## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis studies various documentary portrayals of American food insecurity and hunger, discussing the effectiveness of the storytelling and the values used in conveying the sentiments and experiences that people in low-income families face in relation to food insecurity. It discusses the social implications a documentary portrayal can have on a viewer's perception of poverty and acts as a companion piece to the original short documentary "Feeding Dreams." The video follows a food insecure family in central North Carolina and explores the generational cycle of poverty, despite the children's naïveté of their family's low-income status.

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Latisha Perry isn't angry. She has waited two months for the food stamps to feed her five children, but she isn't angry.

Perry lives in Raleigh, N.C., with her husband and children. Her family is food insecure and receives federal food assistance, but she has had to wait up to four months to receive the benefits after applying for recertification. Perry's family is not an anomaly in the system. Thousands of families in North Carolina have experienced the direct ramifications of a distribution backlog in the state's food assistance system.

Every morning in North Carolina at least one out of every four children wake up unsure of when they will next eat; North Carolina leads the United States, alongside Louisiana, with the highest percentage of children under 5 who are consistently food insecure. Parents like Perry have seen their food supplies dwindle as a backlog of overdue cases within North Carolina's food assistance program has forced families to make ends meet with less. The state's Department of Health and Human Services has acknowledged the issue, having released data that as of December 31, 2013, more than 30,000 families in North Carolina waited longer than a month to receive food stamp benefits; more than 9,200 of those families had to wait three months or longer. The U.S.

<sup>1.</sup> *Hunger in North Carolina*. 2013. http://ncfoodbanks.org/hunger-in-north-carolina/ (accessed March 26, 2014).

Department of Agriculture estimated that the total amount of backlogged cases at one point reached 70,000.<sup>2</sup>

The prevalence of food insecurity and complications with the state's ability to disperse food stamps have proliferated and risen in North Carolina during the past five years, and it is amid these circumstances that I produced the original short documentary "Feeding Dreams." The video follows the Perry family and depicts a generational cycle of poverty, despite the children's naïveté of their family's low-income status.

Perry said that because of the food assistance system's recent shortcomings, she has relied on additional and alternative means for coping with food insecurity. She and her sister take turns applying for food stamps — as one sister receives benefits for both of their families, the other begins the recertification process. Perry also looks to the food shuttle program at her children's elementary school for help with meals over the weekend.

"Sometimes by them eating so much 'cause they growing, we'll run out, and then Prentice will bring stuff from the school through BackPack Buddies and that helps out," Perry said. "It can be stressful not getting them what they need, but we take it; we make it day by day."

Hunger is a commanding and boundless force at work in the lives of millions of Americans, though many middle and upper class people are only peripherally aware of its prevalence and of their neighbors' struggles. What they do know of the struggle often originates in media portrayals of hunger in America. Those who have not experienced poverty and food insecurity firsthand have varying interpretations of domestic hunger

<sup>2.</sup> Tyler Dukes. "Q&A: NC food stamp growth." *WRAL.com.* February 20, 2014. http://www.wral.com/q-and-a-food-stamp-growth/13405347/ (accessed April 6, 2014).

often skewed toward imagining extreme cases of squalor and destitution. While such severe conditions do exist, the scope of poverty has evolved with the times, meaning that a low-income family in need of food assistance could very well own a television, cell phone, air conditioning, a refrigerator and a vehicle. But these modern conveniences do not diminish the fact that the majority of low-income Americans face hardships in areas such as health, education and access to healthy food.

This paper provides context behind the making of the documentary "Feeding Dreams," while also studying various documentary portrayals of American food insecurity and hunger. This paper discusses the effectiveness of the journalistic and visual techniques and the values used in conveying the sentiments and experiences that people in low-income families face in relation to food insecurity. Because the issues of hunger and poverty are so charged politically and socially, the way in which a documentarian portrays such a story can significantly affect a viewer's perception of low-income families in America. After examining the existing literature on the food insecurity issues in North Carolina, this paper examines three relevant documentaries. It compares the visual and storytelling styles of the pieces with choices that I made in producing "Feeding Dreams."

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Food insecurity is a lack of access to enough food to allow all household members to lead active, healthy lives.<sup>3</sup> It is a measurement of the household-level economic and social condition of limited or uncertain access to nutritionally adequate food. Food insecure families face uncertainty as to where they will get food for their next meal. The U.S. Census Bureau conducts a Current Population Survey to assess employment, income, food insecurity and poverty statistics.<sup>4</sup> Between 2010 and 2012, North Carolina was among ten states to have statistically significant higher food insecurity rates than the U.S. national average of 14.7 percent.<sup>5</sup> Nationally in 2011, there were 50 million Americans — 17 million children — living in food insecure households.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3.</sup> Definitions of Food Security. September 4, 2013. http://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/food-nutrition-assistance/food-security-in-the-us/definitions-of-food-security.aspx#.Uz7RTq1dXi4 (accessed April 4, 2014).

<sup>4.</sup> Craig Gundersen. "Map the Meal Gap Executive Summary." *Feeding America*. 2013. http://feedingamerica.org/hunger-in-america/hunger-studies/map-the-meal-gap/~/media/Files/amap-2011/2011-mmg-exec-summary.ashx (accessed April 5, 2014).

<sup>5.</sup> Feeding America. *Hunger In America*. http://feedingamerica.org/hunger-in-america/hunger-facts/hunger-and-poverty-statistics.aspx (accessed April 5, 2014).

<sup>6. &</sup>quot;Map the Meal Gap Executive Summary."

#### 1. STATE FOOD INSECURITY RATES COMPARED TO U.S. AVERAGE

State	Percentage above national average (14.70%)
Mississippi	20.90%
Arkansas	19.70%
Texas	18.40%
Alabama	17.90%
North Carolina	17.00%
Georgia	16.90%
Missouri	16.70%
Nevada	16.60%
Ohio	16.10%
California	15.60%

Source: Feeding America n.d.

Non-profits such as food pantries and food shuttle programs in North Carolina have seen huge increases in demands from hungry families since the backlog began in the summer of 2013. Though these organizations' resources are tight, many families look to them for support in making ends meet. The Perry family receives food from the Inter-Faith Food Shuttle out of Raleigh, N.C. The shuttle program's BackPack Buddies sends food home with children of food insecure families. Every Friday, Prentice Perry, 12, receives six balanced meals and two snacks that he then shares with his parents and four siblings. BackPack Buddies Program Coordinator Kyle Abrams said that 78 percent of participating parents say their children eat more on the weekend and 88 percent say their children eat healthier on the weekend because of the program.

The Food and Nutrition Services (FNS) is a federal food assistance program that helps low-income families afford enough food to maintain a healthy diet. It is North Carolina's name for the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), the largest federal program in the domestic hunger safety net. In North Carolina, FNS benefits are

issued on a monthly basis via Electronic Benefit Transfer cards (EBT cards).<sup>7</sup> Eligibility for the program is dependent upon household size, income, citizenship and immigration status, and countable resources such as bank accounts and retirement. Every six months, families must recertify by providing documentation proving their eligibility.<sup>8</sup> According to the North Carolina Division of Social Services website, FNS eligible households have the right to access benefits no later than thirty days from the date of submitting an application.

That thirty-day timeframe in North Carolina was met with complications in mid-2013. Beginning in July, government computers regularly crashed to the point that caseworkers were unable to process food stamp applications and recertifications for consecutive weeks; the resulting backlog meant more than 30,000 North Carolina families were waiting more than a month for their food stamps by the end of 2013 — a clear violation of the federal thirty-day processing timeframe. On Dec. 11, 2013, in response to the distribution delays, the U.S. Department of Agriculture — the department that oversees federal food stamp programs — threatened to cut off \$88 million of funding to North Carolina if state caseworkers and officials were unable to clear the backlog by March 31, 2014. The USDA sent two letters of concern to North Carolina's Department

7. NC Division of Health and Human Services. "Food and Nutrition Services" NC Division of Health and Human Services. March 31, 2014. http://www.ncdhhs.gov/dss/foodstamp/ (accessed April 5, 2014).

<sup>8. &</sup>quot;Q&A: NC food stamp growth."

<sup>9.</sup> Gerry Smith. "How A Government Computer Glitch Forced Thousands of Families to Go Hungry." *Huffington Post*. Wake Forest, North Carolina, March 27, 2014.

of Health and Human Services (DHHS) Secretary Dr. Aldona Wos on Jan. 23, 2013, and Feb. 14, 2014. 10

North Carolina's problematic computer system — a \$50 million project built by IBM and customized under contract by the consulting firm Accenture — was an effort to combine Medicaid, food stamp and other welfare programs into one system. The state did not leave enough time for thorough testing of the system, which led to the backlog-causing glitches. The software redesign was meant to streamline application and recertification processes. State officials refer to the new technology as North Carolina Families Accessing Services through Technology, or NC FAST; the name suggested food stamp delays would be a thing of the past.

Also contributing to the rising prevalence of food insecurity in North Carolina was the expiration of a temporary increase in benefits that was part of the 2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. The FNS reductions went into effect November 1, 2013, and meant a \$166 million loss for North Carolina in the 2014 fiscal year. The federal passing of a new Farm Bill in February 2014 included \$8.55 billion in cuts to SNAP over the next ten years, but the cuts apply to changes to "Heat and Eat" programs, which North Carolina does not have. Therefore, the SNAP cuts legislated in the 2014 Farm Bill do not affect North Carolina households.

<sup>10.</sup> Richard Craver. "State on pace to clear food-stamp backlog." *Winston-Salem Journal*. March 31, 2014. http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/state-on-pace-to-clear-food-stamp-backlog/article\_952f566d-2b8d-50dd-b942-03d396f972c5.html (accessed April 6, 2014).

<sup>11.</sup> Fns4nc. "FNS (SNAP) reductions go into effect." *Fns4nc.* November 1, 2013. http://fns4nc.org/fns-snap-reductions-go-into-effect/ (accessed April 6, 2014).

<sup>12.</sup> Fns4nc. "SNAP & the Farm Bill." *Fns4nc.* February 7, 2014. http://fns4nc.org/snap-the-farm-bill/(accessed April 6, 2014).

State officials, led by DHHS Secretary Wos, worked extensively to clear the food stamp backlog before the USDA-instated deadline of March 31, 2014. On April 1, 2014, Wos notified USDA officials that DHHS "reasonably achieved" the goal of diminishing the number of food stamp applications and recertifications; the state department reduced the backlog to 165 untimely applications and 15 untimely recertifications by the deadline. In response, the USDA said in a statement that it was "pleased with North Carolina's progress over the past several weeks to ensure eligible individuals and families have access to benefits."

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<sup>13.</sup> Richard Craver. "Wos: Food-stamp backlog is 'reasonably' cleared." *Winston-Salem Journal.* April 1, 2014. http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/wos-food-stamp-backlog-is-reasonable-cleared/article\_42a6828f-2575-56c7-9d2e-aaa5255120ea.html (accessed April 6, 2014).

### **METHOD**

### DOCUMENTING THE PERRY FAMILY

"Feeding Dreams" is a short documentary that personalizes the statistics of families' food insecurity in central North Carolina, contextualizing the struggles, vulnerabilities and insecurities of a childhood framed by hunger. I first began filming the Perry family in February 2014. In order to find a family interested in having their story told, I went through the Raleigh, N.C., Inter-Faith Food Shuttle. I was interested in showing the effects of food insecurity on children, and therefore went through the specific program BackPack Buddies, which sends food home on the weekends with elementary children from food insecure families.

*In the eyes of children* 

The shooting style and storytelling approach to this documentary is a hybrid of non-narrated scenes woven together by interviews with Latisha Perry and her two young daughters Ayanna and Amanda Perry. When filming scenes of the Perry family, I asked them to go about their lives as if I did not have a camera. Such a request is common in documentary filming, in which the filmmaker does not function as a director or screenwriter while shooting. The shoot is uncontrolled, and the scene is edited without voiceover narration. I filmed the Perry family several times a week for two months, and

my persistence facilitated the naturalness of the scenes in that the family often forgot my presence.

The non-narrated approach to the documentary allows Latisha, Ayanna and Amanda to tell their own stories, limiting my presence in telling a version of the events. While my preferred method of documentary storytelling is cinema-verité — a style driven by non-narrated, uncontrolled scenes and no interview — the style requires unfolding action to drive the story. The Perry family's economic and social situation was unchanging during the time I worked on their story — an ultimately telling limitation, showing the perpetuity that is often the case in situations of poverty. Interviews are therefore necessary to drive the narrative.

I approached "Feeding Dreams" with the desire to portray the experience of food insecurity through a child's perspective. Slightly overexposed shots contribute to an overall sense in the piece of imagination and innocence, characteristics often displayed in Ayanna and Amanda Perry's interviews and activities. The Perry children are largely naïve about the subject of food insecurity and of their family's food assistance, and the goal of "Feeding Dreams" is to show that they largely have a happy childhood despite economic limitations. In order to situate them amidst the issue, I shot certain scenes in a straightforward documentary style. In one such scene, the family gathers in their living room to eat McDonald's for dinner; the situation is dark and one of chaos, showing the stress Latisha Perry feels as she feeds her family.

One of the main purposes behind telling the Perry family's story is to combat misconceptions, stigmas and stereotypes associated with low-income families' situations in the U.S. By choosing to not emphasize certain stigma-advancing aspects of the family's life, "Feeding Dreams" shows the Perrys as actual people rather than an example of an issue. I made conscious decisions in my shooting and editing to avoid perpetuating certain stereotypes including poor people do not work because they are lazy; they are substance abusers; they devalue education and they are ineffective parents. Most of the innumerable stereotypes placed on the impoverished are inaccurate, as discussed in the *Washington Post* article "Five stereotypes about poor families and education." The majority of Americans "believe that poor people are poor because of their own deficiencies rather than inequitable access to services and opportunities." 15

The unfortunate prevalence of poverty misconceptions informed the edit of "Feeding Dreams." The documentary's visuals intentionally do not focus on food insecurity as the defining feature of the family. Weaving the interviews of mother and daughters, the opening focuses on the young daughters' dreams and worries, which are generally untouched by their family's low-income status, as well as Latisha's worries in relation to food insecurity. The juxtaposition shows that the worries of hunger are a burden that Latisha bears for her young children, and it emphasizes facets of the family members' lives other than food insecurity.

<sup>15.</sup> Valerie Strauss. "Five stereotypes about poor families and education." *The Washington Post.* October 28, 2013.

"Feeding Dreams" is not comprehensive on the subject of food insecurity, nor is it meant to be. The documentary approaches the issue through the children's perspective. While an intriguing and often overlooked approach, showing food insecurity from this angle is disposed to oversimplification of a complex and oftentimes dark, stressful issue. The parents' experience of food insecurity is different and more serious than their children's, just as another family's experience would be different than the Perrys'. In producing "Feeding Dreams" I was limited by various factors including that I was restricted to working on the video in the context of a course and one semester, and I faced privacy issues when filming at the children's elementary school — I had to avoid showing other children's faces without parental permission. Limitations can often lead to creative solutions, however. I overcame the question of oversimplification within the context of this short piece with an interview from Latisha. If I had more time to work on the video, I would include more scenes showing food insecurity from the parents' perspective, providing a stronger contrast to the children's experience.

### **DISCUSSION**

Representation of domestic hunger has long been present in American journalism. Visual media including broadcast, film and photojournalism have told and shown various interpretations of the story of hunger and of food insecurity. Depictions vary in their objectivity, style and editorial intent, which influence the message imparted to viewers.

Hunger In America

Some of the first prominent coverage of the issue came in the "CBS Reports" series, specifically the 1968 documentary *Hunger In America*. The hour-long report, with Charles Kuralt and David Culhane reporting, is a lurid portrayal of extreme hunger cases in four areas of the United States, showing the stark, harrowing conditions of the Mexican-Americans of San Antonio, Texas; tenant farmers of Loudoun County, Virginia; Navajo Indians of Tuba County, Arizona; and black sharecroppers in rural Alabama. The program centers largely on the effects of malnutrition on children, relying heavily on dramatic, emotion-filled images of hungry and starving children, whom a doctor describes in an interview as having a "hollow, lifeless look: stringy hair, a pasty complexion, a dead look about their eyes." <sup>16</sup>

Taking a definitive social stance, the broadcast emphasizes the failures and deficiencies of federal government food assistance and the lack of action on the part of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in helping destitute consumers; Kuralt ends the

<sup>16.</sup> Hunger In America. CBS. May 21, 1968.

program with a recommendation that "the federal food program might be better administered by the Department of Health Education and Welfare or by a special commission whose only concern would be to see that hungry Americans are fed."<sup>17</sup>

After airing, the piece initially garnered positive response from viewers and critics, including a George Foster Peabody Award, which read, "...It told the American people — as only television can — about the plight of some 10 million hungry people in our land, and goaded our nation into action —to begin to feed its hungry." But the network soon met with controversial allegations from Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman. Freeman indicated that the report had been a biased and dishonest presentation of domestic hunger. He denounced the broadcast, saying it lacked objectivity and that it "presented to millions of viewers a distorted, oversimplified and misleading picture of domestic hunger."

In an analysis of the "CBS Reports" controversy over *Hunger In America*, Ernest F. Martin quotes A. William Bluem in regards to the essence of the documentary film: "A part of a documentary's purpose is always social — somehow to let us discern more clearly, with greater compassion and vision, the issues we must resolve." *Hunger In America* vividly presents a social issue in need of resolution, though the documentary does so by falling into the trap of distortion, relying on disquieting imagery and denunciatory narration. Yet despite the overuse of shocking visuals and the controversy

<sup>17.</sup> Hunger In America. CBS. May 21, 1968.

<sup>18.</sup> Ernest F Martin. "The 'Hunger In America'; controversy." *Journal of Broadcasting* 16, no. 2 (1972): 185-194.

<sup>19. &</sup>quot;The 'Hunger In America'; controversy."

<sup>20.</sup> Ibid.

surrounding the film, *Hunger In America* maintains significance as one of the first major attempts that American journalists took in covering domestic hunger.

#### A Place At The Table

In a more recent portrayal of hunger in America, the 2013 full-length documentary *A Place At The Table*, produced by Participant Media, weaves together the narratives of low-income Americans who struggle to provide healthy food for their families. The film includes the input of hunger, food and nutrition experts and advocates. Taking a less-sensationalized approach compared to *Hunger In America*, *A Place At The Table* portrays the more common realities of America's working poor rather than the extreme cases of squalor as seen in the "CBS Reports" program.

A Place At The Table examines food insecurity and recognizes that hunger in America is often a case of poor nutrition options for low-income families and the uncertainty of where the next meal will come from, rather than a complete lack of food. A Washington Post review of the documentary indicates that the problem, as shown in A Place At The Table, "isn't that the meal never comes. It's that when it arrives, too often it is filled with empty calories." The influences and causes behind food insecurity are vast and varied, and the film explores several of the issues.

As was the case in *Hunger In America, A Place At The Table* documentarians

Lori Silverbush and Kristi Jacobson criticize the Department of Agriculture — this time

<sup>21.</sup> Michael O'Sullivan. "Activists hungry for a change." *The Washington Post.* March 1, 2013. http://www.washingtonpost.com/gog/movies/a-place-at-the-table,1244912.html#reviewNum1 (accessed April 10, 2014).

for allowing corn, wheat and rice agribusinesses to take over the farm-subsidy program, which leads to corn, wheat and rice processed food products being cheaper than fruits and vegetables.<sup>22</sup> The film also touches on effects of food deserts — areas where convenience stores, rather than grocery stores, are the only places to buy food — and the tenuous situation of a working single mother making enough money not to qualify for food stamps, but not enough to feed her family three meals a day.

Following its release, *A Place At The Table* received an overall positive response from film critics, many of whom applauded the filmmakers for their personalization of hunger through moving, well-developed narratives. Walter Addiego, of the *San Francisco Chronicle* wrote, "...what makes the movie compelling is its focus on a handful of victims, who make the statistics painfully real." *Time* magazine's Mary Pols drew attention to the impact of telling the story of food insecurity through the experiences of ordinary people:

The best illustration of Jacobson and Silverbush's case — that something has to be done to both raise the level of awareness of the problem and reverse a trend that has grown at a horrifying rate since the Reagan administration — are the ordinary people they profile who are suffering through the misery of regular hunger.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22. &</sup>quot;Activists hungry for a change."

<sup>23.</sup> Walter Addiego. "'A Place at the Table' review: Compelling." *SFGate.com*. San Francisco Chronicle. March 1, 2013. http://www.sfgate.com/movies/articl/A-Place-at-the-Table-review-Compelling-4317404.php (accessed April 10, 2014).

<sup>24.</sup> Mary Pols. "A Place at the Table: A Serving of Hard-to-Swallow Truths." *TIME.* March 1, 2013. http://entertainment.time.com/2013/03/01/a-place-at-the-table-a-serving-of-hard-to-swallow-truths/ (accessed April 10, 2014).

Critical response was not entirely positive, however. Reviewing for *The New York Times*, Jeannette Catsoulis criticized the filmmakers as being too polite and gentle, shying away from "the outrage and bare-knuckled journalism that this shameful topic deserves." At times, *A Place At The Table* does show restraint in assessing and challenging the politics at play behind agribusiness and government food assistance, but the documentary successfully uses specific stories to portray a grounded, relatable narrative of what hunger looks like for various low-income Americans.

Hunger Through My Lens

In February 2014, PBS NewsHour reported on a program in Colorado called "Hunger Through My Lens." An unconventional approach to documenting the lives of those affected by hunger, the program engages in an innovative form of citizen visual journalism. "Hunger Through My Lens" puts digital cameras into the hands of food stamp recipients who then show through still photography what it is like to be hungry in America.

Akin to cinema-verité, the "Hunger Through My Lens" photographs come directly from those experiencing food insecurity without a documentarian as a major intermediary. With photography as their medium, participants are able to transcend social stigmas and stereotypes attached to poverty and hunger in America, said Kathy Underhill,

<sup>25.</sup> Jeannette Catsoulis. "Listening to America's Growling Bellies." *The New York Times.* February 28, 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/01/movies/a-place-at-the-table-on-hunger-in-america.html?\_r=0 (accessed April 10, 2014).

director of Hunger Free Colorado.<sup>26</sup> Many of the photographs are abstract interpretations of the participants' experiences and feelings in relation to hunger — an intensely bent fork represents the act of balancing employment, housing transportation and food, as well as the notion that "you can't eat with a broken fork just like people in this country can't eat because of a broken system"; a "next in line, please wait here sign," signifies the amount impoverished people spend waiting in line for assistance; two drivers licenses side-by-side show the effects not eating had on one woman.<sup>27</sup>

Arguably one of the purest documentary representations of hunger, the autobiographical works in "Hunger Through My Lens" can inform filmmakers as to what low-income people experiencing food insecurity see as the real story.

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<sup>26.</sup> Mary Jo Brooks. "Picturing hunger in America." *PBS NewsHour*. February 18, 2014. http://www.pbs.org/newshour/art/picturing-hunger-in-america/ (accessed April 10, 2014).

<sup>27. &</sup>quot;Picturing hunger in America."

### **CONCLUSION**

Documentary filmmakers and photojournalists have the ability and opportunity to share with society the stories of the marginalized and to raise awareness through their media. Faced with social injustices — such as the prevalence of food insecurity in North Carolina and the state's difficulties in providing assistance — storytellers have the responsibility to accurately and fairly portray the stories, taking care to not perpetuate stereotypes.

This paper, written in connection with the original short documentary "Feeding Dreams," began with a review of North Carolina's distribution backlog in its food assistance program. A discussion of method illuminated certain decisions I made in the production process of "Feeding Dreams," and the subsequent discussion considered three documentaries in terms of other storytellers' approach to the issue, addressing the stigmatization surrounding federal assistance to low-income families and the imperativeness of social and cultural sensitivity. The paper sought to provide context behind the relevant issues of food insecurity, the considerations taken in covering related stories and the messages behind such documentary projects.

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