

**International  
Institute of  
Social Studies**

*Erasmus*

**Community and Food**  
**Impacts of alternative food procurement in building  
community in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.**

A Research Paper presented by:

***Ivy Helena Torres***  
(United States of America)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Agrarian, Food, and Environmental Studies**  
(AFES)

Members of the Examining Committee:

Wendy Harcourt  
Murat Arsel

The Hague, The Netherlands  
December 2022

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

International Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460  
e: info@iss.nl  
w: www.iss.nl  
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>  
twitter: @issnl

***Location:***

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

***Acknowledgements:***

To the Gleaning Project and SCCAP staff, volunteers, and community members – thank you for sharing your stories, your fears, your vulnerabilities, but also your hopes for the future for yourselves and for your community.

To the Painted Turtle Farm families, students, staff, and volunteers – gracias, for welcoming me back, for sharing your space with me again. *Gracias, por a recibirme, por volver a compartir tu espacio conmigo.*

To the Gleaning Project and the Painted Turtle Farm - I learned so much from each person I spoke to, I could not have done this without you. As I wrote each paragraph, I thought of each of you, of your smiles, and of your words. I hope I did them justice.

Gracias Mili, por darme la confianza para hacer esta investigacion. No podria ter hecho sin tu animo y consejo. Estoy eternamente agradecida.

To my supervisor Wendy, thank you for your dedicated support. I could not have done this without it.

To my AFESitos, thank you all for sharing this journey of our Masters with me. Each of you are brilliant, dedicated individuals and I am leaving this program a better person because of you. I will carry all of you in my heart.

Lastly, Lawson, meu amor, thank you for being my constant support and my reluctant editor. I could not have done this without you.

# Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Maps</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>vi</i>
<b>Chapter 1   Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 What is this Research Paper about?	1
1.2 Conceptual Framework	2
1.3 Research Questions and Methodology	5
1.3.1 Research Questions	5
1.3.2 Methodology and positionality	5
1.3.3 Ethics	7
<b>Chapter 2   History of U.S. social welfare and its modern-day struggles</b>	<b>8</b>
2.1 How did we get here? - History of food insecurity and social welfare in the United States	8
2.2 The case study: Gettysburg, Pennsylvania	11
2.2.1 The Gleaning Project	12
2.2.2 The Painted Turtle Farm	15
<b>Chapter 3   Care</b>	<b>18</b>
3.1 “ <i>People need food and I’ll do what I can, so they get it</i> ”	18
3.1.1 The rise of donations and volunteerism	20
3.2 Cultivating food and social reproduction	23
3.3 Gender, Food, and Family	24
<b>Chapter 4   Fear the virus: community, conviviality, and COVID-19</b>	<b>27</b>
4.1 Community and Mental Health	27
4.1.1 A story of retirement, bureaucracy, and social welfare	27
4.1.2 Outsourced care work: what happens to those at the end of the line?	29
4.2 Rebuilding	31
<b>Chapter 5   Conclusion</b>	<b>34</b>
<i>References</i>	<i>37</i>

## List of Figures

Figure 1 Gleaning Project symbol - this was stamped next to the recycled produce bags (August 3, 2022)	12
Figure 2 Blueberry Glean (August 8, 2022)	13
Figure 3 One of the Gleaning food stands (August 11, 2022)	14
Figure 4 Painted Turtle Farm tool shed (August 8, 2022)	15
Figure 5 Some of the family plots (July 27, 2022)	16
Figure 6 The SCCAP Food Pantry since the renovation towards a more market style experience (August 11, 2022)	19
Figure 7 Gleaned flowers (July 27, 2022)	21

## List of Maps

Map 1 Pennsylvania (black star shows Adams County)	11
--	----

## List of Acronyms

ISS	Institute for Social Studies
US(A)	United States of America
SCCAP	South Central Community Action Programs
CPS	Center for Public Service
IRB	Internal Review Board
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
CSA	Community Supported Agriculture
SNAP	Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program

## **Abstract**

Community can reside in a multitude of places and can be built from any commonality. Using an ethnographic approach and the tool of holding space, this research paper tells the stories of two communities built in spaces which focus on food procurement and dissemination in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The communities examined are built from community projects, the Gleaning Project and the Painted Turtle Farm (a community garden). Utilizing the concepts of ethics of care, responsibility, dependence, conviviality, care work, social reproduction, and diverse community economies, I discuss the stories of the communities' struggles during the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic and how community members have worked to mitigate the issues of state abandonment, food insecurity, and isolation. This paper sheds light on the importance of prioritizing care, social reproduction, and conviviality in building community and how when focus is shifted from these priorities, community building can be compromised.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

This RP contributes to the discussion of alternative forms of food procurement and distribution and their role in a place with underfunded social welfare. This research is also a novel investigation into a peri urban gleaning organization, the Gleaning Project, as there are few studies done on gleaning's procurement of food, and even less on the impacts of gleaning projects beneficiaries. It also provides an alternative example of community gardens, where the participants' priority in seeking out the community garden is a social, communal space. It deviates from the tradition of community gardens being spaces where the main goal is food production. Within both sites, the role these alternative food distribution projects are examples of building place-based communities. This RP demonstrates how economic factors alone cannot determine the level of development of a state, as this research shows the United States, while being a wealthy state, is underdeveloped in its social welfare program forcing its citizens to rely on community projects and non-profits like the Gleaning Project and the Painted Turtle Farm. It is informed by and contributes to the ethics of care, social reproduction, and diverse community economies, all relevant concepts within Feminist Political Ecology.

## **Keywords**

Food insecurity; alternative food provisioning; emergency food providers; poverty; gleaning, food reclamation, community gardens, ethics of care, responsibility, dependence, conviviality, care work, social reproduction, diverse community economies, United States

# Chapter 1 | Introduction

## 1.1 What is this Research Paper about?

The United States of America (USA), even if one of the world's wealthiest nations, has issues of great socio-economic disparity, where quality education, health care, housing, and access to fresh food are not a reality for all Americans. In 2020, the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic, there were approximately 38 million (11%) Americans living below the poverty line (Statista Research Department, 2022). Living below the poverty in the USA in 2020 means that a family of four is living off of less than \$26,200 yearly, compared to the median household income of \$71,186 (ASPE, 2022; US Census Bureau, 2022). Of the 38 million Americans who are living in poverty, about 34 million of them are experience food insecurity (Feeding America, 2022a). As a student of Development Studies, I feel it is important to focus on the reality of poverty in my own country of the USA. I decided to focus on one region, recalling my experience as a Fellow at Gettysburg College's Center for Public Service (CPS) in the summer of 2016, when I worked at the Painted Turtle Farm and as a volunteer with the South Central Community Action Programs (SCCAP). During that summer I recall speaking with mothers struggling with poverty, and I saw how children joyfully ate carton of strawberries at the local Farmer's Market. This 2016 experience led me back Gettysburg, Pennsylvania (PA) for my research paper to look more closely at how community-based programs are attempting to fill the hunger gaps due to the lack of government support. Pennsylvania has over a million people who struggle with food insecurity, meaning that 1 in 11 Pennsylvanians face hunger (Feeding America, 2022b). I chose Gettysburg not only because I had familiarity with the town but because it is a standard example of a mid-sized American town. It is a town that could be considered fairly similar to many other towns in the United States, but it is home to unique programs that are not necessarily common in other towns, even within the state of Pennsylvania.

The COVID-19 pandemic uncovered a plethora of systemic issues facing USA citizens and many communities emerged in an attempt to support neighbours. My research is about how communities and community-based projects rose to meet the growing challenges of food insecurity in Gettysburg. I bring to the research my interest in food issues and 'caring' for the needs of others, in order to understand how communities can be built through the commitment of care for others in providing food. My objective is to look at the failures of the U.S. public welfare system, by examining how citizens and local organizations have created community gardens, food banks, and gleaning projects in order to provide for their communities in Gettysburg. Utilizing the concepts of care, conviviality, and diverse community economies, I focus on two food-focused projects in Gettysburg, dividing the stories and experiences into two sections. In [Chapter 3](#), I discuss the complex relationships of the people and the community organizations, looking at how the organizations represent to the community members and how these sites make efforts to ease food insecurity and provide solutions. In [Chapter 4](#), I reflect on the interpersonal relationships of community members, and how the staff, volunteers, and beneficiaries interact in the face of a pandemic. Reflecting on the stories shared with me, I aim to explore how these food-based projects have enabled

place-based communities to emerge, during the crisis of the pandemic, in order to fulfil not only the material, but also the emotional, needs of community members.

## 1.2 Conceptual Framework

Before I can share histories of Gettysburg and the stories of people with whom I spoke, I need first to define community and how I interpret ‘community building’ in the context of these Gettysburg projects. Anthony Cohen argues for community to be understood not necessarily as a social practice but instead as a symbolic structure, meaning that “[c]ommunity is ultimately what people think it is; it is a form of consciousness and expresses itself in boundaries, which are symbolically constituted. What distinguishes one community from another are the symbolic ways in which they construct their boundaries,” (Delanty, 2018: 3). The social practices can be expressed through practical acts of sharing resources, conversation, and being within the same geographic space. The symbolic structures can be created from these acts and through them individuals identify themselves and others around them with prolonged conviviality (Counihan, 2009c, 2009d; Montanari, 2012; Delanty, 2018; Neal *et al.*, 2019). In the English language conviviality is seen simply as ‘the capacity to live together’ but, for this research the definition of conviviality in Spanish, *convivencia*, is more appropriate. *Convivencia* is sharing life and the capacity to live together with an emphasis on “practice, effort, negotiation, and achievement” without shying away from the difficulties and friction that inevitably emerges. They are sustained, situated social interactions and connections that are shaped by individuals ‘working out’ differences, resources strains, in-equalities, and tensions (Valluvan, 2016; Wise and Noble, 2016: 425; Mahmoudi Farahani and Beynon, 2019; Neal *et al.*, 2019; Hemer, Povrzanovic Frykman and Ristilammi, 2020). Ultimately community in the terms of conviviality sees the community active process of becoming rather than a static position (Blokland-Potters, 2017; Neal *et al.*, 2019).

At both sites, the Painted Turtle Farm and the Gleaning Project, I finished the interviews with the question, “*How would you define community?*,” they all referenced the respective projects in their replies. For the Gleaning Project, many respondents repeated the theme that community is family and family are people who take care and provide for one another, and majority of them spoke directly about the Project’s literal provisioning. While the Painted Turtle Farm, community attended the Farm, the conviviality was the most important aspect of their community. As the sites vary in their interpretation of community, I focus on the symbolic formation of their expressed consciousness as a community and their self-defined boundaries, in order to examine how conviviality has bound them together. In order to do this I also take into account the ethics of care (which encompasses responsibility, dependence, conviviality, and care work), social reproduction, and diverse community economies are essential to this formation (Katz, 2001; Di Chiro, 2008; Burke and Shear, 2014; Collins, 2015; Roelvink, Martin and Gibson-Graham, 2015; Sultana, 2015; Valluvan, 2016; Wise and Noble, 2016; Bauhardt and Harcourt, 2019; Neal *et al.*, 2019; Mezzadri, 2022).

The Gleaning Project and the Painted Turtle Farm have built their own communities with their own respective formations and boundaries as a food bank gleaning project and as a community garden. While these types of projects generally receive praise for their work, not all studying these types of community projects agree that they are positive in the long,



removing responsibility of the state. Janet Poppendieck's *Sweet Charity* (1998) offers one of the strongest critiques to the food banking system, calling it out for its perpetuation of what she called the seven 'ins': "insufficiency, inappropriateness, nutritional inadequacy, instability, inaccessibility, inefficiency, and indignity," (Poppendieck, 1998: 210). She argues that the communities contribute to a hierarchy of power where the poor are disenfranchised dependents without agency. She is against such piecemeal attempts to patch up the system and argues instead for a restructuring of the whole system. Vitiello (2015) and Dickinson (2019b) state that there is general agreement that there is a need for a policy overhaul in relation to poverty and hunger. The past 20 years have shown that emergency food providers are working even more to provide and to eliminate the seven 'ins' that Poppendieck calls out in her book. Food banks, like the SCCAP food bank, that work in conjunction with gleaning projects do not suffer the seven 'ins' as Poppendieck describes. They are sufficient, especially during the warmer months, and are able to provide non-perishables as well as daily fresh produce for all of those who are in need in the county and beyond. They are appropriate and there is nutritional adequacy as the projects work to ensure that the produce is culturally appropriate for the majority of the beneficiaries and by providing recipes ideas utilizing majority resources, they would have gotten from the food pantry gives the community members the nutrition they need while also being efficient (Lisa, 2022). Stability is an active goal of these projects, in understanding that they are limited to warmer months to provide a large variety of fresh produce, the staff has been actively seeking to remedy this by hiring certified canning instructors to teach the community and the volunteers to build a stock of locally and recently canned produce to provide during the winter months. Lastly, dignity and accessibility come from the freedom of choice and from treating the beneficiaries like people and not individuals who are just needy, which is where care is practiced at SCCAP and the Gleaning Project comes in.

The practice of care stems from "looking after and providing for the needs of humans and non-human others; it is about the provision of what is necessary for the health, welfare, maintenance and protection of humans and the more-than-human world," (Bauhardt and Harcourt, 2019: 3). The ethics of care has a variety of dimensions that contribute to this provisioning, it encompasses responsibility, dependence, and care work, which are also factors of social reproduction. Traditionally the ethics of care is generally geared towards women and in the past few decades, specifically women of color, as care work and social reproduction is increasingly outsourced to poorer women of color. While I agree with the base understanding of care as Tronto describes it, I bring Collin's understanding of care, where the responsibilities of 'looking after and providing for' are equitably dispersed, regardless of income, age, or gender (Collins, 2015; Bauhardt and Harcourt, 2019; Dickinson, 2019a). Collins argues that within care there are, "dependency relationships [that] generate responsibilities" and the inherent power hierarchies this these relationships have over the other (2015 cited in Tronto, 2020: 185). While I agree with this statement, Collins' puts an emphasis on incapacity as a point of departure for care, which is not an argument I am claiming. I also take the definition of responsibility where not all responsibilities are felt equally and that the negotiations of responsibility are malleable and dependent on the individuals (Tronto, 2020). The dependency, for all of the people I met and interacted with, on these projects generated a feeling of responsibility for their fellow person, whether it was

bringing food to their homes, taking just enough for your household, and leaving enough for others, or putting the cart away for them. The levels in which they felt this responsibility varied but they still demonstrated it in many ways including through care work.

The efforts that come from dependencies and responsibilities towards those around you is the care work of the daily labor required to sustain human life (Trevilla Espinal *et al.*, 2021). This includes caring labor such as unpaid care for children, the elderly, and the environment. Care for the next generation falls under social reproduction, which is “the intersecting complex of political-economic, socio-cultural, and material environmental processes required to maintain everyday life and to sustain human cultures and communities on a daily basis and intergenerationally,” (Di Chiro, 2008: 281). This not only fulfills the material needs of children but also integrates the younger generations into the community and instructs them on the consciousness and boundaries of that community. Social reproduction and care work is generally unpaid performed within the immediate family or community mostly done by women as well as outsourced, paid care work (Katz, 2001; Di Chiro, 2008; Mezzadri, 2022). The Gleaning Project, provided examples of women, specifically immigrants, came to the United States for the purpose of providing care work for other families but are forced to abandon, hire-out, or struggle when it comes to their own social reproduction (Fraser, 2016). The Painted Turtle Farm, is made up mostly for women performing unpaid care work, it is an important space for social reproduction as it enables community members to pass on cultural information and traditions while also providing a network of mothers who are able to support one another in challenging times.

Care work is framed by neoliberal capitalism. The community economies framework and emotional political ecology provide the framework to better discuss complex emotional relations at Gleaning and the Painted Turtle Farm (Roelvink, Martin and Gibson-Graham, 2015; Sultana, 2015). These frameworks, help to position care work and social reproductive tasks within the neoliberal capitalist structure. The communities choose to engage the broader economy with “[...] different arrangements of production, exchange, surplus appropriation, ownership, and so-on,” (Burke and Shear, 2014: 132). Community projects impact not only the material (economic) wellbeing of the community members but also the subjective (emotional) wellbeing (Roelvink, Martin and Gibson-Graham, 2015). The role of emotions as well as material realities play an important role during resources crisis determining how community accesses, uses, and control the resource. There is separation between public emotions and private emotions, as public emotions can be ‘shame, embarrassment, and guilt’ participating in forming the boundaries and consciousnesses that happens in community building. Private emotions can compound the public emotions, as there may be those who are left with the mental burden of not doing enough, not providing, or not playing the singular role they were placed in. For some people the compounded emotions distance them from others, but for many the sharing of their public, and sometimes even private, emotions allowed them to better their relationships and form their communities (Sultana, 2015: 642).

Even if poverty and the struggle for resources and community in Gettysburg, PA is not new, my RP explores how the COVID-19 pandemic provided the grounds to build and maintain community. Community members were affected and reacted in a multitude of ways, both expected and unexpected, which forced them to evolve from their day-to-day

operations. As Burke and Shear (2014: 129) state, crises are not only destructive, but their destabilization of relations and pre-existing narratives can allow for new possibilities to emerge.

Using these concepts of conviviality, care, social reproduction, and diverse community economies (and emotional political ecology), I analyze and discuss the stories shared by the two projects looking at how the pandemic impacted community building.

## **1.3 Research Questions and Methodology**

### **1.3.1 Research Questions**

#### **Main research question:**

How has procuring food through the Painted Turtle Farm and the Gleaning Project contributed to community building in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania?

#### Sub questions:

1. How is community being understood by the Painted Turtle Farm and the Gleaning Project, respectively? How are different community members defining community?
2. In what way has caring for the individuals in the community been practiced? How do the community members feel cared for and how were they caring for and with others?
3. How have relations of conviviality adapted during a crisis like the recent COVID-19 pandemic?

### **1.3.2 Methodology and positionality**

In 2016, I was a summer Fellow at Gettysburg College during my time as a student there. I worked at the Painted Turtle Farm and some other South Central Community Action Programs (SCCAP) programs for about two months during that summer. During that time, I became familiar with the operations of the Painted Turtle Farm and received an introduction into the work done by the Gleaning Project. Due to my prior relationship with Adams County and the town of Gettysburg, I was able to begin my ethnographic research from a point of familiarity. Having prior knowledge of how the operations of both projects functioned six years ago made me more critical of the changes that have happened throughout this time. Additionally, prior to fieldwork, I had had more interactions and knowledge of the Painted Turtle Farm site as I had spent the majority of my time as a summer Fellow. During my fieldwork, however, I developed more of an affinity with the other research site, the Gleaning Project, which ultimately manifested in my interviews as I was able to connect with that one site more and get more detailed stories. Another aspect that affected my connection to the farm was language as my Spanish was not sufficient to build the same level of trust and connection.

Having this prior connection to the research sites, I was careful in my selection of research methodology. Due to the sensitive topics of poverty, hunger and the trauma stemming from these issues, I looked to undertaking my fieldwork through Aminata Cairo's (2021) method of knowledge procurement of 'Holding Space'. Cairo (2021, p. 302) describes

holding space as creating “[...] alternative spaces where people can be just to be, just for who they are [...] and where] alternative spaces to the larger, dominant narrative give credence to one’s value and humanity. These spaces where existence is resistance, are created out of a need, an answer to an inner calling to be affirmed in this world.” Holding space is to be fully open, where you are able to create a moment and time where you listen to someone’s story while taking on their emotions, feelings, and their voice, without judgement (Icaza Garza, 2022). In utilizing this tool during my fieldwork it helped me highlight the important work of non-capitalist and non-profit organizations. Research in the traditional sense can be invasive and exploitative of the participants. Holding space is a tool I utilized to mitigate this issue while providing a way for participants understand that this space is not asking of them any more than they are willing to share (Torres, 2022). It is a tool that requires surrendering to the process and allowing myself to grow, learn, and navigate with the individuals I am learning from (Icaza Garza, 2022). In my conversations, it was important to be transparent about research intentions and the limits of my knowledge. I did not take notes during my conversations and committing to being fully present in the conversations being held. Cairo has said that when a researcher hold’s space along with collaborators (which I felt my interviewees were), you feel more open to speak and to be honest in your ideas and truth (Icaza Garza, 2022). This was essential for me, as poor people are often made to feel like they are less than and that they are exploitable, so I wanted to ensure that they had the agency to be vulnerable and to what extent.

‘Holding space’ was only a tool, it was necessary to combine with a more practical methodology. I used an ethnographic approach, utilizing ‘participant observation’, where I studied the ‘everyday’, where I focused on what people did and what they said. This is a fairly unstructured method that focuses on telling the stories of what I observed. An important factor of this methodology is that the research performed is based on social interactions, where engaging and relating to the participants is crucial (Huijsmans and Sjamsoe’oed Sadjad, 2022). I spent three weeks with the Gleaning Project and the Painted Turtle Farm, due to my previous experience with the communities I was able to focus on my observations and conversations with the participants. The first week I spent at the two sites, I spent only a few hours of observation and conversation in order to build trust through familiarity. I did not actively interview anyone during that week and documented my observations via journaling, audio notes, and photographs. The individuals I who I spoke to were mostly community members that could fill in the historical gaps and what had been happening at the sites over the past six years. The Gleaning Project, and the food bank, had three key informants (the Gleaning Coordinator, the Food Pantry Coordinator, and the regular Gleaning volunteer) who provided a more rounded picture of operations. At the Painted Turtle Farm, I was able to talk to the Director, as well as the summer Fellows of 2022, who all helped me understand the changes that have occurred since I was a Fellow. The second and third weeks I continued the same methodology of documenting my observations adding side conversations and commentary to help me better understand. At the Painted Turtle Farm worked alongside the participants and I was a volunteer with the Gleaning Project. Working with the participants provided a deeper understanding of the situation. When I first planned my fieldwork, I had originally intended on having unstructured (longer) conversations, but the majority of the participants at the Gleaning Project only had a few minutes to spare which meant that I used

a set of questions that focused on my RP questions. At the Painted Turtle Farm, I struggled to do longer interviews as my Spanish was not fluent enough. My interviews were audio recorded with the exception of two due to technical issues.

### **1.3.3 Ethics**

As mentioned, above, prior to my fieldwork in Gettysburg, I had an established relationship with one of the two projects as I am an alumna of Gettysburg College. Due to my privilege as an alumna of the College (a university graduate), I took care to not undertake research could be extractive and harmful to the individuals I was working with. I took steps to ensure that my research was as ethical as I could possibly make it. After reaching out to the respective research sites, I was told that the Painted Turtle Farm due to its connection with Gettysburg College required an Internal Review Board (IRB) application which is required for any researcher working with human subjects within the United States, this application requested that I set out my methodology, interview questions, and storage of data. Additionally, I was only permitted to do my research at the university because I was an alumna working with one of the departments (Center for Public Service) at the College. When I received approval from the IRB, I was allowed to begin my research at the College, this process took about a month which delayed my research. In addition to the IRB application, taking a decolonial approach throughout my research I could only use information that the participants felt comfortable with me using, implying that I had to review all of the information they shared with me. This could mean either during the interview process, right after the interview or months later as I left my contact information with them. The participants of my research are often in vulnerable positions and my research could have contributed to furthering this vulnerability, by giving them autonomy over the stories they shared gives them power where it could have been taken from them.

## Chapter 2 | History of U.S. social welfare and its modern-day struggles

### 2.1 How did we get here? - History of food insecurity and social welfare in the United States

In the United States, food insecurity and food scarcity emerged as a central issue to 1960s welfare policy. Prior to the 1960s and the Nixon administration, the only food related welfare policies were created during the Great Depression in the 1930s aiming to provide ‘social insurance’ to white working families with heteronormative family structures, and ‘stigmatized poverty relief’ for white, single mothers who did not have a male-breadwinner (Fraser, 2016). All others, people of colour, those who worked non-traditional jobs, had non-traditional family structures, or existed in rural spaces, were left out. That was until the Nixon administration, the extent in which the poorest Americans were struggling with food scarcity came to light as hundreds of children in Appalachia<sup>1</sup> and the Deep South<sup>2</sup> were found with symptoms malnutrition and starvation and the War on Poverty began. The War on Poverty was a Nixon-era policy that expanded welfare programs to provide increased support to a larger number of Americans (including Black and Brown Americans who were previously not allowed to access these programs). This was also revolutionary because it was solely based on income level and provided support regardless of work status. As the issue of food inequality came into the spotlight for the American public, agricultural and environmental grassroots efforts emerged as communities looked for ways to mitigate food insecurity where government funding was inadequate or access to welfare services were not possible (Dickinson, 2019a). The federal food stamp program, that provided food based on income alone, and grassroots projects were all built on the premise of care and on the belief that “[t]o be a citizen in a land of plenty meant to be able to have enough food to sustain one-self, and a broad range of Americans insisted that it was the role of the [nation] state to ensure that everyone had access to sufficient food” (Dickinson, 2019a: 28). The growth of these programs was due to the efforts of the working class as having food access and nutritional stability was the only way to have full membership in a democratic society especially when capitalist relations had entered so much of American life that the working class no longer possessed the means to reproduce what public investments and corporate provisions were now supplying (Fraser, 2016: 109). These grassroots movements birthed not only emergency food options such as food pantries, which are state-sponsored, but also community

---

<sup>1</sup> A cultural region of the United States along the Appalachian Mountain range. This cultural region runs from New York state to northern Alabama and Georgia and the large majority of the people are white. Since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they have been associated with coalmining and logging as they were one of the largest domestic suppliers of both, but this did not result in long-term economic stability. By the 1960s, this region was quite impoverished and continues to be one of the poorest regions in the United States (Sokol, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> A cultural and geographic subregion within the United States. This region ranges from Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. They were historically the most plantation heavy states prior to the American Civil War. This region has a very large population of Black Americans (*Deep South - New World Encyclopedia*, no date).

agriculture in vulnerable areas to create a safe, family and culturally friendly green space that could help provide low-cost food and communal meeting spaces (Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny, 2004; McClintock, 2014). These spaces have been created out of necessity in the communities and women were the primary volunteers and beneficiaries of these projects, taking the forefront in organization and the planning of the community gardens giving them more meaning than just a simple garden or green space, but as “[...] centers of sociality, knowledge production, cultural and intergenerational exchange,” (Mauro, 2018: 1382). The decade following the initial implementation of these policies saw success and these programs, in conjunction with food stamps and federal welfare assistance, essentially eliminated childhood malnutrition (Dickinson, 2019a).

However, since the 1980s, administrations have strategically forgotten the successes of these earlier welfare programs and have rooted their social welfare policies in the ashes of political backlash of the War on Poverty and the success of Civil Rights Movement<sup>3</sup> (Dickinson, 2019a). By the 80s, food banks, pantries<sup>4</sup> and other emergency food providers began appearing all over the country with women being the primary volunteers (Dickinson, 2019c). This increase in federally sponsored care projects was stymied by the political agenda of the neoliberal president, Ronald Reagan, and his corporate supporters. They shared a vision of restructuring state run-welfare agencies to agencies that provided only to those who could prove they deserve it. Reagan campaigned on an anti-welfare ticket, arguing that, “the state was providing too much care to the poor at the expense of aggrieved tax payers,” (Dickinson, 2019a: 29). His administration shifted the way Americans viewed welfare from a right to one of harm, and on the assumption that the U.S. government had to eliminate the culture of dependency amongst the poor and to shift to a culture of work. The federal funding decreased for welfare programs and the official line was that care had to come from local communities. With this administrative change, local food pantries and their supplemental volunteer-based work, for many communities, became the sole source of food related welfare support. This welfare restructuring has had bipartisan reinforcement by every administration since Reagan.

The number of food pantries has grown exponentially over the past four decades as well as other grassroots projects, like community gardens, as local alternative/supplemental food providers struggle to meet the needs of care required by their communities. The difficulties can stem from a variety of sources, food pantries struggle with the little money and variety of donations they receive, and community gardens face a lot of push-back from local governments and businesses generally wanting to use the space for something they deem to be ‘more important’ and are inevitably shut down (Blumberg *et al.*, 2018). Nevertheless, the growing number of emergency food providers and alternative agricultural sources has not impeded some communities to thrive in the face of adversity and disregard from the U.S. policymakers. The literature surrounding community gardens, food pantries, and gleaning

---

<sup>3</sup> ‘Success of the Civil Rights movement’ meaning that Black and Brown people now had access to social welfare resources from which they were prohibited to apply for prior to the Nixon administration’s policy updates and the work of the Civil Rights Movement. The New Deal, the social welfare policy of the 1930s, was only available for the white population in the United States.

<sup>4</sup> Food pantry is a distribution center where families can receive food. They supplied food from food banks, which are non-profits that collect and store food donations (Waite, 2019).

describes the difficulties and, for many, the successes of these local community-based projects.

### *Community Agriculture*

Contemporary community agriculture in the United States is often concerned with political struggles that urban gardens face in their resistance to the capitalist food regime in food scarce areas and the concerns around eventual disestablishment of these projects (Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny, 2004; Chisholm, 2008; Milbourne, 2012; McClintock, 2014; Eizenberg, 2016; Blumberg *et al.*, 2018). One of the most successful examples has been the Detroit community agriculture initiatives, which focus on community building and involvement in these projects with individuals from all backgrounds, not only limited to women and their families but also students, local politicians, and non-profits are also increasingly involved. The initiatives in Detroit have been so successful that there has been attempts to recreate it in other major cities in the United States such as New York City and Los Angeles (Atkinson, 2012). For these cities, the focus in the beginning was primarily growing food to build a family-friendly and culturally supportive green space where neighbours have a space to come together and community build (Chisholm, 2008; Colasanti, Hamm and Litjens, 2012; Eizenberg, 2016; Blumberg *et al.*, 2018; Newell *et al.*, 2022).

### *Food reclamation and food pantries*

Food reclamation, food recovery, or gleaning projects are less widely studied when compared to community gardens. Even the naming of these projects seems to vary across projects and literature. To *glean* means to “to gather grain or other produce left by reapers,” and while this action has evolved in modern times, the fundamentals have remained the same (Merriam-Webster, no date). Gleaning has existed since biblical times when large landowners and farmers would allow the poor to comb over whatever was left of the crop after harvest for their own subsistence (Lee *et al.*, 2017; Marshman and Scott, 2019). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, French taxation policies changed making gleaning only justified by women, the poor, and the sick, making gleaning not just “the final step in the harvest, [but] instead it became an act of charity” (King, 1991; Marshman and Scott, 2019: 101). Fast forward to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, issues of food insecurity and malnutrition are significant across the United States at the same time where there is increased planned food loss and food waste. In 2010, there was an estimate that from the farm to the average American’s kitchen about 30-40% of the produce went to waste (USDA, 2010; Kowalczyk, Taillon and Hearn, 2020). Gleaning projects have been a community driven approach to feed children, the disabled, the elderly, and the larger communities while contributing to the mitigation of food waste. Today gleaning projects are still fairly limited, many established in North-eastern<sup>5</sup> United States and all are heavily tied to emergency food providers, where fresh produce is a luxury (Hoisington *et al.*, 2001; Sönmez *et al.*, 2015; Vitiello *et al.*, 2015; Beischer and Corbett, 2016; Lee *et al.*, 2017; Cooks, 2019; Marshman and Scott, 2019; Ross *et al.*, 2022).

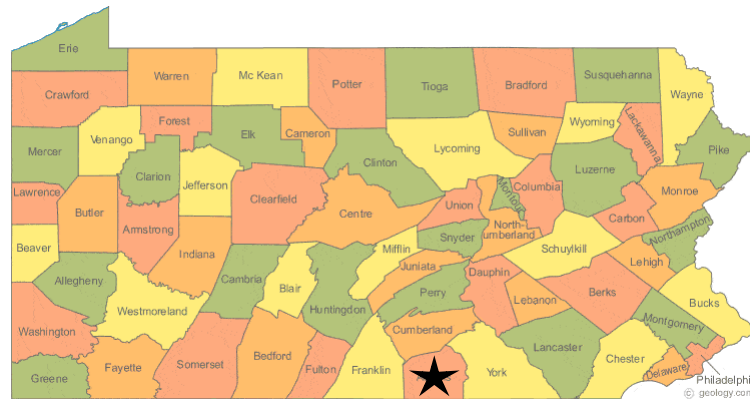
---

<sup>5</sup> Literature shows most have been established in Northeastern United States (and Canada) but there have been some works looking at Arizona and some larger West coast cities.



## 2.2 The case study: Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

Gettysburg is a small, historical township in Adams County, Pennsylvania. Adams County is



Map 1 Pennsylvania (black star shows Adams County)

one of the 67 counties in the state of Pennsylvania, and it borders the state of Maryland. According to the U.S. census, as of 2021, about 88% of the county’s population is white<sup>6</sup> (*U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Adams County, Pennsylvania, 2021*). Unlike the urban centers of the state, Adams County generally seem to align with more conservative, Christian views and during last few presidential elections have voted Republican, with Donald Trump winning the county twice with over 60% of the votes (*Pennsylvania Election Results 2016: President Live Map by County, Real-Time Voting Updates - POLITICO, 2016; Pennsylvania County Presidential Election Results 2020 - ABC News, 2020*). The county is commonly referenced to as ‘Apple Country’ due to its many apple and peach orchards and processing facilities. Not only are there many orchards but also a number of small, family-owned farms that cultivate a variety of fruits, vegetables, and eggs. The town’s largest sources of income are the college (Gettysburg College) and the summer tourism from the Civil War Battlefields. Many of the townspeople are employed by the college, tourism/retail, or at the food processing facilities meaning that many are working-class, and as of 2020, with about 8% of living in poverty (*U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Adams County, Pennsylvania, 2021*).

---

<sup>6</sup> The census however does not consider migrant farm workers and those who are fearful of responding to the census due to documentation status.

## 2.2.1 The Gleaning Project



Figure 1 Gleaning Project symbol - this was stamped next to the recycled produce bags (August 3, 2022)

### History

The Gleaning Project of South-Central Pennsylvania began in 2009 as community initiative by Jan and Jerry Althoff. Jan and Jerry were owners of plant nursery when they took on the responsibility of gleaning in the county and they originally collaborated with The Society of St. Andrew, which is a national faith-based gleaning non-profit. They would glean on weekends and in their spare time after they closed their nursery for the day and in their tenure as leaders of the Gleaning Project, they were able to save a yearly average of 100,000 lbs (45,359 kgs) of produce, all of which they donated to local churches and the South Central Community Action Program (SCCAP) food pantry. The Althoffs grew the project for four-years until they could no longer run both the Gleaning Project and their nursery, and in 2013, SCCAP adopted the Gleaning Project (*Our History — The Gleaning Project*, no date).

At the very beginning of their partnership in 2009, neither the Althoffs or SCCAP had the equipment to collect or disseminate the gleaned produce, they did not have a large enough cooler to store all the food they would glean. At times produce would be left on the Althoff's nursery pickup or would unfortunately have to be left behind. As the project grew, there was also increased community investment, by spring of 2016 they were able to purchase a second, slightly bigger cooler top store the food but their dissemination strategy was still a small wooden stand next to parking lot. By late summer of 2016, SCCAP opened up their renovated food pantry that now included space for produce. Their renovated space was made to look like a small grocery store, with produce on one side of the tiny building and the food pantry on the other. This set up was intentionally built to empower individuals and to give them choices, even if limited. Choice was empowering, and people chose only what their families would consume which ultimately reduced food waste. In 2020, as the pandemic swept across the planet, the Gleaning Project and the pantry never stopped operating and actually began providing food to even more individuals as lay-offs became more common. This upward trend of new people coming by the Gleaning Project stand has not stopped and going into fall 2022, they are expecting those numbers to keep increasing.

### Production



Figure 2 Blueberry Glean (August 8, 2022)

The Gleaning Project has a wide variety of operations, from their gleans, to the day-to-day work at the food stands, to the food processing classes. Each of these three branches of what the Gleaning Project attracts different groups of volunteers and beneficiaries. There are two full-time staff personnel who work exclusively at the Gleaning Project, I got to learn a lot about the operations from Matt, the Gleaning Project Coordinator, who had only been an employee for a short time but had previously been a volunteer. Matt's role was to be the primary point of contact for farmers, to organize the volunteers, and to then distribute the gleaned foods through the food stand at SCCAP. While farmers donated the most in weight, home gardeners were a crucial source of food. Once the farmers' called the Project, Matt would then have a few days to pull together a group of volunteers for the glean. The group size would vary on the day of the glean and the amount harvested depended on how much these volunteers could pick. During my fieldwork, there were a few trips where they had no additional volunteers, so it was left to Matt and their regular volunteer, Ken, to do the gleans themselves.

This ensured that food would not be left to go to waste and that the beneficiaries of the Gleaning Project wouldn't miss out. Adams County is well-known for its orchards and cultivates apples, peaches, cherries, blueberries, and raspberries so lot of the farms donated these fruits, which was something that most backyard gardeners could not cultivate, and it provided a sweet treat for many families that cannot afford it otherwise.

Once this food was gleaned or donated, Matt, his assistant, and Ken would then weigh, log, and organize the storage fridge from oldest to newest gleans. They would also put together food boxes of a variety of gleaned foods that they would be picked up a variety of 'community partners'. These partners were churches, senior centres, or just trusted community members who would distribute the food boxes to individuals who could not easily access the SCCAP Gleaning Project. This was a change from when I had first learned of the Gleaning Project, as they had grown in funds, gleans, and knowledge. They were able to distribute food with the help of these 'community partners' which was not something they were capable of six years prior. In addition to being able to increase accessibility, they have also increased in the variety of foods they are able to distribute. Prior to the

remodelling of the food pantry, the Gleaning Project had a small wooden stand that would sit outside the food pantry, this often led to produce spoiling faster as it was often in direct heat, but the remodel created a space for the Gleaning Project that allowed for more food to be displayed for distribution but also increased the autonomy of individuals, giving them more choices.

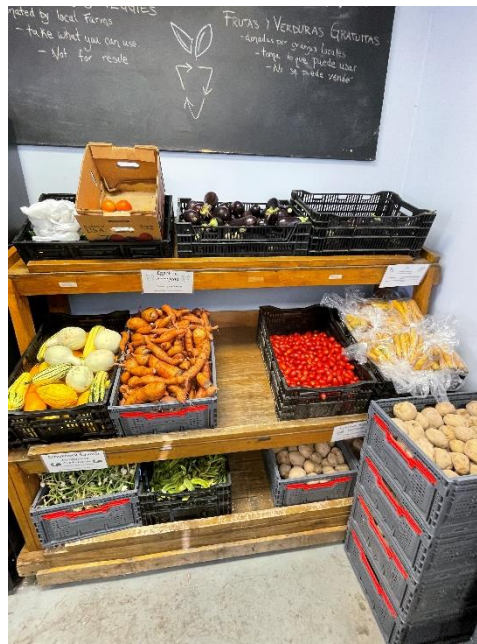


Figure 3 One of the Gleaning food stands (August 11, 2022)

As mentioned previously, the Gleaning project also hosted food processing classes. When I spoke to Matt about this initiative, he told me it was his plan for the future of the Gleaning Project. Being able to provide local and more freshly processed foods and teaching community members how to, provides them with a source of food during the winter months where the Gleaning Project struggled to provide for those in need. This, unfortunately, seemed to target a completely different group of community members but this is a fairly new endeavor. They are hoping that with more resources, more time, and more marketing they will be able to teach more of the community, while also providing food during winter.

## 2.2.2 The Painted Turtle Farm



Figure 4 Painted Turtle Farm tool shed (August 8, 2022)

### History

The Painted Turtle Farm began as a project of an Environmental Science student at Gettysburg College in 2007. The farm's purpose at the time was to be a space where students could run different environmental tests and experiments. This quickly devolved once the first student graduated, and the care of the farm depended on the student's motivation in caring for it. In 2013, the Center for Public Service (CPS) was given a grant for a student-initiated project and the Director at the time and some students decided to officially build what is now known as the Painted Turtle Farm. This time, unlike the original student project, the farm partnered with a local community group called Casa de la Cultura, with which CPS had worked with before in providing volunteers to teach English-as-a-Second-Language classes for the adults and swim classes for the children. Casa de la Cultura originated as a project by a much-respected community member, Jorge, who wanted to “promote the cultural rights of immigrant communities on local, regional, and global levels through community activities and collaboration,” (*La misión | Mission — Casa de la Cultura*, no date). The project is significant in relation to the Painted Turtle Farm as the families that cultivate and participate at the farm are all members of Casa de la Cultura. The farm has since operated under the care of the Gettysburg students, CPS staff, and the Casa de la Cultura families.

The Painted Turtle Farm, while a community garden, wants to ensure that no family needs to monetarily contribute in order to grow food so they also operate a Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) program from the large communal plot. The funding from the CSA provides the families and communal plot with supplies to cultivate food. Any other grants are for making improvements to the farm, such as an improved irrigation system and a hoop-house that have helped tomatoes, peppers, and eggplants grow in abundance. Over the course of the pandemic, they have changed their operations to one of democratic consensus, the families elect a few representatives, and they make decisions for what the improvements will be, what food will be grown, and the future of the farm. In 2022, they made the decision to hire a farm manager to help fill in the gaps of cultivation knowledge and this has created more than physical changes at the farm.

## Production



**Figure 5** Some of the family plots (July 27, 2022)

To fully describe the production of the Painted Turtle Farm, it is important to discuss how it used to operate and how it has evolved in the past six years. As mentioned before, the structure of the Painted Turtle Farm comprises of individual family plots and large communal plots. The communal plots were cared for by all the participants, generally on Community Nights, but the decisions of what was cultivated generally fell to the farm interns and the CPS Director. The large plots are important for the operations of the Farm as they have been an income source through community-supported agriculture (CSA) bags. While the communal plots were to fill the CSA bags, everyone participated in the harvesting of the food being grown, as it was available to all members of the farm. In the past six years, the Farm has expanded in what they have learned to cultivate but also in the people caring for it. During the pandemic, the CPS Director, Jeff, decided to change how decisions were being made at the Farm, choosing to return the decisions of what happens to the land to the people cultivating it. There are a few members who are more involved than others but for the most part all of the families involved in the Council have been long-standing members of the community, being participants of the Painted Turtle Farm for a few years. This, however, did not change the structure of the farm, during the early spring students would grow seedlings at the college's greenhouse, in the late spring the students and some of the families would begin returning to the Farm to being the planting process, and all summer and into the early fall, the families and students would share their labour to care for plants and food being grown. The most drastic change in these past six years was not the formation of the Council, but instead it was the hiring of a Farm Manager in 2022. This change was drastic because Farm Manager changed the entire layout of the Farm prioritizing productivity, creating plots that were not easy to manoeuvre in, and being so well weeded that it ultimately made it difficult to utilize communal labour. This new layout also made it so families seemed more hesitant to harvest food themselves, they waited until the Farm Manager, interns, or Fellows had

harvested and placed them out on the table for anyone who wanted to take food. Families appeared to be more restricted to their family plots and the food being cultivated on the large plots were left for the CSA bags.

## Chapter 3 | Care

In this chapter I reflect on my observations and conversations with community members. I utilize the terms care, social reproduction, conviviality, gender, and diverse community economies to explain the relationships of the different organizations with each other and the relationships of the community members to the organizations. This chapter is divided into four sections, the first two will discuss the relationship of the Gleaning Project and SCCAP food pantry and how together both programs have evolved, and how their work has been further embraced by the larger communities of Gettysburg and Adams County. In these two sections, I utilize my conversations with Matt (July 28, 2022), the Gleaning Coordinator, Lisa (August 10, 2022), the SCCAP Food Pantry Coordinator, and Vandessa (July 28, 2022), a community member and beneficiary of Gleaning and the pantry. I incorporate my observations to discuss the work of Gleaning and the pantry, examining how it changed during the pandemic. In the third section, [Chapter 3.2](#), I reflect upon my conversations with the mothers at the Painted Turtle Farm over the course of the three Community Nights I participated in. I discuss the difference in their motives to join the Farm and how children played a major role in building this community. Lastly, in [Chapter 3.3](#), I discuss my observations of the men at both the Gleaning Project and the Painted Turtle Farm over the course of my three weeks at the sites. I reflect on how the men at each site contrast each other and how this is reflected in their relationships and interactions at each of the sites.

### ***3.1 “People need food and I’ll do what I can, so they get it”***

When I first arrived at the Gleaning Project, I chose to first speak to the staff before speaking to any recipients of their services. It was important to me to begin the research process first understanding the work being done and the intended impact of the organizers. During the first week, I spoke to Matt (2022), the Gleaning Coordinator, to gain more insight. He has been the Gleaning Coordinator only a few short weeks, but during this short time, he has made efforts to increase the quantity of food gleaned, but most importantly he has worked to spread awareness of the existence of the Project. Awareness of the Gleaning Project is key, as I was informed by Matt (2022). Gleaning is the only no questions asked and no eligibility requirements emergency food provider, and they are able to cater to those who attend the food pantry, but also have been crucial in the provisioning for those on the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly known as food stamps, and those who do not qualify for either. According to Matt (2022), individuals who are enrolled in SNAP are not eligible for the food pantry, which means that many families who rely on SNAP will not come across the Gleaning Project unless knowledge of its existence is shared across the county. For many families neither the food pantry nor SNAP allow them to eat as healthy and purchase fresh produce, and the Gleaning Project is key in providing those additional nutrients to families. It was at this point that I realized that within Gettysburg, I could not discuss the Gleaning Project without also acknowledging the symbiotic relationship between the Gleaning Project and the SCCAP Food Pantry. The Gleaning Project and the food pantry operate under the same umbrella of community services, Burke and Shear



(2014) both describe these types of projects as working towards providing an alternative method of food provisioning while still functioning under the mainstream capitalist structure. Both are susceptible to the domestic agricultural production surplus, but within this, one has more agency on how to engage with this economic reality. The Gleaning Project's transactions for food are not monetary, as Gibson-Graham discuss in their book *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It)*, these relationships are built over time and as local farmers are becoming for conscious of the food going to waste on their farms, the exchange is one that benefits all involved (Gibson-Graham, 2006). This relationship is one of negotiations and uncertainties, but in the end, it is one that functions “as a practice of development, constructing a community economy is an ethical project of acknowledging relationships and making connections [...]” (Gibson-Graham, 2006, 15). The food pantry is more deeply ingrained in the capitalist economic system as it deals with a more monetary exchange with the state. Through Poppendieck's and Gibson-Graham's work I was able to better reflect on my conversation with Lisa, as this exchange is dependent on the information they collect that states the individuals receiving these services are eligible for these services, there are no state norms for the extent and specifics of what information they collect, giving food pantries flexibility to make connections and build community (Poppendieck, 1998; Gibson-Graham, 2006, Lisa, 2022).

As stated earlier, diverse community economies analyse both the impact on the material and subjective wellbeing on the community members, and I witnessed the significance of the food pantry stand for both food pantry and Gleaning beneficiaries (Roelvink, Martin and Gibson-Graham, 2015). I spoke to Lisa (2022), the SCCAP Food Pantry Coordinator, about the work of the food pantry and its relation to the Gleaning Project. The pantry can only service the families who are eligible once a month, to ensure that there are enough supplies for all families that come through. While this is never sufficient food for the entire month, the families are able to get enough non-perishables to last them a few weeks. Understanding that the food pantry could only do so much and, like many pantries, struggled with insufficiency, inappropriateness, nutritional inadequacy, and indignity, Lisa pushed to reconcile some of these issues. Lisa (2022) lit up as she spoke about the pantry renovation in 2019, it opened up the space to look like a tiny market where individuals could shop for their food in addition to creating a larger space for the Gleaning Project. This seemingly small change did wonders. It gave people choice to pick out only what their families would eat ensuring it



Figure 6 The SCCAP Food Pantry since the renovation towards a more market style experience (August 11, 2022)

was appropriate for them, and the larger, open gleaning stand has helped remove the stigma and humiliation participants may have felt in asking for food (Poppendieck, 1998). Before Lisa began working for pantry twenty years ago, she was a beneficiary when her own family suddenly fell into hardships. She had always been grateful but had seen the manners in which they distributed food

before. Many times recipients receive a bag with a random assortment of food but not enough to make meals, making life harder for families. This is why the renovation was so important to her and why she advocates for the growth of the Gleaning Project at their pantry. Care focuses on “[...] looking after and providing for the needs of [...]” the community and this renovation provided (Bauhardt and Harcourt, 2019: 3). I found this definition of care to encompass how Lisa ran the pantry and her dedication to it. She shared with me that her family will participate in the ‘Food Stamp Challenge’<sup>7</sup> in order to help her better find the gaps in the system and see how the pantry can better provide for the community. Lisa embodied one of the ideas of care and care work, that to transform and grow we must ‘survive well together’ taking on the responsibility of the well-being of others.

Not only was the pantry and the renovation important for their material needs, but their emotional as well. Understanding emotional needs and wellbeing allowed me to analyse the interactions and stories I heard not by removing it from the material as Sultana affirms “emotional matter in resource struggles,” (Sultana, 2015: 634). This made me consider the role of the renovation of the pantry, and how providing this simple change could alter the way ‘resource-related interactions’ were experienced and dealt with. It gave the community members who came through to either the Gleaning stand or the pantry a chance to cross paths with one another. For a lot of the families, this was a moment to have a care-free conversation, to vent, or ask for help. Of the people I interviewed, majority mentioned how they felt like the staff at the pantry were their friends, people they could rely on. The staff provided care, they knew the dependence of the community on their work, and they felt a responsibility to the community to provide them with food and a shoulder to lean on (Roelvink, Martin and Gibson-Graham, 2015; Sultana, 2015; Tronto, 2020). The Gleaning Project and the SCCAP food pantry intermingling allowed private emotions to be demonstrated in the public, they felt like they were able to share their burdens. Lisa’s continued conviviality and her demonstrated sense of care and responsibility for the community members, has built a community based out of this tiny food pantry.

### **3.1.1 The rise of donations and volunteerism**

On July 28<sup>th</sup> I got a chance to speak to long time community member of the food pantry and Gleaning Project, my conversation with her influenced my research to examine the non-material impact of Gleaning in the lives of the community members. It had been a fairly slow day at the food pantry, with only about six or so families coming by. It was also the end of another week at the very end of the month, so most people had already picked up their monthly groceries from the food pantry, this also meant that during this part of the month the Gleaning stand was crucial. From the moment I had arrived at the stand around 9am there had been about twenty families that had stopped by just in the morning. The afternoon brought another fifteen families. I spent majority of the day chatting with Ken, brother of the project’s founder and a regular volunteer who has been around since the

---

<sup>7</sup> The ‘Food Stamp Challenge’ is when participants attempt to live off of the amount of money that individuals on SNAP (previously known as food stamps) are forced to live on. Currently SNAP recipients receive about \$4 per person per day, meaning that for a family of four they must be able to live off of \$16. This amount stays the same, no matter where they live.

beginning of the project, as I tried to gain a deeper understanding of the individuals who used the services of the Gleaning Project. Since 2011, soon after he retired, Ken became a regular volunteer at Gleaning. His status in the community was quite apparent by the fact that as people arrived would interrupt our conversation just to say hello or he would be the one people looked for to get a carton of eggs. Ken, the other volunteers, and SCCAP staff were vital nodes of the community, as community can be manifested in daily practices and the details of everyday life. It creates connection, which ultimately mitigates feelings of helplessness and humiliation that is often felt in these spaces (Poppendieck, 1998; Neal *et al.*, 2019). Neal (2019) emphasizes the importance of everyday practices when reminding us that community is not necessarily declining but adapting. Continuing, Neal states that community is daily performances and interactions. As I spent my time there, I considered these daily practices that manifested through conversation it was reminiscent of the grocery store chatter I had witnessed from my own parents when they would run into an acquaintance.

When things slowed down for a bit in the afternoon, around 1pm, we decided to take refuge from the sun and heat and hide away in the light air-conditioning of the Gleaning stand. Ken went in and out grabbing another crate of gleaned peaches and summer squash making sure the pantry always had supplies for when people came by. He even brought out a bucket full of yellow, orange, pink and purple carnations that had been gleaned the night before. One of the biggest critiques of emergency food providers is their inefficiency, but at the Gleaning Project, I often saw their efficiency in the productive side of ensuring food is placed out in a timely manner, that it was frequently checked throughout the day for quality, and that it was consistently replenished; but their gleanings also took into account the impact of the non-edible, like the carnations. From my conversations with Ken, Matt, and Lisa, there was an understanding that as emergency care providers, they are limited in their abilities to provide, but with Gleaning having more of a say in their operations, they are able to provide in a way that brings little pleasures (Dickinson, 2019c). I often saw these intentional non-edible gleanings as acts of care, providing care primarily for the emotional and mental wellbeing of the community members. Literature on care work performed by the caregivers, who are generally women, goes mostly unacknowledged (Bauhardt and Harcourt, 2019). I pondered on this when I observed and spoke with Matt and Ken (2022), who I saw were acknowledging the work done by these women. They understand that while these women are dependent on their help for material needs, they are often responsible for others and have no one who can help with everything else. The families who came in only grabbed a little bouquet of two or three flowers, this was special, when money is scarce, small joys like flowers are not in the budget. This small action helped some people cope with their feelings of indignity, as they were not so different and that they too were valued enough, as individuals, to have flowers in their homes (Poppendieck, 1998)



Figure 7 Gleaned flowers (July 27, 2022)

As the day went by, a woman came through the stand, her voice loud and clear as she greeted Ken and Randy, who was sitting at the food pantry check-in desk. She wore a pink scarf in her hair and a black tunic shirt, she had a beige cane that clicked when she placed it down before taking her next step. Her and Randy chatted as she grabbed a bag and filled it with a pound or two of green beans, by their lively chatter it seemed like she was a regular at the stand.

Vandessa (50) is a mother of three, a grandmother to one, a college graduate, a bottle of “Heinz 57<sup>8</sup>”, and from what I saw, she lights up every place she enters. She greeted every single person who walked past and asked how their families were. She spoke like she knew every single person personally and from what I gathered; she probably did. Vandessa had been coming to the food pantry for fourteen and a half years and the Gleaning Project ever since it became part of SCCAP a decade ago. In her book, *The Core of Care*, Collins (2015) discusses how care and their reliance on others to meet their caring need can become a basis for equality. She states that, “[c]are is multi-faceted,” building on Tronto’s argument of caring with others (Collins, 2015: 49). Meaning that ensuring that care and the ways in which it performed are consistent with the “democratic commitments to justice, equality, and freedom for all,” (Collins, 2015). While nowhere near true equality and food justice, Vandessa was having needs met by the Gleaning Project and the food pantry. She felt it her responsibility to care for those around her. She frequently picked up food for people who were either unable to pick up their food due to disability, inaccessibility, or pride and shame. Vandessa was not the only one who did this, many felt responsible for their neighbours, friends, and acquaintances. Her actions and sense of responsibility led me to consider Tronto’s suggestion on responsibility, that we assume it when we recognize the need for care and that we will strive to meet that need when we realize that it will not be met without us (Collins, 2015: 49). Vandessa was a huge advocate of the food pantry and gleaning project, and she used the fact that she had community standing in multiple places in Gettysburg to encourage people who were having a rough time to come to the stand.

When I asked her about the shifts due to the COVID-19 pandemic she spoke to the change that seemed to happen within the community. It seemed there were increases in donations. The pandemic also saw a rise in individuals gardening at home which led to backyard garden donations and increased the amount and the variety of food being available for those in need. This is an example of how a crisis such as COVID-19 leads to food producers choosing to engage outside of the traditional neoliberal capitalist system, and instead distribute their goods to their community without any monetary incentives.

*It looks like we've gotten a couple more local farms to start saying, hey, we're going to start contributing and letting them glean our farms because God knows we need to come together as a community to get through this... They realize that those who have needed to help the community of those who didn't have, and they really showed up and showed out.*

Those who had already been donating continued their previous levels of donations, becoming donating regulars at Gleaning and the pantry, forming part of the little community built there. Even the roles of the volunteers, changed. Those with cars became the only ties to the

---

<sup>8</sup> Vandessa described herself as “a bottle of Heinz 57”. This is a saying in the United States that is used as a way to describe individuals who are of mixed race.

outside world for many of the recipients. During the height of the pandemic, volunteers decided to package gleaned produce every few days to help the most vulnerable, such as the elderly and the immunocompromised. They would drop off a few bags of produce and other goods at their door, and many would take a moment to check in with the community members through the door. They made efforts to ensure that, at least the people they knew were being cared for and that they were not forgotten in this time. The role of care work, especially during the pandemic, grew even more important as the need for care became more apparent. I reflected upon this work and the urgency some of the volunteers felt to be able to continue helping. They illustrated Tronto's suggestion that when we recognize the need for care within our community, we will do what is needed to meet that need, when possible (Collins, 2015). This care work during the pandemic was especially valuable as in times of crises, smaller organizations are the ones who are most easily able to meet the community where they are (Alaniz, 2017). Vandessa commented on the importance of the continued support of the community throughout the pandemic, as many people began utilizing the services due to layoffs, forced retirement, or inability to work due to children being home. Now many are still unemployed as she states:

*I've seen it more and more. They say, oh, we got all these jobs that are available in the community and all, but so many, first of all, so many people are scared with this coronavirus 'cause I've had it three times, you know, and I'm vaccinated!*

She commented that while the country has ended many restrictions, for many of those within the community the pandemic is still very much on-going, whether it is due to financial, health, or family reasons. The vast majority of individuals utilizing Gleaning and pantry services were front-line workers or can only gain employment in high-risk environments like grocery stores, food-processing facilities, factories, and elderly care workers. Unfortunately, the crisis is continuing across the globe and while Alaniz (2017) emphasizes that once organizations have begun the process of meeting communities where they are; it is crucial that the government acknowledges this vulnerability by helping build the capacity and develop a collective culture to get them through the crisis, and eventually out of it. The United States government, regardless of administration, has neglected to build this capacity or develop the collective and instead, like during the COVID-19 pandemic, placed more pressure on local organizations to not only meet those in need where they are but also provide what the government ought to.

## **3.2 Cultivating food and social reproduction**

The Painted Turtle Farm is different in scope from the Gleaning Project. As with most community gardens, it was a space not only for food provisioning but also a space that encouraged conviviality. Monday nights at the Painted Turtle Farm were Community Nights, this meant that everyone who had a plot, and some members of the college would come together at the Farm. This coming together is to encourage community, to bring people together who may not normally have a space or a reason to cross paths. The majority of the people I spoke with during my three Mondays at the Farm were the mothers. Some with young children and some older children who had been coming to the Farm for majority of their lives. The families would make their way to their plots, the parents would harvest, weed

and water their respective plots of tomatoes, peppers, and tomatillos while the younger children ran around playing, the older kids would sit around chatting. When I spoke to the mothers and asked why they first came to the Farm, most of them replied stating the importance for their children to have other children to play with.

In Adams County, only 7.4% of the population identifies as Hispanic or Latino, and without many cultural spaces, the Farm has become an important location for cultural learning and exchange (Di Chiro, 2008; U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Adams County, Pennsylvania, 2021). For many of the mothers, this was the main reason why they began participating in the first place while the fact that there was a productive aspect of the Farm was a secondary benefit. On the August 1<sup>st</sup> Community Night, I observed a group of parents with nearby plots were chatting, laughing and around them ran the younger children, the youngest being no older than 3. The youngest, a little boy, stopped in front of one of the plots and dug his hands into the dirt, enjoying the feeling of the moist soil in his little hands. His mother, who is heavily pregnant is taking a moment at picnic table, called for him. He ran over, quickly dusting his hands off in hopes she did not see him. She laughs as he jumps into place in front of her and as she helps him wipe his hands, she chats with the other mothers who came by. A week later, I spoke to the mother of the curious little boy, and she shared her reasons for coming to the Farm. Like the other mothers, she was excited for a place where her two (soon-to-be three) children would be exposed to other children and their cultural heritage. A place where they would not only grow up with the culture of the United States, somewhere outside their home where they could find their culture and where they could share it with others. She was most excited by the cultivation aspect of the Farm; she spoke with a huge smile. For her it was important to share with her children how the foods from their cultural background were cultivated and that they grew up seeing food being produced like it had been for her growing up in Mexico (Counihan, 2009b). The communal care for their plots, for the land, and for their children as well encourage conviviality in a manner that forced them to be intentional in their interactions with each other and with the Farm; in their everyday practices over the summers and early autumns, they cultivated not only culturally appropriate food but also community (Counihan, 2009e, 2009a; Bauhardt and Harcourt, 2019).

### **3.3 Gender, Food, and Family**

In my three weeks of field research, I spoke to and got to know a diverse group of people at the Gleaning stand, from the employees to the volunteers, to the participants of canning classes, to those receiving the gleaned goods. I noticed how the majority of people at the pantry and the stand were women. The women would come through chatting with everyone around and making jokes, you could see by their smiles that even the ones who were there for the first time left differently than when they arrived. It was evident they felt more comfortable, like they were in a safe space. The first week I had seen a few elderly men, coming in with their canes and 'Veteran' embroidered baseball caps. One of the regular volunteers was displeased by some of these older men as some had the habit of taking more than they needed, but then quickly emphasized, "*most people don't abuse the services and only take what they need but there were a few, like this elderly gentleman, who'll take about 12 to 14 bags of bread*

*multiple times a week to feed animals.*” My observations along with the volunteer’s commentary made it seem as though the men were more likely to abuse the Project’s open system of ‘take what you need’, I began to notice how men treated this space differently during my second week, once the parking lot was finished getting repaved. I first noticed when a woman, who looked to be in her late 30s, early 40s, arrived at the pantry. She stepped out of the passenger seat and a man, who looked the same age and who I assumed to be her partner, stayed firmly seated in the driver’s seat. As she passed Ken and I, she smiled and said ‘good morning’ with the most cheerful voice, her partner on the other hand, kept his gaze low, mostly on the dog and even though the car windows were wide open, he kept silent as if trying to hide in plain sight. The woman came out of the pantry squealing with joy holding two giant zucchinis in her arms, each about 45 cm, she yelled to the man, “*Look what I found!*” He chuckled at the absurd size of the vegetable and quietly spoke to her. This was the most expression the man had shown the 10 minutes they had been there. This lack of social engagement was consistent with the majority of the men I encountered at the Gleaning stand.

In the following two weeks, I struggled to get interviews with the men who came to the stand and the pantry. The men who came in for Gleaning kept their eyes down and made a beeline directly to their cars or home - very few were willing to even to say 'hello' or 'good morning'. The man who had hidden out in his car while his partner had run inside was not a singular case, majority of the men who came with their partners would stay in the car and only step out to help their wives unload the shopping carts into the trunks of their cars. I never got a precise reasoning as to why the men seemed to run-in and out of the stand and why they avoided all pleasantries that the women all took part in, but it’s possible that they are introverted or are, what I believe to be the more likely case, embarrassed that they are needing these services in the first place. Potentially, it could be that men found it easier to place the burdens of negative ‘public’ emotions onto the women, adding on emotional care onto women’s physical care work (Sultana, 2015). For many this goes against what they were taught to do by their families and society which is to provide for their families, and that by going to the Gleaning stand and the pantry they are admitting that they cannot provide.

The Gleaning Project, however, stood in stark contrast to what I saw and the people I spoke to at the Painted Turtle Farm. The men there did not demonstrate shame or embarrassment, even if they were financially struggling and needed this food. It seemed as though this was different as this was being cultivated by them, because they were not alienated from the production process. Women, while are more traditionally constrained to care work in the household and community, are more likely to participate in these community gardening projects (Trevilla Espinal *et al.*, 2021). As mentioned earlier, at the Farm, the women, the mothers, were the ones who drove the necessity to be part of Casa de la Cultura and the Farm. This aspect was no different from the Gleaning Project, but the men at the Painted Turtle Farm were more eager to be a part of building this little community. The act of cultivation appeared to fill them with the sense of provisioning for their families. But this seemed to go further than that, the large majority of women I spoke stated that they took co-responsibility with their husbands for the care work within their households. This allowed the women to feel empowered to not only work outside the home but also fully participate on the Farm (Trevilla Espinal *et al.*, 2021). This became apparent when I spoke to Oscar, one of the long-time Farm participants who had attended two of the Community Nights I was at, without

his wife. He shared with me how she had been part of the initial group that got the Painted Turtle Farm to where it was today, he seemed proud of her efforts and enjoyed taking part of caring for this space with her, even if she had missed a few days. His wife was not the only one who was involved in organizing. The men, in most of the families, were the ones who did a lot of physical work of the caring for the garden while the women provided support in harvesting, weeding, and maintaining the relationships with the other families. Since the organizational changes at the Farm, where a committee of members came together to make decisions, there have been even more men involved. This is also better facilitated as many of the men do not speak enough English yet to feel comfortable, and so having this cultural space where they can speak in their native Spanish, be around other like-minded individuals, who are all participating in communal labour to provide care for a space for their families and friends. The Painted Turtle Farm, comparatively to the Gleaning Project, has been better at involving men in their community. It has provided a more well-rounded form of care. Gardening with their families and having social relationships with other men at the Farm cared for their private emotions unburdening them from the feelings of not providing enough which made them feel more comfortable to actively participate in setting the symbolic boundaries of their community and interacting within it (Roelvink, Martin and Gibson-Graham, 2015; Sultana, 2015; Delanty, 2018).



## **Chapter 4 | Fear the virus: community, conviviality, and COVID-19**

In Chapter 3, I laid out the relationships of the different organizations with each other, the relationships of the community members to the organizations, and how they all interacted. While undertaking the research, I realized that the COVID-19 pandemic could have created some changes within the organizations, but the crisis of the pandemic seems to have changed more than just the projects' operations. I reflected on Antonio Gramsci's understanding of crises and how they influence our communities and society, "crises are not only destructive; they destabilize socio-economic relations and cultural narratives in ways that can open up new symbolic and social possibilities and thus help to support new desires and revolutionary politics. Today's crises therefore present opportunities to move beyond the conventional 'solutions' of coping and accommodating, managing and adapting, resisting and reforming," (1971 cited in Burke and Shear, 2014: 129). I found Burke and Shear's (2014) opening up of 'new symbolic and social possibilities' to be particularly relevant as both the projects experienced a destabilization from their 'normal' during the pandemic which forced them to create new forms of being with others. Burke and Shear (2014) elaborate on Gramsci's understanding by stating that social relations that are formed by similar experiences, such as struggles with food security, being immunocompromised, living in a multi-generational household, or being an essential worker during the pandemic can forge bonds between community members.

With this in mind, I have split this chapter into three sections, discussing the themes of mental health and rebuilding community. Unlike Chapter 3, this chapter will focus on the relationships between the community members and the more personal relationships of the staff of the organizations with the beneficiaries. I will first share the stories of two women I met at the Gleaning Project, Lisa (August 3, 2022) and Nerida (August 11, 2022). Through their stories, I will discuss the role of dependence, care work, emotions, and social reproduction and role of the Gleaning and SCCAP food pantry staff in the lives of the community members. I will then reflect on my observations and conversations during my visits at the Painted Turtle Farm. I will compare my experiences at the Farm in the summer of 2016 and summer of 2022, to demonstrate how these social relations have destabilized and has made rebuilding community and moving towards the post-pandemic future a bit more challenging.

### **4.1 Community and Mental Health**

#### **4.1.1 A story of retirement, bureaucracy, and social welfare**

During my research period, on Wednesdays I joined SCCAP around lunch time as I volunteered to harvest at the Painted Turtle Farms in the mornings. One Wednesday as I arrived, there was an elderly woman and her son removing boxes of donations from their white pick-up truck. I later found out that they were from Littlestown, a small township within Adams County, which had their local food pantry consolidated into the Gettysburg

pantry. This was unfortunate as this added to worries about inaccessibility which are frequently felt by emergency food providers nationwide. The only solutions available for the food insecure of Littlestown currently is either to drive to Gettysburg themselves or to rely on the community to bring them supplies when possible. The slow lunch hour led into a busy afternoon, with many families coming in and out of the pantry and Gleaning stand. A woman, Lisa (64), came by to pick up some produce at the Gleaning stand but before collecting her supplies she took time to chat with Randy, Lisa, and the volunteers from the food pantry and with Ken from Gleaning. She helped people get their carts in and out of the small pantry and helped move whatever needed to be moved around at the pantry. When it got too hot, she would take a second and sit at the shaded picnic table with me and chat for a moment. Lisa had been coming to Gleaning with her brother for about five years, but she had never taken anything until the very end of the season of certain crops and she would take a few buckets of whatever they were trying to use up and she would preserve for the winter. She grew up on a farm with a dozen siblings and canning was an essential part of their lives she recalled, if they didn't can what they harvested, the winter months would be difficult. As we spoke, a young Hispanic mother, her friend, and five-month-old baby came out of the pantry they struggled with packing their items from the shopping cart to the stroller as they held the baby under one arm. I offered to hold the baby while they packed their items into the stroller, the mother thanked us and passed the baby. Lisa and I continued speaking as we fanned the baby to keep her cool in the persistent heat wave. As I sat there with Lisa and the baby, I thought about how shocking it is that this young mother felt safe enough to entrust her baby to the arms of a stranger while she handled other tasks that were essential to caring for her household. Generally, when the discussion of redistribution of caring work is brought up it is in reference to other genders and bringing them into the fold, but in this case, it was not just men and others. Many women are often left without much of a choice when it comes to working outside of the home or being able to stay at home to care for their children and these choices are often limited further if one is undocumented, so the ability to rely on the community allows women, like this young mother, to not feel alone and reminds us that care work is collective work (Bauhardt and Harcourt, 2019; Dickinson, 2019d, 2019c). While majority of the staff and volunteers at the stand and pantry did not speak any Spanish, she seemed to still feel part of the SCCAP community. After a I handed the baby back to the young mother; she thanked us for helping her and they walked off.

Lisa, who seemed very cautious about my eagerness to speak to those coming through the stand, was slowly becoming more and more comfortable with my presence. We had been chatting while she helped out at the Gleaning stand. She had come in to only grab a few peaches but when she had more time, she informally volunteered at the stand. Whether it was helping people take the groceries back to their cars or putting the shopping carts away, she felt responsible to give back, even in small ways, to the community that has helped her so much. I was able to ask her for more of her story. Lisa had only been coming to the pantry for her own purposes since the spring of 2021 after she retired. Lisa had been a postal worker for twenty-two years and she retired due to the physical strain which prevented her from continuing. She had retired thinking she had savings and her social security pension to comfortably care for her until she died but she was a victim of administrative errors and was unable to collect her social security pension for months and was forced to live solely on her

savings. She attempted living like this for about six months until her savings were almost depleted, and she had fallen into a deep depression. Lisa admitted how in this moment she was forced to swallow her pride and come to the Gleaning Project stand. It was difficult for her to admit that she needed help because she did not see herself as being in that level of need yet and she wanted to hold out until her social security was resolved. She felt humiliated to have to ask for food, she felt as though requesting food she would be taking away from others she felt needed it more than her. Emergency food providers, even when they don't mean to, often appear to look down upon those asking for food and people become demoralized due to the over bureaucratic procedures, the lack of warmth and human connection (Poppendieck, 1998: 233). Lisa had been a person who had believed that she had been fully independent prior to her retirement, this ultimate need for help was quite difficult for her to overcome (Collins, 2015). During COVID-19 isolation policies and deep depression, Lisa would force herself to go to the pantry, to pick up some foods, she would meet the two food pantry employees, Barry and Lisa. These interactions weren't always much, sometimes simple greetings and check-ins, "*I was going through intense depression, and I genuinely believe that their 'see you tomorrow' and 'I didn't see you yesterday' saved me, I really do think my depression would have won without them.*" Barry, Lisa, and the people volunteering everyday gave her something to look forward to, "*knowing that in the hundreds of faces they saw every week, she wasn't just a face in the crowd. They saw her and knew her,*" (Lisa, 2022). Lisa and Barry provided a service for the recipient of the community that extended even further than just those serviced at the SCCAP food pantry. They seemed to unknowingly, for some, also provide care for their emotional wellbeing. Emotional political ecology generally splits emotions into spaces, the private and the public; but, the compounding emotions of the private, such as feeling like they are not doing enough, with the public, such as shame and embarrassment, caused Lisa and others like her to be unable to mask their despair and unease (Sultana, 2015). Their care provided support that went further than I believe either imagined. They provided care without explicitly acknowledging it, keeping these emotions from further compounding. Once I had heard Lisa's story and her relationship with the Gleaning Project and the pantry, I understood why she wanted to give back by helping out and chatting for hours. It comes from her belief that you only accept care when you are able to extend the same level of reciprocal care (Collins, 2015).

I asked Lisa, after she had shared her many experiences, how would she define community, "*Community is family. They take care of each other.*" For her the Gleaning and SCCAP pantry employees, volunteers and recipients were family. She had been welcomed into the community in a time of personal and international crisis and in her words, saved her. I thanked her for her time and her vulnerability, Lisa looked at me, and I felt her walls go back up. *Please don't ask me anymore questions, I can't repeat that again.* Lisa's story was not unique, I later found out, but it did not make it any less significant. Many of the elderly and retired felt as Lisa did, without many options and vulnerable.

#### **4.1.2 Outsourced care work: what happens to those at the end of the line?**

During my last week of fieldwork, the Gleaning Project was hosting a 'Glean-a-mania.' The hope with this week was to get more farms and volunteers to participate to glean and to

have an abundance of food these upcoming weeks. I arrived at the stand about 10 minutes after opening and the stand seemed busier than I had seen it the past three weeks. The community was excited by the product of the gleanings, there were flowers, blueberries, blackberries, and more peaches<sup>9</sup>. While peaches were common the other new fruits and flowers were a novelty for the attendants of the Gleaning stand. That morning, I met Nerida (48) and her 5-year-old son. Nerida is from the Philippines and has been living in the United States for twenty years, she first came to the country to work as a caregiver and a nanny but since the birth of her son, she has been a stay-at-home mother. She was one of the thousands of immigrant women who have abandoned their home countries to work in richer nations, like the United States, to fill the ever-diminishing care gap. Their work is essential to the growth of the economy of richer countries, as it allows for more households to become two-earner homes which are essential when wages have been stagnant. They are also a group of women who also generally earning much poorer wages than the average worker, making it extremely difficult once they have families as they now have to transfer these responsibilities onto other low-wage caregivers (Katz, 2001; Di Chiro, 2008; Fraser, 2016).

Nerida and I sat in the only shade of the open lot, right in front of the new pantry fridge, as we began chatting her son climbed on his mother's lap. We began our chat and by the second question, her eyes began to well up with tears. She was new to Adams County, having moved to the area only a year prior, during the pandemic made her unable to meet many members of the community and form a support system. Not only was she new to the county but also to the pantry, this was her first month coming to the pantry and to the Gleaning Project. Nerida explained that they moved to Adams County because a year ago, she and her husband were able to purchase their first home together but soon after moving her husband got into an accident at work and has not been able to work as much since. Due to the lack of adequate public services or assistance, in addition to no chance to build community support, Nerida and her husband were forced to make difficult decisions. She was terrified of losing their newfound home and in efforts to cut down on costs and be able to make their mortgage payments, Nerida began coming to the pantry and the Gleaning stand to help supplement the little they were able to afford at the grocery store. While she didn't know that there was a difference between the pantry and the Gleaning Project, she was grateful nonetheless, the services of the Gleaning Project helped her eat fresh food which otherwise she wouldn't be able to afford and allowed her to care for her family in the only way she was able to at the moment. Nerida was still new to needing assistance, she felt it important to state, repeatedly, that she had been trying to find a job, but it was difficult since they couldn't afford childcare even if she was able to get a job. For Nerida, the reproductive work she was doing could no longer be outsourced, she was the end of the line meaning that without adequate publicly supported welfare, her family is forced continue relying solely on emergency food providers, such as the pantry and the Gleaning stand until her son is old enough to attend school. Provided that there is not another global crisis that shuts down schools again. Her case is not a singular one, as the COVID-19 pandemic put pressure on care work

---

<sup>9</sup> Adams County is known as apple and peach country. This generally means that in August, peaches are in abundance and in September and October, apples.

for women within the home and outside the home due to the blurring of those lines (Katz, 2001; Di Chiro, 2008; Mezzadri, 2022).

Our chat went on for almost an hour. She cried and I listened. And as she began to walk away, she thanked me, “I didn’t realize it until you approached me, but I’ve been very lonely without my church and my community here.” Nerida was the first person I interviewed who felt completely alone and isolated and during the pandemic was not able to find community. Her hopes were that she could find one at SCCAP and with the Gleaning Project’s community partners. The project provided services, for people like Nerida, which meet material necessities and emotional needs. Providing a space outside the home and work for people to meet and interact helps them develop a sense of belonging to a community, linking people to the wider society. As Nerida and others I spoke to attest, the Gleaning Project and the SCCAP food pantry provide spaces where regular, happenstance interactions help people feel cared for and safe, as Bosman and Dolley have stated to its significance in building a community that bring people like Nerida, into the fold (Bosman and Dolley, 2019; Dolley, 2019).

## 4.2 Rebuilding

The Painted Turtle Farm has been a strong, continuous community over the past decade. They have overcome limited funding, learnt to garden, sow new crops, and deal together with the loss of beloved community members, and the changing groups of members, as college students coming in and out of the Farm each summer. Then the biggest crisis hit, COVID-19. I asked all of my interviewees, *how do you think the Painted Turtle Farm/Gleaning Project has changed before, during, and after the COVID-19 pandemic?* The majority of the members of the Painted Turtle Farm replied that during the pandemic, they were forced to split different Community Days and limit the number of individuals coming into contact with one another. They were grateful for the restrictions to be over and to be together again. But I observed it differently.

When I worked at the Farm six years ago, the operations of the Farm were not standardized, and students were to do all the work required without the help of the families. The families and two staff members were generally there every year, but the groups of students would change annually. This encouraged more interactions between the students, staff, and the families as there was always valuable knowledge exchange between the three groups. In *Rethinking third places*, Dolley (2019) explains how community gardens are unique because they build community. While other public locations are designed by planners and architects to encourage communal interactions, somewhat abstractly, community gardens depend on community members to encourage interactions. As I experienced, six years prior, when they made communal decisions on where to plant crops, what plots needed weeding, what garden boxes required fixing, and when to turn over the compost, etc. These moments helped to develop a sense of community. In community gardens usually the focus is on food, and the social, aspect of the process is an unexpected plus (Dolley, 2019). This is different from what I was told by the families at the Painted Turtle Farm. As mentioned in [Chapter 3.3](#), the families came to the Farm explicitly looking for a community for their children and the food production was a pleasant bonus, which differs from Dolley’s suggested motivations (2019).

This difference in understanding what the families are wanting from the Farm is where I saw building community, post-pandemic, more complicated.

My first day (August 27, 2022) at the Painted Turtle Farm was during an early morning harvest. I arrived at the Farm a bit late and the Fellows, the Farm Intern, the Farm Manager, and the CPS Director were already elbows deep in harvesting. This was my first time seeing the physical changes at the Farm since 2016. The communal plots were split into 5 precise sections, each with a signpost with an Indigenous tribe's name and what I saw as a major change were the rows that were perfectly harvested and weeded. These changes made it so they could grow more varieties of food while also increasing production. I noticed the changes extended past the communal plots and were in the hoop house as well. The hoop house is a covered plot that protects the crop against the harsher elements and extends growing season and harvest. When I peeked into the hoop house, I was reminded of my last Community Night as a Summer Fellow in August of 2016, I was harvesting in the hoop house with some of the mothers, they were joking and laughing as we harvested tomatoes, jalapenos, bell peppers, and eggplants. We were snacking on tomatoes as we filled up our harvest buckets and some of the mothers would pass tomatoes into the hands of their toddlers that would wait at the hoop house entrance, it was a moment that spoke directly to the heart of the community I knew then. In 2022 this was no longer the case. It was practically impossible to get inside, the rows were tightly packed to one another with no space to kneel and chat. When I mentioned the difference in the spacing of the rows in the hoop house, the Farm Manager said that he had restructured it because he wanted to maximize the amount of food grown for the CSA members. This came as a shock, as the Farm's focus had always been on the families. The CSA was a way to fund the project and when I interviewed Jeff, he confirmed this. In examining the path forward and how the Farm had chosen to rebuild their community after the pandemic having kept many of them apart, I realized that this was where the rift originated. In her chapter, Dolley (2019) states that one of the unique factors of community gardens is how they chose to design and care for the land helps them develop their sense of belonging to this a place and community. The focus of the Farm changed from care of the community to one of production. What I observed at the Farm was that a few of the community members was making decisions on behalf of the whole community and these decisions were not helping to bring the community together. It was making it more difficult for spontaneous conviviality to occur, hindering the formation of any post-pandemic community.

Neal (2019) states how in literature on the community, there is a focus on the 'what is' community and there's a lack of focus on 'how it works'. I observed this in practice at the Farm. During my three weeks at the Farm, I realized that there was an assumption that it was a community due to their relationship to the Farm, but in my observations and my conversations with them, it showed that the community was struggling to rebuild from the post-pandemic. The changes at the communal plots were detrimental to building conviviality. Utilizing Hemer, Povrzanovic Frykman, Ristilammi's (2020) understanding of conviviality, as *convivencia*, where the focus is on 'living together' we see how there was a breaking down of conviviality due to the shift in focus. Neal states "we perform community through daily urban practices through these practices we develop shared experiences and shared symbols," (Neal et al., 2019: 72). The restructuring of the Farm might mean less weeding, and there are

now more people to harvest frequently, but it has secluded parts of the Farm so a select few are able to access it. The dearth of communal learning, efforts and labour to care for the Farm discourages conviviality among all members, but instead they become plot neighbours, if that.

As I reflected on this change, I also noticed that with this lack of conviviality also came a withering of social reproduction. Families who originally came for their children and for cultural factors now struggled to find space for children to engage. When I walked around the Farm, talking to families and observing the children running around, I noticed two major things, how few children there were and how the children seemed less involved in the Farm. Many of the children I had known had grown up and no longer came to the Farm with their parents. The majority of the children did not seem engaged with the work on the Farm. They no longer snacked on the food grown or pick flowers and were distanced from the people on the Farm and the Farm itself. The primary reason seems to be that they do not want to disrupt the organized nature of this new set up and that there were no activities specifically for the children. There was not plot for them to play with, a taste testing/cooking activity, crafts, or games. In her article *Vagabond Capitalism and the Necessity of Social Reproduction*, Katz (2001: 714) argues that social reproduction entails passing on the “shared knowledge, values, and practices” of the group(s) that they belong to, but it is through the material social practices that they are fully able to become members of the communities they are assimilating into. Without the explicit involvement of children, the efforts of social reproduction that were once happening at the Farm via activities and inclusion in the efforts of the Farm were no longer happening. I met one of the oldest Painted Turtle Farm children. He was now a student at the College and was one of the summer Fellows with CPS. As a child he had enjoyed a more hands-on experience with the Farm as his family has been there since the beginning. He felt part of the community and he saw the farm as an extension of his home. This was important part of social reproduction for the families at the Farm, it provided an alternative place outside of their homes to build community and share their culture. The restructuring at the Farm, seemed to interrupt what Katz (2001) stated about the role of social reproduction, it limited the material social practices and how they were able to pass on knowledge, values, and culture.

## Chapter 5 | Conclusion

When I first began my fieldwork, I was yet to understand about the complex operations and relations of the two Gettysburg projects I was going to research. From my earlier personal experience with the Painted Turtle Farm and, my more limited experience with the Gleaning Project, I arrived at both sites with confident I understood a lot about the way the communities were operating. My knowledge on community gardens were food-focused, the most prominent example being the Detroit gardens. My understandings of gleaning and food banks came primarily from Maggie Dickinson's book *Feeding the Crisis: Care and Abandonment in America's Food Safety Net* (2019b). These two examples provided the starting point from I planned to expand and reflect on the specific nature of the two Gettysburg projects.

In my RP realised there was much to learn from those sites about resource struggles, food insecurity, and how communities coming together in response to build supportive networks based on care. I found how these communities were able to operate through conviviality a necessary strategy of marginalised peoples even in the context of the United States, a 'developed', wealthy nation. The United States has left domestic development and social welfare policies in the hands of charities and underfunded municipal projects. Such projects often rely primarily on volunteers and donations from the broader community. During my RP journey, I was able to see how that funds and volunteerism was only one aspect of the Gleaning Project and the Painted Turtle Farm as communities providing for marginalised people. What I saw is how community building depended on specific and diverse factors that together enabled the projects to persevere through crises such as COVID-19.

What was unexpected in my research was the multifaceted nature of the Gleaning Project. Dickinson (2019b) and Poppendieck (1998) point to the shortcomings of emergency food providers, highlighting the absence of adequate government support or effective policy change. Even though written twenty years apart the studies point to similar systemic issues and concerns. In my research I found that the Gleaning Project, and SCCAP, provided so much more to community members than either Dickinson or Poppendiecks' studies suggest. The staff, volunteers and community members at the pantry were rooted much more in the ethics of diverse community economies and care. Rather than depending state or local policy the project worked to fulfil the participants material needs by providing culturally appropriate foods and working with gardeners and farmers to distribute food grown outside of the traditional market. They also provided the emotional needs of the community as part of the process of emergency food provisioning. What struck me was the importance of conviviality among the community members through giving them visibility and voice. The COVID-19 pandemic ultimately benefitted the building of community as the membership grew and people became aware of the support provided by the Gleaning Project. Community members joined not just to get food but to find a sense of community, through volunteering or donating their garden produce, while those who needed the services found in addition to material wants emotional support from the community.

The Painted Turtle Farm on the other hand, was an established community that was built on the social reproductive needs and conviviality with participants across generations. The Farm was established with the primary goal of building community, prioritizing



intergenerational communal labour and learning. It provided a safe space for families, a place where mothers could bring their children to learn about cultural traditions and foods outside of their homes. The crisis of the pandemic changed the structure of the community. It restricted the number of families allowed to come to the Farm each day. It monitored physical distance between participants, and there was a general fear of getting sick with COVID-19 all changing the overall management of the Farm. Hiring a Farm Manager so soon after restrictions were lessened discouraged communal labour and learning, so, for example, the space where children were once welcomed was limited. The community at the Painted Turtle Farm changed and shifting from being a shared inclusive process working with all members towards providing and caring space to a new community board with different ideas of efficiency and productivity.

What my observations of these two projects suggest is that community is complex, varying in size, in composition, location, and culture (Neal *et al.*, 2019). It is a fluid process, with the coming and going of old and new community members and the influences of the larger society. In Gettysburg, I witnessed two very different communities and community projects change and shift, the crisis of the pandemic “[...] destabilize[d] socio-economic relations and cultural narratives [...]” (Burke and Shear, 2014: 129) of the communities, but with this situation came a new understanding what food-focused projects can do for community. They helped to combat indignity by embracing their responsibility for caring for the material and emotional needs of their members. Both the Gleaning Project and the Painted Turtle Farm in different ways helped people in Adams County provide care and support and, in the process, and became stronger as a community.

In this process a variety of care work activities could be seen. The Painted Turtle Farm provided examples of care work towards the land in the form of social reproduction, the work was largely towards raising and teaching the next generations. This social reproduction included the children of the Farm as well as College’s student staff, who also learnt from the families. Care work at the Farm could be seen in the labour on the land and the complex processes required to sustain culture and community (Di Chiro, 2008: 281). Whereas the Gleaning Project there was not only care for the land and people who joined the project but also for the care workers who provided outsourced care work. Care workers and many who procured food at Gleaning could not access the public social welfare system; The Gleaning Project provided an important space for care workers to care for themselves and their families and to join a larger community that met both the material and emotional needs.

The literature on diverse community economies has documented other community projects like The Painted Turtle Farm but do not often look at the innerworkings of community gardens. My analysis of the two projects provides an example of how community gardens engage outside of the market economy logic, distributing surplus, in non-monetary transactions. I show how these projects also supported the emotional wellbeing of the participants and helped members overcome emotions around not being able to provide for families and a sense of shame, embarrassment, or guilt. My stories of different people engaging in both the Gleaning Project and the Painted Turtle Farm show how the projects cared for the emotional wellbeing of their members.

An interesting finding in the different roles men played in the two projects. In the Painted Turtle Farm men took pride in providing care and contributing to care work. The

men at the Painted Turtle Farm felt responsibility for the care of the land at the Farm, they took pride in how their crops grew and what they were able to provide for their families. The Farm helped them to regain their traditional masculine role of providing by giving families. Whereas in contrast in the Gleaning Project men felt that going to the Gleaning stand to get food was not about their male role of providing. Men left with their heads low –experiencing shame and guilt for needing this service. Instead, the gleaning project provided a space for everyday interactions where women felt like sharing their private emotions, such as depression and anxiety, which supported their emotional wellbeing.

From my analysis of the two projects, I conclude that crisis can build community if there is encouragement through an ethics of care and care work and that this has a gender and generational dimension. The Gleaning Project is a project enabled increasing accessibility for immunocompromised and the elderly providing emotional and mental health support to community members. The Painted Turtle Farm, like Gleaning, while having been grounded in concepts of care and social reproduction during the COVID-19 pandemic shifted from the care of community relationships built among the College members of the Farm and Casa de la Cultura to a focus on the monetary relationship between the College members of the Farm and the CSA members. This shift in focus from the caring relationship limited the quality of care performed at the Farm, ultimately hindering community building as the families' primary purpose in joining the Painted Turtle Farm had been for the social relations and cultural exchange.

My research set out to answer the question of *'How has procuring food through the Painted Turtle Farm and the Gleaning Project contributed to community building in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania?'*, and I discovered how community was built in Gettysburg, PA throughout the pandemic. Through my discourse with these two communities I discovered care (in all manners) and conviviality were central for building community in these spaces. These projects, for many in the community, were all people could rely on during this crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as many other crises, and it showed to be positive experience for them. Not only were they able to fulfil their material needs, but through community and connection, they found hope.

## References

- Alaniz, R. (2017) 'From Strangers to Neighbors: The Development of Community', in *From Strangers to Neighbors: Post-Disaster Resettlement and Community Building in Honduras*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, pp. 131–151.
- ASPE (2022) *Prior HHS Poverty Guidelines and Federal Register References*, ASPE. Available at: <https://aspe.hhs.gov/topics/poverty-economic-mobility/poverty-guidelines/prior-hhs-poverty-guidelines-federal-register-references> (Accessed: 3 November 2022).
- Atkinson, A.E. (2012) 'Promoting Health and Development in Detroit Through Gardens and Urban Agriculture', *Health Affairs*, 31(12), pp. 2787–2788. Available at: <https://www.healthaffairs-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdf/10.1377%2Fhlthaff.2012.1106> (Accessed: 8 May 2022).
- Bauhardt, C. and Harcourt, W. (eds) (2019) *Feminist Political Ecology and the Economics of Care: In search of economic alternatives*. 1st edn. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge (Routledge studies in ecological economics).
- Beischer, A. and Corbett, J. (2016) 'Food justice as a response to hunger on our Canadian foodscapes: How a community-gleaning project is addressing depoliticized food insecurity through a food justice praxis.', *Justice Spatiale Spatial Justice*, pp. 1–13. Available at: <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01507266>.
- Blumberg, R. *et al.* (2018) 'Raíces Del Sur: Cultivating Ecofeminist Visions in Urban New Jersey', *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 29(1), pp. 58–68. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2018.1428999>.
- Bosman, C. and Dolley, B. (2019) 'Rethinking third places and community building', in J. Dolley and C. Bosman (eds) *Rethinking third places : informal public spaces and community building*. Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 1–19.
- Burke, B.J. and Shear, B. (2014) 'Introduction: engaged scholarship for non-capitalist political ecologies', *Journal of Political Ecology*, 21, pp. 127–144.
- Cairo, A. (2021) 'Holding Space', in *Holding Space: A Storytelling Approach to Trampling Diversity and Inclusion*, pp. 301–304. Available at: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=2R1PKWNZof0](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2R1PKWNZof0).
- di Chiro, G. (2008) 'Living environmentalisms: Coalition politics, social reproduction, and environmental justice', *Environmental Politics*, 17(2), pp. 276–298. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644010801936230>.
- Chisholm, A. (2008) *Growing Bridges: Community Gardens And Civic Government*. Royal Roads University.
- Colasanti, K.J.A., Hamm, M.W. and Litjens, C.M. (2012) 'The City as an "Agricultural Powerhouse"? Perspectives on Expanding Urban Agriculture in Detroit, Michigan', *Urban Geography*, 33(3), pp. 348–369. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.33.3.348>.
- Collins, S. (2015) *The Core of Care Ethics*. 1st edn. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cooks, L. (2019) 'Food Savers or Food Saviors?', *Gastronomica*, 19(3), pp. 8–19. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1525/gfc.2019.19.3.8>.
- Counihan, C.M. (2009a) "'Anything You Want Is Going to Come from the Earth": The Locally Produced Subsistence Diet', in *A Tortilla is Like Life*. University of Texas Press, pp. 71–90. Available at: <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7560/719811>.
- Counihan, C.M. (2009b) "'Give Because It Multiplies": Hunger and Response in Antonio', in *A Tortilla is Like Life*. University of Texas Press, pp. 181–191.

- Counihan, C.M. (2009c) “‘It Was a Give-and-Take’”: Sharing and Generosity versus Greed and Envy’, in *A Tortilla is Like Life*. University of Texas Press, pp. 152–167.
- Counihan, C.M. (2009d) “‘Meals Are Important, Maybe It’s Love’”: Mexicano Meals and Family’, in *A Tortilla is Like Life*. University of Texas Press, pp. 137–151.
- Counihan, C.M. (2009e) “‘We’ve Got to Provide for the Family’”: Women, Food, and Work’, in *A Tortilla is Like Life*. University of Texas Press, pp. 91–113.
- Deep South - New World Encyclopedia* (no date) *New World Encyclopedia*. Available at: [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Deep\\_South](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Deep_South) (Accessed: 17 September 2022).
- Delanty, G. (2018) *Community*. 3rd edn. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Dickinson, M. (2019a) ‘Care and Abandonment in the Food Safety Net’, in D. Goldstein (ed.) *Feeding the Crisis: Care and Abandonment in America’s Food Safety Net*. 1st edn. Oakland: University of California Press, pp. 24–39.
- Dickinson, M. (2019b) *Feeding the Crisis: Care and Abandonment in America’s Food Safety Net, Feeding the Crisis*. University of California Press. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520973770/HTML>.
- Dickinson, M. (2019c) ‘Free to Serve? Emergency Food and Volunteer Labor’, in D. Goldstein (ed.) *Feeding the Crisis: Care and Abandonment in America’s Food Safety Net*. 1st edn. Oakland: University of California Press, pp. 95–116.
- Dickinson, M. (2019d) ‘No Free Lunch: The Limits of Food Assistance as a Public Health Intervention’, in D. Goldstein (ed.) *Feeding the Crisis: Care and Abandonment in America’s Food Safety Net*. 1st edn. Oakland: University of California Press, pp. 117–142.
- Dolley, J. (2019) ‘Third places and social capital: case study community gardens’, in J. Dolley and C. Bosman (eds) *Rethinking third places : informal public spaces and community building*. Cheltenham, UK ; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 136–157.
- Eizenberg, E. (2016) *From the Ground Up: Community Gardens in New York City and the Politics of Spatial Transformation*. 2nd edn. New York: Routledge.
- Feeding America (2022a) *Hunger in America*, *FeedingAmerica.org*. Available at: <https://www.feedingamerica.org/hunger-in-america> (Accessed: 3 November 2022).
- Feeding America (2022b) *Pennsylvania*, *FeedingAmerica.Org*. Available at: <https://www.feedingamerica.org/hunger-in-america/pennsylvania> (Accessed: 3 November 2022).
- Fraser, N. (2016) ‘Contradictions of Capital and Care’, *New Left Review* 100, pp. 99–117.
- Gibson-Graham, J.K. (2006) *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. 2nd edn. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/716341>.
- Hemer, O., Povrzanoic Frykman, M. and Ristilammi, P.-M. (eds) (2020) *Conviviality at the Crossroads: The Poetics and Politics of Everyday Encounters*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan. Available at: <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28979-9>.
- Hoisington, A. *et al.* (2001) ‘Field Gleaning as a Tool for Addressing Food Security at the Local Level: Case Study’, *Journal of Nutrition Education*, 33(1), pp. 43–48.
- Huijismans, Roy and Sjamsoe’oed Sadjad, Mahardhika (2022) ‘Ethnographic imaginations’ [PowerPoint Presentation], 3303: Ethnographic research and reflexivity in development contexts. Institute of Social Studies. Available at: <https://canvas.eur.nl/courses/37370/files/> (Accessed: 8 November 2022)
- Icaza Garza, Rosalba (2022) ‘Holding Space with Aminata Cairo’ [Recorded Lecture] 3211: Decolonial Research in the Development Context. Institute of Social Studies.

- Available at: <https://eur.cloud.panopto.eu/Panopto/Pages/Viewer.aspx?id=ede606e8-fb78-4a11-9e0f-ae1401791a02> (Accessed: 8 November 2022)
- Katz, C. (2001) ‘Vagabond Capitalism and the Necessity of Social Reproduction’, *Antipode*, pp. 709–728.
- King, P. (1991) ‘Customary Rights and Women’s Earnings: The Importance of Gleaning to the Rural Labouring Poor, 1750-1850’, *The Economic History Review*, 44(3), pp. 461–476. Available at: <https://about.jstor.org/terms>.
- Kowalczyk, C.M., Taillon, B.J. and Hearn, L. (2020) ‘Gleaning: Turning Food Waste at Farms into Marketable Products’, in E. Närvänen et al. (eds) *Food Waste Management: Solving the Wicked Problem*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 347–366. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-20561-4>.
- La misión | Mission — Casa de la Cultura* (no date) *Casa de la Cultura*. Available at: <https://www.casagettysburg.org/mission-la-misin> (Accessed: 18 September 2022).
- Lee, D. et al. (2017) ‘Combining two wrongs to make two rights: Mitigating food insecurity and food waste through gleaning operations’, *Food Policy*, 68, pp. 40–52. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2016.12.004>.
- Lisa (SCCAP Food Pantry Coordinator) (2022) Informal interview/conversation with Ivy Helena Torres, 10 August.
- Lisa (2022) Informal interview/conversation with Ivy Helena Torres, 3 August.
- Mahmoudi Farahani, L. and Beynon, D. (2019) ‘Third places and their contribution to the street life’, in J. Dolley and C. Bosman (eds) *Rethinking third places : informal public spaces and community building*. Cheltenham, UK ; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 196–218.
- Marshman, J. and Scott, S. (2019) ‘Gleaning in the 21st century: Urban food recovery and community food security in Ontario, Canada’, *Canadian Food Studies*, 6(1), pp. 100–119.
- Matt (2022) Informal interview/conversation with Ivy Helena Torres, 28 July.
- Mauro, S.E.-D. (2018) ‘Urban community gardens, commons, and social reproduction: revisiting Silvia Federici’s Revolution at Point Zero’, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 25(9), pp. 1379–1390. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1450731>.
- McClintock, N. (2014) ‘Radical, reformist, and garden-variety neoliberal: coming to terms with urban agriculture’s contradictions’, *Local Environment*, 19(2), pp. 147–171. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2012.752797>.
- Merriam-Webster (no date) *Glean*, *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*. Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/glean> (Accessed: 29 August 2022).
- Mezzadri, A. (2022) ‘Social reproduction and pandemic neoliberalism: Planetary crises and the reorganisation of life, work and death’, *Organization*, 29(3), pp. 379–400. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/13505084221074042>.
- Milbourne, P. (2012) ‘Everyday (in)justices and ordinary environmentalisms: community gardening in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods’, *Local Environment*, 17(9), pp. 943–957. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2011.607158>.
- Montanari, M. (2012) ‘“Identity” Declined in the Plural’, in *Let the Meatballs Rest: And Other Stories About Food and Culture*. Columbia University Press, pp. 157–169. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.7312/columbia/9780231157339.003.0010>.

- Neal, S. *et al.* (2019) 'Community and Conviviality? Informal Social Life in Multicultural Places', *Sociology*, 53(1), pp. 69–86. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038518763518>.
- Newell, J.P. *et al.* (2022) 'Ecosystem services of urban agriculture and prospects for scaling up production: A study of Detroit', *Cities*, 125, pp. 1–22. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.CITIES.2022.103664>.
- Our History — The Gleaning Project* (no date) *The Gleaning Project of South Central Pennsylvania*. Available at: <https://thegleaningproject.org/our-history> (Accessed: 17 September 2022).
- Pennsylvania County Presidential Election Results 2020 - ABC News* (2020) *abc News*. Available at: <https://abcnews.go.com/Elections/pennsylvania-county-presidential-election-results-2020> (Accessed: 17 September 2022).
- Pennsylvania Election Results 2016: President Live Map by County, Real-Time Voting Updates - POLITICO* (2016) *Politico*. Available at: <https://www.politico.com/2016-election/results/map/president/pennsylvania/> (Accessed: 17 September 2022).
- Poppendieck, J. (1998) *Sweet Charity?: Emergency Food and the End of Entitlement*. 1st edn. New York, New York: Penguin Group.
- Roelvink, G., Martin, K.S. and Gibson-Graham, J.K. (eds) (2015) *Making other worlds possible: Performing diverse economies, Making Other Worlds Possible: Performing Diverse Economies*. University of Minnesota Press. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1215/0961754x-3634163>.
- Ross, J.M. *et al.* (2022) 'The Impact of a Food Recovery-Meal Delivery Program on Homebound Seniors' Food Security, Nutrition, and Well-Being', *Journal of Nutrition in Gerontology and Geriatrics*, 41(2), pp. 175–189. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21551197.2022.2041145>.
- Saldivar-Tanaka, L. and Krasny, M.E. (2004) 'Culturing community development, neighborhood open space, and civic agriculture: The case of Latino community gardens in New York City', *Agriculture and Human Values*, 21, pp. 399–412.
- Sokol, A. (2005) *Economic Redevelopment in Appalachia: The Appalachian Regional Commission*. Available at: <http://websites.umich.edu/~econdev/arc/> (Accessed: 17 September 2022).
- Sönmez, E. *et al.* (2015) 'Improving Food Bank Gleaning Operations: An Application in New York State', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 98(2), pp. 549–563. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ajae/aav069>.
- Statista Research Department (2022) *People living below the poverty line U.S. 2021*, *Statista Research Department*. Available at: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/233138/number-of-people-living-below-the-poverty-in-the-us/> (Accessed: 2 November 2022).
- Sultana, F. (2015) 'Emotional political ecology', in R. Bryant (ed.) *The International Handbook of Political Ecology*. Edward Elgar UK, pp. 633–645.
- Trevilla Espinal, D.L. *et al.* (2021) 'Feminist agroecology: analyzing power relationships in food systems', *Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems*, 45(7), pp. 1029–1049. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21683565.2021.1888842>.
- Tronto, J.C. (2020) 'Caring Democracy: How Should Concepts Travel?', in P. Urban and L. Ward (eds) *International Political Theory*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 181–197. Available at: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41437-5\\_9](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41437-5_9).
- Torres, Ivy Helena (2022) 'Decolonial understandings of food access and community health.' Assignment for 3211. MA, Development Studies. ISS. Unpublished.

- US Census Bureau (2022) *Income in the United States: 2021*, United States Census Bureau. Available at: <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2022/demo/p60-276.html> (Accessed: 3 November 2022).
- U.S. Census Bureau *QuickFacts: Adams County, Pennsylvania* (2021) United States Census Bureau. Available at: <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/adamscountypennsylvania/PST045221> (Accessed: 17 September 2022).
- USDA (2010) *Food Waste FAQs* | USDA, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Available at: <https://www.usda.gov/foodwaste/faqs> (Accessed: 29 August 2022).
- Valluvan, S. (2016) 'Conviviality and Multiculture: A Post-integration Sociology of Multi-ethnic Interaction', *Young*, 24(3), pp. 204–221. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1103308815624061>.
- Vitiello, D. *et al.* (2015) 'From commodity surplus to food justice: food banks and local agriculture in the United States', *Agriculture and Human Values*, 32(3), pp. 419–430. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-014-9563-x>.
- Waite, T. (2019) *The difference between food banks and pantries* | *Feeding America, Feeding America*. Available at: <https://www.feedingamerica.org/hunger-blog/what-difference-between-food-bank-and-food-pantry> (Accessed: 17 September 2022).
- Wise, A. and Noble, G. (2016) 'Convivialities: An Orientation', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. Routledge, pp. 423–431. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2016.1213786>.