

THESIS

“IF YOU’RE ON GOOD TERMS WITH THOSE PEOPLE, YOU’LL ALWAYS
HAVE A PLACE TO EAT”: A BOURDIEUSIAN APPROACH TO FOOD JUSTICE IN A
PAY-WHAT-YOU-CAN CAFE

Submitted by

Kelly Shreeve

Department of Sociology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Summer 2017

Master’s Committee:

Advisor: Joshua Sbicca

Michael Carolan
Becca Jablonski

Copyright by Kelly Shreeve 2017

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

“IF YOU’RE ON GOOD TERMS WITH THOSE PEOPLE, YOU’LL ALWAYS HAVE A PLACE TO EAT”: A BOURDIEUSIAN APPROACH TO FOOD JUSTICE IN A PAY-WHAT-YOU-CAN CAFE

Alternative food initiatives (AFIs) are widespread, leading to questions from food justice scholars about whether these initiatives are doing justice. One common question is the degree to which initiatives are inclusive of race and class differences. This thesis undertook a four-month qualitative study of a unique, but less commonly studied initiative, a pay-what-you-can (PWC) cafe in a Mountain West state. The organizational structure lacks financial barriers to entry, allowing for people from all economic statuses to participate. Through a Bourdieusian analytical framework, and a multifaceted notion of justice, the thesis finds that the organizational rhetoric that values community, providing ‘good food’ to those without money, and recognizing the abilities of different individuals, explains which groups participate, how they are recognized, and the distribution of resources within the cafe. This matters because it shows how values and broader organizational rules affect how AFIs are able to do justice. These findings contribute to the literature on AFIs by focusing on newly emerging PWCs and expands debates about how such initiatives do food justice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thesis writing is a difficult. The time is filled with emotional ups and downs, analytic walls and theoretical breakthroughs. It is not a journey I wish for anyone to have to go on alone. I know I couldn't have survived it. I want to thank everyone who offered me academic guidance and emotional support through the thesis writing process. These people may not have written a page of this thesis, but I owe every word to them.

I extend my gratitude to those in the sociology department who offered academic guidance. I could not have achieved this research or the associated thesis document without their academic support. This goes back to the professors who guided me in classes I took during the early stages of my master's career and offered feedback on early projects and draft proposals. Even more involved was my steadfast advisor Joshua Sbicca, who met with me weekly throughout the process and guided my learning process. Committee members Michael Carolan and Becca Jablonski gave helpful in- and out-of-department feedback on the final document. I truly appreciate all those in the Colorado State Sociology department who have touched this thesis with their own ideas and feedback.

Equally important are the fellow graduate students who offered calming words through stressful days. My office mates, Kellie Alexander and Leslie Satterfield embraced my whirlwind presence and gladly listened when I needed to discuss my research out loud. Alison Anson, two office doors down, was a smiling face and good-morning hug to motivate long days of work. I want India Luxton to know I will never forget the homemade chocolate-chip cookies placed on my desk in the middle of a hectic day with heart-shaped note saying, 'You can do this.' Finally, I know I would not have made it through this year without the company of Travis Milnes.

Interminable days spent at the Alley Cat were made bearable by his witty presence, and he offered a non-judgmental ear during stressful times.

I give one final appreciation to my family. They were supportive through the process, gladly listening and responding to every one of the texts updating them on the progress of the thesis document. My parents, Kristin and Bill Shreeve, offered financial support when I needed it and quietly accepted weeks without a phone call. My brother, Brandon Shreeve, brightened my day with spunky humor. Graduate school is difficult, and I am grateful to have a family that supports me and encourages me to go after my dreams.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
INTRODUCTION	1
LITERATURE REVIEW	4
Roots of Food Action.....	4
Alternative Food Initiatives.....	4
Food Justice	9
Situating the Giving Cafe	12
Theoretical Framework	12
<i>A Multi-Faceted Notion of Justice: Participation, Recognition, and Distribution</i>	13
<i>Bourdieuian Approach</i>	15
METHODS.....	18
Research Questions	18
Research Design.....	18
Data Analysis.....	29
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	31
Introduction.....	31
Participation in The Community Field	37
<i>The Community Field as Inclusive: ‘Everyone’s on the same page here’</i>	38
<i>Exclusion from the Field: ‘They have a way of doing things’</i>	44
Recognition through Symbolic Capital.....	50
<i>Hierarchy of Roles: Recognition and Distinction</i>	50
<i>Symbolic Violence: Those Who Have Nothing to be Recognized</i>	61
Re-Distribution of Capital through the Field	63
<i>Interactional Social Capital: ‘I brought some for the ones I personally knew’</i>	64
<i>Institutionalized Social Capital: ‘We serve 100 meals a day’</i>	67
<i>Social Capital and Justice Implications: ‘You’ll always have a place to eat’</i>	69
CONCLUSIONS.....	71
Pay-What-You-Can Cafes.....	71
Food Justice Scholarship	75
REFERNCES	77
APPENDICES	82

INTRODUCTION

Alternative food initiatives are prevalent in America. These alternatives take the shape of organizations such as farmers markets, community supported agriculture, and community gardens (A. H. Alkon and Agyeman 2011), and they are often lauded by popular authors such as Michael Pollan (2006) in his widely read book *The Omnivores Dilemma* as answers to environmental and social issues in the dominant food system. Among the purposes of these initiatives are to oppose globalized food production, reconnect farmers and consumers, and empower economically and racially marginalized communities (Allen et al. 2003). However, these organizations have been critically analyzed from the lens of food justice, which questions the inclusivity of AFI's of people of color and low-income populations (Alkon and Agyeman 2011). Guthman (2011b), for example, argues these spaces serve as a 'release valve' that allow those with money to buy their way out of the harms of the dominant food system rather than changing the system itself. Alternatives turn into sites of wealthy, white consumption (Carolan 2012), and they do appropriately serve low-income or communities of color even when that was their intention (Guthman 2008).

DuPuis, Harrison, and Goodman (2011) find that the justice work of AFIs uses multiple, contradictory, conceptualizations of justice concurrently. They suggest that analyzing food justice organizations through reflexivity about the notion of justice and focusing on process over ideals. I build on this argument and consider not whether but *how* an AFI does justice (Cadieux and Slocum 2015). To highlight process, I embrace Schlosberg's (2004) multi-faceted notion of justice, which argues for justice to be considered as three interlinking, overlapping spheres of participation, recognition, and distribution. I overlay the multi-faceted notion of justice with a

Bourdieuian theoretical framework to further explain why and how participation, recognition, and distribution occur in an AFI.

I deploy this conceptualization of justice on a new type of food organization, a pay-what-you-can (PWC) cafe. These cafes focus on providing high-quality food to those who are economically marginalized. They operate like other restaurants, focusing on serving healthy, seasonal food to those who walk in the door. However, these meals are served without a price tag. Rather, they ask diners to pay what they can or volunteer in return for a meal. Each PWC cafe is an independently operated non-profit, but they are organized under the parent organization: One World Everybody Eats (OWEE). This organization states that PWC cafes are all united by a set of seven core values: (1) pay-what-you-can-pricing, (2) patrons can choose their own portion size, (3) healthy, seasonal food served whenever possible, (4) patrons may volunteer in exchange for a meal, (5) volunteers are used to the maximum extent possible to staff the organization, (6) paid staff earn a living wage, (7) a community table is offered. The concept started in 2003 and there are now over 60 pay-what-you-can community cafes across the globe, with 50 more in the planning stages. Together they serve over 4,000 meals a day and 1.3 million meals every year (OWEE n.d.).

This thesis develops a theoretical approach to analyze how the AFIs do justice and offers practical suggestions for PWC cafes through an exploratory, qualitative case study of the Giving Cafe¹ ('the Cafe'), a non-profit PWC cafe. Concisely, the research considers how the Cafe does food justice by utilizing a Bourdieusian framework to analyze participation, recognition, and distribution within the community it fosters. The multi-faceted notion of justice emerged as a means to explain how this organization engages in food justice. I find that the community that

¹ Pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis to protect confidentiality

forms in the organization includes people from diverse social positions and has recognition and distributional impacts for those involved. Who participates, which individuals are recognized, and how resources flow through the community can be attributed to the worldview of the field which includes valuing community, providing 'good food' to those without money, and recognizing the abilities of different individuals. However, these ideals of social justice also serve at times to exclude those the organization is trying most to support and reproduce social boundaries between those of high and low economic statuses. Ultimately, I find that there is potential for the organization to increase participation from many social groups, recognize talents of more individuals, and have a larger re-distributive effect by addressing disconnects between the goals of the organization and actions of powerful members of the field.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Roots of Food Action

Environmental and social issues are present in both the production and consumption of food. Environmentally, farmers are under economic pressures to utilize mono-cropped fields, continuously mechanize, and increase pesticide use. These practices have the result of depleting soil nutrients, increasing fossil fuel use, and putting chemicals into the environment (Carolan 2012). Consumption of food is environmentally harmful as well, relying on a system where food is produced in one location of the globe and shipped using fossil-fuel-reliant transportation to be consumed in another (McMichael 2012).

Socially, our food system rests on structures of racial and class inequalities. Food production historically relied on a system of slavery (Green, Green, and Kleiner 2011), and now runs on migrant laborers from Latin America (Holmes 2013). Unequal access to food consumption is linked to the history of capital flight, poverty, and the redlining of communities of color, which means that lack of food availability is concentrated in areas with high proportions of people of color (McClintock 2011). Production and consumption are both tied to class as well, with many farmworkers not making enough to feed themselves (Brown and Getz 2011), and low-income individuals less able to purchase healthy food (Guthman 2011b).

Alternative Food Initiatives

The term alternative food initiative (AFI) covers a broad set of initiatives that create an alternative to the conventional food system that address one or a combination of social issues, environmental issues, production and/or distribution of food. These initiatives are an important part of changing the food system, because if we are going to move away from one set of

practices, we need other options in their place (Alkon and Agyeman 2011; Gottlieb and Joshi 2010). AFIs take many shapes including, but not limited to, community supported agriculture, farmers' markets, food policy councils, direct marketing, and producer and consumer cooperatives (Allen et al. 2003). What constitutes an AFI is still debated. Some research, for example, defines them as direct-to-consumer markets (Low et al. 2015) and others as "networks of producers, consumers, and other actors that embody alternatives to the more standardized industrial mode of food supply" (Renting, Marsden, and Banks 2003:394). For a concrete set of characteristics, I utilize Slocum's (2007:522) definition which includes: (1) organizations that support local farmers, (2) non-profits that work with nutrition in education, (3) environmental groups, and (4) organizations that advocate for social justice. The list is not fully comprehensive of every alternative food initiative, but it gives a place of departure for categorizing.

Sites of Social Connection or Exclusion?

A substantial and growing body of literature examines the social impacts of AFIs. Among these are in-depth studies on farmers market (e.g. Hinrichs 2000; Jablonski 2014), CSAs (Hinrichs 2000), co-ops (Beach 2007; Zitcer 2015), urban agriculture (Carolan and Hale 2016; McIvor and Hale 2016), and community gardens (Aptekar 2015). Researchers have found a number of positive social implications from these initiatives, including the possibility for CSAs to re-embed markets (Hinrichs 2000), the potential for UA to foster connections and lead to mobilizations for social change (McIvor and Hale 2016), and the ability of community gardens to be a sight of fighting larger racial hierarchies and uneven racial power dynamics (Aptekar 2015). These findings speak to the capacity for human connection in AFI spaces.

However, AFIs are not a panacea for problems with the food system. One criticism comes from their exclusivity based on class (Alkon and Agyeman 2011). As Carolan (2012)

states, “even when CSAs and farmers’ markets are originally organized to help low-income minority groups they nevertheless often end up serving groups with plenty of access already to whole, locally and/or regionally produced foods – namely, affluent, educated, European-American consumers.” AFIs are at times economically out of reach for those with low incomes (Allen 2008; Zitcer 2015), and they may act rather as a ‘release valve’ for those who have the means and privilege to buy their way out of the conventional food system (Allen 2008; Guthman 2011b). Higher prices are economically necessary for AFIs to stay financially viable in the capitalist market (Low et al. 2015). Nonetheless, purchasing food at an alternative food site can be a privilege not available to those who are economically marginalized.

AFIs have also been critiqued for exclusivity along lines of race. For instance, it has been documented that people of color feel excluded from the vegan movement (Harper 2011). There are both discourses of exoticism that marginalize certain groups’ food cultures as well as concentration of white bodies that make people of color feel out of place within these circles. AFIs can further be coded as ‘white’ spaces that do not draw in or are unwelcoming to people of color (Alkon and Mares 2012; Guthman 2008, 2011a). Slocum (2007) finds it is white, wealthier bodies that tend to be the ones in co-ops, making purchases at certain farmers’ markets, and leading community food non-profits. The clustering of white bodies has the potential to create what she deems as *white food spaces*. These serve to reproduce white privilege and racial oppressions through the unwelcoming nature of the spaces to people of color.

When AFIs are racially diverse, while having the potential to break down racial inequalities, they can serve to reproduce the existing hierarchies and power relations. Aptekar (2015) finds that a community garden in a gentrifying city at times reproduces the social hierarchies and gentrification conflicts are reproduced. Ramirez (2015) argues that white-run

community food organizations in low-income neighborhoods of color are not making substantial actions toward addressing larger racial power imbalances. Sbicca (2015) suggests there is a mental and physical divide between organic farming activists and immigrant farmworkers in the California borderlands that keeps these alternative food activists from addressing racial oppression in their own practices or larger society.

Scholars are split on the degree to which there is potential for change within these initiatives themselves. Ramirez (2015) is skeptical that these food initiatives can address race to a necessary extent without substantial reflexivity and change of actions on the part of the white leaders. However, within the community garden in a gentrifying area, Aptekar (2015) finds that struggles between people of different social groups actually serve to form ties across social difference that can create openings for resistance of larger social hierarchies. On the California borderlands, the organic farmers form a subtle solidarity with Hispanic migrant workers through knowingly allowing immigrant trails to run across their land (Sbicca 2015).

Therefore, while AFIs may be an important piece of the solution to our food system problems, and they have potential for positive community impacts, they are critiqued for not going far enough by failing to include marginalized populations or to confront the structures of inequality that cause food system inequalities in the first place. Food justice scholars call for reflexivity in alternative food practice and a focus on the (re)-production of boundaries and power hierarchies as a means by which to make the initiatives more inclusive and less exploitative.

AFIs and Community

Studies on AFIs illuminate the potential for community-building in alternative food spaces. The study of community goes back to some of the earliest sociology (Durkheim 2008;

Tonnies 2002), but there continue to be debates surrounding the meaning of the term (Delanty 2010). Although contested, I use the term because the Cafe uses it in its mission, and it provides a term to describe the connections between individuals in the organization.

A few conceptualizations of the term ‘community’ stand out. One is a spatial definition which refers to an aggregate of people occupying a geographic territory, while another is an interactional perspective that refers to the relations people have with one another (Bender 1978). The geographic perspective has been critiqued because a group of people all living in the same space, for example, do not necessarily sustain the bonds that are colloquially thought as necessary for a community to exist (Wellman 1979). Alternatively, the interactional perspective allows for these intimate ties between people and suggests that community is a group of people who interact with one another on a regular basis on place-specific matters (Bridger and Luloff 1999). The type of community-building that alternative food studies speak to is the interactional perspective, showing the ability of these communal spaces to encourage interactions and the development of community defined through the close bonds between individuals.

There is evidence in the community literature of the positive impacts of public spaces, which could include AFIs, that foster community. Oldenburg (1999) extensively researched what he terms third places. These are the ‘great good places’ people frequent outside of home and work. They could be coffee shops, restaurants, or even a print shop. They serve as spaces where people come together and find others they can connect with. They can also broaden individual’s perspectives on humanity, raise spirits, and help foster friendships as well as function as sites of organizing for political action (Oldenburg 1999). The research on AFIs shows that they have the potential to take on the characteristics similar to third places, having both the positive impacts and exclusivity associated with them. McIvor and Hale’s (2016) findings on UA, for example,

lines up with the friendship-fostering and political organizing qualities of third places. They find that these organizations are well positioned to cultivate lasting relationships that could form the basis of a community's political capacity. However, as discussed in the last section, they also have the potential to be exclusive and mirror power hierarchies present in society (Aptekar 2015). We need a conceptualization through which to examine the ways and extent to which AFIs are community-building spaces, and how that may be linked to justice concerns.

Food Justice

Food justice (FJ) is both a paradigm and a practice that overlaps with and at times is distinct from AFIs. FJ organizations can adopt many common AFIs (Alkon and Mares 2012). FJ organizations' driving force, however, is to address the centuries of exploitation of people of color and economically marginalized in the food system (Alkon and Agyeman 2011; Slocum and Cadieux 2015). What separates this paradigm and practice from AFIs, then, is an explicit focus on race, class, and gender inequalities in the conventional food system (Alkon and Agyeman 2011). A food justice initiative could be a farmers market, but it might, for example, emphasize the need for that market to be located in as well as created for and by marginalized communities of color (Alkon and Mares 2012).

Confronting Structure or Reproducing It?

There has yet to be an agreed upon definition of food justice, but from an extensive study of food justice organizations, Hislop (2015:19) found potentially the most inclusive definition, stating food justice is "the struggle against racism, exploitation, and oppression taking place within the food system that addresses inequality's root causes both within and beyond the food chain." Another definition has included, "a transformation of the current food system, including but not limited to eliminating disparities and inequities" (Gottlieb and Joshi 2010). Despite these

differences, food justice is generally committed to challenging the structures of the food system responsible for inequality.

There are now thousands of organizations across the country working to support ‘food justice’ (Alkon 2014). These are most often non-profit organizations which most commonly strive to provide access to healthy, affordable food for all (Hislop 2015). They are often farmers markets, CSAs, urban farms, and cooperatively owned grocery stores, but they emphasize their need to be located in as well as created for and by marginalized communities of color (Alkon and Mares 2012). Additionally, food justice initiatives sometimes stem from ‘radical’ histories, such as the international organization Food Not Bombs (Sbicca 2014) and the Black Panther Party Inspired Community Services Unlimited stemming from the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles, California (Broad 2016). These initiatives engage in both political campaigns and struggles to solve problems in the food system. For example, they have potential to make changes such increasing social connections to the environment (Sbicca 2014), putting more emphasis on poverty that leads to food insecurity (Myers and Sbicca 2015), and focusing on those who have long been underserved by the political and economic systems (Broad 2016).

Nevertheless, food justice organizations are imperfect. One common criticism lies in their continued reliance on the market. Despite attempts to make structural change, the market allows many of the efforts to become individualized, not utilizing collective political power to change to the conventional food system (Alkon 2014; Werkheiser and Noll 2014). Reliance on a money-based market also has the effect of making alternatives inaccessible to the very people they were intended to serve in the first place (Alkon and Mares 2012).

Paradigm of Exclusivity

AFI and FJ initiatives are at times put into two separate boxes, with AFIs characterized as exclusive white, middle-class efforts and FJ undertaken by enlightened, justified, and authentic people of color (Slocum and Cadieux 2015). However, the line between ‘food justice’ organizations and AFIs is not in reality so stark. There are indeed many areas of overlap between AFIs and FJ organizations, and bifurcated conceptualizations leave little room to consider the different ways diverse groups and organizations engage in justice work. Slocum and Cadieux (2015) argue for a reconceptualization of food justice organizations. They are careful to state that not every food project seeks social justice, however, they recommend researchers study the ways food justice is being ‘done’ in all contexts.

Moving away from a dichotomous conceptualization of food justice organizations allows space for understanding the multiple ways organizations strive for a just food system. Cadieux and Slocum (2015) find that food justice initiatives tend to organize around multiple causes including: 1) acknowledging and confronting historical, collective social trauma and persistent gender and class inequalities, 2) designing exchange mechanisms that build communal reliance and control, 3) creating innovative ways to control, use, share, own, manage and conceive of land ecologies in general, and 4) pursuing labor relations that guarantee minimum income and are neither alienating nor dependent on unpaid social reproduction by women. This does not imply that every AFI is ‘doing’ justice, but it means that organizations should not be discounted off-the-bat as inadequate. Therefore, this still requires researching white and middle class alternative food efforts.

Situating the Giving Cafe

This thesis focuses on a case study of the non-profit, PWC Giving Cafe ('the Cafe') in a Mountain West state. The Cafe is an alternative food initiative that supports local farmers builds community, and acts for social change. It is also a food justice organization, because it uses an exchange mechanism that attempts to skirt around market-based models by utilizing a pay-what-you-can structure that can increase access to healthy food. This research begins to fill a gap in the food justice literature specifically, and food studies in general, by asking: how does the Giving Cafe, as an alternative food initiative, 'do' food justice? I link the notion of community that has been implicitly discussed in AFI literature, and is central to this specific AFI, to how the organization carries out justice.

Theoretical Framework

Much of the food justice literature has undertones of Marxism (DuPuis et al. 2011), where social change comes from overthrowing the entire conventional food system and replacing it with a new mode of food production. Surely organizations that are working from this angle, confronting systemic issues such as changing government policies surrounding the conventional food system, are 'doing' food justice. But justice can come from creating community connections as well (DuPuis et al. 2011). A nuanced understanding of what justice means and how it might be accomplished allows researchers to more adequately analyze the multiple ways organizations may be working toward justice.

The scholarly discussion on food justice is more-or-less in agreement about the need to address structural inequalities in the food system. However, there is less scholarly attention to historical debates surrounding the nature of justice itself (DuPuis et al. 2011). Where there has been discussion, DuPuis, Harrison, and Goodman (2011) summarize these philosophical debates

to suggest that there are multiple notions of justice underlying alternative food activism. These include communitarian, political economy, and cultural perspectives. From the communitarian angle, food justice would be conceptualized as remaking community connections between different actors in the food system, such as farmers and consumers. The political economy perspective would focus food justice as counter to injustices in a global capitalist food system, a problem that could be solved with re-localization. Cultural perspective takes into consideration the histories and preferences of different race, class, and gender groups, suggesting food justice should take into consideration the varying notions of ‘the good life’ from these different groups (DuPuis et al. 2011). These three types of justice can be contradictory, yet alternative food initiatives often unconsciously take on all perspectives in their practices. Rather than use these tensions as reason to discount one notion or the other, DuPuis et al. (2011) call food justice scholars to engage in a ‘reflexive’ type of justice that embraces contradictions, focuses on process over ideals, and better, as opposed to perfect, food systems.

A Multi-Faceted Notion of Justice: Participation, Recognition, and Distribution

To get at the complexity and process of doing food justice, the environmental justice scholar, David Schlosberg (2004), argues to consider the process by which equal distribution of society’s benefits and harms comes about by considering participation, recognition, and distribution. Schlosberg (2004:521) argues that these are “interlinking, overlapping circles of concern,” in which “inequitable distribution, a lack of recognition, and limited participation all work to produce injustice” (Schlosberg 2004:528). Considering participation and recognition does not reject the ultimate outcome of distributional justice but implores scholars to consider how participation and recognition are indispensable pieces in achieving that end.

The philosophy behind *distributional justice*, is an even distribution of society's goods, benefits, and harms among individuals (Schlosberg 2004). In the food system, it would be an equal distribution of the harms in producing food as well as even access to food. Today's system is unjust in this manner because it fails to distribute benefits and harms evenly among all races and classes. The equal distribution of benefits and harms in the food system is the ultimate goal of food justice, but there has been a lack of explicit discussion of other forms of justice that build into and are interconnected with this distributional outcome.

One key factor underlying unequal distribution is unequal participation. Currently, there are groups in our society who do not or are not welcome to participate in some aspects of society. *Participatory justice*, then, focuses on the need for diverse groups to take part in societal organizations and processes such as in communities and democratic decision making (Schlosberg 2004). This includes making room for people of color and economically marginalized groups to participate in AFIs. The argument is that goods will not be distributed evenly until there is participation from marginalized populations in societal groups.

A second underlying factor is recognition of those diverse groups. *Recognitional justice* suggests distributional inequalities stem from a deeper lack of acknowledgement of different social groups and the privilege and oppression attached to each. Participation and recognition go hand-in-hand, as a lack of recognition keeps certain groups from participating in larger community or politics and a lack of participation hinders the possibility for recognition (Schlosberg 2004). A lack of recognition of different social groups is present in throughout society and should be addressed on multiple levels, including social, cultural, symbolic, and institutional.

While scholars have implicitly referred to participation and recognition in their work, there has been a lack of explicit focus on participatory and recognitional forms of justice in the food justice literature. This conceptual nuance is important because some food justice organizations may make efforts to re-distribute benefits or harms, but this cannot be fully understood without considering participatory or recognitional levels as well. In this research, a multi-faceted approach allows for a fuller understanding of how the Giving Cafe does justice. This leads to three questions: 1) Who takes part in the Cafe? 2) Are diverse groups recognized? 3) How are resources (re)distributed?

Bourdieuian Approach

To complement this multi-faceted notion of justice, I utilize Bourdieusian social theory. This enables me to explore how and why different practices of justice appear. Bourdieu depicts the social world as similar to a game, where individuals enter into social situations all having a specific set of internalized histories, or habituses, as well as differing sets and amounts of economic, social, and cultural capitals. These individuals come into contact with one another, thereby creating a set of forces of interaction, or a field. The concepts of habitus, capital, and field are important in their own right, but the overall theoretical purpose is to understand how power and inequality are (re)produced, or broken down, in society.

For Bourdieu, individuals are both constrained by social structure and have agency to make decisions within that structure (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:108). The balance between the two is mediated by what he calls the habitus (Bourdieu 1994d). This is an internalized structure made up of experiences from past fields. The habitus is both constraining, in that people have been taught to act in certain ways through past fields, and enabling, in that individuals still have some room for agency and experiences in past fields can be helpful in

navigating future interactions (Bourdieu 1994d). Every individual has a habitus that is unique to them, but there are groups in society who share similar past experiences (Bourdieu 1994c).

Additionally, each individual is the holder of capital. For Bourdieu, capital comes in three forms: economic, social, and cultural. Economic capital are those assets one holds that are readily convertible to money, social capital is the actual or potential resources a person is able to access through their social relationships, and cultural capital is the extent of one's cultural knowledge (Bourdieu 1986). People hold different amounts of each of these capitals, and the capitals one possesses are the root of power differences in society.

Individuals, with their internalized habituses and accumulated sets of capital, enter into specific fields of interaction. Fields are composed of relations between individuals occupying objective positions in social space (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:97). These relations then take on a force bigger than the sum of its parts, creating a field of force that has an effect on all who pass through it (Wacquant 1992:17). Individuals move amongst each other in an ever-progressing dance that is not pre-planned but is indeed organized – there are legitimate worldviews and rules of the game that structure how different people move through a given field.

Fields are not equal, harmonious spaces but rather characterized by social hierarchies and contestation. Those who possess more capitals are higher in the hierarchy and have more power. It is not just a manner of capitals that determines power, but whether those capitals are considered important for the field. Fields therefore are sites of contestation over who has the symbolic power, or ability to determine the dominant worldview and rules of the game.

Overlaying Bourdieu and notions of justice

Participation in the Cafe can be conceptualized as who takes part in the community field (Wilkinson 1970). This conceptualization allows for the community of the Cafe to have general

shape and qualities. However, it also gives room for the dynamic and emerging nature of community in a setting where people come and go depending on the day. Additionally, the concept is useful to analyze hierarchies and power dynamics within the field as they relate to inclusion and exclusion from the community of the Cafe. This is useful to understand who is in the core of the field, who is on the outer fringes, and to theorize as to why. The social positions of and the capitals possessed by those who participate allow for the possibility for recognition of those who occupy different economic and social positions and how much of certain capitals can be re-distributed.

Recognition is determined by symbolic capital possessed by different actors. Bourdieu (1985) uses the term *symbolic capital* to refer to the recognition one receives from the group. The idea is that some capitals serve to distinguish some people from others when viewed through the eyes of another person. Which capitals serve as distinguishing factors worthy of recognition changes depending on the field. In some instances, certain capitals could be seen as unworthy of distinction, while in other fields those same capitals are held up as important and worth of recognition from the group.

Distribution of resources through the field is understood through a Bourdieusian framework as social capital. As defined above, the term social capital refers to the number of ties a person has and actual or potential capital they can access through them (Bourdieu 1986). People have social connections and are able to access resources through their ties with others. This type of capital shows the potential for resources to be exchanged in the field through the social connections people have with one another. Re-distribution therefore is dependent on how many ties and individual has and the degree and type of capital that travels through those connections.

METHODS

Bourdieu (1992) states that the way to determine the boundaries and nature of a field is through empirical investigation. Therefore, I conducted a qualitative study of the Giving Cafe utilizing participant observation, photovoice, in-depth interviews, and a demographic survey of dinners from August through December 2016. These methods helped me immerse myself in the Cafe to gain a deeper knowledge of social interactions, perceptions, and practices, ultimately illuminating the nature and dynamics of the field interactions.

Research Questions

This research is an exploratory qualitative study, and my research questions were consequentially broad when I went into the field. My overarching question for this research was: How are community and food justice related in the Giving Cafe? To fully understand this question I had to therefore also unpack two related, sub-questions: What is the nature of community in the Cafe? How does the Cafe participate in food justice? These questions guided my methods and implementation.

Research Design

I designed a four-month, qualitative study through which I immersed myself in the Giving Cafe (Ravitch and Carl 2016:68). I engaged in a mix of qualitative data collection methods utilizing what Small (2011:67) terms a sequential research design, where multiple forms of data are collected in sequence rather than concurrently (Figure 1). I began by conducting a month and a half of participant observation and sequentially following with a month and a half facilitating in-depth interviews with key members of the Cafe community. Participant observation and in-depth interviews complemented one another, as participant observation gave

me direct access to the scene (Becker and Geer 1957), while interviews allowed me access to the observations of others (Weiss 1994). During each of those phases, I took a single day to implement intercept-style photovoice on people who came to eat at the Cafe. Finally, I undertook a census demographic survey of the diners of the Cafe on a single day. Using a sequential design allowed me to answer specific questions that emerged in the data collection process with more data collection (Small 2011). In this case, I was able to pick up on interesting phenomenon and patterns during observations and then triangulate, as well as delve further into, these insights with in-depth interviews (Ravitch and Carl 2016:195).

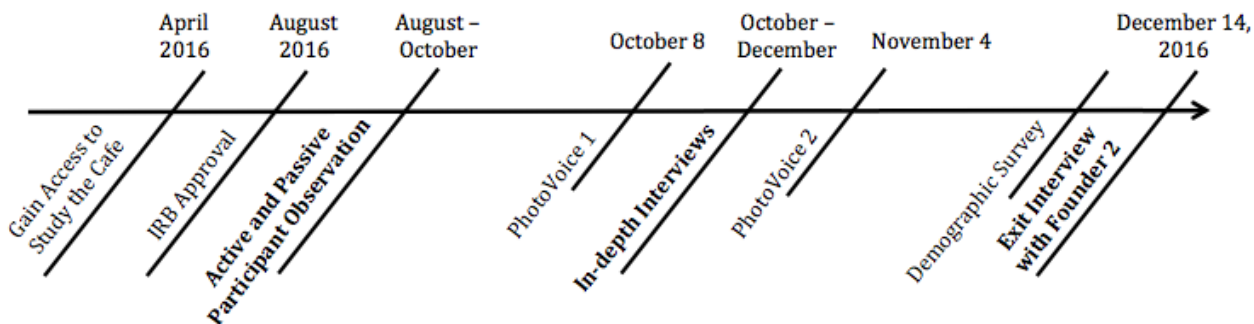


Figure 1: Data Collection Timeline

Site Access

I was involved with the Cafe as a volunteer for a year prior to this research. Therefore, I was aware Christy, one of the founders of the Cafe, was the individual able to grant or deny me access to research the community (Ravitch and Carl 2016:351). I then exercised my personal connection with her to gain permission to study the Cafe. Before I wrote a proposal or submitted an IRB protocol, I outlined my ideas to her in an in-person meeting. I communicated my research timeline and methods, making sure to be clear that my process and methods could change as the project took shape. During this meeting, I invited her to offer any concerns she had as well as any other information she might be interested in knowing from this project. She shared that

numbers on the demographics of people in the Cafe and stories of the ways the Cafe has affected individual's lives would be useful in grant proposals. I created a separate report to offer findings more directly requested. At the end of the conversation, she gave me full access to conduct my data collection in the Cafe, under the condition that I would not make anyone feel they had to participate or otherwise uncomfortable.

Positionality

Ravitch and Carl (2016:6) argue in qualitative research, it is imperative that the researcher reflect on their own positionality, or role and social location in relationship to the context or setting. One manner to do this is to examine where I stand on the insider/outsider spectrum – the degree to which I as a researcher shared characteristics, roles, or experiences with members of the Cafe community (Dwyer and Buckle 2009:61). I identify as a 23-year-old, white, female graduate student from an upper-middle class background. These age, gender, and class categories matched many in the Cafe and allowed me to communicate easily with, and understand common views of the Cafe. I was also an insider to the Cafe in terms of experience because I participate in the local food scene in town and had volunteered and eaten at the Cafe prior to my research. Therefore, I knew the founders well and already had multiple social connections with others in this group. Due to the diversity of the field, however, I came into contact with individuals who were both much older and much younger than me, had far less money and far more money than me, and were of different racial, gender, and educational statuses than me. Moreover, I was always outside those with whom I interacted because of my researcher status; this put me in a role that inherently distanced me from those I came into contact with. My own positionality made for a process of great analytic labor to see, as fully as

possible for someone of my own status, the ways people who are less privileged in terms of class or race would view, understand, and interact in the Cafe.

Qualitative research is always a process of co-constructing data and knowledge between the researcher and participants (Ravitch and Carl 2016). I believe my young, white, blond-hair, blue-eyed appearance made some people open up to me more than they would have others, but these interactions were still inevitably different with me than they would have been with someone who did not embody these characteristics. This difference in interaction then changed the information I was able to see, hear, and feel. Additionally, my past experiences and research interests undoubtedly affected my data creation. During participant observation, it affected the pieces of the scene I picked up on and decided to record as well as how I recorded them. In my interviews, it affected the questions I decided to ask, how I guided the conversation, and the information participants were willing to tell me. Therefore, my conclusions on a single social phenomenon reflect my background and perspectives.

Participant Observation

I began my research by conducting both active and passive participant observation. My first research date was August 22, 2016, and I continued to frequent the Cafe twice a week for seven weeks, conducting a total of thirty hours of observations during twelve distinct visits. During these observations, I took on the role of what Gold (1958) deems participant-as-observer; I participated in daily activities, and others in the community knew I was conducting research. This method allowed me to understand the daily functions of the Cafe, create relationships with the founders and breadth of other Cafe goers, and feel the experience of the Cafe in a way unattainable through other methods (Becker and Geer 1957:32). I split my time between the roles of an active volunteer and as a passive diner to gain the benefits of multiple levels of immersion.

I actively participated in six volunteer shifts, observing for a total of twenty hours in this role. In the Cafe, volunteer labor is divided into three shifts – 9 am to 11 am, 11 am to 3 pm, and 3 pm to 5 pm. The Cafe is open Monday through Saturday, and the shifts are available each one of those days. I worked each shift twice, rotating through the days of the week and times of the day I worked. This resulted in a total of six volunteer shifts that were spread across all the days the Cafe is open. The exception to this is I did not observe as a volunteer Tuesday and Thursday due to scheduling conflicts. Working as a volunteer on all the shifts and across multiple days of the week allowed me to see the Cafe during times it was not open to the general public and to pick up on any day-to-day differences in the Cafe.

My time spent as a volunteer was important for three reasons: it allowed me to feel what it meant to be a volunteer in the Cafe, to observe the day-to-day operations of the Cafe, and to interact with a number of different individuals. I was able to feel the ache in my legs from standing for hours, embody the shame when the founder enforced social rules, and experience the joy of helping to produce a meal. I also saw first-hand the work involved in producing lunch every day, a set of tasks those who go only for lunch may never be aware of. Perhaps most importantly, I had the opportunity to talk to and share stories with many people and build a relationship with key informants while I worked.

I produced data from my observations by first taking brief jottings on a small pad of paper when I had breaks from volunteering in the field. Upon exiting the field I went directly to my office and spent multiple hours transforming those jottings into detailed field notes (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011).

I also spent six hours on six different days passively participating in the Cafe by taking on the role of a diner. In order to take in, remember, and write up a large amount of detail, I

made the decision to observe only one hour per day. As with the volunteer shifts, I rotated this segment through the three hours and the six days a week the Cafe was open for lunch. For example, I would observe from 11 am to 12 pm on a Monday, 12 pm to 1 pm on a Wednesday, and 1 pm to 2 pm on a Saturday. These times would then shift days, ensuring to observe the same time period on a different day of the week the second time around. I observed each hour of the lunch shift twice, which gave me six hours of observation on six different days.

I focused my observations on the operations and interactions inside the Cafe, since that is where the majority of people resided, including most of the diners and the founder of the organization. However, I once observed as a diner outside, and made crucial observations while running photovoice. The purpose of taking on this second, less involved, role in the Cafe was to observe the setting in a way that I had the smallest effect on the behaviors and happenings by being there (Ravitch and Carl 2016:161). Participating passively as a diner allowed me to personally feel as a guest in the Cafe, provided me first-hand information on the type of people who come to the Cafe, and gave me the opportunity to observe interactions among people.

I made sure to extensively document all that I observed, taking regular, in-the-moment jottings. I typed up these jottings and expanded them into full field notes immediately upon exiting the field (Emerson et al. 2011).

PhotoVoice

While in the midst of other data collection methods, I conducted two rounds of photovoice with Cafe goers. My hope was to gain access to the experiences and perceptions of economically marginalized populations within the community (Wang 1999). This method entailed inviting participants to take photographs of the Cafe and then engage in researcher-led and participant-centered discussions about each person's photos and their meanings (Ravitch and

Carl 2016). I had piloted this method at the Cafe in spring of 2016 and was successful. I utilized photovoice again during data collection for this thesis and gained important insights through this experience.

I conducted photovoice during two lunch periods on Saturday, October 8th and Friday, November 4th 2016. First, I set up a research station on a table outside the Cafe. On this table, I laid out consent forms, photo release forms, and three iPads I had rented from the library on campus. Additionally, I prepared an iPad check-out sheet, a large poster board advertising that photovoice was happening that day, and a small sign showing the guiding questions. I used two different iterations of questions to guide participants in their photo taking. On the first day I asked: 1) What does community in the Cafe mean to you? 2) What does it mean for the Cafe to feed community? Participants struggled to find pictures to take. I received what felt to be surface-level responses, so I decided to make my questions more open and abstract the next time. For the second round, I had one question: What at the Cafe is meaningful to you? Unfortunately, I only had one participant this second day.

I used an intercept-style recruitment process. I stood behind the table and verbally request participation of people as they went into the Cafe (see Appendix A). A few people simply began answering my question verbally, uninterested in checking out an iPad or participating in the research in any committed way. When people decided to participate, I would have them fill out a consent form and a photo release form. I then checked them out an iPad, making sure they knew how to use it. I pointed out the sign that had the guiding questions for the day and verbally repeated them before sending the participant back to the Cafe, iPad in hand. Participants would hold on to the iPad for various lengths of time before eventually making their way back to the research station where I would then conduct an interview, focusing on their photos. I empowered

the participant to choose which photo they would like to talk to me about first. The participant would generally point out the most important feature of the photo and explain why they had chosen to include that item in their photo. Some participants would have multiple photos, and I left space for them to tell me about as many photos as they felt they wanted to. These interviews lasted 5-10 minutes each. When finished, I would ask the participant if there was anything else they would like to tell me and request they fill out a demographic survey (see Appendix B). The four people who I recruited were all white, middle-class individuals, from the information they provided on demographic surveys about their race and income level. I had one male and three females. These individuals ranged in age from 22 to 60.

Through this photovoice process, I unintentionally collected observational data and informal stories. From my position behind the research station, I witnessed who came in and out of the Cafe that day and any interactions that happened outside. This filled an important gap in my previously inside-focused observational data. Additionally, I had multiple individuals that I would not have otherwise had conversations with come up and talk to me because of my position as hosting an out-of-the-ordinary event. The research provided a space for individuals to open up to me about their experiences. I listened intently and took quick, extensive jottings when they walked away from the table, and wrote up extensive field notes on their responses later that day. Similarly, I took extensive jottings on stories I heard and interactions I observed and transformed them into full field notes upon leaving the field (Emerson et al. 2011). For interviews I recorded and later transcribed them.

In-depth Interviews

After two months of participant observation and a round of photovoice, I was reaching saturation in the information I could gain from observations and switched to learning more in-

depth about specific individuals in the community. I conducted my first interview on October 17th, 2016 and completed a total of thirteen semi-structured interviews between then and December 2nd, 2016. I talked to a diverse set of informants from a range of roles and statuses I identified as important in the Cafe (Weiss 1994:17). The purpose of these interviews was to determine individuals' experiences and feelings about community in the Cafe and their definitions of food justice.

My purposive sample included regulars, volunteers, farmers, families, low-income individuals, high income individuals, young people, and older people. I conducted eleven interviews with general Cafe participants in both one-on-one and group formats. This resulted in a sample of fifteen informants with varying demographic characteristics (Appendix D). A separate but also important informant I identified was one of the founders of the Cafe, Christy. Because of the pivotal role and vital importance to the functioning of the organization, I conducted two interviews with her – one as part of a class project before my thesis data collection in Spring 2016 and the other as a final closing interview in December 2016 (Weiss 1994:52). This individual brings my total participants up to sixteen and interviews up to thirteen; however I consider her as occupying a distinctively different position in the Cafe, and therefore do not include her in the demographic counts of participants.

I used random intercept and pre-planned methods to recruit interviewees. In order to find intercept participants, I would go to the Cafe at varying times during the three-hour lunch service. I would gently approach a targeted participant with my plate of food, warmly introduce myself with a smile, and give a short, IRB approved, recruitment speech (see Appendix A). I was able to recruit five of my interviews, with seven participants, through this method.

For pre-planned interviews, I identified participants through three methods: personal identification, suggestions from Christy, and social connections of participants. I recruited individuals that I had personally identified from my observations and personal connections as key informants for certain groups, but was not able to successfully intercept for an interview during lunch, by contacting them ahead of time either in passing at the Cafe or through already acquired email addresses. I would give them a short recruitment speech and ask if they would be willing and able to participate in an interview with me at a later date (see Appendix A). I recruited three of my interviews, with five respondents, in this manner. Also important in my identification of respondents was Christy. She recommended and put me in contact with an individual who had been tightly intertwined with the Cafe for a few months, suggesting she had a good story. The final method by which I recruited participants was through the social connections of my prior participants. I recruited one individual in this manner. I gave each participant the authority to choose which day and time they would prefer and which location they would be most comfortable in for the interview. Some participants requested meeting at a later date at the Cafe for lunch and others requested a location off site.

Once participants were recruited, the interview process looked similar for each person. When I first began to interact with the participant, I attempted to create what Weiss (1994) terms an interviewing partnership – a collaborative relationship between the interviewer and participant. I fostered this by smiling and making small talk as I sat down across from the participant to make them feel more comfortable. We would then walk through the IRB-approved consent form together. If the individual agreed to be audio recorded, I would then start an audio-recording app on my phone and place the device on the table between us. I only had one individual decline audio recording.

I then proceeded to lead a semi-structured interview. I developed an interview guide with approximately five main questions and a handful of follow-up (see Appendix C). However, I did not force the interview to follow a specific road. This allowed me to gain the knowledge I knew I needed as well as leaving space for topics and anecdotes that I may not have been aware of when I created my guide (Ravitch and Carl 2016:154). Interviews lasted between thirty minutes and an hour and a half, although they typically lasted 45 minutes to an hour. Every participant filled out an IRB-approved demographic survey at the completion of the interview (see Appendix B).

My interviews with Christy occurred before and after the interviews with the other participants. The first interview focused on her perceptions of community in the Cafe. I conducted the second interview after I had completed my research to find answers to lingering questions and understand more thoroughly the structure and functioning of the Cafe as an organization. Talking to an informant twice like this is desirable to gather extra information (Weiss 1994:57). I led these interviews with a semi-structured format as well, and they lasted an hour each. Both were audio recorded. I transcribed interviews that I was able to audio record and wrote up extensive field notes for the one interview I was not able to do this with.

Demographic Survey

Finally, I conducted a survey of demographic information from each individual in the Cafe on December 1st. I arrived at the Cafe at the time of its opening and asked each individual who came to eat at the Cafe that day if they would fill out my demographic survey (Appendix B). I approached diners at their tables and used my recruitment script to ask if they would be willing to participate (Appendix A). Each person filled out a consent form before completing the survey. I approached 52 people to take part and only two turned me down, which gave me a

sample size of 50 and a response rate of 96%. I entered these surveys into NVivo as cases and used the charting function to run basic descriptive analysis on the data.

Data Analysis

Upon completion of data collection, I began a process of data analysis to identify major themes in my fieldnotes and interview transcripts. I used qualitative data analysis software, NVivo 11, to aid in the process. I went through multiple rounds of coding, tracking individual cases and linking analytical memos, to identify themes from my data.

Initially I carried out a round of first cycle coding. During this process, I used a mix of what Saldaña (2013) terms descriptive, InVivo, and attribute coding. I used descriptive and InVivo coding simultaneously, assigning codes that either described the topic or were summarized by individual's own words to fragments, full sentences, and at times full paragraphs of my original data. I also began assigning subcodes to break down major codes by their important details (Saldaña 2013:77). Many times, I coded a single section with multiple codes to capture the full meaning of what was observed or said. Additionally, I used the 'cases' feature in InVivo to code each of my interview participants by their demographic characteristics such as age, race, income, and the roles they took on in the Cafe. This information was available to me through demographic surveys the individuals filled out as well as topics that had come up in the interview. I continued the process of coding, continuously adding codes as they emerged from the data to accurately describe different sections, until all my interview transcript and fieldnote data had been coded.

While first round coding, I engaged in analytic memoing. I took breaks between coding each data file to document and reflect on the coding process and any major themes or patterns that were beginning to emerge (Saldaña 2013:41). I then used NVivo to link these memos to a

data file to easily track and go back to my thoughts as my codes continued to develop and take form. Upon finishing my first round of coding, I engaged in multiple hours of intense memoing, attempting to make connections between the codes that were emerging and potential theoretical concepts that could hold them together. This process helped me transition from first to second round of coding.

I engaged in second round coding with the intent of coming to an understanding of major themes present in my data. I reorganized the units of data, lumping some segments from different codes together into the same one and splitting some previously lumped codes into multiple sub codes. Further, I cleaned up my codes by re-distributing data from codes that were not frequently used or repetitive and deleting these excess categories. I undertook intense memoing and operational model diagraming during this phase (Saldaña 2013:202). The memoing helped me process the different codes, patterns, and sub-patterns I was identifying. Operational model diagraming allowed me to conceptualize how all the different pieces of my data fit together to make one, coherent picture of the Cafe. Through this process of coding, analytical memoing, and operational diagraming, I pulled out multiple themes from the data and came to a theoretical understanding of the social dynamics of the space.

This process led me to refine my research questions in light of the inductive process of coding and theory development. In particular, I began to notice that the Cafe was engaging in multiple forms of justice. Moreover, there were clear differences in who and why people participated, were recognized, and received or gave resources. To focus the writing stage of my research, I therefore narrowed in on the questions: 1) Who participates in the community field and why? 2) Which capitals are recognized as important in the field? 3) How are resources re-distributed in the field?

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

Community as a Field

This study conceptualizes the community that utilizes the Cafe as a social field. A *social field* can be defined as “a network or configuration of objective relations between positions” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:97). They are characterized by a set of dynamic and hierarchical social relations between people and are guided by a dominant view of the world. Fields emerge through interactions between people and then take on a force bigger than the interactions that created them. There is a strong core of people and relationships that dissipate and results in fuzzy, in flux, boundaries at the outer edges (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:97). Influencing the nature of the field are hierarchies of social positions that are based on the amount of capital individuals possess and the importance of that capital to the field (Bourdieu 1985). To explain interactional dynamics of the community field and the hierarchies within it, I look to the influence of the founders of the Cafe and the organizational structure they created. These factors affect who participates in the field, which capitals are recognized as important, and how resources flow between members. Background on the Cafe explains the dominant worldview that structures this field.

The Giving Cafe

The Giving Cafe (‘the Cafe’) is situated on the intersection of two neighborhood streets, just to the west of the city’s downtown. A passerby might be drawn into this quaint building by the light-tan painted brick and the spring-green sign on the front wall simply stating “Giving Cafe.” Upon strolling up the handicap-accessible ramp lined by garden boxes and through the

glass door, the guest would be met by a glowing community space. This Cafe is set up as a restaurant, with rows of round, wooden tables aligned neatly in a warm dining room. Guests of the Cafe happily shout greetings across the room to diners, make conversation with others, and sit people they do not know. Above the white food service counter hang three chalkboards. On the black surface, bouncing stick figures and bright pink, blue, and green words explain that the Cafe requests diners ‘pay what they would normally pay,’ ‘pay it forward,’ or volunteer in return for a meal.

Bill and Christy are the founders of the Cafe, and they have personal histories which shape the structure and the values of the organization. The founders are demographically both white and in their 50s. Bill was a physician before starting the Cafe, deciding to leave that profession because he didn’t feel like he was able to make a difference in patients’ lives. Christy went to school for art and then worked in communications for the engineering department at the local university. She was involved in running programs to bring women into STEM professions and is generally happy to help whenever and wherever she can. Both of the founders, therefore, possess large amounts of cultural capital in the form of schooling and economic capital from their previous professional careers.

Christy and Bill began the process of creating the Cafe by learning about another PWC cafe already in operation. They spent six months driving an hour to volunteer this functioning cafe. The couple learned how that cafe operated and used the knowledge to start one of their own. They worked tirelessly, in different ways, to open the doors of the Giving Cafe. Christy was the voice of the operation. She rallied support from the people in the town, talking about the concept to anyone who would listen and staffing a donation booth at the farmers market on the

weekend. Bill was involved in the logistics of running a kitchen. He visited multiple professional kitchens, including working with a local sorority and volunteering in high-class restaurants.

The Cafe opened its doors on the symbolic day of Thanksgiving 2014. It now serves soup and salad 11am – 2pm Monday through Saturday, staying open for the holidays and only closing for a two-week cleaning period at the beginning of January. It is a 501c3 non-profit that functions off a mix of volunteer and paid labor and private as well as public funds. In 2015, the most recent data available, the Cafe had 509 registered volunteers and two paid employees. One of these employees is Charles. He works full-time in the Cafe Tuesday-Saturday aiding Bill with the daily routine of making and serving meals and then cleaning up after. He is particularly responsible for organizing the volunteers through telling them which tasks to complete and instructing them on how to carry them out. The Cafe's income in 2015 included \$69,000 in gifts and grants and \$166,000 from inventory sales. Among the expenses were \$69,000 in goods sold and \$19,000 in employee salaries. Christy indicates that the Cafe has grown since the time of this statement, increasing its number of employees to three and providing health benefits and retirement plans for each. At the time of writing, the Cafe had just served its 50,000th meal.

Dominant Worldview

Organizational background sets up the values and knowledge that guide the community field that forms in the Cafe. Each field of interaction has a dominant worldview that guides who is in the field, how interactions are carried out, and which capitals are considered important. No worldview is inherently correct; rather, there are different dominant worldviews that are considered legitimate depending on the field at play. Within the field of the Cafe, the dominant worldview includes valuing community, providing 'good' food for those who have less money,

and recognizing the different abilities of individuals. This worldview is created and enforced by Christy and shown through the mission statement and payment scheme of the organization.

Christy is able to enforce the dominant worldview because she has symbolic power within the field. The holder of *symbolic power* has the capability to determine which worldview is the dominant, 'correct' view (Bourdieu 1985). This power comes originally from the possession of economic, social, or cultural capital, which is then viewed by actors in the field as important. Christy was the original fundraiser for the Cafe and continues to write grants as well as give public presentations about the PWC concept and specifics about the organization. While Christy and Bill are careful to say that no one owns the Cafe, for all practical purposes, Christy is the one who raises the money to keep it financially viable. Her acquisition of economic capital in the field through fundraising and cultural capital from starting the organization gives her social power.

Christy is able to use this social power to determine the dominant view for the group. She is both the voice of and gatekeeper to the organization. There have been a multitude of presentations given and news articles written about the Cafe. In these Christy is the sole presenter for the organization, and she is most often talked to and quoted by the press. Therefore, she is determining how the Cafe is symbolically represented to the rest of the world. Her symbolic power is further illuminated through her gatekeeper status. This is made visible through her ability to say whether and how an idea should come to fruition in the Cafe. For example, I met with her to conduct this research. She had the power to say whether I could carry out my study and how. She requested that I not make anyone feel uncomfortable in the space, ensuring that my project did not upset the worldview of community. Christy was often having similar

meetings in the Cafe with people who had ideas for what projects or programs for the organization that she was able to disallow or alter those to match the worldview.

Christy's symbolic power has a large affect on the field, but it is not questioned because it is (mis)-recognized as having legitimacy by the field members (Bourdieu 1994b). This is in part facilitated by her position of founder of the organization. Because she is in a high-ranking position within the organizational structure, it seems natural for her to determine the dominant worldview in the social field of the community. (Mis)-recognition of her power is further evidenced through the lack of discussion of it in interviews or conversations with community members. Interview participants at times brought up actions of Bill and how he was affecting the nature of the field, but no one mentioned Christy's hidden power to determine the worldview. Since her power is not seen, she is able to shape the field through the (mis)-recognized power to decide and enforce the legitimate worldview. She therefore has the unquestioned ability to determine the values of the organization which affects the participants, important capitals, and re-distributional capabilities of the community field.

The nature of the dominant worldview in the community field is represented by and institutionalized through the Cafe's organizational rhetoric. First, it is solidified through the Cafe's mission statement that reads, "to build community by providing nutritious and delicious food to people of [the city] regardless of their ability to pay while using mostly local, organic, and sustainably grown ingredients." This mission shows values of community and providing 'good' food to those who cannot afford it. The worldview of the field is further exemplified through words painted on boards hanging above the food service bar, which explains that one should 'pay what they would normally pay, pay it forward, or volunteer for a meal.' With this statement, the Cafe suggests that those who have more money should pay more, those who have

less money should pay less, and those who have no money should work for their meal. The board is finished with the words, 'Every human being has dignity and should be treated as such. Every duty, volunteer or otherwise, has value. Service. Equality. Respect.' This statement reveals, as well as solidifies, the dominant worldview valuing differing abilities of individuals. The worldview is created largely by Christy as the holder of symbolic power and, as I will show, enforce by Bill in the daily operations of the organization. This worldview explains who participates, which capitals are recognized as important, and how capitals move through the field.

Participation in The Community Field

Who participates in the community field of the Cafe and why? That is, what groups are ‘in’ and ‘out’ of the community field (Figure 2). The groups ‘in’ the field represent the core of people present in the Cafe, many of them taking on regular status by coming multiple times a week. The ‘out’ groups form the dissipating, fuzzy edge of the field because they are present less often or not at all. I find that the Cafe breaks down patterns of status homophily, in that there is variation in economic levels, age, and the cultural capital that people possess. However, the community that utilizes the Cafe still represents a specific subset of society characterized by value-homophily, or people who share similar values and beliefs (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). Moreover, the worldview excludes certain social groups from participating. To understand why the community of the Cafe takes the shape it does, I examine the interaction between individuals and larger social factors. The worldview of and social and symbolic boundaries on the field explain why some groups choose to participate in the community and others do not. Surprisingly the labor policy, while an intended source of inclusivity, served also as a social boundary on the field.

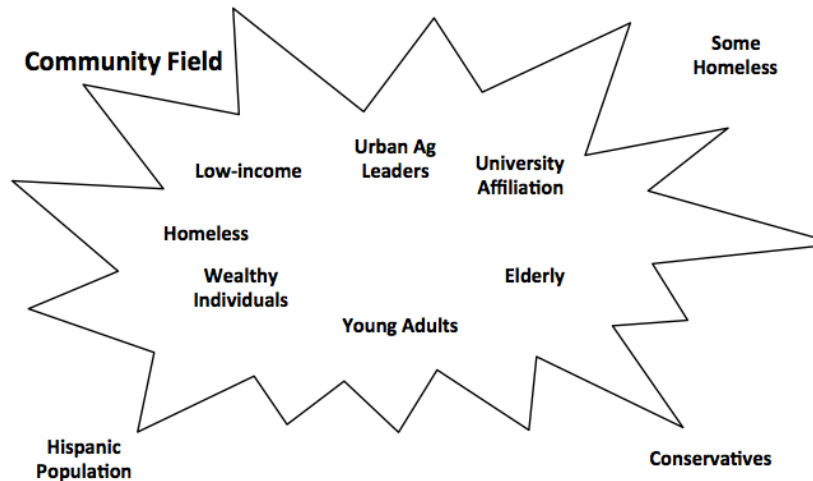


Figure 2: Representation of those ‘in’ and ‘out’ of the community field of the Giving Cafe

The Community Field as Inclusive: 'Everyone's on the same page here'

Food is central in explaining how the Cafe attracts individuals to participate in the field. In interview responses almost every person mentioned the food as one a major reason they came to the Cafe. However I argue that the meals served by the Cafe are not sufficient to explain the nature of the community field. More important is the interaction between individuals' habitus and capital possession with the field at play that attracts certain groups to participate in the community.

Lower social boundaries to entry

The Cafe does not require people pay to eat or utilize the space, which removes economic boundaries to participation. Given these lower barriers to entry, one of the major groups of people attracted to the Cafe are the homeless population. I identified some of these individuals because they came in with unkempt hair, wearing layers of winter jackets, and carrying large stuffed-to-the-brim backpacks. These individuals would sit down heavily in a chair at a table, backpack beside them and stay for multiple hours. Upon conducting the demographic census of the Cafe, I found that 13.9% of my respondents listed the homeless shelters in town as their residence. These individuals, according to organizational rules, are supposed to volunteer in return for their meals. While I did hear from other interview respondents that they had seen people volunteering for meals, I only once observed someone who was clearly homeless working for their meal. These individuals were not contributing any tangible resources to the Cafe, such as money, but their presence was legitimated by the worldview of the field, in which the purpose of the Cafe was to bring 'good' food to those who cannot normally access it.

There were also many participants who were not homeless, but had low incomes. These individuals may not have had enough money to purchase sufficient food or eat at a normal

restaurant. I had an individual who was at the Cafe regularly, an elderly white male, come up to me one day with a story about how he did not make enough to pay for food yet made too much to qualify for assistance from the government. The Cafe served as a place he could access food without having to pay for it. In this way, there was a lower social boundary that allowed him access to the community field. Another regular at the Cafe who participated in an interview, a white woman in her mid-30s, was happy to have the Cafe because she could take her son out to a restaurant. She shared with me that:

That first time, Bill walked over to our table, and was so gracious with us, and made sure to talk to my son... to make sure that my son knew that he could go up and get seconds, and my son was very excited about getting chocolate chip cookies. He was like, 'really, I can have another cookie?' and thought it was the best thing ever, because normally if we go out to eat, we don't ever get dessert because the meal's already so expensive to begin with, there just aren't funds available for extra things like that. So to be able to go somewhere where not only could he get dessert, but he could get two if he really wanted was pretty amazing for a seven-year-old.

This woman made between \$12,000 and \$25,000 annually. She was attracted to the space because meals were affordable. In my census of the Cafe, I found that 54.3% people had a household income of 0-\$12,000. These participants' presence was legitimated because they were paying 'what they could' to take part in the field.

Additionally, there is no social boundary limiting the time people can be in the space. This attracts individuals who are 'time rich' and want to spend free time in the Cafe. Time rich people I observed in the Cafe may have had other responsibilities but had more flexibility in their schedules and the desire to spend their extra time participating in the organization. One of these groups were people in their early to mid-20s. I chose to interview a white male in his early 20s, Sam, because I had seen him volunteering at the Cafe every week. In my interview with him, he explained he started participating in the field because:

I found exactly what I needed, a place to spend my time and help. So between this and the internship I'm pretty busy during the week, and that's exactly what I needed... I actually really like to spend my time working and helping something, and doesn't have to be a paid position, I just want to work and help and just get something done.

He was a college student at the local university and had some free time on his hands that he wanted to spend putting towards a community project. Those in this age group who frequented the Cafe were still in school or, if they were working, had more flexibility in their work schedule. They were in the Cafe daily, many of them coming back multiple times a week. Some would eat lunch and then linger at the Cafe for hours, using the space as a place to connect with friends. Others would use this time to volunteer.

Also present in the Cafe because of the lack of time boundaries were some people from the elderly population. There was a core group of elderly individuals that were in the Cafe most days I observed. These individuals used their time in multiple ways. One of these individuals was a white woman in her mid-50s, Valerie, went above and beyond normal volunteer duties. She went door-to-door at local businesses to request donations and set up tables at other community spaces in town to advertise the Cafe. She spent 10 hours a week volunteering to support the organization. Valerie enjoyed her work, but she mentioned that she'd "like it to be a paid position, because I need a job." This woman was able to participate to such an extent because she was not currently employed and had extra time. Another elderly individual, Steve, who was a white man in his 60s, would come into the Cafe to eat every day. He was working on the presidential campaign for Hillary Clinton but was not employed full time. Steve would use the space as an opportunity to linger and talk to others. He expressed his appreciation that "the environment is relaxing, so it encourages people to talk and communicate, no pressure, no 'get out we have to have this table,' and all that kind of stuff." The lack of time boundaries on the

field allowed him to use his extra time. Both of these elderly wanted and were able to use their spare time to use it to work for or relax in the Cafe. Their presence was further reinforced by the field, in which they had contributed large amounts of time or some form of money to the organization, and therefore could linger as long as they pleased in the space.

Alignment with the dominant worldview

There were also many diners with whom lower economic and time boundaries did not explain their presence. These diners came to the Cafe with enough money to pay for a meal elsewhere or who came into the Cafe to eat quickly, forgoing the opportunity to lounge. They had other options for a quick lunch. In these cases, it is the alignment of the specific worldview of the organization with the cultural capital of those participating that explains why these individuals were a part of the field.

Economically privileged individuals were in the Cafe daily. They were distinguished from others due to their nice clothes and well-styled hair. However, these diners tended not to be regulars, with different economically wealthy people in Cafe every day. From my census of diners, I found 36% of diners in the Cafe that day had a household income over \$50,000. Jim, an interview participant who was a white man in his 60s who made over \$75,000 a year explained to me that he visits the Cafe because, “I love the concept of what they’re doing, so providing for people who can’t afford it but need food, and asking to pay what you can or pay it forward, all of that, I just think it’s a great, great concept, so inclusive.” Jim was excited about the potential for someone with more money to be able to pay extra and those with less to be able to work instead. The worldview of the field matched his personal one. He wanted to play a role in bringing ‘good food’ to those who can’t normally purchase it.

Urban agriculture leaders are another group that frequented the Cafe. For example, there was a group of individuals in their mid- to late-20 year olds involved with a food justice non-profit in town that were regulars of the organization. They would come to the Cafe for lunch daily, sometimes lingering together at an outside table for hours happily laughing and enjoying the weather. I had the opportunity to interview this group of three individuals, and one of them, a white male with shoulder-length brown hair explained to me he liked the Cafe because:

I'm just really intrigued by this whole experiment I guess, and I really want to see it be successful and reproducible, and so I'm interested in really just sticking with them as long as possible. The food is also really high quality, and I think that's probably the most nutritious food that I eat in day-to-day life, and so I think it's pretty important to make it a habit to be here.

Their values of social progress and local farming align with the worldview of the Cafe that supports equality and 'local' and 'organic' food. Many of them are also engaged in trade with the Cafe, giving the organization the food they grow which is at times exchanged for money and at other times for meals. This shows how the Cafe values their cultural capital of knowing how to farm, and the labor they are putting in to farm, through the capital they give in the form of meals or money in return.

Additionally, a set of musicians was attracted to and became regulars of the Cafe, because of the value afforded to those with this form of cultural capital. There is a designated music-playing nook in the dining room in which a musician sits to play during most lunch services. One of the musicians who is in the Cafe frequently is an older white male. He had wrinkled skin and long white hair that he tied at the nape of his neck. This man comes in every week to play the accordion for the patrons, pausing his playing at times to add in raspy melody of his own voice. There is another man that fits a similar demographic, a wrinkly-skinned white man who walks with a hunch and wears knit beanies to keep his head warm. This man puts on a

similar performance for the diners at lunch, except uses a set of bagpipes as his instrument of choice. Both of these men come into the Cafe to pass the time playing their instruments at least once a week, and at times come in just to dine as well. These men seem to appreciate the lack of time social boundary to spend leisurely hours in the space. However, the opportunity to play music keeps them as regulars in the field. These men have an arrangement with the Cafe that they play music in return for a meal. In this way, it is the interaction between their distinct cultural capital and values of the field that attract and keep these members.

People associated with the local university, or in other ways highly educated, also have a large presence in the Cafe. I came into contact with numerous university students in the Cafe. One university student I volunteered alongside was a spunky white woman in her 20s. She was in the leadership program on campus and mentioned that she wanted to start volunteering because she just ‘really liked the concept.’ In my census of the Cafe, I found that 39 (85%) of individuals had attended at least some college, and 12 of those, 26% total, had a graduate or professional degree. Additionally, I found that there were people associated with the university in other ways. I observed a professor from the local university in the Cafe a number of times as well as interviewing a man, who was over 60 years old years old and identified as white that was involved with environmental programs at the university. My interview participants had obtained masters degrees in field such as medicine, intercultural relations, and anthropology. This represents a group of individuals with similar levels of cultural capital in the form of education, but the type of cultural capital each possesses varies based on the type of degree they obtained. These individuals are valued in the field of the Cafe, and this is shown by those who ‘have ideas’ for programs getting the opportunity to start these programs for the organization.

The Cafe's mission spoke to equality and inclusivity, ideals that attracted a set of people who already had those leanings and now found a like-minded community in which to participate. Multiple individuals implied this through their characterization of the community. A 20 year-old male who volunteered at the Cafe regularly told me in the Cafe "everyone has this like idea of like the health of the community, the health of the planet, what matters in this world." This was echoed by another participant, a white woman in her 30s who ate at the Cafe multiple times a month who said, "I think a lot of people that come here, come here wanting a better world, ultimately. They want a place where everyone is welcome, and so it's just always positive to come here, because people kind of come here with that expectation." In multiple casual conversations, members of the community began speaking with me about the recent presidential election. They voiced their disappointed views that Hilary Clinton did not win without question, assuming that because I was at the Cafe, I must be on their side. The field was diverse in economic position and cultural capital possession, but it was not diverse along the lines of their progressive worldview.

Exclusion from the Field: 'They have a way of doing things'

The same factors that attract many of the individuals described above to participate also act as boundaries to participation for others. First, there was little racial diversity within the community field; the participants in the Cafe were largely white. The town is not a diverse town racially, with 81% of residents identifying solely as white (U.S. Census Bureau 2015). Therefore, the demographics of the town could largely explain the lack of racial diversity in the community. However, 11% of individuals in the town identify as Hispanic, a relatively substantial portion of the population, while 2.9% identify as Asian, 1.3% as Black, and 2.7% as two or more races. While there were individuals occupying these racial categories in the Cafe, I particularly failed to

observe individuals who portrayed Hispanic phenotypic distinction. My observations were further confirmed by Christy, who is intimately aware of the different individuals who come to the Cafe. She told me, “I’d like to see more Hispanic people here, we’re actually going to do- try to do some more outreach with [Hispanic organizations in town] and places like that, to see if we can’t encourage people to come.” One of my interview participants, Victoria, a 30-year-old female who volunteered at the Cafe close to 40 hours a week and identified as Pacific Islander, voiced that she believes the Cafe does not discriminate base on race. She said that she felt welcome there and was supported by the founders of the Cafe in her work and life.

I argue that regardless of intention, there are social and symbolic boundaries that are keeping the Hispanic population from participating in this organization. Lack of knowledge on the part of the Hispanic population does not fully explain their absence. In an interview I had with Christy, she mentioned that Hispanic individuals did indeed show up to a summer breakfast program the Cafe was running for children. During this program, they shared that they would like to see the Cafe run an after school program. This suggests the 11am – 2pm lunch service may be a social boundary keeping this population from participating, because they are unable to come during that time or it is not filling their specific needs. The worldview of the Cafe may also be creating a symbolic boundary to their participation. There are multiple factors that could be coding the space as ‘white’ and therefore uninviting to the Hispanic population (Slocum 2007). This includes the soup and salad that is offered and even the mission of ‘inclusivity’ (McCutcheon 2011), which are both symbols of whiteness. Therefore, it is necessary to look to the characteristics of the Hispanic population in itself, in interaction with the nature of the field, to explain why they are not present.

Additionally, some upper-middle class individuals with specific sets of cultural capital – or cultural know-how – may not feel comfortable in the space. One of my interview respondents, a 40-year-old white woman who often frequented the Cafe with her young child, told me:

I actually brought someone here once, and she was in line waiting, and like turned around and accidentally bumped someone in front of her. Someone who I know, and they're- you know they definitely have some mental health issues, you know, turned around and was like, 'personal space! Personal space!' Reacted in a way an upper-middle class person, who's well educated and comfortable, wouldn't need to react. So I think somebody prejudice, if you can say that, I'm not trying to but- so she was upset by it, and kind of like was, 'oh, maybe this isn't a good place for me to eat.'

This person brings to light the symbolic boundaries some people bring into the more socially inclusive space. Individuals with higher-class manners of interacting may at times feel uncomfortable with the manners those from lower economic statuses interact. The mismatch of individual's styles of interaction within the field represents symbolic boundaries still present in the field between those with specific sets of cultural capital. Those possessing upper-class ways of acting and behaving may perceive an 'us' and a 'them', seeing this a field for those who present themselves in manners associated with lower-class ways of interacting.

Labor as a legitimated social boundary

One of the surprising findings in this research is that some of the homeless population had started choosing not to participate in the Cafe. This was first brought to my attention when I was beginning observations. During this time, I noticed a stark lack of homeless individuals taking part in the field. When I inquired about why that was, an employee of the Cafe mentioned that "they just don't want to work." Upon further investigation volunteer labor turned from a source of inclusion to a legitimized social boundary on the field, keeping out those of the lowest economic statuses. I found there were a number of factors that came together to cause this

situation, including lower social boundaries to entry to the field, organizational constraints, and the legitimate worldview of the field.

The first factor is the lack of economic boundaries on the field. This lack of social boundary was intended to be a source of inclusion for the low-income population. The concept was so popular, that the Cafe was serving close to 100 people per day when the organization had intended to serve 60. Huge popularity caused the Cafe to come up against organizational constraints. These were both financial, in which it could not meet monetary requirements with the number of meals it was serving, and physical, in which it was not able to cook enough food with the kitchen that it had. Christy remarked in an interview that:

We were well over 110 meals a day, and our model was based on like 50-60 meals day. This was incredibly stressful for us, just purchasing ingredients, the volume of work that demanded, you know?... So we went to our board, and we showed them the statistics of where we were at... said, 'look at these numbers. Our meal counts are going up, our average donation per meal-'...right now it's over \$7 a meal, but it had gotten down to like \$4 a meal, and that's just crazy, there's no way.

Financially, the Cafe was not bringing in enough money per meal to cover the operating costs of the non-profit. Physically, I observed the founder Bill frazzled as he attempted to prepare and clean up after a day of serving that number of people with little volunteer assistance. The dining room would be holding such a large number of people that all the tables were filled. The model was potentially too successful, in that it created a situation where the organization could no longer handle number of people who wanted a meal every day – the field became too large.

The Cafe then instituted a plan intended to ameliorate financial and physical pressures. It was decided that Bill would ask those who he recognized as regulars of at the Cafe, who were not paying or volunteering, to volunteer. This played out as Bill verbally requiring certain individuals to volunteer as they came through the line for food. This policy was carried out for a

couple of months, with a specific target population of those who were identified as eating and not paying or volunteering. While innocent enough, the policy had the unintended consequence of targeting the low-income and homeless populations. They are the group who lacks money to pay and therefore has to work if they want to eat at the cafe. One of my interview participants, a 30-year-old man who was homeless and identified as African American, explained his experience with this policy:

Things were fine for awhile, until there's this one day... I was standing in line, and one of the guys was like, 'either put something in the box or do a chore.' I was kind of iffy about that because I was working at the time, and I was running late, so I wanted to just eat there real quick and go, and I didn't have the time, so I just walked out, and as I'm walking out, you know, you can hear him yelling. I'm not the first person he's done that to.

When asked, this man decided to no longer participate in the field rather than work. He shared that this was the choice of other homeless individuals he knew as well, suggesting that choosing not to participate rather than volunteer was a common response among this population.

The argument made by the organization is that volunteer labor is necessary to keep the organization viable, since it is a money-pressed non-profit with only three full-time employees. However, one-hour volunteer labor is not fully serving the intended purpose. These individuals do at times help by cleaning up cigarette butts on the Cafe grounds outside or bussing dishes during lunch service. However, the work one-hour volunteers do was sometimes more distracting than helpful, and these individuals were a source of stress for Bill and the paid-employee Charles. For example, when individuals were sent to water flowers, Charles had to drag the hose out from besides the building and explain to the volunteer how to water. The individual then would make an attempt to water the flowers, but this watering was not always trusted to have been done well. Other volunteers working an entire shift were sent out to re-water plants that had already been 'watered' by a person working for an hour. Moreover, this volunteer requirement

does not fix the financial problems of the organization. While it may have lightened the workload of the employees, if everyone who was not paying chose to volunteer their time, it would not increase the amount of money coming into the Cafe. Therefore, requiring one-hour volunteer labor for those who cannot pay does not serve the function of increasing money brought into the Cafe or lessening the workload of the staff.

Enforcing the labor requirement did, however, function in a different manner to increase the financial stability of the Cafe. It did this by becoming a social boundary that effectively shrunk the size of the field. As the homeless man above shared, those who are required to volunteer to eat sometimes choose not to participate in the field rather than labor for their meal. The field shrunk to a size more manageable for the organization to feed and financially support. It effectively cut out from the field those members who were already at the bottom of society economically – the same population the Cafe originally intended to serve. Shrinking the field in this manner is going against the worldview of the organization.

However, this means of shrinking the field is legitimated by that same worldview. This time, it is the belief that that everyone in the community should be ‘contributing’ to the take part. This was evidenced by the holder of symbolic power in the field, Christy, when I asked her about enforcing the volunteer policy and the people choosing not to participate. She looked to me with sadness in her eyes and expressed that:

There were some people who did not want to pay in any way, volunteer in any way, for that meal, and we thought, ‘well, if it doesn’t mean that much to them,’ you know what I mean? ‘That’s okay,’ because they’re not contributing to the community in any way, or being part of it, that’s okay.

It was considered valid and legitimate for the organizational structure to exclude those of lower economic positions by pulling on the worldview of contribution. Therefore the labor requirement of low-income populations served as a social boundary on the field. It is enforced by Bill and

keeps those who are not ‘contributing’ from participating. Those who were in the lowest position of the hierarchy self-selected to leave the field. Lower economic barriers to enter the field can be negated for certain groups by instilling other unintended barriers to entry, namely the volunteer requirement.

Recognition through Symbolic Capital

Which capitals are recognized in the community field of the Cafe? Bourdieu (1994a) uses the term *symbolic capital* to refer to the “recognition, institutionalized or not, that [one] receives from the group.” It is normal capital elevated to a symbol of high status when viewed through the eyes of another in a given field. Social positions do not, and cannot, completely disappear upon entering a new social field. However, fields do have the ability to re-structure the game by determining which capitals are considered distinguishable. The organization of the Cafe does recognitional justice through restructuring the field to recognize a range of capitals people possess, but through its organizational structure also reproduces the same distinction it set out to equalize. In this section, I analyze the organizational hierarchy of the Cafe, examining how social distinction of groups is both reproduced and broken in each layer and in the field as a whole.

Hierarchy of Roles: Recognition and Distinction

Within the Cafe, there are four organizational roles: Founder, Diner, Full-Shift Volunteer, and One-Hour Volunteer. People come into these roles from diverse social positions in society, with diverse sets of capitals. There is not a specific set of people within each role, though there are characteristics of people that tend to be present in some roles and not others. People can move in and out of these roles. For example, one might act as a volunteer one day and come back only to eat the next. They take on the position in the hierarchy of which they are currently

performing. This hierarchy is based first on the capitals each role tends to possess and second by the amount of time spent in the Cafe; there are opportunities for recognition, as well as maintained distinction, within each plane.

Founder

Social power, for Bourdieu (1986), stems from the amount and type of capital possessed by an actor. In the field of the Cafe, the meals are the most important form of capital. Eating lunch is the main reason people come to the Cafe, and without the meals the organization would lose half of its mission. Bill has possession of this important form of capital and therefore occupies the top position in the organizational hierarchy with the most social power. He acquires this capital through being the sole person to cook food. Volunteers and employees wash and chop raw vegetables, but neither are allowed to help in the cooking process. Through the labor of turning the ingredients from raw state to cooked meal, Bill becomes the holder of this transformed capital. He then does not allow anyone else to serve these meals to guests, ensuring that he is in sole possession.

The top of the hierarchy is further legitimated by Bill's position within the structure of the organization. He is the co-founder of the Cafe, which places him atop the organizational hierarchy. This reinforces his hierarchical legitimacy in the social field. Moreover, he spends more time than anyone in the Cafe, coming in before the first volunteers in the morning and at times staying late into the night to finish washing dishes. Bill therefore has the power to enforce the rules of the field and hierarchy of positions, and he plays an important role in recognizing or maintaining distinction of other players in the field.

This position is made clear and legitimated by other actors, especially volunteers. Victoria, the 30-year-old woman who was a regular volunteer in the Cafe, showed how volunteers legitimate Bill's power when she stated:

I know you've seen Bill say [negative things] to people, but he really is a good guy that just gets tired and frustrated. He's working all day everyday, and in the back of his mind he has the fear that he's gonna mess this up. You know he does. They're so into it they don't want to mess it up, because so many people have come to depend on them.

This woman acknowledges that Bill has taken actions that not everyone in the field agrees with. However, she is quick to explain these the connection he has to the organization. It is okay that he has the power to determine how the field plays out, because he is the founder and puts more time and energy into the organization than anyone.

Diners

Money the Cafe brings in through the meals is important for the organization, because it relies on donations from individual members to stay financially viable as a non-profit. Only 20% of its funds come from large donations and grants while 80% come from individual diners. Paying diners are holders of capital important for the organization in the form of money, which places them in the second-highest position in the field.

Diners' position in this hierarchy is evidenced through Bill's demeanor in interactions that involve both paying diners and volunteers. I experienced this myself as a volunteer in the Cafe. Another volunteer and I were in the kitchen, happily talking as we chopped carrots on a bright blue cutting board. We were so entrenched in our conversation, that lunch service begun without our noticing. Bill was standing with his back to away from us plating food for a customer when he turned his entire body to face us. He told us with a stern look on his face that we needed to keep our voices down so he could interact with the guest of the Cafe. Through this

interaction, Bill exposed, and enforced, the hierarchy in which diners were higher than volunteers.

Zooming into this layer of the hierarchy, the Cafe dining room serves to break down and reproduce difference. This is a place where those of different social positions coexist. Those who are homeless sit at tables next to those who have money, as well as people in other social positions such as farmers, elderly, and university students. Each of these different social positions sports physical distinctions based on the manners they present themselves. The homeless individuals have on layers of warm clothes with disheveled hair from being exposed to the elements outside. The farmers come into the Cafe with practical, thrift-shopped clothes, while those who are wealthier are dressed in new, name-brand clothes. These marks of social position do not simply disappear upon entering this new field, and it is clear to anyone who comes into the space this diversity in social positions exists. I overheard one woman who was white and in her mid-40s, with bouncy bleached-blond hair and a nice handbag that marked her as one of a higher economic position, say to her friends upon walking up to the Cafe, ‘There are clearly all types of people here.’ Physical markers of distinction make it clear that the Cafe is diverse in the status of people it attracts. Since markers of social position are clear, it serves to reinforce difference between those who are and who are not economically wealthy.

These diverse groups have deeply-engrained manners of acting that they bring into this field that help to further distinguish people (Bourdieu 1994d). The homeless, specifically, have distinguishing manners of interaction. There were multiple times I observed people come to the space with large bags and winter jackets, marking them as homeless, sit outside rather than in the dining room. Christy shared with me that:

The homeless people who start coming here, you know their first time or two, if you’ll notice, they’ll sit outside a lot, and it’s because they’re afraid to take the

space, you know? And then you'll notice the people who have been here for quite awhile will be right amongst everyone, and they're feeling comfortable.

When homeless people first start coming to the Cafe, they act in manners that they assume they should act in fields with more wealthy actors. This serves to stratify the space into those who have money and those who don't. However, there is evidence that the rules of this field are different than what those of low incomes expect. After repeated visits, of the lowest social positions begin to move into the Cafe dining room. They realize that this field is not the same as society in general and begin to stop sorting themselves along lines of difference. The accepting nature of the community field present in the Cafe serves overtime to change the manner of interaction of those in the lowest economic positions, boosting them to take up space in the main dining room.

The organization further redefines the rules of the game through recognizing the capitals of more diverse groups. Which groups are recognized in the Cafe is determined by the capitals considered important in the field. These are defined by the dominant worldview and the needs of the organization. Vegetables from a local farm are an example of a valued capital in the field. This is seen in the mission statement and further evidenced by the organization accepting these as exchange for a meal. An urban agriculture leader I interviewed shared his experience exchanging with the Cafe when he shared, "I started out just volunteering, trade for meals, because I didn't have any money... then started trading produce for meals, and I continued to do that since." Others mentioned becoming more familiar with the farming population who frequented the Cafe. One of my interview participants, a white male in his 20s who volunteered at the Cafe frequently mentioned that he "linked up" with farmers in town through the organization and is now working as an intern with a local aquaponics farm. Accepting the capital

of locally grown vegetables by accepting it as payment for meals lifted up this capital in the field where it was recognized by the organization and therefore the members of the field as important.

The Cafe additionally accepts certain forms of ‘talent’ as payment for meals. This plays out as the organization accepting some forms of cultural capital as payment for meals. The cafe has an agreement, for example, with two elderly male musicians in town. These men both struggle financially; one of them came up to me while I was observing to tell me that he cannot afford food because he make just enough to no longer qualify for food stamps. However, the Cafe values these artistic contributions to the ‘community’ space and therefore accepts them as payment for meals. In my interviews, almost every person mentioned the musicians and the music they played. Victoria, a low-income volunteer, shared, “The music. I love the people that come in an play music. It’s been so long since I’ve listened to live music before I started working there.”

The capitals that can be recognized in this way are, however, influenced by the needs of the organization. Produce grown in a garden, for example, is not held in the same regard as the farmer’s. Christy explained in a conversation I had with her that the extra produce from people’s gardens is not enough to serve or does not match the menu for that week. These are organization constraints of the non-profit, where it has to provide meals to paying customers to stay financially viable. Meals need certain amounts of specific ingredients, and they are not obtainable by individual gardeners. The organization is able to recognize the capital of locally grown produce, but it is also constrained by practical and financial organizational barriers. In both of these examples, the field of the Cafe recognizes as important different forms of capital through accepting them as payment for meals. Through endowing different individuals with recognition it lifts them up and shows that they possess important capitals.

Full-shift volunteers

The Cafe has only two full-time employees and is reliant on individuals working multiple-hour volunteer shifts to function. Volunteers who work for a full shift decide ahead of time to participate and sign up on the website. There is an unspoken understanding that these volunteers who work full shifts can have a free meal in return for their service, but since there is the one-hour labor policy for those who don't have money, it is not assumed that they are in need of this meal. Volunteers fulfill three shifts during the day which start two hours before lunch service, at 9am, and continue to clean until 5pm. While working, volunteers wear tan aprons with a spring-green 'Giving Cafe' logo in the center, and this visually distinguishes them from the rest of the people in the space.

The Cafe insists that it values highly the labor of these volunteers. Christy recognized the extent to which these workers are necessary, posting pictures online with grateful captions multiple times per week. However, I found that those taking on the volunteer position were treated worse than the diners. This was visible when Bill would reprimand volunteers. Volunteers themselves did not always feel comfortable sharing these unfavorable stories, because they did not want to tarnish the view others had of Bill. James, the 30-year-old homeless man who was no longer going to the Cafe felt comfortable sharing, "even [my wife], she's been yelled at a few times while volunteering. That's just the way they are, they run things a certain way, and if you don't do it their way, something's gonna happen. Even down to washing the dishes, he gets really [temperamental]." Bill's actions towards volunteers reinforce the importance of diners. Volunteers are valued greatly by the organization and appreciated in as much as they help to carry it to function. However, their position is made clear in the instances Bill perceives them as hindering the success.

The volunteer role itself is stratified by those who work more or fewer hours. The higher position of those who work more is shown through the way the founders reward those who have volunteered for an extended period of time. One of my interview participants, a 30-year-old woman who identified as Pacific Islander had volunteered at the Cafe multiple days a week for the first six weeks she was in town. She shared that Christy and Bill had found a bike to give her and offered to store her belongings at the Cafe when she was homeless for a week. Those who volunteer only an hour were not given the same reciprocation. This reveals that greater recognition comes with volunteering more. This rule levels the field to an extent, because it recognizes those who are not well off financially and working weekly shifts at the Cafe. However, recognition comes to those who have extra time and give that time to the organization and fails to acknowledge those who may not have an abundance of time.

Focusing in on the role of full-time volunteer, there is opportunity for important recognitional interactions. Through the online sign-up process, people are paired automatically with whoever else also signs up for that shift. Since they are put into contact with someone they did not choose, there is potential for that individual to be someone in a different social position than themselves. Volunteers then work together for the duration of their shift, providing a space to interact with someone in a different position.

In my time volunteering, I came into contact with individuals in diverse social positions. Sometimes, this position was quite similar to mine. For example, I worked alongside another white, 20-year-old, spunky university student one day. At other times, however, the social position of the other volunteer was starkly different. I was put on a shift with a white man in his 30s. This man had black hair in a buzz-cut and wore a black t-shirt that showed tattoos coming out from the sleeves and up through the collar onto his neck. During our shift, he shared with me

pieces of his life story, where he was born in a town an hour south of the Cafe, never lived outside the state, and had a history of alcoholism. He was participating in a program that used farming as a means for rehabilitation and told me when he got out, he was going to apply for his truck-driving license as a means to obtain financial security. This man was in a different social position than myself. Despite differences, as volunteers, we had the opportunity to communicate and share stories when we may not have otherwise into contact with one another. The volunteer role in general provides the opportunity for people from the larger town community to come into contact with one another, which leads to recognitional opportunities across social difference.

One-hour volunteers

There is a further distinction in the field between those who work a full volunteer shift and those who work only an hour for a meal. The worldview of the field guiding the one-hour work policy is that people without money can ‘pay with time’ by ‘volunteering in return for a meal’. The idea behind this policy is that, since the Cafe is a non-profit, these individuals are helping the Cafe to stay viable in non-financial ways. It also gives people an opportunity to work, something most people can do, instead of needing to possess cultural and economic capital.

In my time in the Cafe, I only saw an individual make use of this volunteer policy twice, and I never witnessed someone willingly take on this position. Those who needed a free meal more often volunteered for full shifts rather than the one-hour. Both of the low-income individuals I interviewed who volunteered full-shifts frequently at the Cafe, one a white 20-year-old male and the other Victoria, shared that they were volunteering at least in part because they needed the assistance financially. They chose, however, to take on the full-time shifts rather than

the shorter one-hour option. Even those who are homeless will volunteer for full shifts. Christy shared with me that:

I've had [university] students come to me and say, 'I have been volunteering on the same shift with this person, and it just dawned on me today, after hearing him tell a story, that he is homeless.' And I'm like that's true.

This homeless individual had been working full volunteer shifts alongside others for weeks. This was the exact population that would supposedly be taking advantage of the one-hour work policy, and they are not.

There were times when it appeared like volunteering for an hour caused a division between the full-time and one-hour volunteers. A 20-year-old, white male who volunteered frequently conveyed that a one-hour volunteer:

He was taking plates and banging them on the compost bin... and Bill didn't like that, because you're touching the plate, which needs to be clean, to the compost bin, which he considers extremely dirty... and it all comes down to the way Bill wants to do it, and those people that come for an hour don't really respect or recognize that... that's the biggest difference between the people who are here for an hour versus people who are here for the entire shift.

This individual suggests that, as someone who spends many hours volunteering in the Cafe, it becomes clear who is volunteering only for an hour by the way they carry out their volunteer responsibilities. Those that are there for only an hour don't understand the 'way things are done here' or care about the Cafe as much. This matters, because while full-time volunteers could occupy lower social positions, volunteering for an hour in return for a meal is only allowed for those who do not have money. Therefore, people volunteering for only an hour are always poor. This creates a distinction between volunteers who are in the Cafe for full shifts and volunteers who are there for only an hour, serving to reinforce larger societal difference.

The labor requirement further creates divisions through the process of Bill's enforcement of the policy. Since people are not willingly taking on the one-hour labor role, Bill rather

demands or strongly requests it of some individuals. Most of the time, he happily serves anyone who comes up to the counter for a meal. However, there are times when the Cafe is under financial pressure, and he has to start enforcing the policy. Those who look like they have economic capital to give, such as a white woman who was well dressed, are allowed to go through the line without being asked how they are helping the Cafe. Other demographics, such as those who have markers of being poor or homelessness, are questioned. Christy confirmed the manner in which people are questioned:

There are some people that you know exactly how they're gonna pay, so you don't talk to them about it. Or you know they're gonna volunteer, or they have, so you don't talk to them about it. So you have to kind of pick and choose your conversations, and one of the things Bill does, is he'll have some new comers that will come, and he won't engage them right away. If they come back a second time, because he serves everyone, so he knows who's coming through and what's going on more than anyone else I think, and then after awhile he'll engage them and say, 'okay, hey I know you've been here a few times, let me talk to you about how this works and maybe you can help us.'

Whether these assumptions about who pays are well founded, asking only some and not others reinforces a symbolic divide between 'us' and 'them' based on who has money and who doesn't. It seems natural that those without money should be questioned about their contribution, while those with that capital are allowed to continue on comfortably. This divide is at times further solidified into a social boundary when those who are questioned choose not to stay.

Multiple individuals shared with me that they wished the volunteer labor policy didn't exist. Valerie, the 60-year-old white woman who volunteered 10 hours a week for the Cafe, mentioned, "Personally, I would like to see more funds coming in so that we don't even have to ask that question, 'How are you gonna pay?'... I think it's somewhat humiliating." This humiliation factor comes from being called out that 'you' are different than 'us' and therefore need to work for your food. Those who could afford a meal viewed the volunteer policy as a

great opportunity for those in those without money. A white male in his 60s who made over \$75,000 a year shared that, “it gives people who have money an opportunity to give... and it also gives people who need the food an opportunity to do something in exchange for it.” Through this remark, the man accepts the legitimacy of the labor policy and reinforces that some people are ‘givers’ and some are workers. These divisions over the labor policy seemed to reflect and further reify divisions between those who could afford to pay for a meal and who could not.

Symbolic Violence: Those Who Have Nothing to be Recognized

When looking at the one-hour labor policy through Bourdieu’s theory of capitals, and labor is not a capital in itself. By asking some to labor in return for their meal, it takes those who are already in the lowest position in society more broadly and further lowers them. It implies that these individuals, while not in possession of capitals for society more broadly, are also not in possession of capitals considered important for this inclusive field. They must instead work to produce capital in the Cafe. Since capital is power, for a person to request to take on the one-hour volunteer shift, they are openly admitting that they do not have power deemed acceptable for this field. The policy is disempowering. Moreover, I argue that requiring labor for food serves at times as an act of *symbolic violence* – or harm done to specific groups of people that is created and legitimized by the worldview and therefore (mis)recognized as appropriate (Bourdieu 1994b).

The groups the labor policy is enforced upon are the low-income and homeless population, because these are the individuals who are not ‘contributing’ to the field. However, contribution through labor can be especially difficult for this population. James, the homeless individual, shared with me his housing situation:

I’m not guaranteed to stay at [the shelter] every night. Some days I’m just out walking around every night, and sometimes I get really tired. I’ve been walking

around, doing this since March of this year, all I do is walk around, and I'm pretty lazy by 12 o'clock, because they wake us up at 5:45. It's a whole cycle, it's tiring.

Homeless people especially struggle to find a place to sleep at night and have to continuously move around the streets when they are released from the shelter at dawn; they can be physically exhausted by the time the Cafe opens for lunch at 11 am. There are also high rates of untreated mental illness within the homeless population, and working where everyone can see is even further mentally degrading. Having to work for an hour in return for a meal is physically and mentally difficult for this population.

This was exemplified one day in the Cafe, when a man who was clearly homeless came in. He had on a heavy dark-blue jacket, his grey hair was disheveled, and he had a matching dark-blue beanie. His nose was deformed and his skin leathery. He walked with a hunched back and a limp, showing a physical disability, and he slurred his words and didn't make eye contact when he spoke to others, making him appear to be mentally unwell. Ten minutes later, Charles set this man up with a garden hose outside the Cafe. The man mumbled angrily to himself as he slowly wandered from plant to plant, giving each only a splash of water before moving to the next. He had been watering plants for 10 minutes when a group of more economically well off people walked up the ramp and into the Cafe. He said, in an angered voice, "Why do all these people get in front of me, and they don't do any goddam work?" A man at the Cafe that day responded to him that there were different ways of contributing, and that they may be paying. The homeless man commented that they could pay a nickel and eat. He said loudly, "I hate being treated like a goddam animal." This man was not mentally well, and it was clearly causing him more mental distress to labor for an hour for his meal.

This man did not have to work – he could have elected to leave the Cafe rather than eat. However, if he wanted food, it was required that he labor. His situation is different than someone

who could afford a meal. Those individuals are able to choose between payment and work. This man, since he did not have other capitals deemed legitimate forms of payment for the field, had no choice. Due to this policy, this man's social marginalization was made worse by the demand that he carry out painful work in order to participate in the field, further causing harm to a person who was already at the bottom of the social hierarchy. This act of symbolic violence was the opposite of recognition; it showed that this man had nothing to offer and caused him to suffer because of it.

The field of the Cafe works in multiple ways to restructure social relations to recognize different people for different reasons. However, it falls short when individuals are not in possession of capitals deemed recognizable for the field. The worldview of the field is therefore still limited, evidenced by the symbolic violence experienced by those in the lowest positions in society.

Re-Distribution of Capital through the Field

How do capitals flow through the field of the Cafe? Bourdieu explains that one of the types of capital people can possess is *social capital*, which “depends on the size of the network connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of capital possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected” (Bourdieu 1986:51). The capitals one accesses through social connections can be achieved through direct relationships or institutionalized into a group (Bourdieu 1986:51). In the Cafe, individuals are able to create relationships with others, which at times lead to increased social capital through the resources they can access through those ties. These relationships are also institutionalized in multiple manners through the Cafe, which serves as a mediator of capital flows through the field. In this chapter, I discuss manners

in which capital moves through the field from both direct interaction and institutionalized manners and the justice implications of each.

Interactional Social Capital: 'I brought some for the ones I personally knew'

The community field, along with having a dominant worldview, provides rules of interaction. Specifically, the rules of the community field of the Cafe encourage those who do not know each other to interact, which leads to connections between actors with diverging sets of capitals. I saw these rules the first time I was in the Cafe. I had just sat down at a table outside, when Christy came up with her plate and asked to sit down with me. Through this interaction, she set the rules in the field – it is acceptable to sit down and interact with others you do not know in the dining room of the Cafe. The rule is now dominant in the field, and those who come to the Cafe understand this is the manner of interaction. Even a newcomer to the field, a 30-year-old woman who worked in cultural studies and lived in Portland Oregon, shared with me her knowledge that, “It’s more of a family-style table here, so people can kind of come in together from all different walks of life. You may be sitting at a table, and may or may not be engaging in a conversation about having a similar lunch.” The field rules affect all who enter, where people perceiving an ‘open table’ policy. This allows and encourages people to sit down at tables with others.

Interactional rules facilitate people coming into contact with those in different social positions. Victoria shared her observations from extended participation in the field that:

Strangers sit with strangers and strike up conversation. I’ve seen everyday working people, professionals, sit down with some homeless people, college kids sit down with some homeless people, talk to them, ask them how their day is going. Or play music with them.

Her she explains how people of higher social positions come into contact with those who are homeless. In these interactions, people are making connections across the different social

positions present in the field. Another interview participant, a white woman in her 60s who frequented the Cafe as a diner, shared her experience interacting in the field:

I've talked to several women in the past, they were homeless, living at the shelter, they had been abused, they'd left a bad marriage, they had no money. I've talked to several men that are homeless. One of them was an alcoholic, and he openly admitted that he has a very bad drinking problem, and he comes here on days where he's more sober.

The diversity of the community field of the Cafe allowed for this woman to come contact with people who were going through difficult times in their lives and had access to less economic capital, such as money and physical materials, than herself. The interactional rule of the field made it possible for her to create connections with these others who maintained different life experiences and social positions.

The interactions this field induces create connections between individuals that go beyond small pleasantries to friendships that are genuine and strong enough to transcend this community field. One interview participant, a white man in his 60s who ate at the Cafe frequently, told me "The space requires it. There's limited seating, so you sit down, talk, it's amazing. I know half a dozen people in here right now... in fact, I met my roommates I have now in this Cafe. I would never have had them." Additionally, James, the man who was homeless at the time, shared with me that he met his wife while eating at the Cafe. Both these individuals met others in through the Cafe that became important in their lives outside this field. The rules of the community field facilitated the original interactions that became true relationships.

These connections appear to happen more frequently with those who are regular participants in the Cafe. I did not knowingly witness people becoming new friends in my observations, but I did see many of the regulars in the Cafe, those who were young and old alike, talking to others who they knew but did not come with. Multiple regular interview participants of

the cafe confirmed this. I asked one of my interview participants, who was a white male in his 20s and had been volunteering regularly for three months, if he knew regulars of the Cafe. He responded “Mostly I’d recognize them by face... if I saw them around town, I’d certainly know them as regulars of the Cafe.” This individual was only beginning to pick up on the regulars in the Cafe but hadn’t made strong connections yet. Another older, white man in his 60s, however, who ate at the Cafe almost daily for over a year, conveyed “The space requires it, you have an empty table and there’s limited seating, so you sit down, talk, it’s amazing. I know half a dozen people in here right now.” This environment led this man to become familiar with many people in the field. In short, the field has interactional rules that lead to people coming into contact with others that over time can create lasting relationships that extend beyond the community field of the Cafe.

The interactions and connections they created at times led those with more resources to give to those with less. For example, I asked Valerie, a regular dinner at the Cafe, about her interactions with those in the homeless population in the dining room. She mentioned that through this organization she, “Brought some stuff for the homeless people, ones that I personally knew.” She had developed connections with others in the field, and through this wanted to share her personal resources with them. She was able to achieve an exchange of resources through a direct interaction. Another interview participant, a white male engineer in his late 50s, who had been to the Cafe only a handful of times, shared a different type of interaction in which he “put on the particular pair of shoes that I have on with the idea that if someone showed up with a pretty ratty pair, I might swap them.” He had not already created a relationship, but he knew this was a field in which it was appropriate to talk to and exchange capital through face-to-face interactions. The field facilitated a member with more capital to give

to one with less. These interactions show the ability for the rules of the field to increase social connections, or social capital, which serves as a means for other forms of capital to move from those who have more to those with less. These were exchanges of small amounts of capital that did not upset the overall position of people in society; however, they show recognition from those in a higher economic position of those in lower ones.

Institutionalized Social Capital: 'We serve 100 meals a day'

The Cafe has also developed institutionalized means of accessing social capital in the field. Redistribution of capital in this form does not require face-to-face contact. The first, and most significant, means is through the meals it serves. Those who have economic capital give money to the organization for their meal. This money is then used by the Cafe to continue to operate and serve lunch every day, which includes a redistributive commitment to providing those with less money meals free of charge. The money for these redistributed meals also comes from outside people and organizations who do not purchase directly from the Cafe. For example, companies in town give large monetary donations to the organization. One company gave the Cafe a check for \$1500 to pay for community-accessible WiFi for a year and another donated \$4,000 as a grant. The organization, therefore, serves as an institutionalized mediator of social capital, which redistributes resources from those who have economic capital to those who do not.

The Cafe also relies on a set of smaller institutionalized means to redistribute resources. They have named these programs the Giving Tree, Kindness Cupboard, and Freedged. Each initiative was created by a member of the Cafe community, ideas that Christy recognized, legitimated, and facilitated. These programs take the shape of a physical structure on the Cafe grounds. The Kindness Cupboard and Giving Tree are both stand-alone closets that house non-perishable foods and other physical necessities like clothes, books, and journals, respectively.

The Freedge is a professional-grade refrigerator where people put in and take out raw fruits and vegetables. Members of the town are all welcome to contribute to and take from any of these redistributive initiatives. Given the lack of in-person interactions, these programs are activating anonymous, institutionalized social capital in the field.

Every time I went to the Cafe these structures were well stocked from community members. The Giving Tree had sweatshirts, journals and pens, and food for pets, the Kindness Cupboard was filled with individually-wrapped, non-perishable food items, and the Freedge kept a mixture of fresh produce such as apples, pears, kale, and tomatoes. These were often stocked by the same people who ate at the Cafe. Valerie, the 60-year-old woman who ate at the Cafe regularly, shared that she contributed to the Giving Tree and “Put clothing, and I put some paper and pens. And the Freedge, I’ve put apples and some other produce that I had... I also left some juices, like individual organic juices over there for them to drink.” This extended the resources that could be shared through the field beyond in-person contact and meals as lunch service. The resources are more widely accessible as they are available outside of operational hours, and Bill does not monitor their use. Therefore, they can be used by anyone at any time without exclusions or volunteer requirements.

These programs are used and appreciated by the low-income and homeless populations. Even though James no longer ate meals at the Cafe he was still able to access these outside resources. He explained, “I haven’t been [to the Cafe] since that happened. I don’t know how long it’s been. A few months. But sometimes, I’ll go there and look in the Freedge or the pantry if they have that.” This man, who does not feel comfortable eating the meals from the Cafe anymore, has access to food and other resources through these other programs. Though this is not always free of social judgment. He shared an experience where, “I kind of feel like they’re

staring at me like vultures.... I was in the Freedge, and I heard somebody say, ‘Oh yeah, he’s just taking stuff out of the Freedge. I’m like, ‘man, leave me alone.’” While this was a more comfortable means of accessing resources through the institution, he could not fully escape the perception of exclusion he had previously experienced. These programs, therefore, help to distribute resources to more people than the Cafe has the capacity to serve meals to on a given day, but they are not fully detached from larger power relations.

Social Capital and Justice Implications: ‘You’ll always have a place to eat’

Neither face-to-face nor institutionalized means fully re-distribute resources to eliminate social inequality. Face-to-face interactions require becoming connected to another person across social boundaries of difference, a process that the rules of the community field facilitates but does not demand of every person who comes in. Institutionalized forms of resource distribution, therefore, have the capacity to channel more resources than face-to-face interactions, since the organization serves as a hub that can accumulate capital and then redistribute them to those who have less through the meals it serves. More people are able to access meals than receive resources through face-to-face interactions with others in the Cafe.

This redistribution, while failing to fully eliminate distributional inequalities, may serve to further recognitional justice. Bourdieu (1986) suggests that acknowledgement and recognition of another presupposes exchange in a social group. Therefore, those with more capital giving to others with less, whether through interactional or institutionalized means, would mean that those with more are recognizing those with less as part of the same group. Accordingly, exchanging capitals requires acts of recognition. This means that the Cafe is a hub of recognition for those who come in the door.

In order to be recognized in this space through the act of giving, however, one has to first be a part of the group. Those who are not allowed or choose not to participate in the space due to social or symbolic boundaries on the field, lack the chance to be recognized or fully take part in the redistributive potential. James told me, upon reflecting on feeling excluded from the Cafe, that, “I guess if you’re on good terms with those people, you’ll always have a place to eat. It’s like guaranteed.” This is an organization that highly rewards those who accept and are happy to go along with the worldview of the field. Those who are not able or willing to carry it out are excluded from the field, an exclusion that at times serves to re-produce symbolic boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and social boundaries of who can and cannot access the potential of the organization and the community it builds.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis examined the interactional community dynamics of an alternative food initiative (AFI) to interrogate the practice and possibility of food justice within organizations who make an attempt in this direction. Specifically, I have explained how individuals do food justice in a new type of alternative food initiative, a pay-what-you-can (PWC) cafe. To highlight the process of justice carried out by the community in the organization, I focused on participation, recognition, and distribution. A multi-faceted analysis allowed me to consider how this initiative is *doing* justice. I have therefore come to two sets of conclusions. One involves the significance for PWC cafes and the other for food justice scholarship.

Pay-What-You-Can Cafes

The Giving Cafe includes members of society who are low-income or homeless, recognizes capitals outside money as forms of payment, and re-distributes resources through social connections in the field. However, to reap the benefits that can come from this organization, one must be in the field. I recount major findings and offer practical suggestions for PWC cafes in regards to participation, recognition, and distribution.

The Cafe does participatory justice by being inclusive of a range of economic statuses as well as fostering participation from those with unique cultural capital and progressive worldviews. However, there are boundaries on the field that keep the Hispanic population and some of the low income and homeless individuals from participating. Specifically, the Hispanic population may not be present because of the hours of operation and services the Cafe provides as well as the characteristics of the space that code it as ‘white’ (Guthman 2011a). Some in the homeless population are not present due to the rule of the field that people must be ‘contributing’

to take part in the organization, which legitimates requesting physical labor of that group and leads some to choose to no longer take part.

I found those who participate in the Cafe to be a largely white population. On the one hand, AFIs are frequently critiqued for their ‘unbearable whiteness’ (Guthman 2011a; Harper 2011), but on the other hand some scholars of color argue that AFIs should be separated along racial lines as a means to circumvent unavoidable power dynamics in mixed-race projects (McCutcheon 2011; Ramirez 2015). The Cafe does not necessarily need to be a place for people of color. They may not want to be a part of the organization and should not be forced to participate (Guthman 2008). However, it is possible people of color do want to be a part of the space and are unable to or feel unwelcome. In that case, the Cafe should reflect on the social and symbolic boundaries it puts up and ask ‘what could we do differently to make this space more accessible and welcoming to people of color?’ (Harper 2011). A tangible recommendation for the organization would be to invite Hispanic people and people of color onto the board of directors to have say in the decision making process.

Another factor in exclusion from the field were the financial constraints of the organization. AFIs are constrained by financial realities as any other business, and many new farms, for example, struggle to stay financially viable and can go under if they are not able to bring in enough money (Low et al. 2015). The Cafe faces the predicament of how to serve the low-income population it has set out to serve without compromising the organization. To balance financial realities with organizational ideals, I suggest PWC organizations focus on those who have higher incomes, rather than those already in the lowest economic position in society. The question should not be, ‘How can we serve fewer who cannot pay?’ but ‘How can we ask those who do have economic capital to pay more?’ One of my participants suggested a simple sign

posting how much these meals actually cost. Visibility of the price of the meal and the amount people normally pay will encourage those who have money to pay a larger amount for their meal without alienating them from participation.

The Cafe is making recognitional justice strides through the rules of the field that allow for individuals who possess forms of capital outside of monetary payment, such as musical talent or locally grown farm produce, to use them as payment for meals. Additionally, it utilizes a volunteer policy where those who do not have capitals to give must work in return for their meal. I found that exchanging resources or talent for meals was more empowering of individuals, because it recognized a capital they possessed. Requesting volunteer work as people went through the line was demeaning and sometimes caused physical harm to those from which it was required. If the Cafe does not address these recognitional struggles, it risks losing the low-income population it seeks to serve.

I offer two suggestions for how this Cafe, and PWC cafes in general, can better recognize those with the lowest economic positions in the field and keep from harming those at the bottom of the social hierarchy. The first has been started by the Cafe already through the recognition of different forms of capital in return for a meals. This program allows for individuals to agentically choose to give in a way that they felt comfortable giving and recognizes an actual capital that they possess. I recommend extending that program to find other ways people can offer the capitals they have and want to give in exchange for a meal. Additionally, there are tangible ways the one-hour volunteer labor requirement could be made more empowering while also ensuring people contribute. One way to address this, could be to ask everyone who goes through the line, ‘how are you contributing today?’ to avoid singling out those who have less money. There could

also be a sign-up sheet at the end of the food service bar that requests individuals sign up for a volunteer shift rather than requesting people work at that exact moment.

Redistributional justice is carried out in the Cafe through rules guiding interactions in the community that encouraged people to talk with one another as well as institutionalized means such as the meals served and other community-started programs. Through sharing resources, those with a higher social position recognize those in lower ones. The most significant way the Cafe redistributes resources is through institutionalized means. Serving meals free of charge to those who need them reaches the largest number of people, but the Cafe has successfully developed smaller programs that redistribute supplies such as clothing and fresh produce that reach those unable to participate in lunch service. The most important consideration connects to participation, because taking part in redistribution is contingent on being in the field. The Cafe must stay financially viable to continue to exist, but it must be careful not to exclude those in the lowest economic positions in the process. The Bourdieusian theoretical framework of this study failed to capture the extent to which power dynamics may be present within exchange of resources through interactional means. Further research may examine the degree to which power relations are reproduced through the act of giving in a face-to-face manner.

Finally, this research leads to considerations for alternative food initiatives more broadly. It shows how the worldview an initiative creates entices and allows certain segments of the population to take part, the extent to which the organization can go to recognize those in other social positions, and strategies for redistributing resources throughout a community. Recognizing the impact the worldview of the organization, and the manner by which it is carried out by powerful members in the field, can facilitate the organization achieving its desired impact.

Food Justice Scholarship

Food justice is defined as an attempt to address inequalities within the food system (Hislop 2015). The analysis gives insight into how structural change may come about by linking communities fostered by AFIs and justice. The Cafe does not act in radical manners to overthrow the conventional food system, but it makes strides toward chipping away at micro-structures of difference between individuals that underlie societal-level injustices (Lamont and Molnár 2002). This is not the first study to look at the community within an AFI (e.g. Alkon 2008; Aptekar 2015; McIvor and Hale 2016). However, the explicit focus on participation, recognition, and distribution through a Bourdieusian framework is novel and the major theoretical contribution of this work.

A multi-faceted notion of justice emerged as a means to explain how this PWC cafe was *doing* justice. It isn't acting politically to change government structures or re-distributing large amounts of capital. However, it is putting people of different social positions together in the same building and encouraging them to interact with on another. The strength of the Bourdieusian approach is it gives insight into the dynamics between the organization, field, and individuals. This conceptualization serves to more thoroughly analyze the ways in which different AFIs do justice through the communities they attract and foster.

The theoretical approach illuminated both justice potentials and limitations of AFIs. The conceptualization of community as a field showed the ability for this AFI to attract a specific group of people. A field with people from different social groups allows for the potential of recognition of people who occupy different social categories. However, there are still limitations with in the field for the amount of recognition and distribution that can take place. AFI communities are not detached from larger power differentials, a fact that is made visible through

a Bourdieusian capitals approach. Further, AFIs may be limited in the amount of redistribution of resources they are capable of fostering. Redistribution is aided through institutionalized means in this case, but it does not create enough circulation to upset class difference.

Social change is a messy and imperfect process, but AFIs make an attempt in that direction. This research shows that perhaps the largest just potential of an AFI such as this one is recognition. The Giving Cafe is an organization where people from different social backgrounds come into the same room and eat lunch among one another. The organizational structure of the Cafe allows for resources and talents individuals have other than money to be seen and appreciated. Further research could apply this framework to different initiatives and on larger scales. How do other AFIs allow for participation, recognition, and distribution of and across different social groups? Moreover, how are participation, recognition, and distribution fostered between alternative food initiatives on a state, nation, or global level?

REFERENCES

- Alkon, Alison and Julian Agyeman. 2011. *Cultivating Food Justice*. MIT Press.
- Alkon, Alison Hope. 2008. "From Value to Values: Sustainable Consumption at Farmers Markets." *Agriculture and Human Values* 2008(25):487-98.
- Alkon, Alison Hope. 2014. "Food Justice and the Challenge to Neoliberalism." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies* 14(2):27-40.
- Alkon, Alison Hope and Julian Agyeman. 2011. "Introduction: The Food Movement as Polyculture." in *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by A. H. Alkon and J. Agyeman. MIT Press.
- Alkon, Alison Hope and Teresa Marie Mares. 2012. "Food Sovereignty in US Food Movements: Radical Visions and Neoliberal Constraints." *Agriculture and Human Values* 29(3):347-59.
- Allen, Patricia. 2008. "Mining for Justice in the Food System: Perceptions, Practices, and Possibilities." *Agriculture and Human Values* 25:157-61.
- Allen, Patricia, Margaret FitzSimmons, Michael Goodman, and Keith Warner. 2003. "Shifting Plates in the Agrifood Landscape: The Tectonics of Alternative Agrifood Initiatives in California." *Journal of Rural Studies* 19:61-75.
- Aptekar, Sofya. 2015. "Visions of Public Space: Reproducing and Resisting Social Hierarchies in a Community Garden." *Eastern Sociological Society* 30(1).
- Beach, Sarah. 2007. "No Free Lunch: Value Conflicts and Community in a Cooperative Social Movement Organization in America." Colorado State University, Fort Collins.
- Becker, Howard and Blanche Geer. 1957. "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison." *Human Organization* 16:28-32.
- Bender, Thomas. 1978. "Introduction: The Meanings of Community." Pp. 3-13 in *Community and Social Change in America*. Baltimore & London: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1985. "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups." *Theory and Society* 14(6):723-44.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital (1986)." in *Cultural Theory: An Anthology*, edited by I. Szeman and T. Kaposy. West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994a. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994b. "On Symbolic Power." in *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994c. "Social Space and Symbolic Space." Pp. 335–45 in *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, edited by C. Calhoun, J. Gerteis, J. Moody, S. Pfaff, and I. Virk. West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994d. "Structures, Habitus, Practices." in *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, edited by C. Calhoun, J. Gerteis, J. Moody, S. Pfaff, and I. Virk. West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Loic Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bridger, Jeffrey and A. E. Luloff. 1999. "Toward an Interactional Approach to Sustainable Community Development." *Journal of Rural Studies* 15:377–87.
- Broad. 2016. *More than Just Food: Food Justice and Community Change*.
- Brown, Sandy and Christy Getz. 2011. "Farmworker Food Insecurity and the Production of Hunger in California." Pp. 121–46 in *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by A. H. Alkon and Agyeman. MIT Press.
- Cadieux, Kristen and Rachel Slocum. 2015. "What Does It Mean to Do Food Justice?" *Journal of Political Ecology* 22:1–26.
- Carolan, Michael. 2012. *The Sociology of Food and Agriculture*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Carolan, Michael and James Hale. 2016. "'Growing' Communities with Urban Agriculture: Generating Value Above and Below Ground." *Community Development* 1–16.
- Delanty, Gerard. 2010. *Community*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- DuPuis, E.Melanie, Jill Lindsey Harrison, and David Goodman. 2011. "Just Food?" Pp. 283–309 in *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Durkheim, Emile. 2008. *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Dwyer, Sonya and Jennifer Buckle. 2009. "The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8(1):54–63.
- Emerson, Robert, Rachel Fretz, and Linda Shaw. 2011. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Second Edition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Gold, Raymond. 1958. "Roles in Sociological Field Observations." *Social Forces* 36(3):217–23.
- Gottlieb, Robert and Anupama Joshi. 2010. *Food Justice*. USA: MIT Press.
- Green, John, Eleanor Green, and Anna Kleiner. 2011. "From the Past to Present: Agricultural Development and Black Farmers in the American South." Pp. 47–64 in *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by A. H. Alkon and Agyeman. MIT Press.
- Guthman, Julie. 2008. "Bringing Good Food to Others: Investigating the Subjects of Alternative Food Practice." *Cultural Geographies* 15(4):431–47.
- Guthman, Julie. 2011a. "'If They Only Knew': The Unbearable Whiteness of Alternative Food." in *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by A. H. Alkon and J. Agyeman. MIT Press.
- Guthman, Julie. 2011b. *Weighing In: Obesity, Food Justice, and the Limits of Capitalism*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Harper, A.Breeze. 2011. "Vegans of Color, Racialized Embodiment, and Problematics of the 'Exotic.'" Pp. 221–38 in *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by A. H. Alkon and J. Agyeman. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Hinrichs, C.Clare. 2000. "Embeddedness and Local Food Systems: Notes on Two Types of Direct Agricultural Market." *Journal of Rural Studies* 16:295–303.
- Hislop, Rasheed. 2015. "Reaping Equity: A Survey of Food Justice Organizations in the U.S.A." University of California, Davis.
- Holmes, Seth. 2013. *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies: Migrant Farmworkers in the United States*. Berkely and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.
- Jablonski, Becca. 2014. "Evaluating the Impact of Farmers' Markets Using a Rural Wealth Creation Approach." Pp. 218–31 in *Rural Wealth Creation*, edited by J. Pender, B. Weber, T. Johnson, and M. Fannin. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Lamont, Michéle and Virág Molnár. 2002. "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28:167–95.
- Low, Sarah A. et al. 2015. *Trends in U.S. Local and Regional Food Systems*. U.S. Department of Agriculture.
- McClintock, Nathan. 2011. "From Industrial Garden to Food Desert: Demarcated Devaluation in the Flatlands of Oakland, California." Pp. 89–120 in *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by A. H. Alkon and J. Agyeman. MIT Press.

- McCutcheon, Priscilla. 2011. "Community Food Security 'For Us, By Us': The Nation of Islam and the Pan African Orthodox Christian Church." Pp. 177–96 in *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by A. H. Alkon and Agyeman. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- McIvor, David and James Hale. 2016. "Urban Agriculture and the Prospects for Deep Democracy." *Agriculture and Human Values* 32:727–41.
- McMichael, Phillip. 2012. *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. 2001. "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27:415–44.
- Myers, Justin Sean and Joshua Sbicca. 2015. "Bridging Good Food and Good Jobs: From Secession to Confrontation within Alternative Food Movement Politics." *Geoforum* 61:17–26.
- Oldenburg, Ray. 1999. *The Great Good Place*.
- One World Everybody Eats (OWEE). n.d. "About." Retrieved March 17, 2016 (<http://www.oneworldeverybodyeats.org>).
- Pollan, Michael. 2006. *The Omnivore's Dilemma*. London, England: Penguin Books.
- Ramirez, Margaret Marietta. 2015. "The Elusive Inclusive: Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food Spaces." *Antipode* 47(3):748–69.
- Ravitch, Sharon and Nicole Carl. 2016. *Qualitative Research: Bridging the Conceptual, Theoretical, and Methodological*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Renting, Henk, Terry K. Marsden, and Jo Banks. 2003. "Understanding Alternative Food Networks: Exploring the Role of Short Food Supply Chains in Rural Development." *Environment and Planning* 35:393–411.
- Saldaña, Johnny. 2013. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Sbicca, Joshua. 2014. "The Need to Feed: Urban Metabolic Struggles of Actually Existing Radical Projects." *Critical Sociology* 40(6):817–34.
- Sbicca, Joshua. 2015. "Farming While Confronting the Other: The Production and Maintenance of Boundaries in the Borderlands." *Journal of Rural Studies* 39:1–10.
- Schlosberg, David. 2004. "Reconceiving Environmental Justice: Global Movements and Political Theories." *Environmental Politics* 13(3):517–40.

- Slocum, Rachel. 2007. "Whiteness, Space and Alternative Food Practice." *Geoforum* 38(3):520-33.
- Slocum, Rachel and Kristen Cadieux. 2015. "Notes on the Practice of Food Justice in the U.S.: Understanding and Confronting Trauma and Inequity." *Journal of Political Ecology* 22:27-52.
- Small, Mario Luis. 2011. "How to Conduct a Mixed Methods Study: Recent Trends in a Rapidly Growing Literature." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37:57-86.
- Tonnies, Ferdinand. 2002. "Community and Society." P. 300 in *Community and Society*. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2015. "Quick Facts." *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved March 17, 2017 (<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/0827425>).
- Wacquant, Loic. 1992. "Toward a Social Praxeology: The Structure and Logic of Bourdieu's Sociology." Pp. 1-60 in *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, edited by P. Bourdieu and L. Wacquant. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Wang, Caroline. 1999. "Photovoice: A Participatory Action Research Strategy Applied to Women's Health." *Journal of Women's Health* 8(2):185-92.
- Weiss, Robert. 1994. *Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Wellman, Barry. 1979. "The Community Question: The Intimate Networks of East Yorkers." *American Journal of Sociology* 84(5):1201-31.
- Werkheiser, Ian and Samantha Noll. 2014. "From Food Justice to a Tool of the Status Quo: Three Sub-Movements Within Local Food." *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 27(2):201-10.
- Wilkinson, Kenneth. 1970. "The Community As a Social Field." *Social Forces* 48(3):311-22.
- Zitcer, Andrew. 2015. "Co-Ops and The Paradox of Exclusivity." *Antipode* 47(3):812-28.

APPENDICES

Appendix A – Recruitment Speech

Verbal Recruitment for short interviews and in-depth interviews of key informants

In conversational style, ...

Hello, my name is Kelly Shreeve, and I am a graduate student researcher from the Department of Sociology at Colorado State University. I am conducting a research study on community in the Cafe. The title of this project is *Community and Justice in the Cafe*. Dr. Joshua Sbicca is overseeing this thesis research.

I would like you to participate in a short interview and survey/in-depth interview regarding your personal connections and experiences with community in the Cafe. Your participation may take up to two hours. The only criteria for inclusion in this research is being over 18 years of age. Participation will take approximately half an hour/an hour, and your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate in the study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participation at any time without penalty.

Would you like to participate?

If yes: Proceed by giving informant consent form and walking through the details of their participation

If no: Thank you for your time.

My contact information is provided on the consent form handed you. Also provided is the Participant's Rights contact information if you have questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research. (contact CSU IRB at: RICRO_IRB@mail.colostate.edu; 970-491-1553).

Appendix B – Demographic Survey

Demographics –

All information will remain confidential. Please remember you do not have to give any information you do not feel comfortable giving.

Age _____

What is your sex?

- Male
- Female
- Other

Do you identify as LGBT?

- Yes
- No

With what race do you identify?

- American Indian or Native American
- Black or African American
- Asian American
- White
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- Other

Do you consider yourself Hispanic or Latino?

- Yes
- No

How many people are in your household?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6+

What is your household income?

- 0 – \$11,999
- \$12,000 – \$24,999
- \$25,000 – \$49,999
- \$50,000 – \$74,999
- \$75,000 – \$100,000+

What your highest level of formal education?

- Never attended high school
- Associates degree
- Did not finish high school
- Bachelors degree
- High school diploma (or GED)
- Graduate or professional degree
- Some college

When you come to the Cafe, how much do you usually pay

- \$0-\$5
- \$5.01-\$10
- \$10.01-\$15

- Over \$15
- Volunteer

How often do you come to the Cafe?

- Every Day
- Multiple times a week

- Once a week

- Two or three times a month
- Once a month
- Less than once a month

What mode of transportation do you use to get to the Cafe?

- Walk
- Bike
- Car
- Other

- Bus

Appendix C – Interview Guide

What is your experience with the Cafe?

How did you get involved with the Cafe?

Why did you come to the Cafe today (or in past/general)?

When did you get involved with the Cafe?

Walk me through your experience in the Cafe today (or in past/general).

Have you felt uncomfortable about anything that you saw or that happened? Tell me about this experience.

Do you feel that you belong in the Cafe? Why or why not?

Physical Capital

Did you give anyone anything while in the Cafe today? Did anyone give you anything?

Social Capital

Did you talk to anyone new in the Cafe today? Did you see anyone you already knew but did not come with?

Cultural Capital

Did you learn anything in the Cafe today? Did you teach anyone anything?

Did anything/anyone in the Cafe open you up to a new way of thinking?

Who is a part of the community of the Cafe?

Is there anyone who wouldn't feel welcome here?

What is food justice to you?

Do you feel that the Cafe is participating in food justice? How/why?

How do social characteristics such as race and class play into food justice?

Anything else you would like to tell me?

Appendix D – Demographic Characteristics of Interview Participants

Age		Total
0-18	0	15
19-30	9	
31-40	1	
41-50	0	
51-60	3	
Over 60	2	

Race		Total
American Indian or Native American	0	15
Asian American	0	
Pacific Islander	1	
Black or African American	1	
White	13	
Other	0	

Sex		Total
Male	8	15
Female	7	

Education		Total
No High School	0	15
Some High School	1	
High School	0	
Some College	6	
Associates Degree	1	
Bachelors Degree	4	
Graduate Degree	3	

Typically Pay		Total
\$0-\$5	6	15
\$5.01-\$10	4	
\$10.01-\$15	0	
Over \$15	3	
Volunteer	2	

Income		Total
\$0-\$11,999	10	15
\$12,000-\$24,999	1	
\$25,000-\$49,999	0	
\$50,000-\$74,999	1	
\$75,000-\$100,000	3	

Diner at Cafe		Total
Yes	14	15
No	1	

Volunteer for Cafe		Total
Yes	4	15
No	11	

Farmer		Total
Yes	4	15
No	11	