

Université de Montréal

**Experiences of participants in the field of food insecurity
through the lens of Bourdieu's cultural capital: Practical
and theoretical explorations**

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Résumé

Ce mémoire utilise des données qualitatives provenant d'entrevues semi-structurées pour examiner les ressources qu'utilisent les individus qui font face à l'insécurité alimentaire sous l'angle du capital culturel de Pierre Bourdieu. Les participants étaient choisis parmi les usagers des organismes alternatifs qui œuvrent en sécurité alimentaire à Montréal. Tous étaient en situation d'insécurité alimentaire. Des analyses inductives et déductives étaient exécutées. Seize indicateurs de la forme du capital culturel incorporée, et trois indicateurs de chacune des formes institutionnalisées et objectivées ont été trouvés à être reliés aux stratégies qu'utilisaient les répondants pour améliorer leur situation alimentaire. Cette recherche nous indique que le capital culturel individuel joue un rôle dans les stratégies utilisées, incluant la participation dans les organismes communautaires. De plus, un manque de capital approprié peut servir comme barrière à la participation dans certaines stratégies ce qui pourra avancer des réflexions sur la justesse et l'efficacité des stratégies actuelles.

Mots-clés : l'insécurité alimentaire, la sécurité alimentaire, capital culturel, Pierre Bourdieu, la théorie sociale, les inégalités de santé, les déterminants de santé, la recherche qualitative

Abstract

Using qualitative semi-structured interview data, this thesis examines the resources used by food insecure Montrealers through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. Respondents were chosen among users of alternative community food security organizations and all were food insecure. Inductive and deductive analyses were performed. Sixteen indicators of embodied cultural capital and three indicators of each of institutionalized and objectified cultural capital were found to be related to the strategies respondents used to try to improve their situation of food insecurity. This research demonstrates that cultural capital plays a role in the strategies employed by food insecure Montrealers, including the participation in community-based organizations. In addition, a lack of appropriate capital can serve as a barrier to participation in certain strategies. Further examination of these barriers could help to deepen understanding of the appropriateness and effectiveness of the current community strategies to face food insecurity.

Keywords : food insecurity, food security, cultural capital, Pierre Bourdieu, social theory, health inequalities, determinants of health, qualitative research

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Introduction

Food insecurity in Canada has primarily been addressed by community and charitable organizations since the opening of the first Food Banks in the 1980s, which have now become institutionalized.¹ The ways in which these organizations interact with their users' experience of food insecurity has not been theorized. This research project seeks to explore that interaction by employing social theory to contribute to a more in-depth understanding of the lived experience of food insecurity in Canada. Food security exists "when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life."^{2(p. 8)} As this definition suggests, food security refers to a collective reality, involving entire communities. Food insecurity in the Canadian context, on the other hand, is discussed and measured as a range of states at a household level that all involve "inadequate or insecure access to food" stemming from economic insecurity.^{3(p.49)} More broadly it involves the individual and household experience of food insecurity on four dimensions: quantity, quality, psychological, and social.⁴ Together, these four dimensions cover a household or individual's unsure access to sufficient quality food (quantity and quality), the anxiety and lack of choice they may feel with regard to their food situation (psychological) and the potentially unacceptable means they may employ to acquire food (social).⁴ The experience of food insecurity at a household level as experienced by individuals, in particular the experience of participation in community food security organizations (CFSOs), will be examined through the lens of a social theory forwarded by Pierre Bourdieu.

Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital will inform the exploration of the experience of food insecurity, and in doing so help to describe how CFSO participants' cultural capital interacts with their participation in CFSOs and other strategies used to cope with their situation of food insecurity. The analytic approach involved in this theorization considers existing categories of participant experience identified in the literature through the lens of a social theory. Understanding health phenomena in light of social theory contributes to building knowledge that goes beyond an understanding of health that is limited to individuals and their biology. In this respect, health behavior research can advance knowledge revealing the complex interactions between individuals and structures, and thus contribute to the development and evaluation of interventions and programs that are socially and contextually informed and grounded.⁵

Research to date⁶⁻⁸ has shown that despite the widespread existence of food banks and other CFSOs, the number of people accessing these services has risen and the services have not been shown to reduce socioeconomic inequalities, which have been consistently shown to be related to food insecurity. It has been argued^{1,9} that food banks produce dependency and reproduce the conditions of food insecurity while drawing attention away from the causes of food insecurity and poverty, such as inadequate minimum wage and a lack of affordable housing. This in turn deresponsibilizes government. There has been a call by some¹⁰ to shut down food banks, citing these reasons, among others.

Responses to this problem that take into account underlying economic conditions are required, but alternatives approaches have also fallen short of effecting real change in the food insecurity of individuals who participate in these approaches. Research has demonstrated¹¹ that other types of CFSO such as community kitchens and buying groups leave the significant

economic determinants of food insecurity largely untouched, as they tend to focus on food-related activities such as food distribution, preparation, and socialization. Evaluations of these food-related activities have demonstrated some favourable effects, including increased dignity, improved food security due to decreased anxiety about food acquisition, and moderate increases in food resources of participants.¹² Researchers who have studied these effects acknowledge that these CFSOs are not adequate solutions to poverty and that adequate economic resources are an important prerequisite to food security. Still others^{13,14} have found that there is a discrepancy in the understanding of the solutions to food insecurity by different stakeholders. It is evident that programs based on new models of food insecurity are needed that acknowledge contextual, social, and cultural factors, such as economic structures, individual capacity, and power relations, that limit the impact of current approaches.

Potvin, Gendron, Bilodeau and Chabot argue that due to the limited types of theories upon which public health practice has most commonly been based, “our capacity to understand and form theories about the complex interactions involved in...programs is limited.”^{5(p591)} Further, they propose that social theory should be considered when seeking to explicate the complexities within practices with the goal of basing further practice on contextual realities.⁵ In order to work towards the construction of new models for CFSOs, the problem must be understood using social theory to better reflect the current realities of users and programs. While the conditions, resources and strategies associated with managing food insecurity within food security programs has been well documented, these documentations often do not often give voice to those experiencing food insecurity and they are rarely theoretically informed. Building on this knowledge in a theoretically informed way, while giving credence to the perspectives and words of the users of food security services may

therefore contribute to an understanding of food insecurity that is rooted in reality and able to inform future practice.

Bourdieu's cultural capital, as interpreted by Abel and Frohlich, "is a precondition for most individual action and, as such, is a key component in people's capacity for agency, including that for health."^{15(p238)} As such, cultural capital is a lens through which to examine individuals' agency, meaning their capacity for action and reaction, with regard to their households' food insecurity, and especially the non-material resources at play within the strategies they employ. This research, therefore, seeks to explore the mobilization of cultural capitals by users of CFSO as it relates to their experience of food insecurity and the strategies they use to manage and cope with their situation, including participation in CFSOs.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into seven major sections: 1) the literature review, which outlines the relevant food security literature; 2) the theoretical framework, which outlines the support for the use of the Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital; 3) the research objectives, which state the major objectives of the thesis; 4) the methodology, which outlines the design of the project and the steps undertaken in the sampling and recruitment of the participants, data collection, and analysis; 5) the findings section, which is divided into an article and supplementary findings; 6) the discussion section, which explores the findings of both parts of the previous section in light of the literature and the theory used; and 7) the conclusion section, which outlines the major conclusions drawn from the discussion of the results, and suggests areas for future research. It should be noted that Part 1 of the findings section is an article submitted to *Sociology of Health & Illness* in July 2014. It is presented here in its submitted format and has

its own reference section, meaning that in-text citations superscript numbers are not continuous from the previous section. The article outlines the findings that relate specifically to the embodied, non-material, aspect of cultural capital. The supplementary findings in Part 2 cover the findings relating to the institutionalized and objectified portions of the theory of cultural capital. The article is based on the same data as the rest of the thesis; therefore all but the findings and discussion sections of the article will closely resemble those found in the rest of the thesis. The article was researched and written by the author of this thesis with guidance and revisions by the author's supervisor and co-supervisor, Louise Potvin and Sherri Bisset who are co-authors of the article and have approved its inclusion here.

Literature Review

Food prices, economic crises, and food production all contribute to a global food system that affect the rate of food insecurity globally, but especially in vulnerable import-dependent countries.¹⁶ With food prices having reached new peaks, the future of global food insecurity continue to be uncertain.^{17,18} While there are important parallels between Canada's food security concerns and those of countries worldwide, vast differences in political, geographical, economic, social, and cultural realities mean that the challenges and the strategies to face them are different.¹⁹ Therefore, while the global reality of food insecurity will serve as important context, this study focuses on the experience of food insecurity in the Canadian context. It is therefore historically and geographically situated in present day Canada. Specifically, individuals' experiences of (their households') food insecurity, including how it relates to their use of community organizations, will be discussed.

Literature from both the health sciences and social sciences will be reviewed to permit an overview of both monitoring-type food security literature that focus on prevalence, predictors, and outcomes of food insecurity, as well as literature pertaining to experience of and responses to food insecurity. Academic and monitoring literatures have demonstrated an increasing interest with food security in the past decade. With a focus on the Canadian perspective, this literature review will outline the definitions and measurement of food insecurity, its prevalence and nature, known predictors and outcomes, and current responses to this pervasive health concern.

Definitions and Measurement of Food Security and Food

Insecurity

Before the term ‘food security’ was understood as a phenomenon existing in the North American context, there were studies demonstrating the existence of related concepts such as hunger and nutritional insufficiency. In 1990, following a review of scales used to measure hunger and qualitative interviews with people experiencing it, Radimer et al.⁴ forwarded four components of hunger present at both the individual and household levels: quantity, quality, social, and psychological. These four components refer to the quantity and quality of accessible food, how one navigates social contexts in order to obtain food, and the psychological effects of this navigation and the fear of insufficient food.⁴ These four concepts have remained relevant through future definitions of food security and insecurity and are central to our use of the term food insecurity.

When food insecurity became a preoccupation in developed nations, authors^{20,21} set out to validate the Radimer/Cornell index tool in order to measure hunger and food insecurity in the North American context. The Radimer/Cornell index is now widely believed to be a valid measure of this phenomenon and has been deemed useful in such varied cultural and geographical contexts as rural Tanzania²² and cities in Iran.²³ This validation demonstrated the ability to use direct measures to differentiate between food secure and insecure households at various levels including household food insecurity and individual food insecurity for both adults and children.²⁰

In Canada, household food insecurity is most commonly measured using the Household Food Security Survey Module (HFSSM) developed by the United States

Department of Agriculture (USDA) which “measures the degree of severity of food insecurity/hunger experienced by a household in terms of a single numerical value.”^{24(p10)} This 18-question module has been included in the Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) since 2004 and has enabled the measurement of household food insecurity on a consistent and national level since.²⁵ The HFSSM asks about negative “conditions, events, behaviours, and subjective reactions” relating to food in the home due to financial constraints in the past year.^{24(p8)} Answers to these questions permit the classification of Canadian households along a continuum and into categories of food secure, moderately food insecure, and severely food insecure. In this study, the experiences of respondents living in households deemed food insecure will be discussed as experiences of, and actions to cope with their food insecurity, or to move towards food security at the household level (as measured by the HFSSM). These discussions do not imply individual, nor community-level food security or insecurity, which are not directly examined in this study.

Food Insecurity in Canada: Prevalence and Risk Factors

In 2011-2012, data collected through the CCHS using the HFSSM showed that 8.3% of Canadian households were food insecure, with 5.8% being moderately so, and 2.5% severely food insecure.²⁶ The proportion of households that experienced food insecurity that year was greater in Prince Edward Island (15.4%), Nova Scotia (17.1%), New Brunswick (16.5%) and Nunavut (36.4%) and rates in five provinces were the highest observed to date.^{26,7} In Montreal, 10.7% of the population over the age of 12 lived in a household that was food insecure in 2011-2012, which is statistically higher than the national average.²⁷

Select groups in the Canadian population are more likely to experience food insecurity. For example, lone parent households with children report much higher food insecurity than the Canadian average.²⁸ However, in 65% of cases children experience lower levels of individual food insecurity than do the adults in their homes.²⁸ It has been proposed that this is due to an effort on the part of parents to protect their children from the effects of food insecurity,²⁸ a finding which has been supported by other studies.^{14,29,30}

While there are significant disparities in access to food experienced by Montrealers,^{31,32} a 2007 study found that Montreal did not have significant ‘food deserts’, a phenomenon wherein socially deprived areas have no or poor access to grocery stores.³³ This study found that while food retailers were not evenly distributed throughout the city, there were few areas that were both socially deprived and prohibitively far from grocery stores.³³ This evidence has been supported by a study mapping the physical accessibility of fresh fruits and vegetables that found that although the distribution of fruit and vegetable retailers in urban areas of the island is relatively even, they are not necessarily within walking distance (500m) of consumers’ homes.³¹ However, discrepancies in physical access did not vary according to mean income,³¹ findings which have been echoed by another Montreal study, which demonstrated that the geographical distribution of both fast food outlets and fruit and vegetable distributors varied not with socioeconomic status but rather with other neighbourhood factors, such as education level, linguistic culture and age of residents, as well as neighbourhood road characteristics.³⁴ Interestingly, these studies conclude that physical access to food vendors is less problematic for people living in Montreal than has been found in other areas such as the U.S.^{35,36} and likely does not, therefore, have a great impact on

nutritional habits of Montreal citizens. Needless to say, having physical access to a grocery store does not guarantee access to healthy food, as one must also be able to afford the food.

Economic access is recognized as the key risk factor for household food insecurity. Using nationally collected data on food expenditures, researchers have demonstrated that between 1986 and 2001 there existed systematic disparities in the nutritional quality of food purchased by Canadian households showing a significant positive relationship between income and both the quantity and nutritional value of food purchased.³⁷ It is widely agreed that food insecurity in Canada is primarily due to a lack of sufficient and secure income.^{19,38-40} As Cook states, “[m]easures of household food insecurity are essentially measures of the manifestations of acute financial insecurity on diet.”^{38(p5)} It has been observed that households have increasingly needed to compress their food budget due to rising rates costs of living, a decrease in true wages, and a cutting back of government programs assisting those in need.^{1,9,11,40-42}

Beyond a person’s ability to afford sufficient food, acquiring food in a manner that respects one’s social and psychological well-being also contributes to the achievement of food security. Accompanying the strategies required to obtain food are the actions and reactions of the individuals who are faced with the stress of lacking food or worrying about having sufficient food, the social stigma they face or perceive, and the constraints on their social situation. This stress affects people on personal, interpersonal, social, and cultural levels, and can result in such reactions as cutting the size of adults’ meals to protect children from the effects of food shortage²⁸ or removing oneself from one’s social ties so as to avoid shame and alienation.^{30,43} Included within these experiences are the personal psychological consequences such as feelings of anxiety, isolation, shame, guilt, and powerlessness which place strain on

interpersonal relationships and household dynamics and prevent individuals and households from participating in cultural and social events.³⁰ It is conceivable that the perceived social and psychological implications influence the strategies individuals choose to pursue to face food insecurity.

Impact of Food Insecurity on Physical Wellbeing

For adults and seniors, poverty and food insecurity tend to be more strongly associated with negative nutritional outcomes than for children.^{37,44-47} Research shows that food insecure Aboriginals adults living off-reserve are more likely to report poor general health than their food secure counterparts.⁴⁸ Studies have also demonstrated an association between poorer physical, mental, and social health and food insecurity in Canada.⁴⁹ Though the nature of the relationship is unclear, it reveals that households experiencing food insecurity are vulnerable on many levels.

Responses to Food Insecurity

Responses to food insecurity in Canada have remained largely community-based since the 1980s, at which time food banks first opened across the country.^{1,40,50} Canadian food bank use increased by 20% between 2001 and 2011.⁶ Use has increased an additional 2.4% in 2012; a total of 882,188 Canadians received food from a food bank in March 2012.⁸ Food Banks Canada and their partners serve approximately 85% of people in Canada accessing emergency food services.⁵¹ However, it has been shown that most food insecure households do not access food banks or other charitable organizations.^{49,52,53}

Community-based responses can be divided into two categories: 1) traditional CFSOs that aim to facilitate direct access to food through charitable donation and 2) alternative

CFSOs that aim to promote social integration and offer food-based activities.^{54,55} The most common examples of traditional CFSOs are food banks, while alternative CFSOs include such things as community kitchens and gardens.

Studies documenting the food bank use in high-poverty Toronto neighbourhoods have found that most food bank users were food insecure.⁵³ However, only a small proportion of food insecure households used food banks or alternative forms of food security services such as community kitchens or gardens, suggesting that many community-based food programs were not reaching those who most need support.⁵³ Food Banks Canada recognizes that “food banks are not a viable long-term response to hunger” and aims to “devote part of their activities to reducing the need for food assistance.”^{51(p21)} However, reports on food bank use have chronicled that underlying poverty structures remain untouched and that food banks provide a nominal amount of food, often insufficient to prevent hunger.^{9,56} Some studies examining the food received in Canadian food banks find little difference from the average population in terms of food eaten,⁵⁷ whereas other studies describe food banks as offering limited selection and poor food quality.⁵⁸

Relative to traditional CFSOs, less research has been conducted on alternative types of CFSOs. From among research on alternative CFSOs, community kitchens have been examined in the literature the most often. Community kitchens, or community based cooking programs, have been shown to provide social support,⁵⁹ to contribute to psychological well being by breaking isolation, to increase dignity, and to relieve stress,^{60,61} and to enhance the coping and food-related skills of participants.¹² Food cooked in community kitchens is generally of high quality and has been described as socially and culturally acceptable.⁶² Additionally, positive effects from community kitchens have been reported, including: increased ability to feed

family healthy food, greater variety in diet, higher consumption of fruits and vegetables, and lower consumption of fat.^{12,63} However, participation in community kitchens has not been shown to have a significant impact on households' economic situation nor the amount of food they are able to access, therefore leaving the underlying issues of poverty unaddressed.^{59,62}

Various stakeholders, including those experiencing food insecurity, CFSO workers, and volunteers have different understandings of the experience of food insecurity, the needs of food insecure households, and the appropriate responses to those needs.^{13,14} Both traditional and alternative CFSOs have been critiqued for not only failing to impact the economic constraints facing their users, but also for focusing on food and building users' self-reliance as opposed to the broader social and political issues which surround hunger and poverty.^{11,59} Authors suggest that food banks are too often looked upon as a solution to food insecurity rather than a temporary means of accessing a small amount of food.

Proposals in the Literature

It has been widely proposed^{1,3,11,12,40,42,64-66} that to eliminate food insecurity, or to achieve food security for all, vast changes must be made in policies affecting food insecure individuals and communities, specifically those that would reduce poverty. Further, researchers suggest that a variety of different stakeholders are well positioned to affect change at professional,^{39,67} community,^{68,69} and institutional levels. Additionally, given the critique of a lack of focus on underlying economic causes, there has been a call for better monitoring of food insecurity in Canada as well as the economic and income variables related to this phenomenon.⁷⁰

Conclusion of the literature review

Food security research in Canada has adopted, validated, and employed quantitative tools to measure the prevalence and severity of food insecurity in Canada. In addition, qualitative studies have documented a variety of experiences of food insecurity such as social isolation and alienation, unsuitable diet, and lack of dignity.^{30,43,61,71} Qualitative research has contributed to a deeper understanding of the concept of food insecurity as well as its implications for individuals, households, and communities. Some research has been conducted on the impact of CFSOs, revealing the limited potential of this approach to improve food insecurity. A very limited number of studies have examined the factors involved in decisions around individual's strategies to face their food insecurity. Finally, the need for more progressive policy and practices in the face of poverty and income insufficiency has been forwarded almost unanimously in all types of literature.

Research has not, however, situated the experience of food insecurity in a theoretical framework despite the fact that these experiences have repeatedly been linked to broader social, cultural, and economic factors. A theoretical exploration of the integrated nature of these experiences and related actions and reactions, including the role of individual agency and constraining structures, is needed to more fully reflect the realities of individuals and households experiencing food insecurity. Researchers have argued that one must examine the relation between practices, agency, and structure in order to carry out examinations that are not "denuded of social meaning."^{72(p781)} This kind of approach could lead to greater identification of problems and potential solutions within the identified context.

Social science and health literature offer examples of the successful use of social theory in bringing a new and helpful perspective to a persistent health issue. For example,

social theory, specifically a Bourdieusian perspective, has been used to reveal alternative meanings of smoking for teenaged girls, leading to nuanced understanding of the issue. This new understanding led to the identification of potential problems with and improvements upon the current public health approaches to smoking reduction in this population.⁷³ Such an approach in the area of food insecurity would respond to recent calls from health promotion as well as qualitative methodology literature, noting a dearth in the use of theories to understand and expand upon the relationships integral to health and health research.^{15,74} The lack of theorization of health inequalities, including food insecurity, is problematic as theorization has the potential to shed new light on a persistent problem and help to identify useful contributions and potential places for action and change.

Theoretical Framework

Why Bourdieu?

Bourdieu's theories are befitting in examinations of social and health inequality. Abel⁷⁵, and Abel and Frohlich¹⁵ suggest that several Bourdieusian concepts may be helpful in the elucidation of the relationship between the structures and the individuals who behave as active agents within them. Bourdieu's theories, generally, take a position alternative to the usual dichotomy between objectivism and subjectivism. They give weight to both subjective practices and the power of the social structures to influence individual's chances and practices. Frohlich⁷⁶ argues that while both external structure and individual agency are present in Bourdieu's theories, he puts slightly more emphasis on the external structure. Their interplay within his theories allows them to be quite useful when seeking to reconcile agency and structure, which, individually, fall short of accurately representing complex realities. Further, it has been argued that Bourdieu's theory of capital and capital interactions can advance understanding of how individuals contribute to the reproduction of health inequalities.^{15,77} Food insecurity can be understood as a negative outcome of a variety of circumstances (low or unstable income, insufficient governmental support, etc.), and it is experienced as a negative event.⁷⁸ However, food security can also be understood as a determinant of health⁷⁹⁻⁸¹ and the unequal distribution of food security across groups makes it an issue of health inequality, thus an appropriate subject for examination through the lens of these concepts.

One Bourdieusian concept integral to the examination of the relationships between structure, agency, and practices is that of habitus. Habitus is a mental system of structures that

is an embodiment of internalized social structures acquired over a lifetime.⁸² The externalization of this embodiment through practice is also structuring, thus having an impact on the social world. The concept of habitus rejects the determinism of structure, suggesting instead that it shapes practice, while also being created and shaped by everyday practices, or agency. Another Bourdieusian concept appropriate for the examination of food insecurity is that of *field*. The notion that food insecurity can be considered a field is drawn from Bourdieu's definition of a field as "a field of forces within which agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field."^{83(p39)} Thus, the field of food insecurity consists of agents with positions and these positions, each relative to one another, dictate how an individual can act within a field. In Canada, authors have referred to these agents who operate within the field of food security by various names such as stakeholders¹⁴ and food services providers and participants*. As can be gleaned from the terms 'providers' and 'participants', roles within the field of food insecurity in Canada are generally well defined. For example, within a food bank, actors may fund the service and make donations (food, money, etc.), prepare the food baskets and perform administrative tasks, or receive the food. In the name of fairness, the same rules, or *doxa*, apply to all actors within a given field. This is especially true because those who may disagree with the rules most often

* The term 'participant' will be used to refer to clients, participants, and users of various types of CFSOs so as not to limit conceptually the potential roles occupied by participants in these programs. To avoid confusion, the term 'respondents' will be used to refer to participants in this research study who are also, by design, participants in various CFSOs.

hold the positions with the least power and therefore have rules imposed upon them if they wish to continue to operate within that field.

Considering food insecurity as a ‘field’ in the Bordieusian sense, allows for the classification and exploration of the objective roles, the relative capital of their possessors, and the field’s relation to other fields. Food insecurity-related participation, which is limited by and linked to the roles that participants are able to possess and the rules surrounding those roles, can help in the exploration of strategies people employ when coping with food insecurity. One role in the field of food insecurity is that of the participant. Participation (in CFSOs) is an important concept in this study and is often explored in the literature as a strategy employed by food insecure individuals in an attempt to improve their situation. For the purposes of this study, participation is considered to be any interaction that includes the use of services by a respondent with an organization that offers services pertaining to accessing, growing, or preparing food. This includes various types of organizations as outlined in a working intervention strategy typology developed for a related research project entitled *Investigation of the effects of community food security interventions in light of an examination of modes of intervention*. The strategies are differentiated based on their point of contact and the type of links or interactions they provide.⁵⁴

Most central to the current exploration of participants’ experience of food insecurity and the strategies they employ is Bourdieu’s theory of capitals and the concept of cultural capital, in particular. The theory of capitals forwards that the amount and types of field-relevant capital possessed by individuals determines their positions and roles, and the action deemed appropriate to those roles.

Bourdieu, Capitals, and Food Security

Bourdieu's theory of capitals advances three different forms of capitals or accumulated labour: economic, social, and cultural.⁸⁴ Capitals are accumulated by individuals throughout their lifetime and can be transformed and transmitted in various ways, depending on the type of capital.⁸⁴ They each have different properties, permitting navigation of the social world in different ways. Their interrelationships and unequal distribution help to explain the way in which people's choices are constrained and limited by their chances, whose inequities are perpetuated between groups within a field (eg. social classes) throughout time.⁸⁴ Bourdieu explains that "[capital] is what makes the games of society – not least, the economic game – something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle."^{84(p. 241)} Cultural capital in particular can help to explore the structural and cultural factors constraining and enabling actors' choices surrounding a determinant of health such as food security. As Abel forwards, cultural capital is a useful concept for "linking social structure with people's cultural resources and behavior patterns."^{77(p. 45)} Thus, cultural capital is another Bourdieusian concept that contributes to the reconciliation of the usual agency structure dichotomy.

Research on food insecurity in Canada to date has framed the issue of food security in economic or social terms, although they are not described using the concepts of economic and social capital.^{30,43,59,71} A small amount of research has focused on components and experience of food insecurity that relate to cultural capital, however, no research to our knowledge has applied the theoretical framework forwarded by Bourdieu.^{12,30,61} While economic factors are universally understood to be the major cause of food insecurity, an exploration of other capital-related factors and components would lead to a more complete understanding of the

field. As Abel forwards, it could provide a missing link of people's "symbolic and informational resources for action" with regards to their health, or in this case, food insecurity.^{75(p1)} Therefore this study focuses upon cultural capital to permit an in-depth exploration of the personal resources related to the strategies food insecure individuals use to face their food insecurity.

Each of the three forms of cultural capital are resources for action. They are distinct in terms of their modes of acquisition and transferability, and the extent to which they are material or not. Institutionalized cultural capital, the most legitimized state, is cultural capital that is measured and recognized formally by a governing body with a certificate or other object meant to formally imply the attainment of a certain level of cultural competence (e.g. academic degrees).⁸⁴ Objectified cultural capital refers to materials (tools, books etc.) that have cultural meaning and which, if accompanied by appropriate embodied state of cultural capital, can be used. For example, a book can be owned, but its usefulness beyond its economic value does not come with its acquisition but with the additional possession of the ability to read and understand. This leads to the embodied state of cultural capital which, as its name suggests, is inextricably contained within the body and includes the "skills and knowledge of every day practices that can be acquired by "culture"."^{77(p52)} These are acquired throughout a lifetime by various means of socialization and informal and formal education, which vary with the familial, cultural, and societal contexts of the acquirer.

Operationalizing Bourdieu

As discussed above, we chose a limited and specific set of concepts and vocabulary from Bourdieu's theory of capital, in particular those relating to cultural capital (Appendix A).

Social capital and economic capital are certainly useful in understanding the experience of food insecurity however, as elaborated in the section, this study focuses upon cultural capital in order to explore the most individual resources involved in the strategies used by respondents. In order to study cultural capital as it relates to any field, one must first establish a specific definition for cultural capitals relevant to it.⁷⁵ Abel argues that Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital is relevant to health inequalities, and in examinations of health includes "all culture-based resources that are available for people for acting in favour of their health."^{75(p2)} This study will follow Abel's method of applying Bourdieu's concept to a subject and defining its relevant cultural capital. As such, cultural capital will be considered relevant to food insecurity and participation when they are "culture-based resources" that have an effect on decisions to act with regards to one's food insecurity.^{75(p3)}

Food-insecurity relevant cultural capitals, therefore, include those dispositions, values, beliefs, perceptions, skills, objects, and certifications that allow individuals and groups to act in ways that affect their food security, either to enhance or diminish it. Appendix A outlines food insecurity-related cultural capital as hypothesized using this method. That is, it lists the categories of cultural capital, their characteristics, and the indicators of the concept hypothesized to be related to food insecurity as they fit into each category. As will be discussed in the methods section, this table guided data analysis, which examined the presence of cultural capital in participants' descriptions of their food insecurity experiences.

Research Objectives

The current literature on food security has defined, measured, and described the problem of food insecurity, but lacks theorization. It focuses primarily on economic factors underlying the food insecurity and does not always consider cultural and social factors relating to the experience of it. In addition, the literature does not explore the factors involved in food insecure individuals' strategies to respond to their food insecurity, including participation in CFSOs. This study focuses on those gaps with the aim of expanding understanding of the experience of food insecurity and the strategies used to face it.

Our main research objective is to explore the practical and theoretical implications of examining food insecurity through the lens of Bourdieu's cultural capital. To attain this objective, we will address the following three questions: 1) What cultural capital is expressed by food insecure Montrealers when they describe their strategies to address and cope with food insecurity? 2) How does cultural capital relate to the strategies food insecure Montrealers enact and avoid when working toward household food security 3) What culture capital-related barriers exist to participation in CFSOs?

Methodology

Context and Study Design

This is an exploratory and descriptive qualitative study using semi-structured interviews. This study is part of a larger research project that included multiple academic and community stakeholders throughout the planning and data analysis. Bourdieu's cultural capital provides the theoretical lens to explore food security. Data is thus analyzed deductively with theoretically grounded concepts. Inductive inquiry also permitted themes to emerge from the data thus enriching theoretical concepts with the experiences particular to food insecurity. This reflexive and iterative process has been described as being "at the heart of visiting and revisiting the data and connecting them with emerging insights, progressively leading to refined focus and understandings."^{85(p77)} As discussed above, the use of Bourdieu's theory in general, and focus upon cultural capital in particular, allowed us to shed light on other aspects of food security that depart from the commonly economically-focused examinations. The theoretical framework was used as a tool to guide all steps of the research process from study design to the reporting of study findings.

Study Population and Measurement

Participants were recruited from among users of CFSSOs in Montreal, Canada. As part of the data collection in the larger project, twenty-seven sites were chosen to represent two different types of services as identified by the typology developed by the CACIS (Chaire Approches communautaires et inégalités de santé) and the TCFDSMM (La Table de concertation sur la

faim et le développement social du Montréal métropolitain), as inspired by a Relais-femmes report,⁸⁶ representing the categories: "food aid" and "social integration and/or transformation of social interactions".⁵⁴ The terminology "traditional", and "alternative" also captures these two distinct approaches. The quantitative data collection included 824 users of these services whose interest in participating in a subsequent in-depth interview was gauged at that time. Respondents were then contacted based on their previously stated willingness to participate and two eligibility criteria. Only respondents who had participated in alternative CFSOs were considered eligible, although many participated in both types of service. In addition, potential participants were screened for eligibility using data to classify household status as food insecure using the HFSSM. Specifically, a household was deemed food insecure if respondents answered affirmatively to two or more items on either of the 8 adult item or the 10 child item scales that constitute the HFSSM.²⁵ These eligibility criteria were chosen so as to establish a relatively homogeneous sample, allowing for an in-depth examination.⁸⁷

Sixteen participants fulfilled the eligibility criteria. Six participants were unreachable for various reasons, such as having left the country, changed phone numbers, or simply not responding to or returning our phone calls. Ten participants were informed of the purpose and nature of this qualitative study and agreed to meet with the interviewer at their homes or the university after having been given various meeting space options, which included community organizations near their homes, public spaces such as cafés, and offices at the University of Montreal. Prior to the meeting, opportunities to ask questions and assurances of anonymity and confidentiality were provided, along with contact information of the interviewer should the participant decide to desist. One respondent did not arrive on the designated date and did not respond to subsequent attempts to contact them. Two respondents lived in the same

household and were interviewed together, at their request. All nine final respondents were found to be living in food insecure households, 8 in severely food insecure households, and one in a moderately food insecure household. Table I outlines relevant socio-demographic information.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Age	Sex	Country of Origin	Marital Status	Employment Status	Annual Income (\$)	Highest Education Achieved	Severity of Food Insecurity
60-65	F	Other	Other	At home	\$5,000 - \$10,000	Bachelor degree	Severe
40-49	F	Other	Married	At home	\$10,000- \$15,000	Certificate or diploma	Severe
40-49	F	Canada	Married	Studying	< \$5,000	Community college CEGEP	Severe
60-65	M	Other	Single	At home	-	Secondary school diploma	Severe
40-49	M	Canada	Married	Studying	\$30,000 - \$40,000	Less than secondary school diploma	Severe
30-39	F	Canada	Married	Studying	\$30,000 - \$40,000	Secondary school diploma	Severe
40-49	F	Canada	Other	-	\$20,000 - \$30,000	Less than secondary school diploma	Severe
50-59	M	Canada	Other	At home	\$10,000- \$15,000	Secondary school diploma	Severe
40-49	F	Other	Other	At home	-	Secondary school diploma	Moderate

Table I - Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Data Collection

Data were collected by the bilingual interviewer (the author of the present thesis) through audio-recorded semi-structured interviews in the locations of the respondents' choosing. All respondents consented to the audio-recording, and supplementary note-taking by the interviewer. Prior to the beginning of each interview, respondents were given an overview of the research project, its objectives, and its confidentiality and anonymity measures. They were also informed of their right to desist at any time without penalty to their participation in the CFSO, or the remuneration provided (\$20). They were also given an opportunity to ask questions before, during, and after the interview. Written consent was obtained following a detailed description of the process and consent form, and a page containing project and contact information was left with the participant. Each interview recording lasted between 22 and 68 minutes, which did not include time spent before and after discussing the project and obtaining consent. Interviews were semi-structured using a flexible interview guide (see Appendix B). Questions were open-ended and encouraged respondents to talk about things relating to their experience of food insecurity. Specifically, the interviews focused on the strategies respondents used to face their situation of food insecurity, their experiences participating in CFSOs, and their broader experience of food insecurity. They were conducted in the language, location, and time of respondents' choosing. Eight respondents chose to be interviewed in French and one in English. All respondents, including those with a first language other than English or French, were conversant and the interview flow was comfortable. Two respondents who chose to be interviewed in French but had a language other than French or English as a

first language struggled occasionally to remember some words and sometimes supplemented with English words. When this occurred, the interviewer reassured them of her ability to understand both English and French. The interviewer also prompted with clarification questions when it seemed a misunderstanding had occurred.

In addition to data collected through interviews, the interviewer, who also conducted the data analysis, kept a research journal and memos. The journal noted meetings with community groups and interviews, and reflections on conceptual understandings, observations, and findings. These memos assisted in the contextualization of the interview data and in situating interpretations and findings, processes that are important to an iterative inductive/deductive type of analysis.⁸⁸

Data Analysis

The interviewer transcribed audio recordings of the interviews to an electronic word document. Interviews were coded (using TAMS Analyzer Software)⁸⁹ with nominal information removed to preserve the anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents while retaining relevant information about the interview for analysis purposes (e.g. site, respondent number, and date). A coding notebook was also maintained to ensure continuity of codes.

Appropriate to the presence of a strong but flexible theoretical framework, a combination of directed and conventional content analysis, as defined by Hsieh and Shannon,⁹⁰ was employed.

This allowed for an iterative inductive and deductive treatment of the data, which was conducted in two phases. Phase one used an approach called Template Analysis⁹¹ and was deductive in nature. This involved the use of an analysis template that was developed using themes hypothesized *a priori* drawn from the researcher's reflections on the potential relevance of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital to the experience of food insecurity found

in the literature. As the researcher conducted the interviews prior to the construction of this template, it is probable that it was also informed by the data itself.

Interpretation of what constitutes cultural capital for the purpose of this study was based on reading of Bourdieu's broad writing on the forms of capital^{82,84} as well as various interpretations of it in the literature. It is heavily informed by Abel and colleagues' work (see Abel 2007, Abel 2008, and Abel & Frohlich 2012). Many interpretations and operationalizations of the concept of cultural capital are possible. For example, one question that arose was the appropriateness of considering practical skills as cultural capital. It was decided that they should be, given that they are theoretically especially important for the working classes ('classes populaires'), considering their lack of economic means to pay for the services associated with those skills.⁹² Practical skills will therefore be considered within embodied cultural capital for the purposes of this study inasmuch as they take time and energy to acquire. An overview of the characteristics of cultural capital for the purposes of this study can be found in Appendix A.

Phase 2 employed a set of conventional coding methods drawn from Saldaña,⁸⁸ who advocates for a variety of coding methods. The coding methods chosen for this project were: descriptive, process, emotion, values, evaluation, participation, in vivo, and *a priori*, each of which is explained in Appendix C. These types were chosen based on their suitability to the data, the research objectives, and the theoretical framework, as well as to ensure adequate opportunity for new codes and themes to arise from the data (induction). This phase allowed the particularities of respondents' experiences to arise and the experience of food security to expand beyond the pre-determined themes since the coding methods were not drawn from the theoretical parameters, as was the case with the *a priori* template.

Finally, after both phases of coding were complete, relationships between theoretically driven codes and experience-driven codes were examined. Multiple rounds of contrasting and comparing helped to reveal the relevance and significance of the themes, combining some and expanding on others. It followed a so-called 'interactive' model in which "qualitative data analysis is a continuous, iterative, enterprise."^{87(p14)} Employing such a model ensures that continuity between theory and specific methods is preserved.

Findings

The findings section is divided into two parts. Part 1 is a stand-alone article submitted to *Sociology of Health & Illness* in July 2014 and is therefore formatted in the style required by the journal and includes a reference list covering the article only. It follows the literature review, theoretical framework, and methods detailed above, but presents different findings based on a smaller, more constricted research objective. It presents the results pertaining to the main state of cultural capital, embodied cultural capital, as well as respondents' strategies to cope with their food insecurity. A discussion and conclusion specific to this research objective is also found in this first part. Part 2 presents complementary findings related to the presence of the two other states of cultural capital: institutionalized and objectified. The subsequent discussion and conclusion sections will cover all of the results with a focus on the second part that was not covered in the article.

Part 1 – Article

Food Security and Embodied Cultural Capital: The Experience of Food Insecure Montrealers

Abstract

Using qualitative interview data, this article examines non-material resources related to the lived experience of food insecurity through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's concept, embodied cultural capital. Participants were recruited from alternative community food security organizations (CFSO) in Montreal, Quebec. All were food insecure. Inductive and deductive methods of coding and data analysis were performed. Sixteen indicators of embodied cultural capital were embedded in respondents' experiences and were grouped into five categories of resources: skills, dispositions, knowledge, perceptions, and values. This article signals non-material resources that are relevant to participants' strategies to face their food insecurity, including initial access and continued participation in CFSOs and the use of various strategies. It could serve as a step toward evaluation of CFSOs' appropriateness and accessibility. It supports findings in the literature that show CFSOs to be insufficient in improving the poor socio-economic status of their participants, the main driver of food insecurity.

Keywords: research, qualitative; community-based programs; social equality/inequality; marginalized population; lived experience; health, determinants of; interviews, semistructured; exploratory methods; qualitative analysis; health and well-being

Introduction

In Montreal, 10.7 percent of individuals above the age of 12 living in households experienced severe or moderate food insecurity in 2011-2012. This is significantly higher than the national average (Statistics Canada, 2013). Much attention has been paid to the material resources involved in food insecure people's experience, as a lack of economic resources is widely understood to be the main driver of food insecurity. In fact, since 2004, the Canadian Community Health Survey's report on the subject has been titled *Income Related Household Food Insecurity*, and focuses on whether or not households have sufficient economic resources to allow them consistent access to adequate quality food (Health Canada, 2007). The academic literature has revealed a number of resources and strategies used by food-insecure Canadians to help them deal with their food insecurity. Many non-material resources have been uncovered in examinations of the experience of food insecurity, and discussed as factors relating to the experience and outcomes of participation in community food security organizations (CFSO). These things, such as knowledge, social connections, and perceptions, have not been conceptualized through a theoretical lens. Using interview data and existing literature, this article examines non-material resources related to the lived experience of food insecurity through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's cultural capital and demonstrates the interrelationship between cultural and other types of food security-related resources.

Food security exists "when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), 2010, p8). Food security has been identified as one of the determinants of

health (McIntyre, 2003, Public Health Agency of Canada, 2002). In addition, it is considered an undesirable outcome in and of itself (Campbell, 1991).

There are generally two types of community responses to food insecurity. The more traditional one is based on a charitable foundation and aims at facilitating direct access to food. (Riches, 2002). Food banks, and organizations that also provide no-cost food assistance to individuals, are considered to be traditional CFSOs. Less traditional responses to food security are found in organizations that include activities that promote social integration, such as community kitchens and community gardens. These organizations are considered alternative CFSOs (Faniel and Déhais, 2011).

The way participation in these two types of organizations impact respondents' food insecurity has been studied through both qualitative and quantitative methods. Overall, the literature has found that traditional CFSOs create dependency in their users with numbers of users continuing to rise (Food Banks Canada, 2012). This approach has been critiqued as having little impact on the socioeconomic conditions of food security, instead, providing a nominal amount of food to participants in an often insufficient attempt to prevent one of the most tangible and extreme characteristics of severe food insecurity - hunger (Tarasuk and Davis, 1996, Tarasuk and Eakin, 2003). The literature suggests that alternative CFSOs, too, do not have a significant impact on users' long-term food security, nor their socioeconomic situation. They do, however allow for the development of certain food-related competencies and the diversification of one's diet, while also providing opportunities for socialization (Engler-Stringer and Barenbaum, 2007, Engler-Stringer and Barenbaum, 2006, Tarasuk, 2001a, Tarasuk and Reynolds, 1999).

Theoretical Framework

According to Bourdieu's theory of capitals, capital is "accumulated labour" that serves as resources for action when accumulated by individuals (1986p, 46). Cultural capital is one of three forms of capital: economic, social, and cultural. Capital conversion is such that one type of capital can be converted into another (and into money) directly or indirectly (Bourdieu, 1986).

It has been forwarded that Bourdieu's theories, more generally, are particularly appropriate for examinations of food and nutrition, because they encompass both the material and the symbolic (Power, 1999). Abel suggests that cultural capital "provides the non-material resources needed to develop healthy lifestyle patterns and deal effectively with health issues on an everyday basis" (2008, p.2) making it an appropriate lens through which to examine non-material resources. Cultural capital itself has three states: embodied, institutionalized, and objectified. Institutionalized cultural capital are cultural designations that hold an agreed on value in a given field, such as an educational certificate or diploma. Objectified cultural capital refers to material objects that have cultural significance when paired with their appropriate embodied cultural capital, such as a drawing or book. These objects require embodied cultural capital on the part of the user for them to be useful, other than for their pure economic value. Embodied cultural capital has particular interest for the aim of this article because it is most decisively encompasses non-material resources that exist within individuals as "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.47). These include a person's knowledge, abilities, values, dispositions, and perceptions that enable an individual to make sense of, and efficiently navigate their social environment. Non-material resources are the focus of this article. Therefore, institutionalized and objectified states of cultural capital will

not be considered other than in relation to embodied cultural capital, being that they are material, and more directly transformed into economic capital, which has been explored much more thoroughly in the literature.

Abel proposes that “Bourdieu’s general notion of cultural capital can be used to define health-relevant cultural capital as comprising all culture-based resources that are available to people for acting in favour of their health” (2008, p.2). In adapting this process for the subject of food security, all culture-based resources individuals use to improve, or attempt to improve, their access to sufficient, quality food, and to mitigate the impact of food insecurity, can be considered food security-relevant cultural capital. Cultural capital can be seen as an appropriate concept and lens through which to examine people’s experience of food insecurity, including the non-material resources they perceive as important to help them manage their food insecurity. Bourdieu advocates for this type of use of theory, acknowledging that concepts are not rigid, or to be applied as such, but rather, can be used as a set of tools with which to guide thought (Silva and Edwards, 2004).

Whereas cultural capital is the lens for this inquiry, the other forms of capital will not be ignored in a misinformed “attempt to filter out the unique contribution of culture-based factors” as has been seen in other examinations of cultural capital in the health literature (Abel, 2008, p.1). Economic and social capital will only be discussed insofar as they arise as conditions of, or conditional to, embodied cultural capital in the data and the literature. This concept of conditionality was made explicit by Abel & Frohlich (2012)

Although economic resources are the greatest determinants of food security, most CFSOs have very limited resources and are unable to have a significant impact on their participants’ economic situations. The existing food security literature acknowledges that the

experience of food insecurity is related to more than economic resources. Rather, it also includes the strategies, within and outside of CFSOs, one undertakes to mitigate this lack, and the impact these strategies have on one's personal and interpersonal wellbeing. By focusing on the non-material resources understood by the concept of cultural capital, we can gain a different understanding of the lived experience of the struggle toward food security that differs from examinations that most commonly focus on economic and social resources. We therefore use Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital to guide our examination.

This article seeks to identify cultural capital in food insecure Montrealers' strategies in facing food insecurity. Further, it will explore the theoretical implications of understanding non-material aspects of food insecurity as embodied cultural capital.

Methods

Context and Study Design

This research was conducted as part of a larger, mixed methods, evaluation of the impact of Montreal CFSOs on participants' health and food security. This qualitative portion was designed to delve deeper into the lived experiences of food insecure participants and to shed new light on the factors involved in participants' employment of strategies to improve their situation, including occupying various roles within CFSOs. This research was approved by the ethical review committee at the University of Montreal (#11-084-CERFM-D(1)). It is exploratory and descriptive in nature, using qualitative research methods with semi-structured interviews as their base. A theoretical framework based on Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital was used as a lens through which the subject of food insecurity was examined. This

theoretical framework informed all steps of the process, from the formation of the research objectives, to data analysis and reporting.

Study Population and Measurement

Of the 824 respondents from the larger project respondents were a sub-sample of those who had expressed interest in being contacted for a follow-up in-depth interview when asked during the initial survey. All were residents of Montreal, Quebec. Among those who had consented to be contacted, those who both experienced food insecurity, and had participated in an alternative CFSO at the time of initial contact, were contacted. Many also participated in traditional CFSOs. Of this sub-sample of sixteen eligible people, ten were reached and all agreed to participate in an in-depth interview after learning of the purpose and nature of the interview to be conducted, as well as how the data would be anonymised and treated. One subject did not arrive for the scheduled interview and was unable to be contacted afterward, leaving nine respondents in all.

Data Collection

The first author conducted semi-structured interviews in early October 2012 with nine respondents in seven individual, and one group (involving 2 participants) face-to-face interviews around the theme of food insecurity. All were informed, on multiple occasions, of their right to desist from participation without consequence to the remuneration provided (\$20), nor their participation in CFSOs. A consent form was explained to each respondent and signed by all parties prior to the interview and respondents were given multiple opportunities to ask questions. The interviews were audio-recorded; lasted between 20 and 70 minutes each; and were conducted in the language, location, and time of the respondents' choosing. Eight

respondents chose to be interviewed in French, and one in English. Interview questions were open and allowed respondents to talk about the things that were important to them in relation to their experience of food insecurity. Respondents were queried about the strategies they used to improve their situation, their experiences participating in CFSOs, and their experience of food insecurity, more generally.

Data Analysis

Interviews were transcribed and coded using TAMS Analyzer software (Weinstein, 2002) and coded in two phases. Phase one was deductive in nature and included the use of an approach called Template Analysis (King, 2007). An analysis template was constructed using themes developed ahead of time, *a priori*, drawn from the researcher's reflections on the potential relevance of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital to experiences of food insecurity found in the food insecurity literature, academic and grey. It is probable that the *a priori* themes were likely also informed by the data itself, considering the researcher executed all steps of the research leading up to the construction of the analytical framework from reviewing the literature, to transcribing the interviews, thus, likely incorporating elements from each step into each subsequent task.

What constitutes cultural capital for the purpose of this paper was based on Bourdieu's broad writing about the forms of capital as well as several interpretations of it. Our interpretation was heavily informed by Abel's work (see Abel, 2007, Abel, 2008, Abel and Frohlich, 2012) although there exist many possible interpretations. For example, some researchers consider practical skills to be part of embodied cultural capital, whereas others do not. Inasmuch as skills take time and energy to acquire, they will be considered embodied cultural capital for the purpose of this paper, as the work of Blasius and Friedrichs (2003)

supports. They assert that practical skills are an important part of cultural capital, especially for the working classes (“*classes populaires*”) who do not have the economic means to pay others to do the work associated with the skills (Blasius and Friedrichs, 2003, p.550). A simplified version of the characteristics of cultural capital for the purposes of the deductive stage of data analysis is found in Table 1.

Following the initial deductive coding it was clear that many important themes had yet to be coded. Therefore, phase two employed a set of conventional coding techniques, drawn from Saldaña based on their appropriateness to the type of data, the objectives, and the underlying theoretical framework (2009). These coding methods were not related to the theoretical parameters of the a priori codes. Therefore, this phase of coding allowed the themes important to respondents themselves to be induced.

Finally, after both phases of coding were complete, all codes were compared and contrasted and interrelationships explored, allowing a reflection on the appropriateness and relevance of the themes. This reflexive and iterative process has been described by some as being “at the heart of visiting and revisiting the data and connecting them with emerging insights, progressively leading to refined focus and understandings” (Srivastava and Hopwood, 2009, p.77). Miles and Huberman also advocate for a so-called ‘interactive’ model in which “qualitative data analysis is a continuous, iterative, enterprise” (1994, p.12). This model ensures continuity between theory, methodology and specific methods.

Findings

Food insecure individuals made reference to embodied and objectified cultural capital, but not to institutionalized cultural capital, in response to their state of food insecurity. As explained above, objectified cultural capital was not explored directly because it is considered a material resource. The mobilization of cultural capitals was described in association with accessing and participating in CFSOs as well as through experiences with food insecurity more generally. Sixteen indicators were identified that were understood as part of people's embodied cultural capital and embedded in respondents' descriptions of their strategies toward food security. The indicators of embodied cultural capital were grouped into five non-exclusive categories: skills, dispositions, knowledge, perceptions, and values (see Table 1).

Respondents spoke of these capitals in terms of the strategies they used to navigate their food insecure situation as well as within the outcomes of these strategies. The following overview of these indicators will be divided according to the category (or categories) of embodied cultural capital that they indicate. Their mobilization as part of respondents' strategies toward greater food security and experiences of food insecurity will be outlined.

Skills

Planning and budget management. Being able to plan ahead and manage a budget were positively associated with acquiring sufficient quantities of food. "The interest in all of this, I try to organize myself so that what I can't find with [the CFSOs] I buy depending on the...specials and you buy something to store." Grocery store flyers were used to plan ahead and manage a budget: "I try to buy mostly what's on special, it's mostly the sales I look at and I make recipes from them that are worth it." Being able to plan ahead and manage a budget was essential to acquiring sufficient food: "yeah, it's helpful because if you don't do it, you

buy items at full price, well, you don't make it." These skills alone, however, did not ensure a stable food supply, nor did they guarantee the acquisition of quality food: "I tried to be sure that now there are things that I can get cheaper that I can keep for times when [the kids] are hungry. [I think], they'll like this; this, they won't like" explained one respondent. She then reflected on her strategy of using the food available in CFSOs and supplementing the rest, saying: "I know that it's not sufficient."

Some turned to credit to ensure they could afford food throughout the month. One respondent noted, "this debt has weighed heavily on my situation. ...every evening I can eat my fill, but there's a price to pay." Others were equally indebted and felt the stress of "credit cards that are full" noting that they "didn't used to owe as much money as [they] do today."

Respondents also called on their planning skills to ensure being able to attend CFSO activities they hoped would help them to access more quality food. Sometimes this was made impossible by such structural factors as time conflicts with the CFSOs schedule, the direct cost of activities, the indirect costs of attending (such as hiring a baby-sitter, or taking time from employment, transportation), or not meeting the criteria for participation (such as living in a certain geographical zone). One respondent reflects on the difficulty of planning to access a CFSO while working "It's hard while working. ...I try to see if I can go around 11:30, that way I find there's hardly anybody. But there, when you go last, there's nothing interesting left."

Food preparation and storage. Another skill that some respondents perceived as being related to their ability to access more quality food was food preparation. Those who felt that they had strong cooking and meal preparation skills were often able to get by stretching ingredients in creative ways in times of shortage: "you know you don't have enough to last the

month, and so you transform into a genie, you find you look for the easiest solutions. A potato with a bit of, how do you say, green vegetables; that can make a little meal. You combine, you create little things.” In addition, some found that working with whole foods (as opposed to packaged or prepared foods) was less expensive and allowed them what they felt was a healthy diet throughout the month. One respondent explained how she compensated for her perceived insufficient resources by making whole foods that were available to her into things she and her family enjoyed: “Well, we eat grains, or we make porridge...and sometimes I do...a trick my mother did, we make smoothies ... with an orange, a banana, and maybe a kiwi, you can make a smoothie, you can feed 4 or 5 people.” She explained how her cooking skills allowed her to feed more people with less food “With ground meat, the same thing, I add bread, some egg, garlic, so the bread makes the ground meat bigger and you can feed 12 people instead of, yes, yes.”

Others didn't possess cooking skills that they considered adequate for their context and situation and wished to learn these in a CFSOs community kitchen or similar activity. However, many found that their participation did not help them to strengthen this cultural capital, which they felt would help them to manage their food insecurity. For example, one respondent noted that their goal of learning new recipes and skills was not achieved. After having attended a CK a few times, she didn't “really get anything from it” because the participants were told to cook whatever they wanted, rather than being taught to cook something new to them, which she would have enjoyed so as to be able “to do different things to make [her kids] happy, to have them try different things.”

Dispositions

Taking initiative. To access a CFSO, respondents must first become aware of its existence, and then make the decision to access it for the first time. This requires varying degrees of initiative for each respondent, dependent on other capitals they possess. For example, one respondent describes that they were eventually steered in the direction of a CFSO, “by the local community service centre” after she had looked “for help just about everywhere” during a difficult first year in Montreal.

Curiosity. Some identified their curious disposition as playing a role in them finding CFSOs: “well, I’m a curious little [person], I look at everything that is posted. I saw ‘cooking classes’, I really like to cook with others.” Curiosity was understood to be helpful in seeking out, and taking the initial steps toward participation in CFSOs, especially if respondents had not participated in a CFSO before, and did not know others who did.

Knowledge

Another indicator that was closely related to both curiosity and initiative taking in its connection to seeking appropriate CFSOs was knowledge of one’s community. Respondents who had knowledge of their community and neighborhood were aware of appropriate CFSOs. “Since I arrived, I know the people [at the organization]. I’ve always participated there. I’m still participating there,” explained one respondent. Those who arrived in a new community and did not know the resources available there sometimes struggled to find the assistance they needed. For example, one refugee spoke about her disbelief when someone told her to go to the Local Community Service Centre (CLSC), which she had perceived to be like hospitals where she was from, a place “where people went “to be treated.” This misunderstanding of

local community services caused a delay in her ability to access CFSOs, supports she felt helped her to access more food.

Perceptions and Values

As can be seen in Figure 1, there was a lot of conceptual overlap between these two categories. Perceptions and values impact one another resulting in overlap in the indicators of each. They will, therefore, be presented together to reflect the overlap in the data.

Values and perceptions could be either motivators or deterrents to enact strategies toward food security, including participation in CFSOs. Despite not always finding congruence between the values they perceived to be espoused by the CFSO and their own, the belief that participation was an important strategy toward food security took on a key role in the decision to access these services.

Understanding of one's situation. One refugee respondent remarked at how her situation after her immigration to Montreal was different from her upbringing "I had been sheltered from all of that [poverty]." But once she realized that her resources would not allow her to provide for her family's needs, she felt required "to resort to a plan D." This understanding of not having a choice but to access CFSOs was present in many respondents' experiences. One respondent who had troubles accessing a CFSO because he felt judged described his decision to persist in accessing a CFSO, this way: "it's simple. If...you have no more butter to put on the table, you have to do something. ...I try to do everything so that everyone eats." These struggles reflected values of independence and perceptions of inevitability that respondents had to overcome or endure to participate.

Helpfulness of activities. Regardless of how they came to access CFSOs, respondents believed and hoped they would increase their access to food, among other things, through their

participation. For example, when asked what he had hoped to gain from his participation in a community kitchen, one respondent replied: “that it didn’t cost too much and to have some suitable food to eat. That’s what we wanted most.” Although respondents acknowledged that they did receive access to some food through their participation in various types of organizations, all perceived that it was either lacking in quality or quantity. The same respondent felt that the amount of food received through participation in the CK did not justify the cost saying, “we leave with a bit of food but it isn’t worth [the money].” He reasoned that it might be better if there were more participants to share the cost of the ingredients, but because this was not the case he and his family stopped attending. The experience of participation in other types of CFSOs that gave away food donations was similarly disappointing: “For three people, they don’t give enough. ... I’m really happy with what they give us but it’s not enough”. Respondents who had accessed various CFSOs who offered food to take away remarked that some of the food needed to be eaten right away, and some “you can not even consume” and is fit to “throw in the garbage...” Their perception of the helpfulness of the activities within the CFSOs, and in particular, the food available, had an impact on whether respondents continued to use CFSOs as a strategy to work toward food security.

Community participation: Community, reciprocity, and solidarity. Alternative CFSOs often transmitted a value of collectivity. Respondents reported being drawn to these activities and organizations because they valued community and sought socialization, or wanted to volunteer to because of their valuing of solidarity and reciprocity. One respondent who has participated in a variety of roles in an alternative CFSO including activity participant and committee member pointed out that she participated originally to “meet new people and do

some volunteering.” Ultimately, she observed, she also participated in a CK and gained food preparation and budgeting skills that helped her to make ends meet.

(In)dependence. Some respondents were reluctant to participate in these kinds of activities, explaining that their valuing of independence prevented them from admitting that they needed help, or accessing appropriate activities. “I was embarrassed; I didn’t like it,” says one respondent of her first time accessing a traditional CFSO with her partner who had accessed them before. She explained that even though she’d never feel comfortable going she says she goes because she really needs the help. Others expressed this same struggle with the decision of whether or not to ask for assistance from family or friends.

Dignity. Respondents who had values that they believed were congruent and consistent with their participation in a CFSO were likely to feel positively about their participation, even when they did not gain what they wanted to in terms of food or food-related skills. For example, one respondent compared a traditional CFSO she had participated in to other food banks, noting that in the one she accessed she felt that people were treated with dignity “they give you a box and discreetly you put it in your little bag, and it helps. They do their best.” She felt so strongly about this, that she had this reaction to the way she felt other CFSOs did not show dignity to their participants “we would have preferred to die of hunger than to lower ourselves that far. ... We want to access food assistance, but with dignity.”

Fairness. When asked about his decision to scale back his participation in a CFSO, one respondent noted that he felt the organization was unfair because the available food was not divided fairly. He felt that “the good things, it’s [a CFSO employee’s] friends that get them”. Another respondent noted that the rigidity with which donations were divided and distributed

did not take into account the actual needs of participants, for example, the unique needs of families with teenaged children.

It is clear that some respondents values, such as dignity and fairness, dictated which CFSOs they attended, and whether or not they continued to attend as a strategy to improve their food security.

Self-confidence. When respondents possessed skills deemed important by others in CFSOs they frequented, or provided a service to another, they identified feeling a sense of pride, and feeling encouraged.

Health and nutrition. Respondents who perceived nutrition to be important to health and valued health highly tended to overcome other barriers to acquiring what they felt was healthy food, and especially, to providing it for their children. One woman explained that she often lacked energy because “I give [the food] to my child. I know that it is good for her. So I give too much to her, and not to me, y’know?” Others explained that they felt they had no choice but to participate in a CFSO he felt didn’t treat him fairly because he has “a kid to feed too, y’know? I try to do everything I can so that everyone eats.”

Discussion

This paper aimed to advance knowledge related to the experience of food insecurity in general, and to the non-material resources employed during this experience in particular. The approach taken to advance this understanding was taken from Bourdieu’s cultural capitals in specific reference to the form of non-material resources. Our findings suggest that cultural capital plays an important role in food insecure Montrealers’ experience of food insecurity and that using cultural capital as a theoretical lens allowed for a new perspective on the non-material

resources used. These resources were used by respondents with the goal of acting in favour of their food security, with varied success.

Sixteen indicators of embodied cultural capital were embedded in respondents' experiences and were grouped into five categories of resources: skills, dispositions, knowledge, perceptions, and values. Embodied cultural capital was associated with strategies participants pursued to improve their food security, as well as how they felt about these strategies. Most commonly, the use of CFSOs was the main strategy employed by respondents, although this is likely due, in part, to the fact that they were recruited from CFSOs. Respondents' ability to participate in a CFSO in a timely manner was assisted by their ability to harness cultural capital such as initiative taking, curiosity, knowledge of community, and understanding of their situation. Those who reported that their participation was delayed often lacked one or more of these indicators of cultural capital. Similarly, respondents' cultural capital had an impact on their decision of whether to continue their participation in CFSOs. Specifically, their perception of the usefulness and fairness of the service, and their sense of dignity and belonging in the CFSO had a great impact on continued participation. Finally, respondents' values of community, independence, health and nutrition, and their perception of the quality of the CFSO service was related to the way respondents' perceived their participation. Their impressions of it ranged from feelings of frustration, hopelessness, and being trapped, to a sense of belonging, of reciprocity, and greater self-confidence.

Data analysis was conducted in two phases to limit the role of selectivity in the use of data and generation of themes. The first coding phase was deductive and selected passages based on their relation to the theoretical lens of cultural capital. That done, the same researcher conducted a second phase of coding using eight affective, elemental and grammatical coding

methods (Saldana, 2009) to ensure thoroughness. This permitted all food insecurity-related experiences expressed by participants to be coded, not just those deemed relevant to cultural capital. Although the primary author carried out all of the coding, the two remaining authors were consulted in the selection of appropriate coding methods.

Transferability of these results is limited by the participant sample. The small sample size, the fact that the respondents were self-selected, and the fact that they were recruited from alternative CFSOs, means that their experiences do not necessarily represent those of other food-insecure people. However, the findings do speak to the importance of cultural capital in the experience of food insecurity generally, and the accessing of CFSOs in particular. The broad categories of food security-related cultural capital might be transferable for future examinations. Further examination of the role of cultural capital, and the interaction of all forms of capital is warranted and could help to shed light on the personal and structural barriers to carrying out effective strategies toward improved food security on an individual and household level.

Mobilization of cultural capital contributed to a variety of strategies that were employed by respondents with the goal of improving their food insufficiency including participation in CFSOs. Respondents discussed several indicators of embodied cultural capital within their explanation of how they came to access CFSOs. This list of indicators relating to accessing CFSOs hints that participation in these organizations might not be accessible to all people, especially those who do not possess the particular types cultural capital respondents identified as being helpful to their participation such as knowledge of one's community, and planning and budget management. This is consistent with suggestions in the literature that

CFSOs might fail to reach many of those they seek to assist, food insecure households and individuals (Kirkpatrick and Tarasuk, 2009).

The question of accessibility of CFSOs has been studied largely by examining the end result, or, the composition of groups participating in CFSOs compared to those who do not. This research demonstrates a discrepancy between organizations' target population, and the people who attend them. However, to our knowledge, research has failed to provide a satisfying explanation for this discrepancy. In examining the question through a theoretical lens based on Bourdieu's cultural capital, it has been possible to identify some potential barriers to participation in CFSOs. In fact, it seems that a certain amount of cultural capital is required as a prerequisite to participate in CFSOs, and potentially, in taking other action in favour of one's food security.

Respondents noted the need to plan ahead to ensure being able to attend a CFSO during scheduled hours; this was not always possible. Two dispositions, initiative taking and curiosity were identified as being important in contributing to a respondents' likelihood to access a CFSO in a timely manner. Knowledge of one's local community was an important capital that respondents, who did not possess this, such as recent migrants to Quebec, felt was a detriment to their ability to find CFSOs and other resources appropriate for them. Respondents' perceptions of themselves and their own situation as well as their understanding of CFSOs impacted their likelihood of accessing a CFSO, and for how long. This included how they perceived their own (in)dependence; the importance of community, reciprocity, and solidarity; and whether they understood CFSOs to be helpful, fair and to maintain participants' dignity. Respondents were also more likely to overcome economic barriers to participation (such as transportation, or activity cost) if it aligned with strongly held values surrounding the

importance of health and nutrition. In addition, respondents who did not have strong social capital and who felt alone in their situation overcame this barrier, using their curious and determined dispositions, even if it meant they did not access CFSOs as quickly as others. It is clear that all forms of capitals exist together within the experience of food insecurity, with cultural capital playing a role in helping respondents' mitigate the effects of food insecurity.

Our data also reveals that participation is precarious and dependent on a variety of resources. Once a respondent succeeded in accessing an organization their continued participation was not ensured, nor was an improvement in their food insufficiency. For example, respondents' who did not perceive their participation as useful were unlikely to continue participating. Consistent with findings in the literature on CKs, respondents found that their ability to prepare quality food at a lower cost was enhanced by participation in CFSOs depending on a variety of factors such as kitchen size and cost of participation (Tarasuk and Reynolds, 1999, Engler-Stringer and Barenbaum, 2006, Engler-Stringer and Barenbaum, 2005). Many also described enjoying a sense of camaraderie that was in line with their values, while others who also valued community, but perceived a lack of positive group dynamics, stopped attending because they not feeling welcome. Few, however, found the improvement to have a considerable impact on their overall food sufficiency and none found that the mobilization of these strategies was sufficient to mitigate the lack of economic resources they faced. Similarly, findings in the literature have found CFSOs to be widely used (and needed), but ineffective in addressing the greatest underlying reason for food insecurity, poverty (e.g. (Tarasuk, 2001b, Power and Dietitians of Canada, 2005, Tarasuk, 2001a, Riches, 2002, Tarasuk and Beaton, 1999). Although the usefulness for food security is debatable, it is clear that the goal of participation for most participants was to improve their food situation. So

much so, that when they perceived that the activities and food available were insufficient, some decided that it was not worth participating anymore.

Participants' strategies outside of CFSO participation also involved the activation of embodied cultural capital. For example, respondents engaged their planning and budgeting skills to make the most of their limited economic capital when grocery shopping by checking store flyers and buying on sale. Some found this to be insufficient and faced unmanageable debt loads just to keep food on the table. Cooking skills were called on by respondents to help them stretch their food and to prepare meals or preserve available foods. Some respondents also used skipping meals or eating less than they felt they should as a strategy to stretch their resources. This was especially common in adults who were health conscious when children were present in the home as it was a way to ensure they got enough to eat, a phenomenon that has been widely reported (Hamelin et al., 2002). They did acknowledge that this was not ideal for their own health.

It should be noted that none of the strategies used were perceived to be sufficient to foster food security, which is unsurprising because they have little impact on the major determinant of food insecurity, poverty. Many respondents expressed frustration at their situation, and many acknowledged the need to continue enacting these strategies to get by, even if this did not mean being food secure. Bourdieu explains this phenomenon well, in *Distinction*: “necessity imposes a taste for necessity which implies a form of adaptation to and consequently acceptance of the necessary, a resignation to the inevitable...” (1984, p.373).

Conclusion

The use of a theoretical framework shaped by Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital led to exploration of non-material resources related to the experience of food insecurity. The findings help to illuminate the interaction between cultural and other resources within the strategies respondents use to attempt to improve their food security and that of their children. This research can serve as a preliminary step toward an evaluation of the appropriateness and accessibility of CFSO's offerings by signaling non-material and material resources that respondents deem relevant to initial access and continued participation in CFSOs. It is clear, however, that the strategies enacted by respondents were insufficient in solving their poverty, the main driver behind food insecurity.

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Table 1 – Food Insecurity-Related Cultural Capital

Forms of Cultural Capital	Related Concepts	Characteristics	Examples of Potential Food (in)security-related indicators of the concept
Embodied Cultural Capital	Skills/Ability	Abilities learned and possessed by an individual yielding predictable results. Can become second nature.	Food preparation Managing a budget Talking to others and advocating for oneself Asking for help
	Knowledge	Familiarity with information acquired through experience or education.	Knowledge of nutrition Awareness of community resources
	Perception	The way information is organized, identified, and interpreted to understand one's environment	Of own role in society/group. Self-efficacy Of the importance of nutrition and health Of one's situation
	Values	Preferences regarding actions or outcomes (of self or others) that reflect a person's sense of right and wrong	Preference toward certain organizational structures Regarding independence/dependence Regarding health and nutrition
Institutionalized Cultural Capital	Education/Certification	The acquisition of skills and knowledge as formally recognized by an institution.	Language courses Cooking/food-safe courses Formal education
Objectified Cultural Capital	Culturally significant objects	Culturally valuable objects useful only insofar as the user possesses the appropriate embodied cultural capital.	Cooking utensils and appliances Recipes and recipe books

Part 2 - Supplementary findings

Several indicators of institutionalized and objectified cultural capital were found to be important in respondents' discussion of their strategies toward improving their situation of food insecurity. Figure 1 summarizes the indicators, and the subsequent sections outline these. Citations in this section are drawn directly from respondent interviews and were translated from French by the interviewer, who is also the author of this thesis, when necessary.

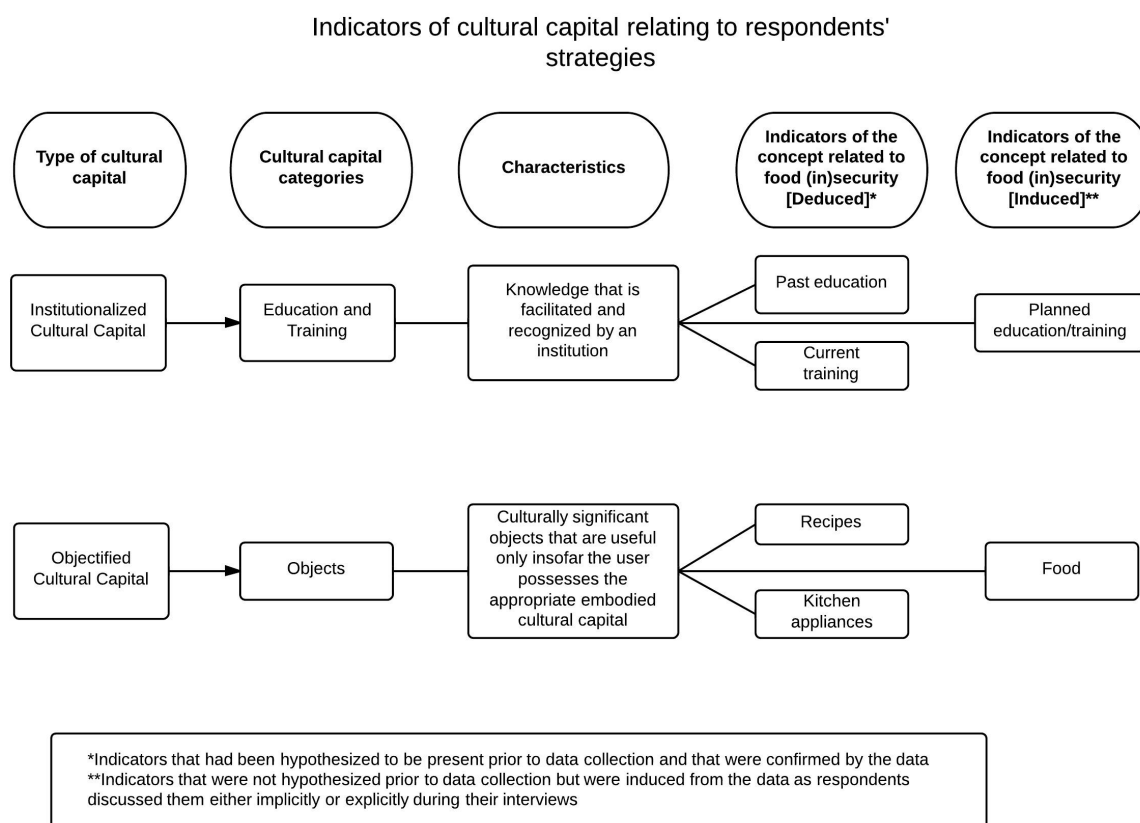


Figure 1 – Indicators of Institutionalized and Objectified Cultural Capital

Institutionalized Cultural Capital

Of nine respondents, six had a high school diploma or less, two had certificates or some CÉGEP beyond high school, and one had a bachelor's degree. This was known from the quantitative data collected in the larger research project prior to the interviews. Most respondents did not refer to institutionalized cultural capital in relation to their strategies to face food insecurity. Some did discuss the way their education impacted their willingness to attend CFSOs, and others discussed pursuing future education or certification as a long-term strategy toward food security.

Education and Training: Past, present, and planned

Most respondents did not discuss past education. However, for one respondent, her educational background of having attended “big universities before emigrating” made it so that she felt that she should not be faced with such a difficult situation, being that she had put “chance on [her] side” and had a “well-balanced life” before. The drastic change in situation made her feel as though participation in a CFSO was “like begging.” “We weren't used to that,” she said “it takes lots of strength of character to surmount that.” This respondent had been in this difficult situation for 3 years but planned to pursue a Master's degree once she gained residency status, which would make tuition more affordable.

Others spoke of education in the context of current strategies to improve their food situation. For example, two respondents identified pursuing technical certificates through a government incentive program as a positive long-term step towards better employment opportunities and greater economic stability. They felt it would help them switch to a career that was more suitable, given health conditions that made their past occupations more difficult

or impossible. When they decided to “go back to school to try to change jobs before it’s too late,” they first had to complete “prerequisites that you need to take courses” they were missing due to not having obtained their high school diploma years earlier. In the short term, this made their situation difficult, as it meant giving up potential paid employment and increasing the precariousness of their current situation: “her other course only started in two months, [so] she’s not paid for two months, what are we going to do?”

A mother of two was also making plans to go back to school to get a certificate in a trade. She felt that this would help her to get out of the house to work once her kids were old enough. “I would love to work, I want to work. I feel like a handicap being on welfare.” She feels that getting the certificate and going back to work is important for her to feel more independent. “I’m very grateful for the help but at the same time I’d like to spend my own money.”

Objectified Cultural Capital

The cultural objects most often spoken of in association with food insecurity were recipes. Several respondents were provided recipes during participation in CFSOs, either by community kitchen organizers or other participants. These recipes were most often accompanied by instruction, and on occasion, a practical experience within a group. Occasionally, specific attention was paid within the group activity to how to make the recipes inexpensively by using grocery store specials and affordable ingredients. One respondent noted that the community kitchen in which she participated provided a recipe book, but that support was not given for respondents to learn a new recipe or cooking technique. Instead, participants were expected to choose their own recipe, meaning that they ended up following

recipes that were already familiar to them. Another respondent gained recipes and knowledge from other participants of various cultures and ages during an organized sharing activity. Thus, the CFSO provided the opportunity for the acquisition of knowledge which respondents could turn into an objectified cultural capital (a written-down recipe), while also acquiring the accompanying embodied cultural capital (understanding and knowledge) to make use of it.

Few respondents spoke of objects or tools from the kitchen or garden that were used in their strategies to face their food insecurity. One woman, however, described using her freezer to preserve vegetables after blanching them saying, “it can help because there are times when you have an abundance of vegetables, and then there are other times when it’s rare.”

Evidently, food was discussed at great length during the interviews and is, by definition, necessary for food security. The following is an outline of the discussions of food as an object, a tool used in strategies to overcome food insecurity. Therefore, it will not be discussed as an end, but rather, as a means to greater food security. Some respondents spoke of certain foods as tools to increase their food supply or to stretch other foods to last longer, thereby increasing their food supply. For example, one respondent spoke of making smoothies using milk and grains to make small fruit supplies last longer. She also described adding bread to ground beef to stretch it to make hamburgers to feed more people. Others spoke of using foods acquired on-sale or when money was available as a stockpile to keep on hand for when there was nothing else available or when “[the children] are hungry” to prevent some of the more severe and acute effects of food insecurity, such as hunger. Finally, one respondent spoke of preparing food in order to exchange it with others in a community kitchen. This meant that he was able to access a greater variety of low-cost meals using the food that he prepared as an object for exchange.

Overall, respondents discussed a number of indicators of institutionalized and objectified cultural capital that were relevant to the strategies they used work toward food security. Some indicators, such as food and kitchen appliances, enabled respondents to feel positively toward and enact certain strategies. Others, such as advanced education, contributed to one respondent feeling less positively toward strategies she felt she should not need to enact, such as participation in CFSOs. Taken together with the findings in the article on embodied cultural capital as it relates to the experience of food insecurity, this examination demonstrates that all forms of cultural capital can be used to help understand food insecurity and the resources and strategies available to those who experience it. The following discussion will address all findings in this thesis, including those within the article.

Discussion

A major finding of this study is that cultural capital can be used to identify specific resources involved in the strategies used by food insecure individuals in order to work toward becoming food secure. This study also revealed that certain individual and structural barriers to strategies, including participation in CFSOs, exist and can be identified by examining the experience food insecurity through the lens of Bourdieu's capitals. Finally, this study confirms findings in the literature that strategies enacted by food insecure individuals, in particular participation in CFSOs, are insufficient to combat the root of the issue, socioeconomic deprivation.

Our findings suggest that cultural capital is related to food insecure Montrealers' responses to their situation of food insecurity, and that an exploration through the lens of cultural capital can help to identify barriers to improving one's situation. The resources mobilized by respondents, as explained by cultural capital, help to explain the strategies they do and do not employ. It is possible to reveal individual limitations on respondents' ability to choose certain strategies by revealing the cultural capital within the strategies they do choose to employ and those they discuss being present or lacking when discussing strategies not enacted. The resources used with the goal of enacting strategies to improve their food situation resulted in varied success. Indicators of embodied, institutionalized, and objectified cultural capital were found in respondents' experience of food insecurity, including within the strategies they employed to cope with their food insecurity and work towards food security.

Strategies Involving Cultural Capital

CFSO Participation as a strategy

Respondents most often viewed participation in a CFSO as a strategy toward food security; they hoped it would have a positive impact on their food situation, whether or not this was true. To enact this strategy of participating in a CFSO, respondents required some combination of embodied cultural capital in the form of practical skills, knowledge, and dispositions such as planning, knowing their community, initiative, and curiosity in order to first learn about and attend an organization's activities. Sometimes this was met with structural barriers to participation such as the financial cost of participation, whether direct or indirect (e.g. cost of transport), and time constraints, given the schedule of activities and other demands on time, such as caregiving and employment or school.

Respondents were more likely to feel favourably about participating in CFSOs and to continue participating if doing so aligned with their embodied cultural capital in the form of values such as dignity, fairness, and importance of health and nutrition. Alternatively, respondents were likely to struggle with participation if it did not respect their values of independence or if it was perceived as unhelpful. Further, one respondent saw her institutionalized cultural capital, in the form of her educational background (bachelor's degree), as being a barrier to her participation in CFSOs. It contributed to her belief that participation did not fit with her values of fairness, dignity, and independence. She felt it was unfair that, despite her educational qualifications, she was unable to find work that recognized her qualifications and had to resort to CFSOs for help. This was very demoralizing for her as it was not what she was used to and she did not enjoy feeling as though she were begging. Other respondents similarly described participation in CFSO's as a negative experience. However,

many felt they had no choice but to obtain food from CFSOs for their survival. Hamelin^{30(p125)} describes a similar situation of food insecure households participating in “obliged” practices, including accessing emergency food services. Researchers^{30,93} also describe the psychological suffering of respondents who felt that participation in CFSOs did not allow them to maintain their dignity and felt ashamed at having to ask for food donations when a change in situation occurred.

Regardless of the ease or difficulty with which respondents participated in CFSOs, all respondents found participation to be insufficient to cope with their food insecurity, explaining that the services did not provide access to enough food to fulfill their needs. In addition, the food provided was often of questionable quality. This is consistent with assertions in the literature that CFSOs work with very limited resources to provide participants nominal amounts of food of varying quality.^{13,56,58} The food offered in many CFSOs was of low quality despite respondents expressing a strong need for higher quality food, as is consistent with Hamelin’s findings.¹³ This disconnect may be in part due to a tendency for organizations to expect gratitude regardless of what is offered and to dissuade participants from expressing their true needs, as was found by Tarasuk and Eakin⁵⁶ in the case of food banks in Ontario.

Strategies Within and Outside CFSOs: Making do

Respondents also used several strategies to build food security independently of their participation in a CFSO. For example they spoke of using budgeting and planning skills (embodied cultural capital) to plan food purchasing to optimize food quantity and quality. Many felt that this was necessary in order to get through the month, but noted that it did not provide a solution to their underlying food insecure situation or poverty. When this failed,

some respondents spoke of using credit, which improved their immediate situation but worsened it long-term, throwing them into debt and contributing to anxiety.

Another strategy involved stretching limited food resources through food preparation and storage techniques, skills attributable to embodied cultural capital. Those who possessed the cooking skills needed to feel confident experimenting with less expensive ingredients and making low-cost meals obtained this capital early in life from their family. This is consistent with findings in other research.⁹⁴ Respondents in our study did not talk about purposely choosing foods that were easy to prepare so as to avoid errors during preparation leading to food wastage, as described by Engler-Stringer.⁹⁴ However, those who did not possess food preparation skills they considered adequate found it difficult to acquire them in sufficient quantity to be effective, even through participation in a community kitchen. It must be noted that the duration and intensity of participation was not part of the selection criteria, and thus, these findings do not compare to those of more intensive studies of community kitchen participation in Montreal, which find evidence of skill acquisition.^{12,61,94} Embodied cultural capital in the form of food preparation skills is the clearest example in the findings of the advantage of capital accumulation through the lifespan and transmission of embodied cultural capital in the family. Accumulation and transmission are both characteristics of capital elucidated by Bourdieu.⁸⁴

Alongside the embodied cultural capital involved in the preparation of food is the food itself, which can be considered as objectified cultural capital. Food has the following characteristics of health-related objectified cultural capital: it holds cultural significance, it can be used to act in favour of one's health, and some types of food require the knowledge and skills of food preparation in order to make use of it.^{75,84} In the field of food insecurity, food

and economic capital are often treated as interchangeable, since the economic ability to purchase food is the greatest determinant of food security. Our results confirm the conclusions of others that only an improvement in access to economic capital can result in long-term food security.^{11,37,95} In this interpretation of the results, therefore, food will be considered objectified cultural capital only inasmuch as it is used as a tool to act in favour of one's food security, not as an end in itself.

Other objectified cultural capital identified in respondents' strategies include recipes and kitchen appliances. Respondents mentioned skill-sharing workshops and the exchange of recipes. Recipes can be considered a mix between embodied and objectified cultural capital as they are either transmitted as an object, or ideas or knowledge that can be written down, thus translated into an object. They are then only usable by anyone with the necessary embodied knowledge and skill to interpret and carry out the instructions. Respondents did not mention being limited in their food preparation capacities by a lack of cooking tools or objects with which they cook or prepare food, which, as Silva forwards, can impact what is cooked, when, how, and to which standards.⁹⁶ One respondent, however, mentioned using her freezer to store fresh vegetables for times when they were more expensive. Finally, respondents also exchanged prepared dishes, which improved their food situation inasmuch as it increased the variety of food available and reduced the monotony of their diet.

Another strategy cited by some respondents was asking friends or family for help. All who employed this strategy said that it was difficult due to its incongruence with values of independence and dignity. Many described asking for help from friends or family as too big a barrier to overcome and did not attempt this strategy. Others did not feel they had friends or

family they could ask. This is in line with other research reporting that some people hide their food insecure situation from community, family, and friends, for fear of being ostracized.³⁰

(Re)Training

A long-term strategy employed by participants was working toward acquiring institutionalized cultural capital by pursuing education or training. Those that were actively training in a field noted that it created a temporarily more difficult situation due to the loss of potential income that they endured while going to school, which amplified their food insecurity. They remained hopeful that the educational investment would pay off in the long-term through qualification for higher-paying and more stable jobs. Others were waiting for the opportunity to return to school. All respondents felt that further education and training would lead to more income and stability in the long run, and would contribute to improving their food situation. Some also noted that it would increase their independence and feeling of self-worth.

Interestingly, respondents did not speak of using previously acquired institutionalized cultural capital to help cope with their current situation. For example, none made reference to previous education or training that helped them to gain employment that contributed in a positive way to their economic or food situation, nor any food-related training that allowed them greater food preparation skills. It is possible that this is because the amount or type of institutionalized cultural capital they possessed was insufficient to have a positive impact on their situation at that time.

Roles and Capital

Within the ‘field’ of food insecurity, respondents’ roles did not change significantly as they employed various strategies within and outside CFSOs. They remained, for the most part,

users of services, occasionally participating as both users and volunteers, while their situation of food insecurity remained mostly unchanged.

In some cases they felt their situation had worsened due to acquisition of debt or feeling disheartened at ending participation in a CFSO they had hoped would help improve their situation. The identification of cultural capitals acting as facilitators or barriers in participating in CFSOs suggests a minimum amount of cultural capital is required to participate in CFSOs. These capitals potentially impact the mobilization of resources needed to take other action in favour of one's food insecurity and health. This is consistent with the assertion that "cultural capital is a precondition for most individual action and, as such, is a key component in people's capacity for agency, including that for health."^{15(p238)}

This precondition, and the observation that some respondents quit participating in CFSOs due to an incongruence with their embodied cultural capital, supports the suggestion in the literature that CFSOs may fail to reach many people who could benefit from their services.⁵³ This research has examined the question of accessibility by examining the composition of groups participating in CFSOs on the basis of their capital and the strategies they use. The reasons for the discrepancy between those who participate and those whom the CFSOs aim to serve have never before been studied to our knowledge.

Respondents' disenchantment with CFSOs stemmed from incongruence between their values and expectations, the services provided, and the values espoused by the CFSO. When respondents disagreed with how a CFSO was run, none felt capable to make changes to the way participants were treated, services were rendered, or resources divided. This is typical of a field in which the participants typically hold very little power as compared to the providers and the funders. Respondents' inability to enact change in the CFSOs within which they

participated demonstrates the interplay between the structural limits of their roles within the field and their perceptions of those limits and their resulting action, or in action, that further entrenches those limits. This interplay resulted in no significant change in the services or options being offered, and thus reproducing the inequality underpinning participants' situation. This type of exploration would not have occurred without a focus on the cultural capital, which is at the interplay between structural forces and the choices and actions of actors in the field.¹⁵

Strengths and Limitations

The use of social theory sets this study apart from others in the food security literature. This is considered a strength of the study as it helped to explore a different perspective and to uncover previously untheorized individual resources that contributed to the experience of food insecurity and strategies toward food security. Explorations of complex relationships such as those between food security and social, cultural, and economic factors can be strengthened by the use of social theory.

Another strength of this study is that data was coded and categorized during two phases of data analysis that were conducted to limit the potential for selectivity. The first deductive round employed an analysis grid and based categories on their relation to the theoretical lens of cultural capital. The second was entirely inductive and allowed themes and indicators to arise, using coding methods that ensured thoroughness and the primacy of the respondents' experience.

Study limitations include the small and self-selected participant sample. This limitation results in reduced transferability of the results as respondents' experiences are not likely to

represent those of all food-insecure people. The selection of respondents from CFSOs also means that the large proportion of individuals living in food insecure households who do not access community organizations of any kind were not reached, limiting the ability of the sample to be representative of food insecure Montrealers. It is possible that the recruitment of respondents from organizations could have resulted in a increased focus on participation in CFSOs as a strategy to respond to food insecurity within respondents' discussions as compared to other strategies. However, to mitigate this, respondents were specifically asked about other strategies that did not involve attendance of CFSOs and were given chances to discuss anything relating to their experience of food insecurity that they felt was relevant (See Appendix B).

The sample reached in this study are mostly severely food insecure, which has been shown to be negatively associated to household income.⁵³ The vulnerability resulting from economic and food insecurity makes severely food-insecure households a difficult-to-reach population, as stable access to housing, transport, and telephone may be absent. The sample studied here is not representative of Montrealers who experience food insecurity, as those sampled are among the minority that access CFSOs, and they are generally older, and experience a greater degree of food insecurity than most food insecure households. They are, however, among the minority of food-insecure households that current community-based strategies have succeeded in reaching, making this sample strategic. The sample permits a reflection not only on the coping and participation strategies of those who do access CFSOs, but also on the potential barriers to participation in CFSOs for those who are not currently reached by them. This can help to shed light on changes that can be made at a community level to improve the accessibility and suitability of existing resources. In addition, giving voice

to the experiences of this difficult-to-reach group helps to contribute to the body of knowledge on the experiences of food insecurity, and the vulnerabilities of this group that must, ultimately, be addressed by public policy.

Implications for Research, Practice, and Policy

The transferability of study results is limited by the sample size, respondents' self-selection into the study, their selection from alternative CFSOs only, and their classification as moderately food insecure (1 respondent) or severely food insecure (8 respondents), which limit the ability of the sample to represent the majority of those who experience household food insecurity. Regardless, the findings speak to the importance of cultural capital in the experience of food insecurity generally, and the accessing of CFSOs in particular. Examining food insecurity through the lens of cultural capital has proved useful in exploring the lived experience of those experiencing food insecurity, their resources for action and capital, and the structures that assist and limit the strategies they mobilize to improve their situation. Further research that takes into account both individual chances for action and structural and cultural factors could help to elucidate more specific personal and structural barriers to such strategies, including accessing CFSOs. The broad categories of cultural capital related to food insecurity identified in this study may be useful in such examinations.

The barriers to participation identified by participants suggest that there are steps that CFSOs could take to encourage greater participation in their activities and greater fulfillment of the needs of their existing and potential participants. Some improvements suggested by the data include: reducing the direct (fees, etc.) and indirect (childcare, transportation, etc.) costs associated with participation, ensuring participants feel welcome and respected so as to

maintain dignity, communicating with participants about their expectations of the service to more effectively tailor activities to their needs, and distributing resources in a fair manner that takes into account participants' specific needs and focuses on the quality of food made available.

Respondents' description of their experience of participation in CFSOs confirms the inadequacy of such community-based resources to significantly impact the socio-economic underpinnings of household food insecurity and outlines the ambivalence of some participants to these strategies. Respondents' choice to participate (or not) in CFSOs, however demonstrates that some see participation in CFSOs as an opportunity to reinforce existing cultural capital and develop new capital through. However, it is clear that they also felt that the capital developed or reinforced was insufficient to allow them to move from being food insecure to being food secure. This study reinforces the need for wide-ranging policy that addresses the economic inequality that impacts households' ability to be food secure and to use their personal capital to the kind of lives they choose.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore the implications of examining food security through the lens of Bourdieu's cultural capital. Capital being understood as resources for action, we explored the cultural capital within the strategies employed by those experiencing food insecurity. The use of social theory allowed this examination to provide a unique perspective on the examination of the experience of food insecurity and to identify some of the specific resources involved in the choices and strategies that are used by food insecure individuals. In addition, specific barriers to one such strategy, participation in CFSOs, were identified, which is a first step toward explaining the tendency for CFSOs not to reach those who most need their services.

Indicators of cultural capital were identified in respondents' descriptions of their experience of food insecurity and the strategies they use to work toward food security. A template of food security-related cultural capital was used to conduct a first phase of deductive analysis. This was followed by an inductive phase that permitted themes and categories of experience to arise that had not been hypothesized *a priori*, despite being indicators of cultural capital related to the experience of food insecurity. The result is a list of indicators grouped into categories based on the state of cultural capital they indicate, all relating to respondents' lived experience of food insecurity. The resulting indicators helped to identify resources that respondents possessed or lacked that they felt impacted their ability and decisions to enact certain strategies toward food security. It is clear that many people rely on CFSOs as a main response to household and individual food insecurity. Thus, attention must be paid to the resources required to access these services and steps must be taken to ensure they do not act as

barriers for some as the results of this research indicate may be the case. Building on the literature suggesting that CFSOs often fail to reach the most vulnerable,⁵³ the identification of specific barriers is the main contribution of this research to practice in the field of food insecurity.

However, as is suggested in the literature, it is clear that without changes to the underlying economic structures that leave food insecure individuals unable to consistently afford sufficient food, the situation of food insecurity will remain untouched.^{11,13,59,95} CFSOs have not proven well situated to challenge the underlying structures of poverty. CFSOs instead help participants to better cope with poverty, while permitting governments to neglect their responsibility to address the root causes of food insecurity.^{1,69,97} CFSOs' position within the field of food security is such that they rely on a cycle of supply and demand that dictates whether or not they are able to provide services. This is not a position they are contented with, as it does not allow them to have significant impact on the underlying poverty of their users.⁶⁹ This cycle is arguably unreliable on the supply end, as it is controlled by corporations and individual donations,^{56,69} and on the demand side, by the structures underlying poverty, such as public policy surrounding minimum wage, social assistance, and housing costs. CFSOs do not currently have the capital required to occupy a position within the field to enact structural change, but rather, are left to manage the poverty of participants who are equally powerless to enact structural change. Thus, both organization and participant unwittingly contribute to the reproduction of health inequalities.

This study explored the relevance of cultural capital to the experience of food insecurity and strategies used by individuals to address it. Future work could extend this exploration to the other two forms of capital: social and economic. This would be especially

relevant and fruitful given the centrality of economic and social factors to the experience of food insecurity identified in the literature. A more exhaustive list of barriers and prerequisites to participation in CFSOs that included structural barriers would be made possible, which in turn, could help to make services more accessible to those who most need them. Beyond the mobilization of capital, the interaction, transmission, and accumulation of the three forms of capital could also be explored, allowing for a more complete examination of the resources at play within the actions and choices of various agents in the food insecurity.

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Appendices

Appendix A - Food (In)security-Related Cultural Capital

FOOD (IN)SECURITY-RELATED CULTURAL CAPITAL			
Forms of Cultural Capital	Related Concepts	Characteristics	Examples of Potential food (in)security-related indicators of the concept
Embodied Cultural Capital	Skills/Ability	Abilities learned and possessed by an individual yielding predictable results. Can become second nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - food preparation - managing a budget - talking to others and advocating for oneself. - asking for help
	Knowledge	Familiarity with information acquired through experience or education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - knowledge of nutrition - awareness of community resources
	Perception	The way information is organized, identified, and interpreted to understand one's environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - of own role in society/group - self efficacy - perception of the importance of nutrition and health of self/others. - identification of contributing factors to participation - of one's situation.
	Values	Preferences regarding actions or outcomes (of self or others) that reflect a person's sense of right and wrong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - preference toward certain organizational structures - values regarding independence/dependence - health and nutrition
Institutionalized Cultural Capital	Education / Certification	The acquisition of skills and knowledge as formally recognized by an institution.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - language courses - cooking/food-safe courses - formal education
Objectified Cultural Capital	Culturally significant objects	Culturally valuable objects useful only insofar as the user possesses the appropriate embodied cultural capital.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - cooking utensils and appliances - recipes and recipe books

Appendix B – Interview Guide

Theme 1: Experience of Participation in Community Food Security Services

Question	English	Français
1.0	Please tell me about the first time you participated in <group name>.	Parlez-moi de la première fois que vous avez participé dans l'organisme <nom de l'organisme>.
1.1	How did you hear about the organization?	Comment avez-vous entendu parler de cet organisme?
1.2	What made you decide to participate in this group?	Qu'est ce qui vous a motivé à participer dans cet organisme?
1.2a	What made you decide to choose this group over others?	Pourquoi avez-vous choisi cet organisme plutôt que d'autres organismes?
1.3	What were you hoping to gain by your participation?	Qu'est-ce que vous avez espéré acquérir par votre participation?
1.3a	How did that change over time?	Comment ces attentes ont-elles changé avec le temps?
1.3b	Do you feel you have gained what you wanted?	Croyez vous avoir acquis ce que vous aviez voulu?
1.4	Please tell me about the activities you participate in.	Parlez-moi des activités dans lesquelles vous participez.
1.4a	Has your participation changed over time?	Comment votre participation a-t-elle changé dans le temps?
1.4b	How did you come to occupy the role(s) you have?	Comment êtes-vous venu à occuper les rôles que vous occupez en ce moment?
1.5	What barriers did you have to overcome to participate?	Quels obstacles aviez-vous dû surmonter pour y participer?
1.5a	Did that change over time? If so, how?	Est-ce que ces obstacles ont changé avec le temps? Si oui, comment?
2.0	Do you participate in any other groups that have food-related activities? If so, which ones?	Participez-vous dans d'autres groupes qui offrent des activités en alimentation? Si oui, lesquels?
2.1-2.5a	<i>If the respondent answers "yes", ask questions 1.1-1.5a as follow-up</i>	<i>Si le répondant répond « oui », posez-leur les questions 1.1-1.5a par la suite</i>

Theme 2: Strategies of response

Question	English	Français
3.0	What types of support have you sought from other sources (ex. family and friends) with regards to your food situation?	Quels types de soutien avez-vous sollicité auprès d'autres sources (ex. la famille et les amis) par rapport à votre situation alimentaire?
3.1	If you haven't sought other support, why not?	Si vous n'aviez pas sollicité d'autre soutien, pourquoi pas?
3.2	What barriers did you have to overcome to seek this support?	Quels obstacles aviez-vous dû surmonter pour solliciter ce soutien?
4.0	What other strategies do you use to ensure you have enough food throughout the month?	Quelles autres stratégies employez-vous pour vous assurer que vous avez assez de nourriture au cours du mois?
4.1	How do these strategies make you feel?	Comment vous sentiez-vous par rapport à ces stratégies?
4.2	Do you feel they are effective? If so how? If not, why not?	Trouvez-vous que ces stratégies sont efficaces? Si oui, comment? Si non, pourquoi pas?

Theme 3: Experience of Food Insecurity

Question	English	Français
5.0	Please tell me about the first time you lacked food or worried about lacking food for yourself (and your family).	Parlez-moi de la première fois que vous avez manqué de nourriture, ou que vous avez été inquiet d'en manquer pour vous (et votre famille).
5.1	Is your situation different today? If so, how?	Est-ce que votre situation actuelle est différente? Si oui, comment?
5.2	If not, why do you believe this is the case?	Si non, pourquoi pensez-vous que votre situation n'a pas changé?
6.0	What do you think contributes to your lacking food or worrying about lacking food when this occurs?	Qu'est ce que vous croyez contribue à votre manque de nourriture, ou votre inquiétude d'en manquer, quand ceci vous arrive?
7.0	What do you think contributes to your not lacking food or worrying about lacking food when this occurs?	Qu'est ce que vous croyez contribue aux moments où vous ne manquez pas de nourriture et que vous n'êtes pas inquiet d'en manquer?

Appendix C - Coding Methods

Coding Methods Used – Drawn from Saldaña 2009			
Coding Method	Original Sources (Developer)	Description of Method	Relevance to study design
Descriptive (p.70-73)	Miles & Huberman, 1994; Saldaña 2003; Wolcott, 1994	Labeling a short passage with a word that describes its' subject, rather than the content.	Allows for grouping of topics explored for further comparison of the qualitative experiences within those topics.
Process (p.77-81)	Bogdan & Bilken, 2007; Charmaz, 2002; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1998	Labels action in the data using gerunds (-ing words) as recalled or enacted by the respondent during an interview.	Brings out respondents' actions and perceptions of their and others' actions as they relate to their experiences of food insecurity and participation.
In Vivo (p.74-77)	Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss 2008; Galser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998	A verbatim or literal coding method that uses particular or summative words or phrases drawn directly from the data to code passages.	Helps to ensure that the other codes and interpretations reflect what the subject finds important. Also allows common and differing experiences to be explored among subjects.
Emotion (p.86-89)	Goleman, 1995; Prus 1996	Coding of the emotions expressed by respondents either during the interview, or as recalled by them.	Helps to explore values and beliefs relevant to respondents' experiences of food insecurity and participation.
Values (p.89-93)	Gabe & Wolf, 1993; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993	Application of codes that reflect the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the participant.	As with the concept of cultural capital, it helps to explore the cultural values and personal, participant experiences.
Evaluation (p.97-101)	Patton, 2002; Rallis & Rossman, 2003	Codes that denote judgments about an experience, such as a program.	Allows for respondents' evaluations of the programs they access to be a focus, including suggestions for improvement.
Hypothesis	Bernard, 2006;	Coding based on	Acknowledges the theory

(p.123-126)	Weber, 1990	researcher-generated hypotheses. Focused on hypotheses while being flexible to allow them to change as needed.	underlying all decisions and focuses analysis to respond to the research questions posed.
Provisional (p.120-123)	Dey, 1993; Miles & Huberman, 1994	Coding based on predetermined or <i>a priori</i> codes developed from literature reviews, theoretical framework, and research questions. These can be revised.	This coding allowed for the direct exploration of the themes and concepts (cultural capital and participation) present in the theoretical framework, research objectives, and literature on food insecurity and capitals. It can help to elucidate the interrelationship among concepts.