, and SNAP programs represent significant outlets for the bounty and livelihood of American farmers and ranchers. Purchase of food through the commodity distribution programs

totals $1.5 billion annually (Concannon, 2010), which supports the agricultural value chain, including growers, packers, shippers, manufacturers, retailers, and consumers. Diverse interests, scientific positions, and policy goals are espoused by advocacy groups and agency bureaucrats who work hard to lobby and influence congressional committee members.

The diversity can become more channeled via congressional select committees. Prior to 1816, temporary select committees were the norm in the Senate, providing flexibility and responsiveness to legislative organization and matters. Select and special committees are created for clearly specified purposes (Schneider, 2012). Although they do not generally craft legislation, congressional select committees are the political players organized to research, share, and examine specific issues in order to demonstrate political commitment and suggest policy alternatives to food insecurity and other issues. In the Senate, unlike the House, some select committees have authority to report legislation to the full Senate, and some select committees have become official standing committees (Schneider, 2012; U.S. Senate, 2013).

Policy Entrepreneurs in the Congressional Venue

Much of the literature on congressional committees focuses on the power structures within the committees and in the committee system (Adler & Lapinski, 1997; Deering & Smith, 1997; Price, 1978; Vander Wielen & Smith, 2011). Prior studies indicate that the power structure model characteristic of a committee depends on the specific committee and the landscape of party, chamber, constituency and membership politics (Adler & Lapinski, 1997; Aldrich & Rohde, 1998; Davidson, 1986; Maltzman &

Smith, 1994; Weissert & Weissert, 2006). Regarding individual power within committees, the chairperson usually plays a salient role, managing virtually all the legislation that comes from their committee with influence (Deering & Smith, 1997). This was true of the two select committees studied here. Both chairpersons and ranking minority members of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger were frequently commended by members inside and out of the committees for their leadership, powerful handling of numerous hearings and diverse policy angles, and ability to forge interest and commitment to the issues of hunger and food security in bipartisan ways. As such, the Select Committee chairpersons could be considered effective policy entrepreneurs.

Policy entrepreneurs are key contributors to identifying policy problems in a way that attracts and sustains the attention of decision-makers in the policy process (Roberts & King, 1991; Mintrom, 1997; Kingdon, 2003). Policy entrepreneurs embrace strategies of advocating new ideas, identifying and reframing problems, developing proposals, mobilizing public opinion, networking in policy circles, and building coalitions in order to promote their ideas and suggest policy alternatives (Walker, 1981; Kingdon, 2003; Cobb & Elder 1983; Roberts & King, 1991). Committee chairpersons are specially situated to have insider access to and power within congressional committees and are therefore key players in shaping congressional discourse and directing congressional attention.

Congressional Committees and Policy Outcomes

While committee structure and policy entrepreneurial influence on discourse is important, the end result is even more so. Literature indicates that congressional output has changed over time: fewer measures are introduced and processed, producing less legislation, with those that are successful more likely being omnibus legislation that is the consequence of several subcommittee inputs (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Deering & Smith, 1997; Fenno Jr., 1973; Maltzman & Smith, 1994). For policy advocates, this creates an environment where influence must be distributed among many subcommittees, competition between numerous agendas is higher, and all the energy and outcomes of policy alternative debates is funneled into one piece of legislation. The issues of hunger and food security are susceptible to these conditions, but the present study found that during certain periods one committee primarily dominated the policy area.

The literature on agenda-setting and policymaking highlights the impact of congressional committees. Although Kingdon (2003) claimed that congressional hearings and media did not reflect the agenda of government elites, Baumgartner and Jones (1993) used congressional hearings and media coverage in longitudinal studies, coding for volume, tone, venue and the variety of witnesses and found that these do indeed correspond with official concerns (Kingdon, 2003). The literature and study of how issues become official political concerns is vast. Kingdon (2003) points to how consistent indicators (measurements, data, and research) combine with focusing events (often a crisis, personal experience or powerful symbol) combine with policy entrepreneurs to transform conditions into problems. When problems gain salience through these means,

they catch not only public attention but also supply added motivation for congressional attention. A problem, combined with what Kingdon refers to as "a policy window," allows issues to arise on the political agenda. Having a new, special, or select, committee and its chairperson engaged on an issue is a policy window itself (Kingdon, 2003), an opportunity for significant or sustained political attention. Not only are congressional committee hearings relevant to official concerns on the formal agenda, but once a congressional committee claims jurisdiction over an issue, it rarely voluntarily abandons the field, issue, or program (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). The problem of hunger combined with the policy windows created by the formation of congressional select committees represents an example of how food insecurity arose on the political agenda until those same committees were dissolved.

The U.S. Congress is granted the power and responsibility in the Constitution to make expenditures for public health safety and well-being and create public health entities (Glantz & Annas, 2000; Koyuncu & Kirch, 2010; Scutchfield et al., 2009). Among these important responsibilities lies the specific issue of legislating and implementing programs that address food insecurity, reduce hunger, and establish food security – in other words, for policies to enable "all people at all times to [have] enough food for an active, healthy life" (USDA, 2012). This study sought to highlight the role of congressional committees in developing public health, specifically food security, discourse and policy outcomes.

Methods

Using in-depth content analysis of over 200 congressional documents from 1974 through 2009 we examined the role of congressional hearings and reports in bringing attention to and framing the issue of food security in a formal government venue. Specifically, we noted the role of special, or select, congressional committees in piquing political interest and action on the issue of food security.

Congressional documents for the period between 1974 and 2009 were obtained through LexisNexis Congressional (now acquired by ProQuest Congressional), a database that provides access to a breadth of government reports, documents, and bills, as well as indexes to other congressional publications. We accessed the database via both the Temple University Library online database system and the U.S. Library of Congress. This time period was selected based on significant landmarks of food security and nutrition assistance legislation. We started in 1974 to allow survey of preceding issues associated with the 1977 Farm Bill, which marked the first year that the Food Stamp Program (now SNAP) became a nationwide program. The year 2009 was a logical endpoint for data collection as it was one year after the enactment of the most recent Farm Bill, or the 2008 Food, Conservation and Energy Act (P.L. 110-246), thus capturing any post-enactment discussion of the largest piece of legislation addressing food security in the U.S.

Sample Selection

The congressional record is part of the formal agenda and denotes official political attention (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). A query was conducted and limited to congressional hearings and Congressional Research Service (CRS) reports in LexisNexis Congressional (now ProQuest Congressional) for documents with "food security," "food insecurity," or "hunger" in the index of subject terms field between January 1, 1974 and December 31, 2009. The total sample of congressional documents was n = 557 (See Figure 17). The final query that resulted in the sample used for this study was conducted on August 22, 2012; data is added to the ProQuest Congressional database on a continuing basis.

The unit of analysis was a single day during hearings; in other words, each CRS report was considered one document, while each day of a hearing, if multiple days of a hearing were held, was considered one entry for analysis. For the purposes of the analysis each date will be referred to as a distinct document.

Of the sample of congressional documents, a prescreen was conducted based on a preliminary reading of the summary only, not the entire document. The prescreen required exclusion of 275 documents (49%) which were unrelated or peripheral to the purposes of this study based on the following criteria: 18 documents were excluded because the content referred to budget justifications, appropriations or strictly administrative matters; 16 documents were excluded because the content referred to "various bills and resolutions" with minimal coverage of the issues of interest, usually in an administrative manner, if at all; 146 documents were excluded because food security,

food insecurity, or hunger were adjacent or resulting issues either too tangentially related to or not at all the subject of the document (e.g., "Improving Health of the Poor: A Development Cornerstone"); 51 documents were excluded due to a very specific reference to foreign humanitarian crises or food insecure conditions in a single country with limited or no reference of specific U.S. involvement in food insecurity assistance (e.g., "Crisis and Chaos in Somalia"); and, 44 documents reference the Farm Bill yet the content was still tangential to the issue of food insecurity (e.g., "Implementation of the Conservation Compliance Provisions of the Food Security Act of 1985"). Total documents excluded upon prescreen was 275. Appendices B and C contain a full explanation of exclusion criteria, the codebook, and the coding instrument.

After the prescreen, the remaining 282 congressional documents were each re-read for in-depth, full text conceptual content analysis via a coding instrument designed to extract definitions, policy images, framing, and interest group details related to food security. Exclusion criteria removed 80 additional documents after reading the entire text: 27 documents were excluded whose content was administrative in scope; 31 documents were excluded as content was too tangentially related to food security or goals of the study; six documents were excluded due to a very specific reference to foreign humanitarian crises in a single country with limited to no reference of U.S. domestic or global situations of food insecurity or hunger; two documents referenced the Farm Bill but the content was still tangential to food security (e.g., "Federal Lands Concessions Reform in 1995 Farm Bill"); and, 14 documents were excluded due to incorrect

document type (e.g., bibliography). The final sample of included congressional documents was n = 202.

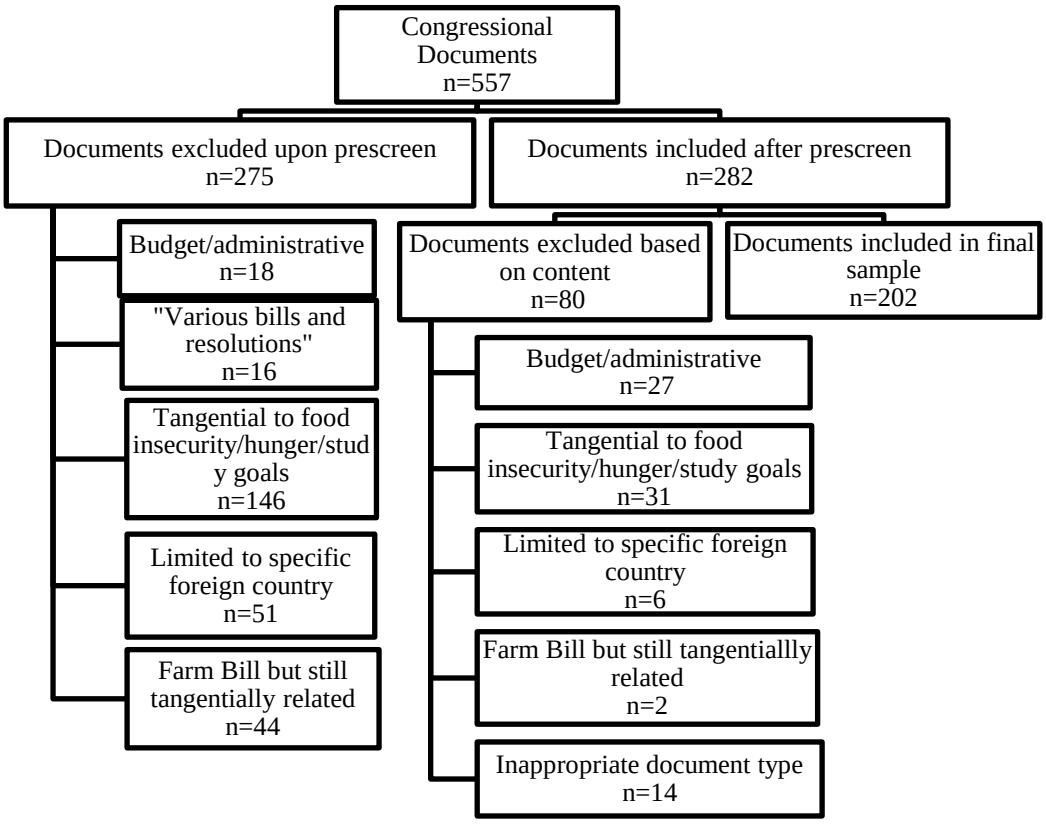

Figure 17. Flowchart of Inclusion/Exclusion of Congressional Documents

The goal of coding and analysis of the sample was to capture the discourse and debate of food security, food insecurity and hunger issues in the congressional venue. As such, for congressional documents, only the live, spoken testimony of a hearing was read, coded, and analyzed. Supplemental, or additional submitted materials, documents, and statements that were part of the official hearing as well as acts or bills that were part of

the congressional document were not included in this study. Often supplemental submitted materials, which includes written statements of witnesses present and not present at the hearing is less susceptible to public inspection and opportunity for follow-up. As such, its contribution to congressional discourse and public debate is attenuated compared to live testimony.

Content Analysis

The lead author and one research assistant conducted the coding for conceptual content analysis. The coding instrument, codebook, and instructions were designed by the lead author and served as a guide to extrapolate food security-related content from congressional, media, and academic, documents (see Appendix A and Appendix B). Variables were grounded in the theoretical approaches of Baumgartner and Jones (1993). The inter-rater reliability between primary researcher and research assistant for congressional documents was calculated at 70% based on double-coding a random selection of 14% of the documents (n=78), with the majority of differences occurring as a matter of degree within each item (e.g., primary, secondary, partly, none), not the outright absence or presence of a concept. When outright disagreement on items, not degree, was calculated, the inter-rater reliability was 93%.

The unit of analysis was a single day of congressional testimony or a single CRS document. Each document was coded for frequency of iterations of four relevant terms: food security, food insecurity, hunger, and farm bill. Documents were also coded on the degree to which various issue contextualization indicators were present, including: hunger definition (based on USDA definitions (Bickel et al., 2000)), food security

dimensions (based on FAO definitions (FAO, 2008)), framing, and policy images. The codebook, available in Appendix B details the operationalization of these variables.

Predetermined policy images, or public and elite understanding of a public policy problem, were derived from relevant food security literature and preliminary analysis. Fifteen policy images were identified and measured in the documents: public health; obesity; nutrition/malnutrition; anti-hunger advocacy; food production and supply; international hunger/food aid; U.S. government food/nutrition assistance programs; agriculture programs, subsidies and payments; community- and local-food security; environment and conservation; trade and economics; farmer and farmworker livelihood and rural development; and politics/policymaking. The inductive process of coding allowed for eight additional policy images and iterative developments to be identified and added to the coding process: population growth/control; agricultural research and development, investment, technology, and education; poverty, unemployment, and homelessness; coordination and cooperation between agencies and organizations; development; leadership/political will; role and responsibility of private vs. public sectors; and, budget/funding/appropriations and administration. Developments were discussed by the researchers and added to the coding instrument and then re-applied to the entire sample.

To assess mobilization, organizations, interest groups and individuals relevant to food security policymaking processes were identified in each document by: name; top three associated policy images; tone as either positive or negative; issue or interest area based on predominant issues generally associated with food security (agriculture, public

health/health, anti-hunger/food security, other); and type of organization based loosely on Walker's typology of associations (Walker, 1983).

The variables of issue definition, food security dimension, and policy images were scaled for intensity as 'primary,' 'secondary,' 'partly,' and 'none.' Analysis was organized by year to track the evolution of discourse and issue definition over time.

Study Limitations

The sample selection parameters and the decision to analyze only the live testimony portions of hearings were based on feasibility of the sample for the study. More details from the written testimonies and additional submitted materials might have contributed to a more complete picture of which interest groups and representatives were invested in the issues of hunger and food security. This study used historical survey up through 2009 to include the 2008 Farm Bill. This cutoff just misses the threshold for exploring more recent evolutions in policy images (e.g., sustainable agriculture) (Tolley & Ibrahim, 2013), and the ongoing debate surrounding the 2013/2014 Farm Bill.

There were also some years (1982, 1995, 1999, 2005, and 2007) in which no significant documents relating to the purposes of this study were found in the sample. Some documents relating to food insecurity during these years were excluded based on criteria that the content was administrative or budgeting/funding-focused. As such, some years have no relatable data. Often, these hearings documented changes in appropriations to food security policies, but were not included in the final, analyzed sample because the purpose of this study was to explore the evolutions in policy framing and attention to the issue of food security; financial appropriations was not a variable selected for this study.

Other years where the sample was small or nonexistent coincided with significant congressional attention to issues that trumped the issue of food security (e.g., 1995 continued debate on health care reform coinciding with government shutdowns; 2005 focus of hearings on AIDS and humanitarian crises related to hunger in conflict areas like Iraq and Afghanistan).

Findings

This study found that two select committees – the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger – and their associated policy entrepreneurs were essential elements of significant attention to hunger, malnutrition, and food security. As early as 1974, during a Senate hearing on national nutritional policy, one witness said:

> "Food and nutrition require a central focus in the Congress, but recommending congressional committee reorganization, is hardly a swift, or sure, remedy. An Office or Authority may succeed as an alternative matter. Perhaps, in this way, too, a solid popular constituency may be developed rather than an occasional ad hoc group—that is, one as influential as the consistencies of farmers, growers, fruit producers, manufacturers and distributors—and present as vividly and articulately as possible the food and nutrition needs of citizens, the children, aged, and poor." (Silver, 1974)

In many ways, the concerns of this witness were addressed – twice: a focused congressional body was dedicated to the issues of food and nutrition without having to reorganize the congressional system; and, a popular consistency at least at the elite level of very vested policy entrepreneurs created a legacy and influence. Finally, this group and these leaders did present the scope of the problems of hunger and food insecurity of many vulnerable populations in the U.S. and abroad. These aspirations were achieved, if not perfectly, but wholeheartedly, once through the creation of the Senate Select

Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs (1968), and again with the establishment of the House Select Committee on Hunger (1984). The select committees mirrored each other in framing and raising political awareness of humanitarian crises, federal assistance programs, nutrition education, and the need for public health monitoring and surveillance of the issues.

Congressional Committee Attention to Food Security

Many days of congressional hearings were committed to the issues of hunger, malnutrition, and food insecurity. While most issues cycle through peaks and valleys of public and political attention, the results of this study demonstrated that peaks of attention strongly correlated with years when the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger were active (1974-1977 and 1984-1993) (Figure 18).

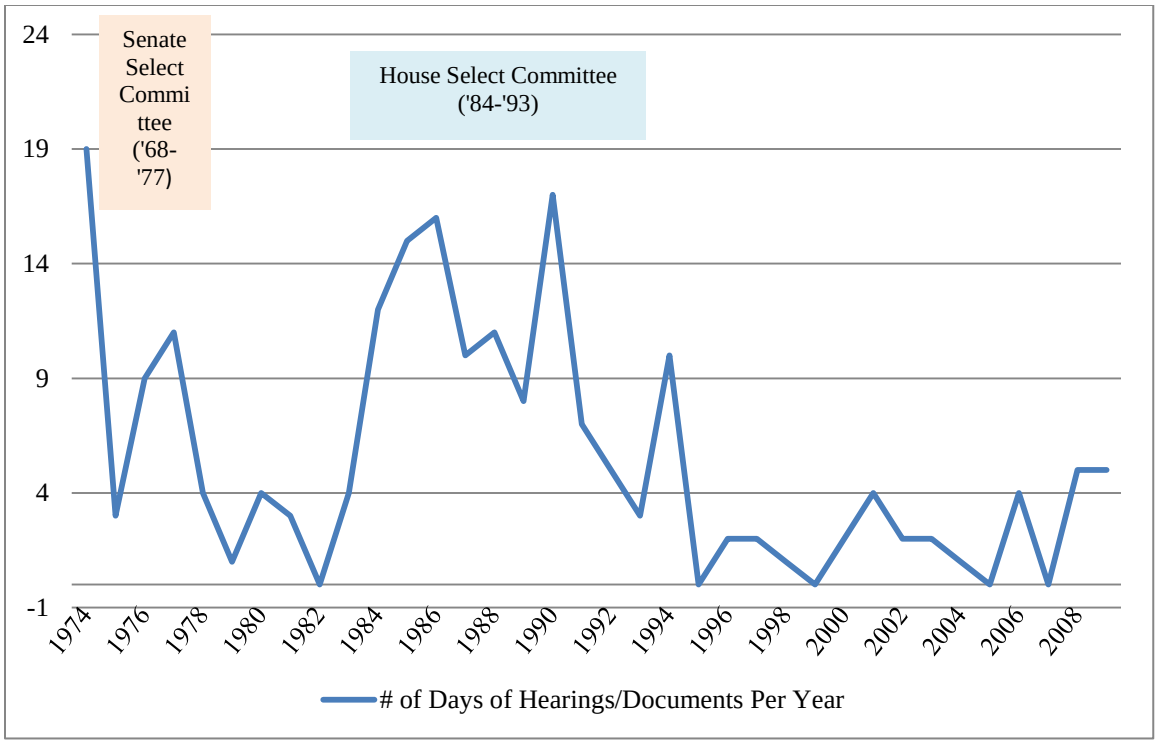

Figure 18. Congressional Attention: Days of Hearings/Documents Per Year

It was with tenacity that Select Committee members defended the issue of food security, much as Baumgartner and Jones (1993) indicate that once a committee has jurisdiction over an issue, it will not give it up. This is particularly true of select committees because their goals are so singularly defined. It would have been difficult for the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee to devote such time and attention to hunger and micro-nutrition when trade and aid policies with the Soviet Union also vied for attention.[5] Select Congressional Committees are not the only vehicle for debate and policy targeting hunger and food security. The standing committees of the

[5] For examples: U.S. Senate. Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry, Subcommittee on Foreign Agricultural Policy. *U.S. Food Aid Programs and World Hunger.* (HRG-99-944; Date: July 15, Aug. 14, Sept. 16, 1986). Text in: LexisNexis *Congressional Hearings Digital Collections,* retrieved August 22, 2012; and U.S. Senate. Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Subcommittee on Foreign Agricultural Policy. *Foreign Food Assistance*. (HRG-1974-AFS-0019; Date: April 4, 1974). Text in: LexisNexis *Congressional Hearings Digital Collections,* Retrieved August 22, 2012.

Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry and House Agriculture are viable venues as well. The Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry was active during the 35 years of the study with 23 days of hearings on the issues of hunger and food security. In comparison, in just four years, the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs held 11 days of hearing, nearly half that of its larger Senate counterpart. The House Select Committee on Hunger held over 130 hearings during its nine-year tenure, 51 of which were included in this study based on inclusion criteria. The remainder of the hearings was excluded due to reasons mentioned in the methods section. In comparison, the House Committee on Agriculture held 49 days of hearing on hunger and food security during the period of the study. Evidence from this study pointed to an increased viability of the specific issues of hunger and food security due to the existence of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger.

Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs: 1968-1977

Focusing events, a policy entrepreneur, and feedback drove the creation and maintenance of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. Legislative history of the Senate Select Committee from the Senate archives provided much insight into the origination and purpose of this committee. Hunger, malnutrition, and food insecurity existed long before 1967, but it was in that year that issue indicators such as reports and letters concerning hunger in the Mississippi Delta were circulated by the Field Foundation to members of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, and the Secretaries of Agriculture and Health, Education and Welfare (U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, 1976). From the

subcommittees, the information spread to President Johnson. In the informal agenda setting venue, public attention was also significantly piqued in May 1968 when a stirring TV documentary titled "Hunger in America" aired on CBS (Koch, 2000). This broadcast, which placed blame and responsibility to react squarely on the government (Carr & Davis, 1968; Silverbush & Jacobson, 2012), along with events during this time period, shifted the issue of hunger from the dimension of availability to the dimension of access. At this time, favorable crop harvests framed America as the land of plenty, demonstrating that availability was not the problem. The paradox reclassified the issue of hunger domestically, intensifying it from merely a "condition" to a "problem" (Kingdon, 2003, 69, 198). The focusing events resulted in increased public and political awareness of the evidence presenting hunger and severe malnutrition as a norm in certain parts of the United States. Negative feedback by the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, and Surgeon General William H. Stewart sparked debate because they did not recognize nor accede that sufficient evidence of hunger or malnutrition existed. A policy entrepreneur, Sen. George McGovern (D-SD), with the support of 38 other Senators, introduced Senate Resolution 281, "Resolution to Establish a Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs" (S.R. 281, 1968) in order to address and debate what he believed were legitimate food security needs and national hunger (Bittman, 2011). In other words, the condition of hunger reached a tipping point, a threshold over which the public and government felt a moral need to *do* something, thus placing hunger and food insecurity on the political agenda (Kingdon, 2003). Further feedback came from 1) a public outraged that *Americans* could be experiencing such dire circumstances and 2) President Nixon calling

for a White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health in 1969 (U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, 1976; Silverbush & Jacobson, 2012).

The bipartisan Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs was maintained by the political leadership of Sen. McGovern. Sen. McGovern served as the sole chair of the committee from 1968-1977 and as such it was sometimes called the McGovern Committee (Bittman, 2011; U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, 1976). His fiery commitment to the issue and former experience as director of the Food for Peace program under the Kennedy administration allowed him to cover diverse aspects of the problem of hunger even though he had a distinguished hand in a number of political issues (Bittman, 2011). He would powerfully admonish the administration and bureaucracies without hesitation, even criticizing the USDA's lack of and misallocation of funding for programs such as WIC for "senseless exercise of evading the law, conducted at the expense of the hungry" (U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, 1976). His was a humanitarian and public health concern, citing American's changing diet to be as a great a public health threat as smoking and urging nutritional guidelines as a remedy (McGovern, 1977). He sought the wisdom and expertise of public health contemporaries (e.g., Dr. D.M. Hegsted from the Harvard School of Public Health, Dr. S. Margen, a nutritionist at U.C. Berkeley, and Dr. P. Lee from U.C. San Francisco and former Assistant Secretary for Health) to help guide his drive for nutrition standard reforms (U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, 1976; U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, 1977). For years after his role on the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human

Needs ended in 1977 he continued in his bipartisan advocacy and anti-hunger efforts as a U.N. global ambassador on hunger and by partnering with former Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS), a long time friend and invested Congressman on the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. Together the former Senators worked to implement The McGovern-Dole International Food for Education and Child Nutrition Program, originally authorized in the 2002 Farm Bill (P.L. 101-171) which provides school feeding and maternal and child nutrition projects in food-deficit countries (USDA, 2009; Bittman, 2011). Sen. McGovern established a firm legacy as a food security policy entrepreneur.

After the USDA acknowledged and refocused food insecurity policy responses from under-nutrition to problems of diet quality, health promotion, and malnutrition in the 1970s (USDA, 2001), the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs issued the *Dietary Goals for the United States* in 1977 (U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, 1977). By the last year of the committee's existence, McGovern and the committee refocused the public nutrition message of eating more to eating *less* – less of foods that increased risks for chronic disease – opening the committee to attacks from food production industries affected by the message (i.e. milk, meat, and egg industries) (U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, 1976). Despite opposition, the committee helped to improve the food assistance safety net, particularly for children, and transformed, in the best way it knew, nutrition education and dietary goals for Americans (USDA, 2001).

In particular, nutrition and public health advocates recognized the landmark *Dietary Goals for Americans* (USDA, n.d.) which after years of hearings and debate from

industry and scientific communities, made nutrition- and food-based recommendations, and highlighted energy balance, malnutrition in the form of overweight, and chronic diseases related to nutrition. The *Dietary Goals* led to additional debate and controversy from industry groups and the scientific community, but the recommendations are credited as the precursors to the *Dietary Guidelines for Americans*, issued jointly by the Department of Agriculture and the then Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1980 (USDA & U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1980).

The final act of the committee in 1977 was to revise the *Dietary Goals* –based on pressure from agricultural and production interest groups—to tone down the 'eat less' recommendations. Angry food production industries, particularly meat, wanted the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs to be eliminated and suggested its functions be reassigned to the Senate Agriculture Committee (U.S. Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, 1976a). Despite the annual extensions granted each year to the committee, it was large-scale reform efforts of the Senate committee system that was the final straw. In 1977, 34 special, select, or joint committees existed and this was considered a bloated, unwieldy system. Sen. McGovern and minority leader Sen. Robert Dole fought to preserve the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs but critics of the Select Committee prevailed. Jurisdictional boundaries among committees is an aggravating and ongoing issue (U.S. Senate, 2013) and jurisdictional infringement was part of the Senate Select Committee's critics' concerns. Despite the Senate Select Committee members' concerns of the risk of assimilation, the Senate standing Committee on Agriculture and Forestry subsumed the responsibilities –

but not the dedication – of the Select Committee (Eisinger, 1998), and in February 1977 became the permanent and standing Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

House Select Committee on Hunger: 1984-1993

Precursor conditions of establishment of the House Select Committee on Hunger included a 1981 U.S. economic recession, unemployment rates nearing 11 percent, and reports by anti-hunger advocacy and research groups (e.g. the U.S. Conference of Mayors, FRAC, and the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities) that demand for food pantry services had significantly increased (Eisinger, 1998). In 1983, with famine in Sub-Saharan Africa, Reps. Benjamin Gilman (R-NY), Mickey Leland (D-TX), and Tony Hall (D-OH) sought to direct attention and propose solutions to national and international hunger and poverty by forming a Select Committee on Hunger. In February of 1984, the House voted 309-78 to establish the 17-member panel to address the problem of hunger. House Speaker, Thomas 'Tip' O'Neil, named Rep. Leland the chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger in 1984 with the mandate to "conduct a continuing, comprehensive study and review of the problems of hunger and malnutrition" (Hall, 2007, 138). The Select Committee had no legislative jurisdiction, but it provided a single focus and venue for hunger-related issues; as the "conscience of the Congress" it flourished (Hall, 2007; Associated Press, 1984). Rep. Leland said, "Clearly, a select committee [will] give the bipartisan goal of ending world hunger the priority it deserves" as it "can help focus the attention and energies of the Congress on this spreading worldwide horror" (Associated Press, 1984).

The formation of the House Select Committee on Hunger also served to focus the attention of the public on the issue. The data of this study indicated that in the early 1980s congress members felt that there was a lack of sincere public awareness and concern about the conditions of hunger domestically and internationally (U.S. House Committee on Agriculture, 1981). Furthermore, testimony by congress members and witnesses in the 1980s spoke to the general confusion over how to define and assess hunger, malnutrition, and food security (House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1983; U.S. House Select Committee on Hunger, 1984; U.S. House Select Committee on Hunger, 1989); the House Select Committee was eager to explore the reasons and possible solutions to both the problem of public ignorance or apathy and definitional disorientation. The devotion and personal moral leadership of policy entrepreneurs who were aware and who would not be deterred by indistinct definitions drove the bipartisan creation of the House Select Committee on Hunger.

The House Select Committee on Hunger reemphasized hunger and poverty alleviation in foreign aid programs and domestically. More than the Senate Select Committee, the House Select Committee traveled abroad and was more tangibly engaged in famine crises abroad, particularly in Africa. Under the direction of Rep. Leland, the committee generated public support for the Africa Famine Relief and Recovery Act of 1985, providing $800 million in food and humanitarian relief supplies ("Mickey Leland - Biography," n.d.). This study found that foreign development, U.S. commodities for health, education, and expanding credit to the poorest of low-income countries were some of the specific issues espoused by the House Select Committee.

Central to the success of the House Select Committee on Hunger was the leadership of the committee embodied primarily by Reps. Mickey Leland (D-TX), Tony Hall (D-OH), and Bill Emerson (R-MO). Rep. Leland, as chairperson, exerted personal moral leadership on behalf of the hungry, homeless, and at-risk women and children both domestically and abroad. He encouraged communication with all foreign governments on matters of food aid and was adamant that food aid was not a political tool. It was on a famine relief mission to the Horn of Africa in 1989 that he died in a plane accident. ("Mickey Leland - Biography," n.d.). Rep. Tony Hall also generated these same qualities and commitment and continued Leland's legacy as the chair of the committee after Leland's passing. Rep. Emerson served as an important liaison between the Select Committee and the House Agriculture Committee, the House Committee on Defense and Republicans throughout Congress. His consistency at hearings defined his commitment: he encouraged bipartisan interest and understanding on the integral nature of food security to national security and the important relationships between social determinants of hunger and poverty such as homelessness, unemployment, and the difficulty faced by low-income families to distribute their income to utilities and food. His was a desire for "one-stop shopping" where multiple social challenges could be address through one program or better streamlined through multiple agencies.[6] Hearing witnesses and congressional colleagues frequently expressed appreciation for the policy

[6] For examples, see: U.S. House. Select Committee on Hunger. *Reinvesting in America: New Ideas from Around the Country for Fighting Hunger and Poverty.* (CIS 93-H961-13; Date: September 24, 1992). Text in: LexisNexis *Congressional Hearings Digital Collections;* Accessed August 22, 2012; U.S. House. Select Committee on Hunger. *An Examination of Issues Affecting the Low-Income Elderly Under the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP).* (CIS 90-H961-33; Date: April 6, 1990). Text in: LexisNexis *Congressional Hearings Digital Collections;* Accessed August 22, 2012.

entrepreneurship and allegiance to the issues of hunger and food security generated by the leaders of both the Senate and House Select Committees.

The demise of this Select Committee mimicked that of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. In 1993 a growing group of influential young Republicans convinced Americans that Congress was bloated and need downsizing. The Select Committees, although of relatively small staff and budget, were prime targets. Speaker Tom Foley (D-WA) and other Democratic leadership were so intimidated by the potential Republican power that although Rep. Hall had procured 180 of the 218 needed votes to keep the Select Committee functioning, they would not allow the vote on the floor because Rep. Hall could not preemptively prove that he had the votes to win (Hall, 2007). The nine-year tenure of the House Select Committee on Hunger came to an end. Not to be deterred and with continued devotion to the issues of the Select Committee, Rep. Tony Hall embarked on a 22-day personal fast that led to the establishment of the bipartisan Congressional Hunger Center (CHC). Rep. Bill Emerson (R-MO) joined Hall as the first co-chair of the Center.

What Else Did the Select Committees Champion?

Similar to the findings of Baumgartner and Jones, this study finds that "hearings [were] more often a vehicle for exposing problems and complaining about the status quo than they are for defending the current state of affairs" (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, 204). The select committees brought consistent attention to, although not necessarily policy action on, the problems of food insecurity and hunger both domestically and abroad, particularly in war-torn or climate-crisis countries, and with particular emphasis

on the need for simultaneous development efforts. With few exceptions, the tone of the hearings rarely highlighted satisfaction with USAID aid structures, U.S. food safety programs, or executive branch views and policies. Some exceptions included appreciation expressed by witnesses and committee members on the efficacy of the WIC program, and, to a lesser degree, the benevolence and effectiveness of private for-profit companies in development and food distribution.

The Challenge of Coordination

Another challenge consistently discussed in the congressional venue over the 35 year study was the lack of and increased need for inter-agency collaboration and coordination – between the USDA and the Department of Education for school meals, between U.S. foreign food policy and global strategies for combatting world hunger, between the USDA and HHS on dietary recommendations, and coordination with the EPA and FDA on food and agricultural safety. The Select Committees were able to serve as an umbrella organization, perhaps as neutral ground, in which both agricultural productivity advocates and food and anti-hunger advocates were both able to fully express their needs and policy agendas. Without the Select Committees, after 1994, the issue of collaboration and coordination received less attention, but the policy image existed through 2009 with muted references to better "pooling resources" and more "efficiently" streamlining the duties of multiple agencies in the fight to end hunger.[7]

[7] For examples: U.S. Senate. Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. *National Nutrition Policy Study—1974, Part 7—Nutrition and Government.* (HRG-1974-NHN-0011; Date: June 21, 1974). Text in: LexisNexis *Congressional Hearings Digital Collection,* accessed: August 22, 2012; and, U.S. House. Select Committee on Hunger. *Continuing Efforts to Coordinate and Simplify Major Federal Assistance Programs.* (CIS 88-H961-28; Date: Sept. 30, 1987). Text in: LexisNexis *Congressional*

Jurisdiction: A Minimized Challenge

Baumgartner and Jones found that as issues began to be more controversial, a broader range of committees became involved (1993, 209). This might have held true if no select committee had been willing to take on the issue of food insecurity with its multi-faceted aspects and dimensions of access, availability, utility, and stabilization and it's sometimes polarized invested interests of agricultural production and anti-hunger-public health-nutrition advocates. Still, the standing committees of both the House and Senate have largely avoided battles over jurisdiction of related but different aspects of food security (e.g., farmer livelihood and nutrition education) by having subcommittees with seemingly disparate goals fall and be forced to unite under the same comprehensive full committee (e.g., House Subcommittee on Operations, Oversight and Nutrition and the House Subcommittee on General Farm Commodities and Risk Management be reconciled under the House Committee on Agriculture). A 1983 testimony before the Select Committee on Hunger by Bread for the World, a prominent anti-hunger advocacy organization summarized these points:

> "We feel that the main reason for supporting the select committee is that the current structure of the committee works against giving hunger the attention it deserves. First, several committees have jurisdiction over hunger issues. This results in a lack of an integrated policy approach of ending hunger, and I think it also hinders Members of Congress with complementary expertise developed in different areas, like agricultural policy, trade, foreign policy, from working together on a regular basis on the hunger issue. Second, and perhaps more importantly, each of the committees charged with covering the various issues related to hunger, such as trade, aid, agricultural investment, are also charged with other responsibilities that usually take very understandable priority." (Beckmann, 1983)

Hearings Digital Collections, accessed August 22, 2012; and, U.S. House. Select Committee on Hunger. *Strategies for Overcoming Hunger: From Goals to Implementation.* (CIS 91-H961-12; Date: Sept. 26, 1990). Text in: LexisNexis *Congressional Hearings Digital Collections,* accessed August 22, 2012; and, U.S. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health. *A Call to action on Food Security: The Administration's Global Strategy.* (CIS 2010-H381-52; Date: Oct. 29, 2009). Text in: LexisNexis *Congressional Hearings Digital Collections,* accessed August 22, 2012.

Select Committees and the Farm Bill

It should also be noted that in this study, the Farm Bill was not the primary policy focus of the Select Committees. In fact, of all the hearings by these Select Committees, it was clear that the Farm Bill was not their primary policy objective. The mid-late 1980s and early 1990s was the height of House Select Committee on Hunger attention to Farm Bills, and never during the time period investigated in this study did the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs devote significant attention to Farm Bills. The Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry was slightly more invested in Farm Bill hearings, with eloquent preludes to testimony on the subject (U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry, 1989). The Select Committees were surely aware of the omnibus' impact on food and agricultural outcomes, but hearings were less about innovation of programs and more exploratory in general, with the aim of uncovering the scope of the problem and the role and innovations of specific programs (e.g., USAID, state administration of SNAP, American School Food Service Association, WIC, soup kitchens, development non-profits, and corporate involvement). In contrast, debate on the Farm Bills was more concerned with the ability of the USDA to implement and oversee programs of the Farm Bill rather than the use of legislation as a policy tool. We suggest that child nutrition legislation reauthorization was the more appropriate policy vehicle for the Senate Select Committee. For the House Select Committee, the Farm Bills may have been too seeped in a multiplicity of issues with too many competing interests and agendas – e.g., conversation of land – to be a useful and solitary target for the committee.

By minimizing its focus on the Farm Bill, the Select Committees managed to avoid many, but not all, jurisdictional and ideological battles that generally fell under the "agricultural programs versus food assistance programs" sphere often associated with the comprehensive and sometimes contentious Farm Bills. The lack of polarized framing places the Select Committees squarely in the anti-hunger advocacy range, neither a representative of agribusiness or public health interests, which is consistent with other studies that suggest that public health and agribusiness interests remain secondary to anti-hunger interest groups in food security mobilization (Tolley & Ibrahim, under review).

Select Policy Images Portrayed by the Select Committees

Twenty-three policy images were tracked by degree for each hearing in this study. Figure 19 displays a comparison of a selection of policy images by Select Committee (measured as overall policy image level divided by the total number of hearings). When comparing the important policy images espoused by each Select Committee, the study found the House Select Committee on Hunger to be more concerned with social determinants of food insecurity than the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, particularly on the topics of welfare reform, poverty, unemployment, and homelessness. This is easily understandable because the House Select Committee survived in the era of Reagan Administration welfare cuts and the period before Clinton Administration's Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). Neither the House Select nor the Senate Select Committee held hearings substantially covering obesity, sustainable agriculture, or agricultural payment programs.

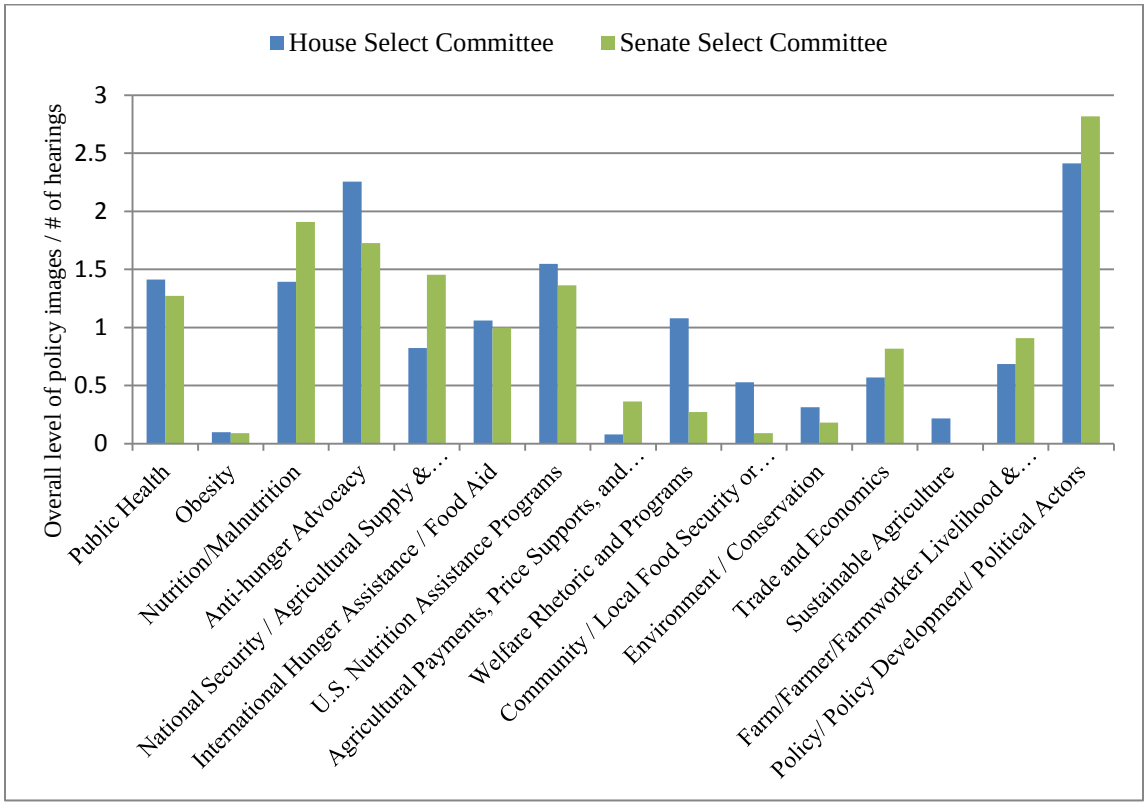

Figure 19. Policy Images: Senate vs. House Select Committees

Emphasizing the respective periods of Select Committee existence, the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs espoused the policy images of nutrition/malnutrition and national security / agricultural supply and production more than the House Select Committee. One of the Senate Select Committee's most heralded policy accomplishments was the issuance of the *Dietary Goals for the United States* in 1977 which was later formalized as the *Dietary Guidelines for Americans* in 1980. Agricultural output and the availability dimension of food security was also a more prevalent policy image overall in the 1970s and early 1980s, thus reflecting the Senate

Select Committee's attention to these sub-issues of food security policy. The House Select Committee on Hunger was more associated with the anti-hunger advocacy policy image than the Senate Select Committee; much of the focus during the House Select's tenure as a temporary committee was on bringing attention to the domestic presence of hunger. The House Select Committee on Hunger was also marked by debate on food aid as a necessary humanitarian action versus a foreign aid policy tool linked with national security or interests – contributing to the dominance of anti-hunger advocacy policy image. One quote from Daniel Shaughnessy, former Executive Director of the Presidential Commission on World Hunger, in 1984 highlights the desired role of the Select Committee in framing and developing a broader and deeper public understanding of the complex issue of food insecurity:

> "Of particular relevance to these concerns and to this hearing is the opportunity that does exist for broader public support and understanding of trade and assistance activities simply by equating them with other vital areas of national interest. One such area is in the field of agriculture, trade, and exports of food to those who need it. Few other forms of assistance offer such real and immediate opportunities to demonstrate that self-interest which is so essential to a wider understanding of why it is important, and of value to the United States to eliminate world hunger. ...In the interests of world economic development and stability, it is vitally important that we share our agricultural and other resources with the world that is poor and hungry. ...In this regard, I believe it is essential for ourselves, the members of this committee, and anyone else, to demonstrate to the American public... and those involved in national policy development, the importance of continued U.S. involvement in international activities, particularly in the areas of trade and economic development if we are to eliminate hunger." (Shaughnessy, 1984)

Public Health Attention by the Select Committees

Figure 20 provides longitudinal data for all congressional hearings and CRS reports for four public health-related policy images highlighting overall congressional attention and Select Committee attention to basic public health issues.

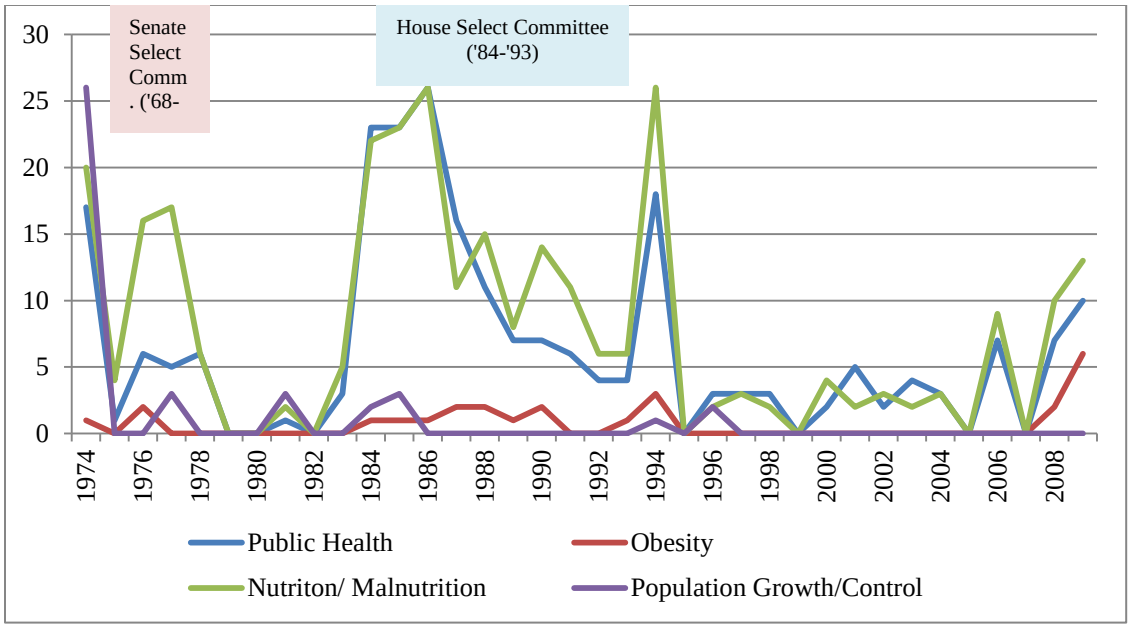

Figure 20. Public Health-related Policy Images, 1974-2009

It is not surprising that policy images of nutrition/malnutrition and public health had similar trends for all congressional documents. The scope in which public health was debated and discussed in congressional hearings was almost entirely encompassed by the tasks of monitoring and surveillance: measurement and assessment, particularly of nutrition indicators, was the task of public health and medical professionals. Population growth/control trumped even nutrition and public health as the most prominent policy image associated with hunger and food security in 1974. This year also coincided with the period of the study most concerned with the global supply and production of food. Obesity was a low-lying policy image throughout the 35 years of the study, but has only recently gained notable congressional attention.

Finally, an enduring debate between the balance and priority between food assistance and nutrition assistance was evident in the congressional hearings. Congressional members would sincerely question the purpose and priorities of programs. For example, at a 1991 hearing before the House Select Committee on Hunger the comment was made:

> "Yes, I think there is a difference between a food program that is geared towards insuring that people get something in their stomach and a nutrition program that is geared towards insuring that people have adequate nutrition. …The distinction that I am trying to draw here is whether your programs are geared towards providing adequate nutrition or simply feeding people." (Conrad, 1991)

Just a few years later, in 1994, congressional testimony leaned in the other direction with "Nutrition is important. Access is more important" (West, 1993). Often, the concern and scrutiny about nutritional content of food assistance was targeted more at governmental programs rather than private, non-profit, or faith-based food pantries and food assistance programs. The evolution of that issue as evidenced in this study was an increased political awareness, concern, and inclusion of nutritional content in food assistance by 2009 (U.S. House Committee on Rules, 2009). An additional debate on the grounds of nutrition versus other indicators of food assistance success was the issue of taste, a concern particularly salient for middle and high school lunches during the mid-1990s. Very specific nutritional requirements were pitted against industry interests and recommendations – e.g., dairy whole versus less fat milk, and sometimes the discussion of minutiae of exact salt and fat content (e.g., differences between 25% and 28% for fat content or 2% versus whole milk) dismantled the broader issues of food assistance in schools.

The results of this study indicated that Select Committees 1) were important in raising public and political attention to general issues – hunger, nutrition, global crises, 2) focused on nutrition, 3) were instrumental in discussing social determinants of the problems of hunger and malnutrition – e.g., poverty, rural access, unemployment and wages, and nutrition education, and 4) did not rely heavily or solely on the Farm Bills as primary policy venues for their issues.

Policy Impact of the Select Committees

The hunger and food security legislative influence of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger is remarkable because these select committees were annually scrutinized for their budget and usefulness and did not have the authority to introduce legislation. .When reflecting on the legislative legacy of the late 1970s, one piece of the overwhelming problem of poverty – hunger – was seen to have been significantly attenuated. Sen. McGovern felt that he had made a difference. There was still work to be done, but he expressed a level of satisfaction with U.S. nutrition programs (Eisinger, 1998). One of the most significant policy impacts of the Senate Select Committee was that, in their final year, the 1977 Farm Bill (P.L. 95-113) eliminated the purchase requirement for food stamps, significantly increasing access to low-income individuals and families. Language in the 1977 Farm Bill also changed the provisional charge from obtaining a "nutritionally adequate diet" to "opportunity to obtain a more nutritious diet," shifting the discourse towards more public health, rights-based rhetoric.

Although not actual legislation, the *Dietary Goals for Americans*, which were formed via the hearings and debate from the Senate Select Committee, provided the foundation for the *Dietary Guidelines for Americans*, a significant public health and nutrition benchmark. Child nutrition programs were also strengthened during the reign of the Senate Select Committee. The WIC program became a permanent national nutrition program in 1975 and in line with the *Dietary Goals for Americans* WIC food requirements included focusing on supplementing nutrients lacking in the target population and supplying foods relatively low in fat, sugar, and salt. One year after the dissolution of the Senate Select Committee in 1978, The Child Nutrition Amendments of 1978 (P.L. 95-627) fortified the nutrition education component of WIC. These amendments also established reduced-price school lunches based on a national income standard for program eligibility (Oliveira et al., 2002).

The House Select Committee on Hunger could not introduce legislation but was charged with recommending legislation to other appropriate committees. The House Select Committee was successful in maintaining attention to barriers to participation in U.S. federal nutrition assistance programs (Eisinger, 1998). The House Select Committee proposed the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act in 1990 (H.R. 4110), one of two pieces of legislation concretely championed by this committee. A modest version of the act, which sought to expand food stamp benefits for families with children, was included three years later in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993 (P.L. 103-66). Piecemeal excisions from the Freedom from Want Act (H.R. 3033), proposed by the House Select Committee in 1991, such as provisions for block grants for microenterprise

development, were also introduced as amendments to other bills during the House Select Committee's tenure (Eisinger, 1998). This helped to shift or broaden the focus of the hunger agenda from food provision to building self-sufficiency and community-development.

The House Select Committee on Hunger's activism coincided with grants to conduct Farmers' Market Demonstration Projects through The Hunger Prevention Act of 1988 (P.L. 100-435; changes to infant formula rebates and competitive bidding for retail food markets through WIC reauthorization; establishment of the WIC Farmers' Market Nutrition Program in 1992; and WIC program amendments in 1992 that enhanced food packages for exclusively breastfeeding mothers (Oliveira et al., 2002). Shortly after the establishment of the House Select Committee on Hunger, the 1985 Farm Bill (P.L. 99-198) granted categorical eligibility to the Food Stamp Program for recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and Social Security. Continual testimony and discourse in House Select Committee hearings contributed to the political will to streamline administration in the food stamp program. The 1985 Farm Bill also better integrated the Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP) with food stamp offices. Categorical eligibility for food stamps was further expanded in the 1990 Farm Bill (P.L. 101-624) to recipients of state and local general welfare assistance benefits. Other legislative moves to increase access to nutrition benefits that coincided with House Select Committee activism included state implementation of the online electronic benefit transfer (EBT) system for food stamp benefits.

The policy impact of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger was 1) attenuated by the rules for select committees that limited their essential authority to introduce legislation; 2) tempered by a constituency of anti-hunger, voluntary advocacy groups who were politically weaker than industry counterparts due to limited resources (Eisinger, 1998); 3) most remarkable for sustaining hunger and food security attention in the public sphere and on the policy agenda via dedicated discourse and hearings; and, 4) a contributor to improved public health and food security.

Public Health Ramifications of the Discourse and Actions of the Select Committees

The legislative inroads facilitated by and associated with the Senate and House Select Committees have concrete public health benefits. The discourse and attention generated by the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger influenced the formation and details of hunger and food security policies, particularly with their attention to programs like SNAP and WIC. These policies have broad public health impacts. From birth through early childhood, the WIC program has evidence proving it is a success, cost-effective nutrition intervention program. WIC participation results in decreases in food insecurity, longer pregnancies, fewer premature births, lower incidence of low birth weight infants, a greater likelihood of receiving prenatal care, higher mean intakes of essential vitamins and minerals such as iron and vitamin C, and increased breastfeeding rates (Food and Nutrition Service [USDA], n.d.; National WIC Association, 2012). WIC program participants, both mothers and children, also benefit from improved cognitive development, reduced rates

of iron deficiency, reduced proportions of children and adolescents with unhealthy weight, and more regular sources of medical care and improved likelihood of childhood immunization (Food and Nutrition Service, n.d.; National WIC Association, 2012; National WIC Association, 2013). All of these public health outcomes also result in decreased health care costs.

Similarly, there is a widespread public health benefit when individuals and families move from being food insecure to food secure. In general, SNAP helps families to stretch their food budget, alleviate hunger, and buy healthier foods. It benefits economic growth and the nation's health. It protects households from the health consequences related to poverty, food insecurity, and poor nutrition and obesity (Zedlweski, Waxman, Gunderson, 2012; FRAC, 2013). SNAP reduces household food insecurity by 18 to 30 percent, which can be associated with reduced likelihoods of heart disease, high blood pressure, and diabetes in adults, and reduced likelihood of a range of health problems including asthma, depression, and frequent hospitalization in children (Leftin et al., 2013) and may reduce rates of diabetes (Zedlweski, Waxman, Gunderson, 2012). Some research indicates that long term participation in SNAP is associated with lower BMI and is protective against obesity in women, increases preschool children's intake of iron, zinc, vitamin A, niacin, and thiamin, and reduces rates of childhood nutritional deficiency overall compared to low-income non-participants (FRAC, 2013). The long-term effects of adequate nutrition and health diets – elements of food security – as assured by SNAP, have been highlighted in research by Children's HealthWatch. Food security helps children develop memory, emotional, and social skills, and affects

scholastic achievement (Hickson et al., 2013a). The impact has a snowball effect as children mature and must work to gain the skills and knowledge needed to graduate and succeed in the workforce – nutritional deprivation hinders this growth, food security *secures* these opportunities for an "active and healthy life." (Hickson et al., 2013b).

Dedicated congressional discourse is a source of such significant public health outcomes, via the medium of Select Committee policy influences. As such it is important to examine the who, when, and how of food security policy development and influence. This study followed congressional interest and action on the issues of food security and hunger and found that having one, specific entity – in this case, congressional select committees – dedicated to one particular policy issue is a noble endeavor which yields sustained public and political attention and public health policy outcomes.

Conclusions

Food insecurity and hunger persist as political and public health challenges. These complex issues that encompass numerous policy images and even more 'pieces' to a comprehensive solution – food *security* – have resulted in limited reduction of the problem since 1995 when hunger was first measured in the U.S. (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Andrews, & Carlson, 2012). Two exceptions to the complicated quagmire of achieving these goals are exemplified in recent history where the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger and their chairmen exhibited notable dedication and measured success in the pursuit of food security. Based on 35 years of historical and in-depth content review of congressional documents (mostly hearings), this study confirms that a singularity of purpose and

dedicated advocates, embodied by a Select Committee, better enable congressional attention on the issue of food security. These Select Committees championed hunger and food security as their main purpose and sustained these issues on the domestic policy agenda far longer than any presidential commission or task force could (Eisinger, 1998).

This study found that specific, specialized congressional committees provided an effective vehicle for examining food insecurity in detail and pursuing anti-hunger, pro-nutrition, health-focused policy objectives. The two examples from this study, the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger, exemplified the convergence of theoretical premises of indicators, focusing events, feedback, political leadership and entrepreneurship, and policy windows as significant elements necessary to raise public consciousness and sustain the issue on the political agenda. Looking ahead, what would be required to create a more streamlined, focused food and agricultural movement and related policy agenda? This study echoes the findings of Baumgartner and Jones (1993) and Walker (1983) that when the interests outside of Congress hope to move their issue into a more favorable venue, it is often best achieved by linking with an entrepreneurial, passionate, and dedicated member of Congress who is searching for a "potent political issue with which to make their mark" (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, 195). Perhaps this requires establishment of a select committee or perhaps only a unified and consistent flow of testimony to the right standing committee.

The evolution of congressional committee systems can allow for the strengthening and effectiveness of standing committees on the complex issues of hunger and food

security. Two ways in which this may occur is by 1) refining the scope of individual subcommittees and 2) staffing committees with elected officials (and their staffers) whose entrenched knowledge makes them well-versed experts in the issues. These suggestions mimic the benefits and design of select committees: narrow scope and expertise. However, public health and anti-hunger advocates might benefit from seeking out policy entrepreneurs. The effectiveness of harnessing a policy entrepreneur is illustrated in this study. Sen. McGovern and Rep. Leland were essentially the creators and "face" of the Select Committees, which operated in response to their agendas (Eisinger, 1998). The study encourages the formation of specialized, congressional select committees as the venue and forum of choice.

The success of select committees is hinged, however, on their ability to generate enough comprehensive and concrete attention and policy alternatives to pass on to accepting standing committees who can draft and propose the legislation. Effectiveness is also dependent on the organizational management and prioritization skills of elected officials who serve on multiple committees with multiple agendas; numerous obligations may divert or compete for their attention overall, limiting their ability to push for prolonged, dedicated attention to the issue of hunger. Select committees are also susceptible to their temporary, as-needed status, which was exemplified when both the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger were caught in politics-driven downsizing.

While anti-hunger advocates such as those of the "Witness to Hunger" project (The Center for Hunger-Free Communities, n.d.) seek to expand the public voice in

formal congressional venues and through social media channels, the appropriate complement to this level of attention should be a formal, focused congressional commitment. Historically, as this study shows, this is most successful when a select committee is established. Future research should more completely identify the associations between committee attention and commitment with food security policy outcomes.

The public health field is organizing itself into niches to address the various aspects of food security – local food procurement and distribution, organic and sustainable agriculture, urban food systems, food desert reform, diversity in and supporting family farms, food safety and farm worker safety, food and nutrition assistance program funding advocacy, advocacy for nutritional improvements in the food retail sector, linking chronic disease research with food policy, food marketing, foreign food aid, and agricultural development. Niche interests are present and can be made more relevant to the discourse and policy solutions via niche venues. Rather than waiting for the ebb and flow of a Farm Bill renewal cycle, public health and food security advocates could garner sustained, comprehensive attention to the issues of hunger and food security by seeking out a single, concentrated receptacle in Congress equal to the task of examining this formidable problem.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

There exist many valuable and necessary public health agendas, but the long lingering goals to eliminate hunger and achieve food security appeals to the most basic of human problems and needs. Society and public health professionals may turn from the challenge of addressing hunger and food security and aim for more "winnable" public health battles (CDC, 2013), where the solutions are more tangibly within reach. Yet, as a fundamental component of life and well-being, food security requires prolonged scientific, public, and political attention.

This dissertation was dedicated to exploring two components – the what and who – of the evolution of discourse and development of food security as a public health issue between 1974 and 2009. The research herein concludes that the rhetoric, framing, and public discourse have evolved, but in terms of public health gains, not as robustly as anticipated. The changed and ever-changing definitions of hunger and food security are important precursors to officially identifying a problem with which both the public and politicians can grapple and is an initial piece of the policymaking process (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). Policymaking is a process of examining alternative strategies and solutions to problems. If the discourse or landscape of food security remains in a status quo, the policy alternatives will yield little innovation. But as the definition of food security changes, new strategies and policies must be developed as well.

The discourse is also influenced by the landscape of relevant players contributing to the images and framing of hunger and food security. The actors have the ability to

shape the current and future direction of public engagement and political awareness and commitment (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Stone, 2002). This study found that very specific types of groups – anti-hunger advocacy groups and special, congressional select committees – have contributed significantly to sustained public and political attention.

The first paper, presented in Chapter 2, investigated the role of discourse and issue definition, the emergence of *specific terms* and words is of interest, and the changing *conceptualizations* of food security in the media. The paper highlighted the slow and ongoing process of defining "hunger" in a more comprehensive way that includes the various components of "food security." Recognizing that effective policymaking must originate with clear definitions of problems and goals, researchers in 2009 concluded there exists a need to define the concept of a healthy food system that is couched in a human rights framework (Story, Hamm, Wallinga, 2009; Chilton & Rose, 2009), which really is the comprehensive definition of food security. This study suggests that diversification or inclusion of more system-wide policy images had, up through 2009, not yet contributed to the general public's discourse of food security. Although the focus of hunger and food security discourse has migrated away from an agricultural frame with emphasis on sufficient production and supply since the 1970s, emergence of specifically public health images remained subordinate to the broad policy images of anti-hunger advocacy, foreign food aid and trade, and welfare or food and nutrition assistance. Progress towards public health goals cannot garner significant public support if public perception of hunger and food security does not encompass public health images (Chilton & Rose, 2009). It is also particularly short-sighted if hunger is continually

viewed through a welfare or emergency lens. For food security to be achieved, the larger, long-term, multi-dimensional perspective of social determinants and systems change must be considered.

Finally, the first study also indicated minimal concrete mention of the Farm Bill, a seminal piece of U.S. food security policy, throughout the 35 years of media coverage analyzed, thus illustrating a disconnect between the public's understanding of a problem and its public policy solutions. Policymakers have the expertise to craft evidence-based policies but surely public policy is handicapped if the public cannot see beyond emergency and welfare images of hunger to more sustainable approaches to food security to actual pieces of legislation that are answers to these problems. Findings from this study encourage further investigation into 1) how media can productively cover the issue of hunger as a multi-faceted issue, and 2) how the public can use media information to engage in the political sphere and become educated in the policies that affect their food security, thus becoming invested stakeholders in the food security policymaking process and its outcomes.

The second paper, presented in Chapter 3, asked which interest groups and political entrepreneurs were present, relevant, and influential in shaping food security and hunger discourse in the media between 1974 and 2009. In particular, were public health interests able to create an influential niche in food security mobilization? In a breakdown of mobilization by issue area, this study found that anti-hunger and food security groups were the most visibly mobilized groups and received up to four times more media and public attention than public health groups. Anti-hunger groups have established their

relevance and niche in addressing both food insecurity and food security. For over 30 years, these groups successfully captured media attention and directed food insecurity discourse in the media. The low-laying presence of private sector, mostly agricultural, interest groups in food security media coverage suggested either more subtle, alternative, or behind the scenes strategies of mobilization. Public health groups retained a low media profile and thus their goals remained at the periphery of food security and hunger discourse throughout the 35 years of the study. Unlike the findings of the first paper, which suggested the *ability* of public health advocates to frame the issue in their favor, paper two findings suggested missed opportunities to be more relevant in developing comprehensive, explicitly health-focused farm and food policy. Their niche in food security has relegated their relevance below the echelons of leadership on the issue. Knowing the weaknesses as exhibited in the past helps to further a more effective path for the future; the hope is that public health professionals will be able to integrate and mobilize more thoroughly and strengthen their leadership and relevance in food security discourse and policymaking in the future.

The second paper suggests reasons why public health lies at the margins of media mobilization and food security agenda setting (e.g., the difficulty, complexity, and ambiguity of food security discourse and solutions; competing agendas, lack of unity within the field and movement of food security; and differences in lobbying and financial clout as compared to agribusiness interest groups). Since 2009, some organizations have exhibited positive movement that can be recommended as model actions for unifying and strengthening the public health approach to food security. For example, food-organization downsizes and critical leadership transitions in the late 2000s (e.g., the dissolution of the

Community Food Security Coalition in 2012) are signs of the ongoing process of selecting a unifying vision and direction for the food movement agenda (Fisher, 2013; Crossfield & Starkman, 2013; Community Food Security Coalition, 2012). Additionally, the Food and Environmental Working Group of the American Public Health Association (APHA) has fostered strong links and collaboration with more agricultural-leaning organizations such as the National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition. Formulating a cohesive policy agenda and forming alliances with well-funded and more politically influential agricultural groups can fortify public health mobilization and leadership in the future.

The third paper, presented in Chapter 4, also provides evidence sufficient for recommended future action that could improve public health presence and relevance in food security policymaking: seeking alliance with political entrepreneurs and finding a congressional committee niche. Findings from the second paper alluded to the relevance of policy entrepreneurs in media coverage – most particularly, Rep. Mickey Leland (D-TX), who also served as the chairperson for the House Select Committee on Hunger. The third paper focused on the internal policymaking process and highlighted two of the most influential political groups (and their leaders) who prolonged significant attention to the issues of hunger, nutrition, and food security. This final chapter helped to expand the longitudinal study of food security issue evolution from the informal to the formal venue, to move the focus from public to political awareness of and influence on the issues of hunger and food insecurity. The research demonstrated that while every issue cycles through peaks and valleys of public and political attention, congressional attention to hunger was strongly correlated with years when the Senate Select Committee on

Nutrition and Human Needs (1968-1977) and House Select Committee on Hunger (1984-1993) were active. The Senate Select Committee focused energy and attention on nutritional aspects of hunger and food security and proposed dietary goals that have since become the foundation of dietary guidelines for Americans; not quite legislation, but a powerful directive for food and agricultural producers and consumers. The House Select Committee raised political awareness on the scope of hunger and food insecurity, holding hearings that truly examined access to healthy foods and access to federal assistance programs for at-risk populations such as rural Americans and Native Americans. The House Select Committee also helped to sustain congressional attention to foreign trade and food aid during humanitarian crises. Again, this historical study points the way for the future. The research from paper three suggests that forming or supporting specific, specialized congressional committees may be the necessary vehicle for pursuing anti-hunger, pro-nutrition, health-focused food security discourse that lends to policies that significantly impact public health and establishment of food security.

Cumulatively, the three studies of this dissertation suggest that in relation to the issues of hunger and food security, public health policy images, goals, presence and relevance have yet to arise significantly on the informal, public agenda and have only periodically exhibited sustained attention in formal policy venues. The study evidence indicates some areas for improving the potential to exhibit greater influence and leadership: 1) espouse a more comprehensive definition and discourse of food security, 2) form greater cohesiveness and focus within and between anti-hunger, food security, public health, and agricultural groups, 3) locate and engage with a congressional niche and political entrepreneurs that help to sustain the issues on a political agenda, and 4)

make a stronger case and communicate to the public and policymakers the evidence of public health benefits of establishing food security.

Contributions to Public Health

The findings of this dissertation contribute evidence of the slow but necessary evolution of discourse to more strategically embrace a public-health, human rights, systems-based discourse for the issues of hunger and food security. As was particularly demonstrated in Chapter 4, the discourse of dedicated political groups and policy entrepreneurs is associated with public health-focused policies that have significant impact on vulnerable populations. The power and influence of language and discourse should not be underestimated. The public health field can look to its own history in the context of public and political coverage of the issues of hunger and food security and identify periods of and players dedicated to effective policy outcomes.

The legislative inroads facilitated by and associated with the Senate and House Select Committees hearings and strategic public media discourse have concrete public health benefits. The perceptions and support of the public towards food security policies and programs can be either negatively or positively influenced by the critical coverage of these issues in the media. The discourse and attention generated by the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and the House Select Committee on Hunger influenced the formation and details of hunger and food security policies, particularly with their attention to programs like the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). These policies have broad and lasting public health impacts. In general,

SNAP helps families to stretch their food budget, alleviate hunger, and buy healthier foods. It benefits economic growth and the nation's health. It protects households from the health consequences related to poverty, food insecurity, and poor nutrition and obesity (Zedlweski, Waxman, Gunderson, 2012; FRAC, 2013). WIC yields better birth outcomes, increases breastfeeding rates, increases uptake of key dietary nutrients, and ensures adequate growth and development. These food security policies and their related health outcomes have related health care cost benefits. A 2011 conservative estimate of hunger-related costs (including food assistance, health consequences, and learning and economic productivity) placed the annual U.S. cost burden of hunger at $167.5 billion (ChildTrends Data Bank, 2013). That unified, clarified, strategic discourse, well-placed in media and congressional venues can influence the promotion of these public health outcomes is a significant foundation on which public health and food security advocates should build. The costs of hunger and the benefits of food security to human life morally outweighs any costs, but both consequences intuitively deserve the utmost public health and policy attention.

Limitations

This dissertation focused on in-depth, qualitative analysis of 35 years of food security documents. The scope of the data derived from the study sample is immense and rich. The depth of this study, however, severely limited the feasibility of presenting all the material (e.g., interesting and applicable research questions and results) in one or even several papers. Much research on this data remains to be done. Another limitation is that due to feasibility, time, and space considerations, more quantitative assessments of the

data has yet to be presented and would, admittedly substantiate the presentation of current findings. In the first paper, no comparison was made between the amount of attention or coverage of food security in the media versus other topical coverage (e.g., amount of attention dedicated to food safety or environmental issues, etc.) and is thus a limitation of this data.

Additionally, the sample selection parameters could have allowed for a variety of relevant documents to be missed. However, since the sample exclusion criteria were applied objectively to each document, one can determine that the sample is representative (although not comprehensive). The query parameters for each document source and database were selected carefully and justified for feasibility of completing the intensive coding. For example, this dissertation could undoubtedly have benefitted from inclusion of media and congressional documents that focused on a single foreign country's food aid and trade situation; unfortunately, this was one of the exclusion criteria in order to help narrow the focus of this study to primarily domestic hunger and food security. This was necessary so that discussion of relevant policies and policymaking could also be confined to one country's attempt to alleviate and address the problems of hunger and food security. In the third paper, presented in Chapter Four, the exclusion criteria led to several years lacking any relevant data documents (1982, 1995, 1999, 2005, and 2007). Competing issues and agenda items may have crowded out significant coverage of the topic of hunger and food security (e.g., Iraq War, government shutdowns, etc.), and marginally relevant documents (e.g., reference to the Farm Bill and sustainable agriculture but limited focus on hunger itself) may have also been excluded from the

sample as well. The use of language processing and text mining to analyze some of the variables from this dissertation would make it particularly more feasible to include a larger sample of documents in future research.

This study pioneers an historical, in-depth analysis of hunger and food security discourse, mobilization in an emerging area of research. As such, the known weaknesses of the methodology of content analysis derived from an original, unestablished coding instrument are limiting factors. This is typical of the methodology used. Validity and credibility were addressed by grounding variables in well-tested theoretical approaches; using similar data sources as Baumgartner and Jones (1993); triangulating data sources to create the instrument – media, academic, congressional; and using, when possible, established definitions, policy images, and rhetoric common in food security and agricultural literature.

Future Research

On a broader and more theoretical level, there remains room for debate and understanding about the respective roles and relationship between the fields of public health and nutrition. A subtle but important thread of discourse that ran throughout the study period was the question of what constitutes "enough"? Adequate food to prevent starvation is very different from physical and economical access to tasteful and culturally appropriate varieties of nutritious, healthy food. What is enough? Aside from the quantitative objectives of reducing overall numbers of undernourished children and food insecure households espoused by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization and

HealthyPeople 2020, what is the ultimate public health policy goal for food security? These questions require an introspective examination of the field of public health itself and could be grounds for further research.

The problem of abject hunger may well one day be solved, but food security for all —the full definition of which includes food for an *active, healthy life* – will probably linger as an idealistic goal. Public health advocates are no longer asking the simple questions of how to get people enough food; the questions they seek to answer today are how to get enough nutritious, sustainable, health-promoting, affordable food to people. The scope is ever-expanding. The public health field is no longer concerned only with the issue of food access, but healthy food, and even healthy environments in which to produce and procure food – the system as a whole. It may be that food security is understood to be a basic necessity and a human right, but the threshold that now needs to be crossed encourages the field of public health to combine with nutrition and sustainability advocacy to push for the finer details of what is required to achieve a healthy, food secure diet (Story, Hamm, and Wallinga 2009). It requires not just the presence of food, but a balance of nutrition, behaviors, knowledge, and environmental contributions that is complex and lofty indeed. The advances and research for the future will have to move from an incremental, one-dimensional approach of *first* eliminating hunger and *then* promoting food security, to design a *system* comprised of multiple dimensions of food security being addressed and met simultaneously.

As part of a future, more concrete research agenda, the next steps in research on hunger and food security discourse and policymaking should include the following elements:

1) Continue to derive from the data a more detailed evolution of policy images and framing. This dissertation provides an essential, foundational examination of the rich, detailed data now available from the mining of congressional, academic, and media texts of the study sample. The abundant history of hunger and food security discourse and its development as a salient issue has much left to uncover. The discovery of how the issue develops also provides understanding of missed opportunities for mobilization, dissects the discourse into strengths and weaknesses of specific framing and policy images, and lays the foundation for creating an improved approach— both politically and from an advocate standpoint – to alleviating hunger and truly creating an environment and system where food security is possible. This approach might benefit from additional or supplemental document analysis via more quantitative methods of text mining and language processing for variables relating to definition, policy image, and framing. In addition, future research should expand the data beyond 2009 to capture more recent developments.

2) Examine the issue from a purely scholarly perspective and continue the comparison between public (informal) discourse, congressional (formal) discourse, and academic (scientific) discourse. An analysis of the full complement of academic documents was beyond the feasibility of this dissertation, but a subsample of academic documents was retrieved and assembled. Academic documents contain yet another perspective of

framing the issue of food security and of course have developed its own discourse regarding the measurements and definitions of hunger. One particular challenge in any field is helping to translate and apply scientific knowledge to practice in the field. After analysis of academic documents, the findings can be aligned with those of media and congressional documents to discover how well scientific, public, and political discourse correlate. There exist examples of organizations and projects that seek to link the academic, public/advocacy, and political spheres (e.g., Witnesses to Hunger, PolicyLink, Community Food Projects, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities) (Center for Hunger-free Communities 2013; PolicyLink n.d.; National Institute of Food and Agriculture 2012; Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, n.d.); which can serve as models for future action. Analysis of the academic discourse of food security will serve to bolster these efforts.

3) Provide more substantial associations between evolutions of discourse with policy outcomes. There has been an uptick of new and innovative programs and approaches to food security. There is the assumption that public health is increasingly laced into the comprehensive conversations and approaches of sustainable agriculture, food production, and food security (Muller et al. 2009, Glickman and Veneman 2013). Assertions have been made that many federal programs, nonprofit organizations and the private sector are incorporating health and nutrition into their objectives, moving beyond the single dimension of supplying food (Glickman and Veneman 2013). Three such examples include the 2013 Farm Bill debates that seek to promote health, nutrition, and food security through direct farm to consumer venues, supporting local and sustainable

agriculture, and provide financing for innovations that increase access to healthy foods for low-income or at-risk populations (National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition 2013; Lilliston 2012; Fox 2011); the National Restaurant Association's Kids LiveWell program in which private business seek to comply with national nutritional guidelines; and the Fair Food Network and The Food Trust which seek improved access to and affordability of healthy foods through a variety of projects (Glickman and Veneman 2013; The Food Trust 2012; National Restaurant Association 2012-2013; The Fair Food Network 2013). This dissertation tracked the preliminary grounds for such evolutions, highlighting the public health influences (or lack thereof) in discourse, mobilization, and political venues. The next steps should correlate these findings with actual programmatic and policy output. Such research would be instrumental in providing evidence of how public health policy advocates and political entrepreneurs should proceed in food security policymaking.

This dissertation mapped 35 years of the evolution of the discourse and development of the issue of hunger and food security and who was instrumental in pursuing these issues. Understanding that history represents a small but significant step in identifying the foundation and most effective points of departure on which public health professionals can build a future for food security. Freedom from hunger is a necessity for life; the pursuit of food security has been declared a human right and is a necessity for well-being. These are goals worth pursuing. The field of public health is committed to its scope of not only alleviating hunger but establishing food security. The breadth and depth of the issues of food insecurity and food security are not beyond the powers of public health research, advocacy, and policymaking. After 35 years of semi-status quo,

peripheral influence, and periodic political attention, a breaking moment lies within reach and has a potential platform for initiating public health relevance in the 2013 Farm Bill. Change has perhaps already been underway since 2009, when this study ended; may the seeds of progress be identified and continue to grow.

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APPENDIX A

CODEBOOK

Codebook (v.3)
*Accompanies *Dissertation Coding Instrument (v.6),* found in Appendix B.

**** PAGE 1 OF ONLINE FORM ****

Section A. Technical Information
A1. Document reviewer: _____
Document reviewer = First name of person reading and coding the article/document

A2. Date of document review: _____
Date of document review = Enter the date as 8 numbers, no dashes or slashes, MMDDYYYY

A3. Document type: Government Academic Media Other
Document type = Select the appropriate type of document being read and coded. This should be fairly clear as articles are categorized, separated, and saved in specific folders or labeled as such in the email database. Also, see below.

A4. Document source:
Media- □ NYTimes □Wall St. Journal □Roll Call □Wash. Post □The Hill
Academic- □AJPH □Other _____
Government- □CRS report □Congressional Hearing If Hearing, go to A4a.
Document source = Mark the appropriate box to indicate specifically the source, magazine, or newspaper article you are coding.

A4a. Congressional Hearing Committee Information (Document Source)
Committee_____; SubComm._____; Referring Comm._____
Congressional Hearing Committee Information = For Government documents that are congressional hearings, the document will note what committee is holding the hearing and will indicate if it is a subcommittee(s) (e.g. there are 5 subcommittees of the Senate Agricultural Committee, one being the Subcommittee on Commodities, Markets, Trade and Risk Management) holding or attending the hearing. Please mark accordingly. Sometimes there is a referring committee (i.e., the committee which sends the bill to the Senate Agriculture Committee), please note this as well if it appears. Separate by semi-colons (;) as one line of text in the online form.

A5. Document name:

_____

Document name = Type or copy and paste the entire headline, article title, or hearing title here.

A6. Document Date: _____

Document date = Enter date as 8 numbers, MMDDYYYY. If there is no month or day available, fill it out as 0101YYYY.

A7. Document Year: _____

Document year= Enter year as 4 numbers, YYYY.

A8. Document Location

□ Article is saved as PDF file on computer or USB drive:

_____

□ Article is located in email archives of sample documents:

_____

□ Article is found online, indicate stable URL in A8a.:

_____

□ Article was retrieved through online search, indicate search/query # _ of _ in A8a:

□ Other _____

Article location= This section is for replication (or reliability) purposes. We need to be able to trace back to and be able to find the article that is coded, especially if there are discrepancies in how each coder codes the document. Select the most appropriate description of where the article is located or where you retrieved it.

A8a. Unique Document Identifier: _____

Unique Document Identifier=Enter _ of _ if a search result, enter Proquest unique identifier if an emailed PDF, enter file name if saved as a PDF, enter URL if a website. This has to be unique and clear.

**** PAGE 2 OF ONLINE FORM ****

<u>Section B. Decision to Code</u>

B1. □Coded VS. □Not Coded

Coded vs. Not Coded= This is where an article gets a 'green light' or a 'red light.' Indicates whether the document will become part of the final study sample (fully read and coded) or not.

At this point, the coder will have prescreened or perused the document to see whether or not it 'fits' with the study objectives and qualifies as part of the sample to be coded. An article should be coded and included in the sample if it addresses food security or hunger in some way, relevant to humans.

If you are questioning whether to code or not to code, err on the side of coding.
If you select "Not Coded" on the online form, you will be automatically routed to Page 8 of the form, where question B2. Exclusion Criteria is found. This should end the form and the coding for the document.

**** PAGE 8 OF ONLINE FORM : if B1. = Not Coded ****

B2. Exclusion Criteria/Reason(s):

□ Irrelevant/improper use of search term (e.g. "land-hungry," "money-hungry")
□ Document not appropriate source type (e.g. bibliography, advertisement)
□ Full text not available
□ Unable to obtain document in person (not digital, but not available through library procurement)
□ Relevant use of terms hunger, food security, or food insecurity but scope is international ONLY, limited to one foreign country, w/o reference to U.S. food aid, policy, or programs
□ Not about hunger, food security, or food insecurity of humans (e.g. academic journals of hunger cues in rats)
□ Other

_____

Exclusion Criteria / Reason(s)= The reasons a document can be excluded from a sample include: inappropriate use of the search term (e.g. "money hungry CEOs seek merger"); the document isn't an article, it's an advertisement or a bibliography or picture caption, etc.; for some reason the full text is not available (e.g., I am unable to obtain the document in person from the Library of Congress); the article is on the appropriate subject but makes no reference to the U.S. even in terms of U.S. food aid or trade (e.g. it's ONLY about the scope of hunger in Nigeria); the article isn't about humans; or some other reason that you feel like the article should not be coded (e.g. it's about hunger strikers in Ireland or a "various bills and resolution" hearing)– just be sure to note it in the space provided.
More than one choice can be selected.

B3. Are you sure?

□ Yes! This document is NOT to be coded. **VS.** □ No. Let me review Section A and the article again.

Are you sure? = This is just to double check the intent to continue on or exit the coding instrument. If you select 'Yes!' the form will take you to the final page where you can submit the document identifying information in Section A. If you select 'No,' you will be taken back to Page 1, Section A where you can review the answers already given and re-determine if the article should be read and coded.

**** PAGE 3 OF ONLINE FORM ****

<u>Section C. Frequency of Terms</u>

Section C= This section provides quantitative data, essentially descriptive data of the

frequency of the terms/rhetoric of interest. When counting the frequency of the term look only at the document text, exclude title, table of contents, references, footnotes, graphs, tables, etc. Include abstracts, headings, and subheadings.
If the term is not found in the document, enter 0 (zero).
Use the 'search' option for a document using whatever software is open at the time. Only read and make a manual count (using a notebook to reduce errors) if a 'search' option is not available.

C1. Food security/food secure word count_____
Food security / food secure = Count and enter total incidences of the term "food security" and all derivatives (e.g. food secure).
When using software searches, my suggestion is to search for the term "food". This way all derivations of food (in)seur(e/ity) can be found. Then count up how often the terms 'food security, food insecurity, food insecure, and food secure' show up. This way you don't have to type in each term specifically. Include pronouns like "Food Security Network."
C1. Food insecurity/food insecure word count_____
Food security / food secure = Count and enter total incidences of the term "food security" and all derivatives. Include Pronouns.
C3. Hunger/hungry word count_____ (exclude "anti-hunger")
Hunger / hungry =When searching for hunger or hungry, just type in "hung" and that way you won't miss any appearances no matter the derivative. Exclude the term "anti-hunger" as this concept will be captured elsewhere. Include pronouns like "Hunger Center" or "Witness to Hunger Project."
C4. Farm Bill word count _____
Farm Bill Derivations = For 'farm bill' you only want that term together, not just 'farm' and not just 'bill' unless you FIND the lay term 'bill' and you know for certain that it is referring to the "farm bill." Remember that the "farm bill" is actually a recurring piece of legislation that could refer to the 1970 farm bill, the 1945 or even the 2008 farm bill… all will count.
Derivations of "farm bill" what would count include: farm and food bill, food and farm bill, food security bill, or any "bill" that you know refers to the Farm Bill.
P.L. 480 or the Food for Peace program is part *of the Farm Bill which legislates the majority of food donations to foreign countries. Even when this term shows up, do* NOT *count it as the "farm bill." It is only part of the Farm Bill and we will have a way of capturing P.L. 480 elsewhere in the coding instrument.*

C5. Related Terms
_____
List any related terms that you find prevalent in the article that are used to discuss the issue of food insecurity and hunger (e.g., food scarcity, food insufficiency). You do not have to count how many times they are used, just list the terms.

C6. Related Programs
□ SNAP / FSP (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program / Food Stamp

Program)

□ National School Lunch / Breakfast Programs
□ WIC (Special Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children)
□ Summer Food Service Program
□ TEFAP (The/Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program)
□ CSFP (Commodity Supplemental Food Program)
□ Senior / WIC Farmer's Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP / WIC FMNP)
□ Farm-to-School Programs (or Farm-to-____) *e.g. Farm-to-Hospital*
□ Know Your Farmer, Know Your Food
□ Child and Adult Care Food Program (CACFP)
□ Community Food Projects (CFP) or CFP Grant Program
□ EFNEP (Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program)
□ Community Supported Agriculture (CSA)
□ FDPIR (Food Distribution Programs on Indian Reservations
□ Farmer's Market Promotion Program (FMPP)
□ P.L. 480 or Food for Peace Program
□ Special Milk Program
□ Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Program (FFVP)

Related Programs = This is a non-comprehensive list of both traditional and innovative programs that are sometimes referred to as contributing to the U.S. national nutrition safety net. Please select which, if any, of the following programs are mentioned in the document. Even if you see the phrase "school lunches and breakfast" and it's not capitalized, you can confidently infer that it is referring to the National School Lunch Program, so check it off. If you are fairly certain, go ahead and check it off. It is a long list, but some will be very rare (if ever) and some will certainly be more noticeable and frequent.

**** PAGE 4 OF ONLINE FORM ****

Section D. Issue Definitions and Dimensions

Section D = This section identifies the degree to which the issue is defined or conceptualized as either hunger or food insecurity. It also includes which dimensions of food security (availability, access, utilization, stability) are conceptualized or addressed in the document. Once we look at this data longitudinally, this section will help in identifying when the conceptualization of the issue changed.

A useful website that might help to distinguish between traditional or popular uses of the terms hunger and food security can be found via the USDA website and brief here (particularly look at the chart that compares the old and new definitions of food insecurity with and without hunger):
http://www.ers.usda.gov/briefing/foodsecurity/labels.htm USDA makes a clear and explicit distinction between food insecurity and hunger. **Food insecurity**—the condition assessed in the food security survey and represented in USDA food security reports—is a household-level economic and social condition of limited or uncertain access to adequate

food. **Hunger** is an individual-level physiological condition that may result from food insecurity. The word "hunger," the panel stated in its final report, "...should refer to a potential consequence of food insecurity that, because of prolonged, involuntary lack of food, results in discomfort, illness, weakness, or pain that goes beyond the usual uneasy sensation." *In this sense, hunger is rarely actually quantified or measured because medical means to do so is not feasible for large-scale, population surveys.*
There is a difference between hunger and food security, although policy-wise it is often considered the same thing. The reason we are tracking the issue definition is because our hypothesis is that the definition of the issue of "hunger" changes over time.

Of D1. and D2., only 1 can be 'Primary.' Both canNOT be marked as 'Primary.' Both could *be marked as 'None.'*

For scaling or intensity purposes:
**Primary = The main idea! Major, significant portion of the document. On a scale of 0-100, between 75-100. This is something gut obvious. The dominant symbol, focus, definition, or image. Big picture. If the scale were Mostly-Somewhat-None, it would always be 'Mostly.'*
**Secondary = This is a significant or recognized focus, theme, definition, image, or symbol of the document. It's not gut obvious, but it's there. Perhaps even a bullet-point of the article sidebar. On a scale of 0-100, you would think 50. But this can extend from 2 mentions to as much as 75, on a scale of 0-100. If the scale were Mostly-Somewhat-None, it would definitely be 'Somewhat.'*
**Partly = One (1) mention in the article, certainly not the main concept, issue or focus; on a scale of 0-100, between 1-20. Closer to 0 than to 50. If there are 2 separate mentions in the article, significant enough to repeat, bump it up to Secondary. 'Partly' could also be considered 'Barely.'*
**None = No mention or indication in the article.*

D1. Hunger Definition – document symbolically defines/discusses hunger as an individual-level (or population-level) *PHYSIOLOGICAL / PHYSICAL CONDITION* or state.

□ Primary □ Secondary □ Partly □ None

Hunger issue definition= The issue definition of hunger here is that of a <u>physiological state:</u> feeling HUNGRY from a lack of food, reduced food intake, or a change in eating patterns. Hunger is a physical condition that is rarely measured because it would take a physician or nutritionist to truly assess this, but in popular media and even congressional and academic documents, hunger is the term used. This issue definition is one of an individual or a family feeling hungry, being without food, in dire circumstances, thinning waistlines, bellies aching, nutritional defeat, children whining they are hungry, etc.

If this is the primary symbol of the issue that is being presented in the document, mark 'primary.'
It is unlikely that hunger and food insecurity are BOTH the primary issue definition used in a document, although both can be portrayed, one usually more than the other.

The difference between secondary and partly is that secondary is still a significant part of the article, perhaps more than half the times the term or issue presented it is with this definition. 'Partly' would mean 1 mention but certainly not the focus or even one of the bullet points of the article, a mention at most. 'No' would indicate that hunger is not evident as an issue anywhere in the document.

D2. Food Insecurity Definition – document symbolically defines/discusses hunger/food insecurity as a household or community-level *ECONOMIC AND/OR SOCIAL CONDITION* of limited/unstable access to food or limited knowledge of how to utilize accessed food / environmental or macro CAUSAL FACTORS.

□ Primary □ Secondary □ Partly □ None

Food insecurity issue definition = The issue definition of food insecurity that is used here is that of a condition associated not with physiological conditions (although those may be present) but mainly by economic and social conditions or environmental or macro causal factors that prevent a person feeling secure in their ability to have or prepare food. This is less the state a person is in, more the conditions or causes that put a person in that state. This could be causes such as unemployment, famine, no cash resulting in empty pantries and fridges, no stove or transportation to make meal preparation and accrual easy. Food insecurity in this sense can cause hunger. Food insecurity as measured by the USDA (and this study) refers more to the conditions or causes, rather than physical well-being or resulting health. I.e. you could appear visibly healthy but be food insecure.

D3-D6: more than one can be marked as 'Primary'

Food security dimension (check all that apply or are present):

D3. □ **Availability –** refers to domestic and international supply and production of food and its trade

□ Primary □ Secondary □ Partly □ None

D4. □ **Access –** refers to both physical and economic ability to access available and appropriate food

□ Primary □ Secondary □ Partly □ None

D5. □ **Utilization** – non-food input references to knowledge and skills required to provide an adequate diet, access to clean water, sanitation, cooking resources, and food storage; nutrition education

□ Primary □ Secondary □ Partly □ None

D6. □ **Stability –** refers to adverse weather conditions, political instability, or economic factors (e.g. unemployment, rising food prices)

□ Primary □ Secondary □ Partly □ None

Food security dimensions= These four dimensions, availability, access, utilization, and stability, are used by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). They are NOT related to the difference between hunger and food insecurity as issue definitions above.

These dimensions are not mutually exclusive. More than one can be marked as 'Primary.'

For example, a document may have as a primary topic 'Availability' by talking about farmers' inability to plant enough and thus a harvest is reduced that year. The same document may also have as a secondary topic a discussion on the' Stability' dimension of food security by talking about drought conditions that prevented farmers from being able to water their crops.

The latter two dimensions (Utilization and Stability) are generally easily part of a developing country scenario of hunger or food insecurity, whereas they are less frequently a problem in the U.S. I have emailed to the research assistant account 2 documents where the FAO describes the different dimensions of food security. The above definitions are taken from these documents.
The majority of policy work on food security usually falls on 'Access' (food stamps, grocery stores in urban areas/food deserts, school breakfasts), with availability a close second when it comes to farming and agriculture.
'Utilization' can include and most readily applies to nutrition education (especially in the U.S. and U.S. policy).
'Stability' refers to macro-conditions which prevent the continuation or stability of the other three dimensions.

More than one dimension can be marked as 'Primary' or 'Secondary' or 'Partly.' So also can 'none' can be selected on all accounts. These dimensions are not mutually exclusive.
**** PAGE 5 OF ONLINE FORM ****

Section E. Policy Images and Framing
This section helps identify which symbolic images are present and associated with food security in document, and to what degree. A choice of 15 images are given. Other images, choices E1p. and E1q. can also be selected and designated. We will also code for the three most predominant policy images in the document. Finally this section asks how the document is framed (from which vantage point or perspective). All choices need to be assigned a degree as either Primary, Secondary, Partly, or None. More than one policy image can be selected as 'Primary.' Only images marked as 'Primary' in E1 can qualify to be selected as dominant images in E2.

E1. Policy Image		Primary	Second.	Partly	None
A.	Public Health				
B.	Obesity				
C.	Nutrition / Malnutrition				
D.	Anti-hunger advocacy				
E.	National Security / Ag. Supply & Production				
F.	International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid				
G.	Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs				
H.	Agricultural Subsidies and Payments				
I.	Welfare Rhetoric				

J.	Community/Local Food Security/ Comm. Self-reliance	
K.	Environment / Conservation	
L.	Trade and Economics	
M.	Sustainable Agriculture	
N.	Farm/Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development	
O.	Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors	
P.	Other _____	
Q.	Other _____	

Policy images= These policy images are derived from reading the document as a whole. While there are specific definitions that can be assigned to each policy image, much of it is intuitive or will be explicit in the document itself. If it is just a mention of "public health" or a mention of "food donation" that would be coded as 'None' or 'Partly'. If the article portrays as a topic associated with hunger/food insecurity the IMAGE or IDEA or SYMBOL of the following topics, mark it as 'Primary' or 'Secondary'. When you read this article on hunger, do you see that particular 'image' in your head? If yes, then mark as 'Primary' or 'Secondary.'

- *E1A. =Public health = very broad, any research, program, or policy focusing on disease prevention, health promotion or improvement, health care, improving nutrition, reducing obesity, reducing hunger, anything that improves health and reduces disease (e.g. immunizations, access to healthcare, organic food boosts health, researchers find fresh fruits are healthier than frozen fruits, etc.)This image also refers to research on, surveillance of, data collection of, or scope of a public health problem.*
- *E1B. Obesity = aims to reduce or prevent obesity*
- *Nurition /malnutrition = focus on micronutrients, dietary balance, food groups/pyramids/plates, lack of or imbalance of certain vitamins or nutrients, nutrition education, etc.*
- *E1C. Nutrition / Malnutrition = anything image associated with nutrients, increasing nutritional value, boosting school or child nutrition, severe under-nutrition, or undernourishment in developing countries, malnutrition in mothers or children, etc. Nutritionists, if quoted in articles will usually indicate that they are nutritionists and distinguish themselves from doctors or other health professionals. Micronutrients (Vitamin A, iron) or reducing fats and salt content, etc. This can also include nutrition* education*!*
- *E1D. Anti-hunger Advocacy = Advocacy of prevention, research, policy aimed at reducing hunger, starvation; programs to provide food, organizations like FRAC (Food Action Research Center) or WHYHunger, etc. are anti-hunger advocacy groups; can be political, private, non-profit, or individuals trying to prevent hunger in idea or programming or through policy. Food banks and soup kitchens should be included in this category.*
- *E1E. National Security /Agricultural Supply & Production = Production,*

production, production! The growing of food for food storage purposes, for having food or grain. The focus is on growing enough food, food storage on a grand scale, one country having more food storage or production over another country, security and defense of a country lies in its ability to produce and even donate food, etc. Ability to have grains/food. Grain storage, etc.

- *E1F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid = Food for Peace Program (P.L. 480), food or grain distribution during war, to developing countries, etc. Any focus on the U.S. or other countries donating food to another country to help hungry groups.*
- *E1G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs =This is domestic / U.S. programs only. This is not just any program that helps people with food and nutrition assistance, but PUBLIC or GOVERNMENT run (usually federal) programs designed to reduce hunger or expand access to food. The big 5 to watch for are: SNAP/FSP, WIC, National School Lunch Program & School Breakfast Program (School Meals Programs), TEFAP, and CSFP (see C6). Other programs listed in C6 are not the basic "food safety net programs" of the U.S. This is based off of my evaluation of a USDA webpage titled' Federal Nutrition Assistance Programs' and usually legislated visibly in the Farm Bill. Food banks and soup kitchens should not be marked here since they are not usually government run. Articles on food banks and soup kitchens should be put under anti-hunger advocacy, E1D.*
- *E1H. Agricultural Subsidies and Payments / Farm Programs = counter-cyclical payments, subsidies, direct payments to farmers, commodity payments, income-support programs for farmers, etc. Any program that supports, assists, or incentivizes farmers to plant something specific, or get supported in their production or income or storage of their goods via the government. This is different from E1N. as this is about payment, about $ being used for a specific agenda in farming; can include farm insurance.*
- *E1I. Welfare Rhetoric and Programs = Refers to economic welfare assistance and the discourse. Often food security or anti-hunger programs are seen only as "welfare" programs and are grouped in the media with programs like housing assistance or Social Security, if the document refers to or paints an image of food security programs as welfare, mark this box. Or the document can simply be about welfare assistance.*
- *E1J. Community/ Local Food Security / Community Self Reliance = local, regional, or community food security (see Farm Bill Visualizer category definitions) , focuses on proximity of food production with food distribution and access, also usually touches on organic food or sustainable agricultural methods, but the primary part of the definition is geographic consciousness of food production and access.*
- *E1K. Environment / Conservation = anything aiming to improve the environment or land use or conserve resources or land, water, and air.*
- *E1L. Trade and Economics = any policy or program that focuses on trade laws, trade rules, (mentions of the GATT or WTO – World Trade Organization or IMF – International Monetary Fund), economics, NAFTA, money, etc. NOT food*

donations or food aid, this is food TRADE. You'll know it when you see it. It also refers to economic policies – taxing food, taxing farmers, economic plans to increase agricultural development, investing in trade or agriculture domestically or internationally…

- *E1M. Sustainable Agriculture = the USDA has a good definition for this, also see the Farm Bill Visualizer category definitions. Refers to renewable, to make it last, for the next generation (both land, seeds, production, products, everything) – farming-based. Not to be confused with organic agriculture, although the two can be related. References to both 'traditional' and industrial/chemical agriculture can be considered "sustainable," depending on the interest group or individual presenting information.*
- *E1N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood or Rural Development = More in reference to first hand accounts from farmers or farm organizations about the stability and security of their careers, livelihood, and land, ability to maintain livelihood in agriculture, economic stability, how easy / hard it is to be a farmer these days; rural development or stability could be included here as well as general farm or agricultural production, development of rural areas and small towns, etc. Can include farm worker livelihood and protections.*
- *E1O. Policy / Policy Development / Policy actors = refers to policymaking, the legislative process, members of Congress or government who are actively developing laws or policy directed at food and agriculture. Do not mark this solely because a Senator or political actor is mentioned. Remember, this is about policy image… is the idea of food security* associated *with this iconic person, in other words does this political actor make an impact, a difference… do you think you will hear/have heard his/her name again? Are they a major player?*
- *P. and Q. allow the coder to choose another policy image not already listed. These policy images were derived through the inductive, iterative process of coding a small sample of documents: development; population growth/control; research; food safety; agricultural R&D and investment; legal work; political will and responsibility; biocrops/genetically modified crops; fundraising/funding . If it's important enough to mention separately as part P. or Q. it will usually be 'Primary' or 'Secondary.' Type in the image followed by a comma and then the degree (Primary, Secondary,…).*

E2. Predominant Policy Images (3): _____ _____ _____
Predominant Policy Images = Select up to 3 (THREE) policy images that are the top, most dominant in the document. These must be marked as 'Primary' in E1 to qualify for selection in E2!
Perhaps the easiest way to select these dominant images is to review which were marked 'Primary' above and narrow it down to the top three. If only 1 is marked as 'Primary' you only have to enter ONE image in E2.

E3. Policy Framing: Is the document framed more from a health/public health field point of view or agricultural industry point of view? Or other?

□ Health/Public Health/Nutrition □ Agriculture □ Other

_____

Policy Frame= This is broad-stroke, if you had to choose, very generic and general, if you had to choose a 'camp' from which this article is framed… who do you think would have written it? Who is this article catered to? Who is the intended audience? Or is the bulk of the document focusing on agriculture or health? From whose perspective was this document written?

**** PAGES 6, and 9-16 OF ONLINE FORM ****

Section F. Mobilization

This matrix (appears as a table in the Codebook) helps in identifying interest groups and individuals active in the discourse, movement, and policymaking of food security. It includes coding for the name of organizations/individuals, policy images espoused, and tone.

The prompt question you can think of when trying to identify groups/individuals to record here is: "Taking a 30+ year broad perspective, who is instrumental in shaping food security, either the movement, the language, or the policy of food security? Who matters or is influential in the long scheme of things?"

Section F can record up to 10 (ten) groups/individuals. If there are more than 10 groups/individuals, you will be given the opportunity to list more in Section G. You only have to fill out as many entries as there are groups/individuals that need to be recorded. If there are 0 (zero) or only a few groups, the last question in Section F will help you to exit out of Section F and continue on to the final section (Section G) of the coding instrument.

Each question has 7 parts (E.g. F1, F1a, F1b, F1c, F1d, F1e, F1f). If there is a second group/individual, this will be numbered as F2, F2a, F2b, F2c, F2d, F2e, F2f, and so on up through the number 10 (e.g. F10, F10a, F10b...). F#f is only visible online. This is just an extra question that allows a page break and exit option online. Thus, F#6 does not appear in the table below, here in the codebook. It is for technical purposes in the online coding instrument.

Mobilization Table (appears as separate question groupings / pages online)

F#.	F#a.	F#b.	F#c.	F#d.	F#e.
Group / Individual	**Category**	**Type**	**Policy Images (3)**	**Tone – Agriculture**	**Tone – Public Health**
F1.	F1a.	F1b.	F1c.	F1d.	F1e.
F2.	F2a.	F2b.	F2c.	F2d.	F2e.
…	…	…	…	…	…
F10.	F10a.	F10b.	F10c.	F10d.	F10e.

<u>F#. Group/Individual</u> = Enter the name of the group, individual, witness, or organization. Only prominent or significant organizations that are mentioned as sources for the story or quoted within the article should be listed here. Remember: ***Who*** *matters or is influential in the long scheme of things?"*

For groups, write the abbreviation (if known or provided) then full name in parentheses. If there is no abbreviation, just list the full name without parentheses. For individuals, if they are politicians, list party and state, (e.g. Sen. Harry Reid, D-NV) or if they are a non-politician, like an academic, list their credential or organization – Dr. Smartie Pants, Harvard Physician; or Bill Gates, Gates Foundation, etc. – what makes them an expert? Why are they cited? If you do not know/cannot find information about this group or individual within the document – search for it on Google.
For congressional documents, the witness/testimony list can aid in identifying who is noted here.
List the interest group or individual only once even if they appear more than once in a document.

Some special cases include:

- *U.S. Presidents (e.g. Pres. Obama) – list name as Pres. ___, category = individual, type = other*
- *White House / Executive Branch / the Administration – list as such (only if significantly a part of the article!), category = Government interest group, type = other*
- *Representatives of U.S. Gov. Agencies (e.g. Secretary Vilsack, Sec. of Agriculture, or Treasury Secretary) – list name and position/government agency, category = Government interest group, type = depends on the agency*

<u>F#a. Category</u> = Category is an arbitrary although theoretically-based way to classify interest groups by policy area.

- *Public interest group: usually a non-profit or charity, or for the good of everyone or for the good of disenfranchised groups – (e.g. FRAC, hunger-advocacy groups, children's health groups like National Children's Leukemia Foundation; Witness for Hunger; Philadelphia FoodTrust) sometimes listed as a 501c organization on websites.*
- *Private/special-interest group: for a specific industry, occupation, or membership elite, usually for-profit, but not always – e.g. AMA (American Medical Association); Corn Growers of America Association; Farm Bureau; when I say "special interest" this represents a specific group, usually one that makes money! Usually an industry or occupational group where you have to pay dues, or a membership fee, or belong to that career in order to qualify for membership. Usually disenfranchised groups (e.g. welfare recipients, or "the hungry" are not considered "special interest groups."*
- *Government interest group/agency or IO: For example the National Governors*

Association, FDA, USDA, DoD or IO = international organization (e.g. World Food Programme, FAO, International Monetary Fund, etc.)

- *Individual = politician or policymaker, or private citizen testifying in congress or making a statement for media or academia. Individuals (like politicians or presidential cabinet members) should be checked as "individual" in the category (F1a) and "other" in type (F1b).*

<u>F#b. Type</u> = Type is more specifically helping to identify the top interest groups associated with food security. Are they agricultural-based, health/public health based (nutrition would be included here), or an anti-hunger/food security? I'm just trying to distinguish between these top 3. If you cannot find information about this group or individual to help in distinguishing between category or type – Google it. If that doesn't work, give it your best guess. This should be obvious. Individuals (like politicians) should be checked as "individual" in the category (F1a) and "other" in type (F1b).

- *Agriculture Group*
- *Public Health / Health Group*
- *Anti-hunger / Food Security Group*
- *Other*

<u>F#c. Policy Images</u> = Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individual. These are policy images as applicable and a related to the interest group/witnesses representation in this document *not just overall, but specifically as portrayed in this document by this group. Choose from the list above (A-Q) from Section E. If only 1 or 2 policy images are portrayed you only have to select 1 or 2, not all 3. This will be based specifically on what they say or represent in the article. Example: it's a Corn Grower's Association Group from Iowa. But in the article they are talking about shipping their corn overseas so that they can keep their prices high and survive through the winter: Select L (Trade and Economics) and N (Farmer Livelihood,…).*

<u>F#d. Tone (Agriculture)</u> = This is assessing the tone used by the particular group/witness, from the vantage point of the agricultural industry. Go from your gut. The less you think about it, sometimes the easier it is. Here's your prompt question: ***Would the agriculture industry/field LIKE what this group/individual says/represents?***

- *Negative = The Ag industry would consider this negative coverage, in opposition to agricultural gains/goals/programs/productivity. Something that slams or restricts farmers, their livelihood, their methods, their flexibility to farm as they wish, etc. Something that attacks or weakens what they do (this can be hard, because there are corporate farmers, and small family farmers, sometimes with different interests, so this can be tricky… in that case, depending on the article, mark 'Cannot be determined' if the article specifically portrays competing interests between big and small farmers and you aren't sure who, amongst ALL farmers would like the article.*
- *Positive = positive coverage, something that supports or is beneficial to the agricultural industry, "good news."*

- *Neutral = does not purport an opinion, statistical/objective presentation of issue. If the group in the article is talking about purely about health issues but not attacking farming (big or small) in any real way, then chances are the agricultural industry doesn't care, so mark it as 'neutral.'*
- *Cannot be determined = unable to code, other tone; try to select this sparingly. For agriculture, this can be hard, because there are corporate farmers, and small family farmers, sometimes with different interests, so this can be tricky… in that case, depending on the article, mark 'Cannot be determined' if the article specifically portrays competing interests between big and small farmers and you aren't sure who, amongst ALL farmers, would like the article. Big ag would like what this witness says. If some farmers would like what this group is saying and some would hate it, then mark 'Cannot be determined.'*

F#e. Tone (Public Health) = This is assessing the tone used by the particular group/witness, from the vantage point of the public health field. Go from your gut. The less you think about it, sometimes the easier it is. Here's your prompt question: ***Would the Public Health Field LIKE what this group/individual says/represents?***

- *Negative = negative coverage, in opposition to public health gains/goals/programs/productivity. For example: we don't like cutting funding for anything public health-related.*
- *Positive = positive coverage, something that supports or is beneficial to public health, "good news." Anything that public health practitioners would like, and we like a lot of things: good food, full access to health care, primary care, feeding the hungry, low pesticide use for farm workers, healthy work conditions (urban or rural), everything! We like most things good for public health! Clean living conditions, more funding for food stamps, food stamps being used at farmers markets, etc.*
- *Neutral = does not purport an opinion, statistical/objective presentation of issue*
- *Cannot be determined = unable to code, other tone; try to select this sparingly*

**** PAGE 7 OF ONLINE FORM ****

Section G. Group Total and Tone

This is the last page of the online coding instrument form. It asks for a total count of groups/individuals in the document (0-100) and the OVERALL tone of the document.

G1. If there are more than ten (>10) groups/individuals in the document, please list them below (but do not include information on category/type/policy images/tone). Unfortunately, this form is unable to accommodate more than 10 groups/individuals beyond what is available in Section F.

G5. is the final question of the survey if the document has been coded.

G1. Additional Groups / Individuals

_____

_____

_____

If there are more than ten (>10) groups/individuals in the document, please list them below (but do not include information on category/type/policy images/tone). Separate multiple entries with a semi-colon. Unfortunately, this form is unable to accommodate more than 10 groups/individuals beyond what is available in Section F, so simply list the names of other important groups/individuals. Leave this area BLANK if there are not more than 10 groups/individuals and Section F has captured all necessary information.

G2. Total # Groups / Individuals: _____
Total # of Groups / Individuals = absolute total number (no repetition of groups) of significant groups or individuals noted in the document. Total the number of groups/individuals in Section F and add it to G1. for a total for G2. You don't have to list category, type, policy images, or tone for these groups.

G3. Document Tone – Agriculture □ Negative □ Positive □ Neutral
Document Tone – Agriculture = This is where you look at the ENTIRE article and ask, "Would the Ag industry/field like this article?" Follow the same guidelines as above in F#d. and F#e. but for the document as a whole.

- *Negative = someone in the ag industry would not like this*
- *Positive = someone in the ag industry would like this*
- *Neutral = the ag industry would not care about this document*
- *Cannot be determined = use sparingly; unsure; the ag industry would not as a whole agree on how to react to this document; some like it, others don't; not clear*

G4. Document Tone – Public Health □ Negative □ Positive □ Neutral
Document Tone – Public Health = This is where you look at the ENTIRE article and ask, "Would the Public Health field like this article?" Follow the same guidelines as above in F#d. and F#e. but for the document as a whole.

- *Negative = in general / most in the PH field would not like this*
- *Positive = in general / most in the PH field would like this*
- *Neutral = the PH field would not care about this document*
- *Cannot be determined = use sparingly; unsure, the PH field would not as a whole agree on how to react to this document; some like it, others don't; not clear*

G5. Overall Tone: Downs / status quo vs. Schattschneider / change
Overall Tone = What is the overall tone of the document, from a reader's perspective (not from either the PH or agriculture field)? More of the same / keep the status quo / perpetuation of the present (i.e. Downsian mobilization)?
Change or expansion of definition, policy image, or policy outcome (i.e. Schattschneider mobilization)? This is the last question of the form.

G6. Additional Information / Notes
Please enter any additional information that is not noted elsewhere in the coding form.

(e.g. technical glitches, lingering questions, anything unusual about the article, pertinent quotes)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

**** PAGE 17 OF ONLINE FORM ****
Done! Thank you!
Click **'Submit'!**

APPENDIX B

CODING INSTRUMENT

Appendix B. Coding Instrument contains screenshot images of the online coding instrument used to code media and congressional documents. Google Forms was used to create a shareable coding instrument file between myself and the research assistant. This online coding instrument accompanies the codebook found in Appendix A.

Because of the difficulty of making revisions and updating the coding insturment online, any discrepancies between the coding instrument and codebook were resolved by deferring to the codebook, which was updated during the iterative process of coding.

☐ Allow users to edit responses. What's this?

☐ Require **Temple University** sign-in to view this form.

☐ Automatically collect respondent's **Temple University** username.

Dissertation Coding Instrument. v6.

Version 6: This coding instrument has been designed to provide data for a dissertation on 'The Evolution of Food Security: Rhetoric and Policy." This instrument will be used to code media, academic, and congressional documents to supplement a historical survey of food security provisions of the Farm Bills between 1977 and 2009.

Questions should be directed to natalie.tellez@gmail.com and/or nmt.mphphd@gmail.com

Section A. Technical Information

This section records details on who, when, and what was read and coded. It also indicates how the article is saved or located.

A1. Document Reviewer *

Coder's first name

A2. Date of Document Review *

MMDDYYYY - no hyphens or slashes, numbers only

A3. Document Type *

Classify document as either government, academic, media or other source

Media

A4. Document Source *

Indicates specific newspaper, journal, or government venue as the source

- ◯ New York Times
- ◯ Wall Street Journal
- ◯ Roll Call
- ◯ The Washington Post
- ◯ The Hill
- ◯ American Journal of Public Health
- ◯ Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report
- ◯ Congressional Hearing (see A4a.)
- ◯ Other:

A4a. Congressional Hearing Committee Information (Document Source)
List the congressional Committee, Sub-committee, and Referring Committee (N/A if not referred) of the hearing as a text, separate by semicolons

A5. Document Name *
Type or copy full name of the document

A6. Document Date *
MMDDYYYY - numbers only, no dashes or slashes

A7. Document Year *
Enter only the year of the document, YYYY

A8. Document Location *
Choose a location or description of where the document is saved or retrievable.
Article is saved as a PDF, on file on a USB drive/computer, indicate name of file in A8a.

A8a. Unique Document Identifier *
Enter _ of __ if search result, enter Proquest unique identifier if an emailed PDF, enter file name if saved as PDF, enter URL if a website. This does not have to be extensive, but does have to be unique and clear.

Section B. Decision to Code

This is where the coder decides whether the document meets the inclusion/exclusion criteria. After a quick (or detailed) read of the document, determine whether this document will fit into the study, and thus whether it should be further read and coded.

B1. Decision to Code *
Indicates whether document becomes part of the final sample (read and coded) or not.

- ◯ Coded
- ◯ Not Coded

Section C. Frequency of Terms

Numbers! Quick and easy raw word counts. This is the basic section to provide for quantitative data, essentially descriptives of the frequency of the terms/rhetoric of interest. When counting the frequency of the term look only at the document text, exclude title, references, footnotes, graphs, tables, etc. Include abstracts , headings, and subheadings. If the term is not found in the document, enter 0 (zero).

C1. Food Security Word Count *

Count total incidences of the term "food security" and all derivations of the term (e.g. food secure), enter number.

C2. Food Insecurity Word Count *

Count total incidences of the term "food insecurity" and all derivations of the term (e.g. food insecure), enter number.

C3. Hunger Word Count *

Count total incidences of the term "hunger" and all derivations of the term (e.g. hungry), enter number. Exclude the term "anti-hunger" from the count.

C4. Farm Bill Word Count *

Count total incidences of the term "farm bill," enter number. Derivations that also count include: Farm and Food Bill, Food Security Bill, any "Bill" where you know for sure they are referring to a Farm Bill; P.L. 480 or Food for Peace does NOT count.

C5. Related Terms

List any related terms that you find prevalent in the article that are used to discuss the issue of food insecurity and hunger. You do not have to count how many times they are used, just list the terms. E.g. "food scarcity" "food insufficiency" "

C6. Related Programs

Please check which, if any, of the following programs are mentioned in the document. This is a non-comprehensive list of both traditional and innovative programs that are sometimes referred to as contributing to the U.S. national nutrition safety net.

- [ ] SNAP / FSP (Food Stamps Program)
- [ ] Natonal School Lunch / Breakfast Program
- [ ] WIC (Special Nutriton Program for Women, Infants, and Children)
- [ ] Summer Food Service Program
- [ ] TEFAP (The/Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program)
- [ ] CSFP (Commodity Supplemental Food Program)
- [ ] Senior / WIC Farmers Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP or WIC-FMNP)
- [ ] Farm-to-School Programs (or Farm-to-_____)
- [ ] Know Your Farmer, Know Your Food

- [ ] Child and Adult Care Food Program (CACFP)
- [ ] Community Food Projects (CFP)
- [ ] EFNEP (Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program)
- [ ] Community Supported Agriculture (CSA)
- [ ] FDPIR (Food Distribution Programs on Indian Reservations)
- [ ] Farmer's Market Promotion Program (FMPP)
- [ ] Special Milk Program
- [ ] Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Program (FFVP)
- [ ] P.L. 480 or Food for Peace Program

Section D. Issue Definitions and Dimensions

This section identifies the degree to which the issue is defined or conceptualized as either hunger or food insecurity. Also includes which dimensions of food security (availability, access, utilization, stability) are conceptualized or addressed in the document. Once we look at this data longitudinally, this section will help in identifying when the conceptualization of the issue changed.

BOTH D1 and D2 CANNOT be 'Primary.'
However, D3, D4, D5, and D6 COULD all be marked 'Primary' - there can be more than one 'Primary' in D3-D6.

Gradations:
**Primary = 75-100%, main idea, significant portion of document or issue portrayal, dominant, gut obvious. On a scale of Mostly/Somewhat/None, it would always be 'Mostly.'

**Secondary = 20-75%, significant but not gut obvious, worth repeating, can be anything from 2 mentions to 75% of document or idea, hovering around 50%. On a scale of Mostly/Somewhat/None it would always be 'Somewhat.'

**Partly = 1-20%, barely, 1 mention, close to 'None' than 'Somewhat,' if it is significant enough to repeat bump it up to 'Secondary.'

**None = no mention, indication, or allusion to it in the document.

D1. Hunger Issue Definition *
Document defines/discusses the issue as hunger, or an individual-level (or population-level) *PHYSIOLOGICAL/PHYSICAL CONDITION or state* Note: BOTH D1 and D2 CANNOT be 'Primary.'

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

D2. Food Insecurity Definition *
Document defines/discusses the issue as food insecurity, or a household- or community-level *ECONOMIC AND/OR SOCIAL CONDITION* of limited/unstable access to food or limited knowledge of how to utilize accessed food / environmental or macro CAUSAL FACTORS. Note: BOTH D1 and D2 CANNOT be 'Primary.'

- ◯ Primary

- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

D3. Availability - Food Security Dimension *

Availability dimension refers to domestic and international supply and production of food and its trade.

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

D4. Access - Food Security Dimension *

Access dimension refers to both physical and economic ability to access available and appropriate food.

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

D5. Utilization - Food Security Dimension *

Utilization dimension is a non-food input referencing knowledge and skills required to provide an adequate diet (e.g. access to clean water, sanitation, cooking resources, and food storage; nutrition education).

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

D6. Stability - Food Security Dimension *

Stability dimension refers to adverse weather conditions, political instability, or economic factors (e.g. unemployment, rising food prices) that affect the other three dimensions.

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

Section E. Policy Images and Framing

This section helps identify which symbolic images are present and associated with food security in document, and to what degree. A choice of 15 images are given. Other images, choices E1p. and E1q. can also be

selected and designated. We will also code for the three most predominant policy images in the document. Finally this section asks how the document is framed (from which vantage point or perspective).

All choices need to be assigned a degree as either Primary, Secondary, Partly, or None. More than one policy image can be selected as 'Primary.' Only images marked as 'Primary' in E1 can qualify to be selected as dominant images in E2.

In paper format, this section looks like a TABLE which might be easier for visualization and understanding what the results will look like and how they matter. You can see this table in the Codebook.

E1a. Public Health *

Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with public health

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1b. Obesity *

Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with obesity

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1c. Nutrition / Malnutrition *

Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with nutrition or malnutrition

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1d. Anti-hunger Advocacy *

Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with anti-hunger advocacy

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1e. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production *

Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with national security or the agricultural supply and production of food (either domestic or foreign)

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1f. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid *

Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with international hunger assistance or food aid

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1g. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs *

Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with U.S. government / public nutrition assistance programming (e.g. food stamps, SNAP, WIC, school lunch & breakfast programs, senior farmers market nutrition program, CSFP)

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1h. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments *

Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with agricultural/farm subsidies, income supports, or other payments to farmers (can be domestic or international)

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1i. Welfare Rhetoric and Programs *

Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with welfare assistance (U.S. only)

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1j. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance *
Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with community food security, regional/local efforts, self-reliance

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1k. Environment / Conservation *
Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with environment and conservation

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1l. Trade and Economics *
Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with trade and economics (e.g. Doha trade talks, foreign markets)

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1m. Sustainable Agriculture *
Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with sustainable agricultural practices.

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1n. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development *
Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with farm or farmer security or livelihood preservation, including rural development.

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1o. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors *

Select to what degree the images of food security, food insecurity, and hunger are related to/associated with policy, policy development or legislation, or political actors (e.g. Senators)

- ◯ Primary
- ◯ Secondary
- ◯ Partly
- ◯ None

E1p. Other

Enter in a policy image that is associated with food security, food insecurity, and hunger that is not listed above. ALSO indicate the degree (primary, second., or partly) to which it is related.

E1q. Other

Enter in a policy image that is associated with food security, food insecurity, and hunger that is not listed above. ALSO indicate the degree (primary, second., or partly) to which it is related.

E2. Predominant Policy Images (3) *

Select up to 3 (THREE) policy images that are the top, most dominant in the document. These must be marked as 'Primary' in E1 to qualify for selection in E2.

- ☐ A. Public Health
- ☐ B. Obesity
- ☐ C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
- ☐ D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
- ☐ E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
- ☐ F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
- ☐ G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
- ☐ H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments
- ☐ I. Welfare Rhetoric and Programs
- ☐ J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance
- ☐ K. Environment / Conservation
- ☐ L. Trade and Economics
- ☐ M. Sustainable Agriculture
- ☐ N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- ☐ O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- ☐ P. Other
- ☐ Q. Other

E3. Policy Framing *

Is the document framed more from a health/public health field point of view or agricultural industry point of view? Or other?

- [ ] Health / Public Health / Nutrition Frame
- [ ] Agriculture Frame
- [ ] Other:

Page 6 After page 5 Continue to next page

Section F. Mobilization

This matrix (appears as a table in the Codebook) helps in identifying interest groups and individuals active in the rhetoric, formation, policy, and movement of food security. It includes coding for the name of organizations/individuals, policy images espoused, and tone. Then the policy images and tone should be coded for each organization/individual. For media documents, prominent/significant organizations that are mentioned as sources for the story or who are quoted within the article should be listed here.
For congressional documents, the witness/testimony list should be the source for identifying who is noted here. Individuals (like politicians) should be listed by name, party, state, and as checked as "individual" in the category (F1a) and "other" in type (F1b).
List the interest group or individual only once even if they appear more than once in a document.

More details on how to record the name/organization, code category/type, distinguish between tones can be found in the Codebook.

Special cases like U.S. Presidents, the White House, and the USDA are described in the Codebook. Please note that the USDA can sometimes, depending on their focus in the article, be marked as a Public Health Interest Group OR an Agriculture Group - they do both; choose according to the article, the best fit.

The prompt question you can think of when trying to identify groups/individuals to record here is: "Taking a 30+ year broad perspective, who is instrumental in shaping food security, either the movement, the language, or the policy of food security? Who matters or is influential in the long scheme of things?"

Section F is for groups/individuals who are CENTRAL to the objectives and purposes of the study. Section G is reserved for listing any/all groups who are secondary (or additional to the 10 central listed in Section F).

Section F can record up to 10 (ten) groups/individuals. If there are more than 10 CENTRAL groups/individuals, you will be given the opportunity to list more in Section G.
You only have to fill out as many questions as there are groups/individuals that need to be recorded. If there are 0 (zero) or only a few groups, the last question in Section F will help you to exit out of Section F and continue on to the final section (Section G) of the coding instrument.

Each question has 7 parts (E.g. F1, F1a, F1b, F1c, F1d, F1e, F1f). If there is a second group/individual, this will be numbered as F2, F2a, F2b, F2c, F2d, F2e, F2f, and so on up through the number 10 (e.g. F10, F10a, F10b...).

F1. Group / Individual

Enter the name of the individual witness or the group/organization/interest group.

F1a. Group/Individual Category

Choose the best fit to categorize what/whose interest is being represented by the group or individual. See codebook for more details.

- ◯ Public Interest Group (e.g. non-profit org)
- ◯ Private / Special Interest Group (e.g. for-profit org)

- ◯ Government Interest Group/Agency or IO
- ◯ Individual

F1b. Group/Individual Type

Choose the type to best describe the interest of the group or individual.

- ◯ Agriculture Group
- ◯ Public Health / Health Group
- ◯ Anti-hunger / Food Security Group
- ◯ Other

F1c. Group/Individual Policy Images

Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individu

- ☐ A. Public Health
- ☐ B. Obesity
- ☐ C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
- ☐ D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
- ☐ E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
- ☐ F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
- ☐ G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
- ☐ H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments
- ☐ I. Welfare Rhetoric
- ☐ J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance
- ☐ K. Environment / Conservation
- ☐ L. Trade and Economics
- ☐ M. Sustainable Agriculture
- ☐ N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- ☐ O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- ☐ P. Other
- ☐ Q. Other

F1d. Group/Individual Tone - Agriculture

Code the tone from the vantage point of the agricultural industry

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F1e. Group/Individual Tone - Public Health
Code the tone from the vantage point of the public health field

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F1f. More CENTRAL Groups/Individuals? *
If there are (any) more groups or individuals to identify, please select 'Yes' and the form will continue on. If you select 'No' the form will lead you to the final questions of the survey.

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Page 7 After page 6 Continue to next page

Note: "Go to page" selections will override this navigation. Learn more.

Section G. Mobilization Total & Tone

This is the last page of the online coding instrument form. It asks for a total count of groups/individuals in the document (0-100) and the OVERALL tone of the document.

Section F is for CENTRAL groups/individuals. G1 is for SECONDARY or additional central groups/individuals.

G1. If there are more than ten CENTRAL (>10) groups/individuals in the document, please list them below (but do not include information on category/type/policy images/tone). Unfortunately, this form is unable to accommodate more than 10 groups/individuals beyond what is available in Section F.

G5. is the final question of the survey if the document has been coded.

G1. Secondary Groups/Individuals
If there are more than ten (>10) CENTRAL groups/individuals in the document, please list them below (but do not include information on category/type/policy images/tone). This question is ALSO used to record any and all SECONDARY groups/individuals who may be mentioned in the article but who is not deemed PRIMARY or CENTRAL to the study objectives. Essentially, EVERY group/individual of the document should be listed either in Section F or G1. Leave blank if there are no additional or secondary groups.

G2. Total # Groups/Individuals *
G2 = F + G1. A total count of both CENTRAL and SECONDARY groups/individuals in the document. Total count of the number of interest groups and individuals/witnesses per document (0-100)

G3. Document Tone - Agriculture *

This is where you look at the ENTIRE article and ask, "Would the Ag industry/field like this article?" Follow the same guidelines as above in F#d. and F#e. but for the document as a whole. See Codebook for details on - + neutral, etc.

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

G4. Document Tone - Public Health *

This is where you look at the ENTIRE article and ask, "Would the Public Health field like this article?" Follow the same guidelines as above in F#d. and F#e. but for the document as a whole. See Codebook for details on - + neutral, etc.

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

G5. Overal Tone *

What is the overall tone of the document, from a reader's perspective (not from either the PH or agriculture field)? This is the last question of the form.

- ◯ Keep the status quo / More of the same / perpetuation of the present (i.e. Downsian mobilization)
- ◯ Change or expansion of definition, policy image, or policy outcome (i.e. Schattschneider mobilization)

G6. Additional Informaton/Notes

Please enter any additional information that is not noted elsewhere in the coding form. (e.g. technical glitches, lingering questions, anything unusual about the article)

Page 8 After page 7 Continue to next page

Note: "Go to page" selections will override this navigation. Learn more.

Section B. (Cont.) Exclusion Reason(s)

This is the last page. Once you decide (in question B1) that a document should NOT be coded, please not the reason WHY.
This ends the form and the coding for the document.

B2. Exclusion Criteria/Reason(s)

Check any and all reasons why the document was not coded.

- ☐ Irrelevant / improper use of search term (e.g. "land-hungry")
- ☐ Not appropriate document type (e.g. bibliography, table, image)

- [ ] Full text not available
- [ ] Unable to obtain document in person (not digital, but unable to procure through library)
- [ ] Relevant use of terms food security, food insecurity, hunger but ONLY international in scope w/o reference to U.S. policy, programs (e.g. no mention of U.S. food aid or trade)
- [ ] Not about food insecurity, food security, hunger in humans (e.g. hunger cues in rats)
- [ ] Other:

B3. Are you sure?
Check 'Yes' to exit the online form. Check 'No' if you want to go back to review technical document information on Page 1, Section A.

- ◯ Yes! This document is NOT to be coded.
- ◯ No. Let me review Section A. and/or the document again.

Page 9 After page 8 Continue to next page

Note: "Go to page" selections will override this navigation. Learn more.

Section F. (Cont.) Mobilization

F2. Group / Individual
Enter the name of the individual witness or the group/organization/interest group.

F2a. Group/Individual Category
Choose the best fit to categorize what/whose interest is being represented by the group or individual. See codebook for more details.

- ◯ Public Interest Group (e.g. non-profit org)
- ◯ Private / Special Interest Group (e.g. for-profit org)
- ◯ Government Interest Group/Agency or IO
- ◯ Individual

F2b. Group/Individual Type
Choose the type to best describe the interest of the group or individual.

- ◯ Agriculture Group
- ◯ Public Health / Health Group
- ◯ Anti-hunger / Food Security Group
- ◯ Other

F2c. Group/Individual Policy Images
Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individual.

- [ ] A. Public Health
- [ ] B. Obesity
- [ ] C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
- [ ] D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
- [ ] E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
- [ ] F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
- [ ] G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
- [ ] H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments
- [ ] I. Welfare Rhetoric
- [ ] J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance
- [ ] K. Environment / Conservation
- [ ] L. Trade and Economics
- [ ] M. Sustainable Agriculture
- [ ] N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- [ ] O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- [ ] P. Other
- [ ] Q. Other

F2d. Group/Individual Tone - Agriculture
Code the tone from the vantage point of the agricultural industry

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F2e. Group/Individual Tone - Public Health
Code the tone from the vantage point of the public health field

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F2f. More CENTRAL Groups/Individuals? *
If there are more groups or individuals to identify, please select 'Yes' and the form will continue on. If you select 'No' the form will lead you to the final questions of the survey.

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Section F. (Cont.) Mobilization

F3. Group / Individual
Enter the name of the individual witness or the group/organization/interest group.

F3a. Group/Individual Category
Choose the best fit to categorize what/whose interest is being represented by the group or individual. See codebook for more details.

- ◯ Public Interest Group (e.g. non-profit org)
- ◯ Private / Special Interest Group (e.g. for-profit org)
- ◯ Government Interest Group/Agency or IO
- ◯ Individual

F3b. Group/Individual Type
Choose the type to best describe the interest of the group or individual.

- ◯ Agriculture Group
- ◯ Public Health / Health Group
- ◯ Anti-hunger / Food Security Group
- ◯ Other

F3c. Group/Individual Policy Images
Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individual.

- ☐ A. Public Health
- ☐ B. Obesity
- ☐ C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
- ☐ D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
- ☐ E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
- ☐ F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
- ☐ G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
- ☐ H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments
- ☐ I. Welfare Rhetoric
- ☐ J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance
- ☐ K. Environment / Conservation
- ☐ L. Trade and Economics

- [ ] M. Sustainable Agriculture
- [ ] N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- [ ] O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- [ ] P. Other
- [ ] Q. Other

F3d. Group/Individual Tone - Agriculture
Code the tone from the vantage point of the agricultural industry

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F3e. Group/Individual Tone - Public Health
Code the tone from the vantage point of the public health field

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F3f. More CENTRAL Groups/Individuals? *
If there are more groups or individuals to identify, please select 'Yes' and the form will continue on. If you select 'No' the form will lead you to the final questions of the survey.

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Section F. (Cont.) Mobilization

F4. Group / Individual
Enter the name of the individual witness or the group/organization/interest group.

F4a. Group/Individual Category
Choose the best fit to categorize what/whose interest is being represented by the group or individual. See codebook for more details.

- ◯ Public Interest Group (e.g. non-profit org)

- ◯ Private / Special Interest Group (e.g. for-profit org)
- ◯ Government Interest Group/Agency or IO
- ◯ Individual

F4b. Group/Individual Type

Choose the type to best describe the interest of the group or individual.

- ◯ Agriculture Group
- ◯ Public Health / Health Group
- ◯ Anti-hunger / Food Security Group
- ◯ Other

F4c. Group/Individual Policy Images

Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individual.

- ☐ A. Public Health
- ☐ B. Obesity
- ☐ C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
- ☐ D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
- ☐ E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
- ☐ F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
- ☐ G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
- ☐ H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments
- ☐ I. Welfare Rhetoric
- ☐ J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance
- ☐ K. Environment / Conservation
- ☐ L. Trade and Economics
- ☐ M. Sustainable Agriculture
- ☐ N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- ☐ O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- ☐ P. Other
- ☐ Q. Other

F4d. Group/Individual Tone - Agriculture

Code the tone from the vantage point of the agricultural industry

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F4e. Group/Individual Tone - Public Health
Code the tone from the vantage point of the public health field

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F4f. More CENTRAL Groups/Individuals? *
If there are more groups or individuals to identify, please select 'Yes' and the form will continue on. If you select 'No' the form will lead you to the final questions of the survey.

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

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Note: "Go to page" selections will override this navigation. Learn

Section F. (Cont.) Mobilization

F5. Group / Individual
Enter the name of the individual witness or the group/organization/interest group.

F5a. Group/Individual Category
Choose the best fit to categorize what/whose interest is being represented by the group or individual. See codebook for more details.

- ◯ Public Interest Group (e.g. non-profit org)
- ◯ Private / Special Interest Group (e.g. for-profit org)
- ◯ Government Interest Group/Agency or IO
- ◯ Individual

F5b. Group/Individual Type
Choose the type to best describe the interest of the group or individual.

- ◯ Agriculture Group
- ◯ Public Health / Health Group
- ◯ Anti-hunger / Food Security Group
- ◯ Other

F5c. Group/Individual Policy Images

Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individual.

- [ ] A. Public Health
- [ ] B. Obesity
- [ ] C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
- [ ] D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
- [ ] E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
- [ ] F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
- [ ] G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
- [ ] H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments
- [ ] I. Welfare Rhetoric
- [ ] J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance
- [ ] K. Environment / Conservation
- [ ] L. Trade and Economics
- [ ] M. Sustainable Agriculture
- [ ] N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- [ ] O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- [ ] P. Other
- [ ] Q. Other

F5d. Group/Individual Tone - Agriculture

Code the tone from the vantage point of the agricultural industry

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F5e. Group/Individual Tone - Public Health

Code the tone from the vantage point of the public health field

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F5f. More CENTRAL Groups/Individuals? *

If there are more groups or individuals to identify, please select 'Yes' and the form will continue on. If you select 'No' the form will lead you to the final questions of the survey.

- ◯ Yes

○ No

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Note: "Go to page" selections will override this navigation. Learn mo

Section F. (Cont.) Mobilization

F6. Group / Individual
Enter the name of the individual witness or the group/organization/interest group.

F6a. Group/Individual Category
Choose the best fit to categorize what/whose interest is being represented by the group or individual. See codebook for more details.

○ Public Interest Group (e.g. non-profit org)
○ Private / Special Interest Group (e.g. for-profit org)
○ Government Interest Group/Agency or IO
○ Individual

F6b. Group/Individual Type
Choose the type to best describe the interest of the group or individual.

○ Agriculture Group
○ Public Health / Health Group
○ Anti-hunger / Food Security Group
○ Other

F6c. Group/Individual Policy Images
Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individual.

☐ A. Public Health
☐ B. Obesity
☐ C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
☐ D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
☐ E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
☐ F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
☐ G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
☐ H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments
☐ I. Welfare Rhetoric
☐ J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance

- [ ] K. Environment / Conservation
- [ ] L. Trade and Economics
- [ ] M. Sustainable Agriculture
- [ ] N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- [ ] O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- [ ] P. Other
- [ ] Q. Other

F6d. Group/Individual Tone - Agriculture
Code the tone from the vantage point of the agricultural industry

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F6e. Group/Individual Tone - Public Health
Code the tone from the vantage point of the public health field

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F6f. More CENTRAL Groups/Individuals? *
If there are more groups or individuals to identify, please select 'Yes' and the form will continue on. If you select 'No' the form will lead you to the final questions of the survey.

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Section F. (Cont.) Mobilization

F7. Group / Individual
Enter the name of the individual witness or the group/organization/interest group.

F7a. Group/Individual Category

Choose the best fit to categorize what/whose interest is being represented by the group or individual. See codebook for more details.

- ◯ Public Interest Group (e.g. non-profit org)
- ◯ Private / Special Interest Group (e.g. for-profit org)
- ◯ Government Interest Group/Agency or IO
- ◯ Individual

F7b. Group/Individual Type

Choose the type to best describe the interest of the group or individual.

- ◯ Agriculture Group
- ◯ Public Health / Health Group
- ◯ Anti-hunger / Food Security Group
- ◯ Other

F7c. Group/Individual Policy Images

Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individua

- ☐ A. Public Health
- ☐ B. Obesity
- ☐ C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
- ☐ D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
- ☐ E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
- ☐ F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
- ☐ G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
- ☐ H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments
- ☐ I. Welfare Rhetoric
- ☐ J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance
- ☐ K. Environment / Conservation
- ☐ L. Trade and Economics
- ☐ M. Sustainable Agriculture
- ☐ N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- ☐ O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- ☐ P. Other
- ☐ Q. Other

F7d. Group/Individual Tone - Agriculture

Code the tone from the vantage point of the agricultural industry

- ◯ Negative

- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F7e. Group/Individual Tone - Public Health
Code the tone from the vantage point of the public health field

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F7f. More CENTRAL Groups/Individuals? *
If there are more groups or individuals to identify, please select 'Yes' and the form will continue on. If you select 'No' the form will lead you to the final questions of the survey.

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

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Note: "Go to page" selections will override this navigation. Learn more.

Section F. (Cont.) Mobilization

F8. Group / Individual
Enter the name of the individual witness or the group/organization/interest group.

F8a. Group/Individual Category
Choose the best fit to categorize what/whose interest is being represented by the group or individual. See codebook for more details.

- ◯ Public Interest Group (e.g. non-profit org)
- ◯ Private / Special Interest Group (e.g. for-profit org)
- ◯ Government Interest Group/Agency or IO
- ◯ Individual

F8b. Group/Individual Type
Choose the type to best describe the interest of the group or individual.

- ◯ Agriculture Group
- ◯ Public Health / Health Group
- ◯ Anti-hunger / Food Security Group

F8c. Group/Individual Policy Images
Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individual.

- [ ] A. Public Health
- [ ] B. Obesity
- [ ] C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
- [ ] D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
- [ ] E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
- [ ] F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
- [ ] G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
- [ ] H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments
- [ ] I. Welfare Rhetoric
- [ ] J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance
- [ ] K. Environment / Conservation
- [ ] L. Trade and Economics
- [ ] M. Sustainable Agriculture
- [ ] N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- [ ] O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- [ ] P. Other
- [ ] Q. Other

F8d. Group/Individual Tone - Agriculture
Code the tone from the vantage point of the agricultural industry

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F8e. Group/Individual Tone - Public Health
Code the tone from the vantage point of the public health field

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F8f. More CENTRAL Groups/Individuals? *

If there are more groups or individuals to identify, please select 'Yes' and the form will continue on. If you select 'No' the form will lead you to the final questions of the survey.

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

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Note: "Go to page" selections will override this navigation. Learn more.

Section F. (Cont.) Mobilization

F9. Group / Individual
Enter the name of the individual witness or the group/organization/interest group.

F9a. Group/Individual Category
Choose the best fit to categorize what/whose interest is being represented by the group or individual. See codebook for more details.

- ◯ Public Interest Group (e.g. non-profit org)
- ◯ Private / Special Interest Group (e.g. for-profit org)
- ◯ Government Interest Group/Agency or IO
- ◯ Individual

F9b. Group/Individual Type
Choose the type to best describe the interest of the group or individual.

- ◯ Agriculture Group
- ◯ Public Health / Health Group
- ◯ Anti-hunger / Food Security Group
- ◯ Other

F9c. Group/Individual Policy Images
Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individual.

- ☐ A. Public Health
- ☐ B. Obesity
- ☐ C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
- ☐ D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
- ☐ E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
- ☐ F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
- ☐ G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
- ☐ H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments

- [ ] I. Welfare Rhetoric
- [ ] J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance

- [ ] K. Environment / Conservation
- [ ] L. Trade and Economics
- [ ] M. Sustainable Agriculture
- [ ] N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- [ ] O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- [ ] P. Other
- [ ] Q. Other

F9d. Group/Individual Tone - Agriculture
Code the tone from the vantage point of the agricultural industry

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F9e. Group/Individual Tone - Public Health
Code the tone from the vantage point of the public health field

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F9f. More CENTRAL Groups/Individuals? *
If there are more groups or individuals to identify, please select 'Yes' and the form will continue on. If you select 'No' the form will lead you to the final questions of the survey.

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Section F. (Cont.) Mobilization

F10. Group/Individual
Enter the name of the individual witness or the group/organization/interest group.

F10a. Group/Individual Category
Choose the best fit to categorize what/whose interest is being represented by the group or individual. See codebook for more details.

- ◯ Public Interest Group (e.g. non-profit org)
- ◯ Private / Special Interest Group (e.g. for-profit org)
- ◯ Government Interest Group/Agency or IO
- ◯ Individual

F10b. Group/Individual Type
Choose the type to best describe the interest of the group or individual.

- ◯ Agriculture Group
- ◯ Public Health / Health Group
- ◯ Anti-hunger / Food Security Group
- ◯ Other

F10c. Group/Individual Policy Images
Select up to 3 (THREE) Select the top THREE (3) policy images espoused/portrayed by the group or individual

- ☐ A. Public Health
- ☐ B. Obesity
- ☐ C. Nutrition / Malnutrition
- ☐ D. Anti-hunger Advocacy
- ☐ E. National Security / Ag. Supply & Production
- ☐ F. International Hunger Assistance / Food Aid
- ☐ G. Domestic Nutrition Assistance Programs
- ☐ H. Agricultural Subsidies & Payments
- ☐ I. Welfare Rhetoric
- ☐ J. Community / Local Food Security or Community Self-reliance
- ☐ K. Environment / Conservation
- ☐ L. Trade and Economics
- ☐ M. Sustainable Agriculture
- ☐ N. Farm / Farmer Livelihood & Rural Development
- ☐ O. Policy / Policy Development / Political Actors
- ☐ P. Other
- ☐ Q. Other

F10d. Group/Individual Tone - Agriculture
Code the tone from the vantage point of the agricultural industry

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F10e. Group/Individual Tone - Public Health
Code the tone from the vantage point of the public health field

- ◯ Negative
- ◯ Positive
- ◯ Neutral
- ◯ Cannot be determined

F10f. More CENTRAL Groups/Individuals? *
If there are more groups or individuals to identify, please select 'Yes' and then list these in G1. If you select 'No' the form will lead you to the final questions of the survey.

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

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Note: "Go to page" selections will override this navigation. Learn more.

Done! Thank you!

APPENDIX C

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

Office for Human Subjects Protections
Institutional Review Board
Medical Intervention Committees A1 & A2
Social and Behavioral Committee B

3400 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19140
Phone 215.707.3390 Fax 215.707.8587
e-mail: richard.throm@temple.edu

MEMORANDUM

To: **IBRAHIM, JENNIFER**
CHP-PUBLIC HEALTH (0910)

From: Richard C. Throm
Director, Office for Human Subjects Protection
Institutional Review Board Coordinator

Date: 16-Feb-2011

Re: Exempt Request Status for IRB Protocol:
13680: Evolution of and Innovation in Food Security

It has been determined by Expedited Review that this study qualifies for exemption status as follows:

45 CFR 46 Protection of Human Subjects

Section 101 (b): Unless otherwise required by department or agency heads, research activities in which the only involvement of human subjects will be in one or more of the following categories are exempt from this policy:

Exemption 4: Collection or Study of Existing Data. Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subject.

Nothing further is required from you at this time; however, if anything in your research design should change, you must notify the Institutional Review Board immediately.

If you should have any questions, please feel free to contact me at 215-707-8757.

Thank you for keeping the IRB informed of your clinical research.