Empathy for Justice:

A Social Transformation of the US Food System

by

Lana Chehabeddine

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate Program in Food Systems and Society

of the Graduate Program in Human Nutrition and

Oregon Health and Science University School of Medicine

In partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science in Food Systems and Society

6/10/19

Table of Contents

List of Figures

This thesis is dedicated to the food system scholars who care enough to tackle daunting topics, such as structural injustice, and who are journeying towards transformative social change.

Acknowledgements

  This thesis is a product of a number of wonderful people who poured love and support into my confidence and ability to tackle such a large and conceptual topic such as empathy. I would like to acknowledge and thank my entire cohort for being an invaluable rock of support throughout the thesis writing process. By name, they are Anna Borgman, Brian Chau, Erin McMahon, Katie Robertson, Miriam Beavers, Nicole Brand, Whitney Shervey, and Yarrow Upton. I also need to thank Zoe Speidel, Sean Gillon, and Patricia Allen for their unyielding support and guidance through this journey and for their ceaseless efforts in sustaining our Food Systems and Society program after an unforeseen university closure at our previous institution. On that note, I am incredibly appreciative of OHSU, the School of Medicine, and Diane Stadler for providing a new home for our unique program, for believing in our mission of social justice, and allowing our cohort to continue our theses and the completion of our master's degrees.

  Thank you to my family and friends who have fed me, listened to me, and believed in me when I did not. Thank you to Nicole Brand for introducing me to this program in the first place, for holding me accountable during the thesis journey, and for hosting several thesis writing workshops for us all across the state of Florida. Finally, thank you to my thesis mentor, Patricia Allen, for convincing me to take on a topic that I was always intrigued by but never thought was workable. I am appreciative of the time you spent providing feedback on my paper, for the encouragement to pursue big ideas, and for the confidence you have instilled in me as a thinker and as a writer.

Abstract

The human ability to understand and experience another's feelings—known as empathy—is increasingly dwindling in the United States and poses concerns for the advancement of social change and social justice. This thesis examines empathy and its lack thereof as a major contributor to the tolerance of structural injustice and ensuing inaction in the US food system and society. By reviewing the ability to empathize, this research reveals 1) the ideologies and cultural phenomena that activate or suppress empathy, 2) the role of empathy in addressing structural injustice, and 3) the strategies that are found to activate empathy. A review of peer-reviewed articles, websites, and books addresses these three topics in an attempt to answer the following question: In what ways could a greater understanding of empathy contribute to addressing structural injustice in the US Food System?

Using the analytical frameworks of language and social responsibility, empathy is analyzed as a tool for social change. Findings demonstrate that while ideas of community and feminism activate and repress empathy, democracy tends to activate, while ideologies of capitalism, neoliberalism, and individualism continue to repress empathy. Further, the role of empathy in rectifying structural injustice is most critical with those in high standings of power and privilege, in addition to those with collective abilities and high interest in rectifying structural injustice. Strategies of practicing empathy within the modes of narratives, education, and technology demonstrate promise for activating understanding, emotional intelligence, and potential for participant mobilization.

Keywords: empathy, structural injustice, food systems, responsibility, social change

Chapter One

Introduction

On a daily basis, humans face the widespread social problem of injustice. Viewed as unfair or discriminatory treatment, structural injustice is attributed to social structures (e.g., foundational beliefs, institutions, and behaviors) and perpetuated through our daily modes of action and thinking that occur through these social structures and are in accordance with the status quo. This occurrence leads us to question why it is largely tolerated, who is responsible, and how it can be rectified. As a nation that holds an abundance of resources to help address this problem, the United States is placed under further scrutiny for the existence and tolerance of structural injustice. Illuminating our roles as responsible citizens and agents of social change is required for tackling this social problem.

Scientists have recently discovered that we all subconsciously try to understand one another and temporarily imagine ourselves in their shoes. This phenomenon, known as empathy, is one of the many marvels that are naturally found within our human nature. Yet, there are overarching ideologies and cultural habits that work to switch our empathic selves on or off. In recent years, this switch has been stuck on the off side and presents a challenge for transformational change. One major social problem that may be ameliorated, if we switch empathy back on, is the tolerance of structural injustice in the United States. This type of injustice occurs on a daily basis and is inflicted by structures of society—namely larger institutions and ideologies that contribute to our understanding of the workings of society. With structural injustice being foundational to the US food system, this thesis aims to examine this sector of society as a prime example for analyzing the relationship between the lack of empathy and the tolerance and existence of structural injustice.

Participation in socially responsible acts, such as charity and ethical consumerism are portrayed to mitigate the suffering of others, however, a neglect of the root causes of social problems and repetitive actions may still be implicated in the practices that contribute to structural injustice. Our responsibility to help one another has been overshadowed by increasingly individualistic notions that stress the idea that we are solely responsible for our own lives. However, in acknowledging our roles as human consumers of food and contributors to the everyday practices of society, we all become involved in the structural injustice found in the food system and greater society. This can be illustrated by the restaurant manager of a high-end bistro who chooses to hire Caucasians for positions that deal with customers and people of color for kitchen and additional back-of-house positions mainly for the reason that this is the way it has always been. While the manager might not make this decision with ill-intentions, the consequences of these kinds of decisions that happen on a daily basis are far-reaching.

Although the tolerance of structural injustice may seem of concern to mostly the victims of structural injustice, it should in fact concern anyone who cares about the betterment of humankind. At a time when we are facing a boom in hate crimes and violence, it becomes urgent to better understand empathy's role in rectifying structural injustice. Until we fully understand the processes behind empathy, the human ability to understand one another and willingness to participate in social change will remain largely unclear. In a world ridden with social injustice, there exists a dire need for activating the tools with which we are naturally equipped. Empathy, described as an "embodied and sensorial practice of affective attunement" is "commonly linked to the promise of self and social transformation" (Pedwell 2017, 96). In other words, empathy is understood to sharpen our emotive skills so that we are able to better ourselves and others. I am

interested in exploring this claim and how empathy is used to help us cognize the victims of structural injustice, engage in this social issue, and be moved to do something about it.

     In this thesis, I argue that structural injustice has been largely tolerated and maintained in the domestic food system and society because our ability to empathize is suppressed in the US— thus, altering the ways in which people in society cognize each other, the social problems they and others face, and what they believe they can do to change it. Specifically, I dig deeper into the ideas of social responsibility and the politics of language and apply them as analytical frameworks for understanding empathy's role in facilitating social change and in tackling the social problem of structural injustice. By focusing in on the nation's food system and structural injustice as a fundamental basis for this system, I draw on examples within it and apply the food system as a lens for discussing structural injustice. Ultimately, this research addresses empathy because I want to learn how a greater understanding of empathy may affect social transformation, so that we can shed light on its potential for tackling structural injustice and suggest applications for it within the food system and society.

     The following chapters of this thesis expand upon the aforementioned argument by providing key context, details on my research, and findings surrounding the topic. In Chapter Two, I will provide the background and significance of the social problem of structural injustice and the research problem of the role of empathy in tackling the latter. I also introduce the central and constitutive research questions that I elaborate more on in the following chapters. In Chapter Three, I review my methods for collecting data and the strategies I used to analyze them. In Chapter Four, I present my findings, analysis (including the application of the food system), and contribution of my results. In Chapter Five, I wrap up with a conclusion that summarizes my findings and explains the implications for social justice and social change in the food system.

Chapter Two

Background and Significance

Chapter Two presents essential contextual information on the matters of social justice, the lack thereof in the US food system and society, and the implications of this phenomenon. In this chapter, I also expand upon my identified social problem and research problem, as well as my central and constitutive research questions. Further, I look at the conceptual frameworks of Young's (2011) social connection model and my own framework of empathic rhetoric as the foundations for structuring my questions, results, and analysis.

2.1 Tolerance of Structural Injustice

Within the US food system and society, social problems have long been shaped by the existence of inequity. Also known as "an instance of injustice or unfairness[1]," inequity is a fundamental social problem that is multidimensional and involves wide-ranging effects on the members of society. A social problem is identified as "a condition that involves harm to one or more individuals and/or one or more social entities, has at least one social cause and/or at least one social effect, and consequently has one or more social remedies" (Alessio 2011, 3). In this instance of assessing the food system and society, inequity (also known as social inequality) stifles the advancement of humankind by instigating and maintaining a large wealth gap that drives higher rates of disease, violence, and illiteracy (Wilkinson 2011). The ultimate goal of rectifying a social problem such as this is to reach the condition of social justice, "whereby all people are afforded fair opportunities to enjoy the benefits of society" (Miller 2008, 821). It is

---

[1] *Merriam-Webster,* s.v. "inequity" [accessed March 11, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/inequity]

crucial to recognize, however, that in today's world "fair opportunities" are disproportionately dispersed on the pretext of social constructs (such as race, gender, and class) that are assigned to us as soon as we are born. The concept of equity directly acknowledges the *inequities* assigned by birth and surpasses the notion of equality. Rather than provide each person with the same exact set of resources, equity takes into account the fact that "some groups in society have not had the same access to opportunities and resources; from this basis, it asks for fair distribution and fair procedures" (Cadieux and Slocum 2015, 10). A truly "fair" and socially just opportunity would thus mean that each individual, provided their social situatedness, would be afforded an equitable or unbiased chance to thrive—socially, economically, and politically. Before making an attempt to tackle any social problem, one must comprehend these uneven social landscapes and understand that there are multiple ways to go about leveling them. Regularly featured throughout US history, injustice has been recognized in three known ways: interpersonal (between individuals), institutional (e.g., systems of law or health), and structural (daily, normalized occurrences) (Aragon and Jaggar 2018; Young 2011) which may encompass the prior two types. The structural type of injustice is the antithesis of social justice and the underlying focus of this research.

2.1.1. Defining Structural Injustice

At the root of inequity, structural injustice sits as one of the most threatening social problems we face today. In his analysis of social problems and inequality, Alessio (2011) identifies "serious social problems" as those that lie in a space where "social reality is effectively controlled to publicly deny the 'existence' of social problems" (2-3). This deliberate illusion, or form of public deception, distracts citizens from deeper issues that perpetuate discrimination and are found laced throughout our societal fabric—collectively known as structural injustice. If we

dissect this idea, we find that social structures are "schemas" that become embedded as practices, which are both influenced by and give influence to resources, or "any material or non-material thing that is useful for getting us what we want" (Sangiovanni 2018, 462). Structural injustice, then, occurs "when everyday and normalized social practices systematically position some to suffer the threat of domination or deprivation while enabling others to dominate or flourish" (Aragon and Jaggar 2018, 442). Iris Marion Young (2011) adds to this idea by differentiating structural injustice from wrongful action of certain people or groups, describing it, rather, as a "moral wrong" (52). In other words, there is no one entity or person to blame for structural injustice, as it results from multifaceted social patterns (Aragon and Jaggar 2018; Young 2011). As a serious and pervasive social problem, structural injustice is one that must not be overlooked and rather, addressed thoroughly.

2.1.2. Evidence of Structural Injustice

Despite monumental strides made throughout history, including notable policy changes, structural injustice has evidently persisted. In a time where the emancipation of slavery occurred over 150 years ago (History 2009a) the act of lynching still continues and only recently passed the Senate as a hate crime (Viebeck and Cassata 2019). In a time where women have been able to vote for almost a century (History 2009b), women still are not afforded equal pay. In a time where gays have been able to marry each other, in the city of San Francisco, for over 15 years (SF Chronicle 2015), 35 states still practice gay conversion therapy (MAP 2019). In this day and age, people are still starving, living on the streets, attacked for the color of their skin and sexuality, demeaned for being disabled, and unfortunately the list doesn't end here. Structural factors explain the conditions we face, while the choices we make as a result of these factors can sometimes reproduce the patterns of structural injustices (Sangiovanni 2018, 464). The choices

we make are, in many instances, indirect displays of tolerance for structural injustice. One instance of this comes through with gender expectations in which a husband decides not to be a stay-at-home father while his wife works, so to avoid embarrassment or losing respect at work (464). As Rather and Kirschner (2017) proclaim, "for all the progress we have made, we are stuck in the purgatory of tolerance. This may not be a comfortable thought for many people who pride themselves on their progressive beliefs, but it is the truth" (80). Thus, as citizens of the US, our egos must not get in the way of our progress, rather we must keep facilitating progressive change or else we perpetuate injustice through inaction.

2.1.3. Evidence of Tolerating Structural Injustice

The tolerance of structural injustice in the US is demonstrated by its very existence and the failure to rectify it through the legal justice system. This type of lenience might not seem to be the most crippling setback for social justice, but according to Rather and Kirschner (2017), tolerance is the step in between ignorance and inclusion (80). This implies that tolerance sits past unawareness about what's going on, but also doesn't reach the stage of making the effort to change the circumstances. Recent social movements like Stand With Standing Rock and Black Lives Matter have sparked a blaring signal that, even since the haunting genocide of indigenous groups and enslavement of black people that occurred over a century ago, oppression and tolerance of the oppression still remains. Another instance of tolerance for injustice is the systematic violence against certain social groups that is often found in America, and which becomes inevitably accepted due to the light punishment of the perpetrators (Young 1990, 68). In the food system, this is largely found in the agribusiness sector that has partaken in agricultural slavery. This chain of slavery is run by a number of people along the food chain, including those who sell workers like animals and trap them via isolation (not knowing where they are or having

the ability to speak English), threats of violence (including to their families back home), debt, and even upholding their sense of honor to repay their debt (Bales and Soodalter 2010, 52). The perpetrators are rarely punished, however, because civil lawsuits against them are rarely made, and this fact is compounded by the longevity of a case and the chances of losing the case (68). Although we may find this issue to exist across the globe, this tolerance is evidenced by the widespread injustice that still exists, in even the most powerful nations of our time.

There exists a strong and uncomforting contrast between the level of power and resources held by the United States and its tolerance of structural injustice. The United States of America, deemed "The Worlds Unchallenged Superpower," is highly ranked in areas such as technology, business, higher education, and entertainment (Adelman 2013), but as demonstrated, it has largely ignored structural injustices and dealt with them very haphazardly. It has allowed for some to benefit from or even depend on the tolerance of structural injustice, while others who lack certain privileges are directly oppressed by it. Resolving this multifaceted situation becomes a matter of digging up the roots of structural injustice, which are "embedded in unquestioned norms, habits, and symbols, in the assumptions underlying institutional rules and the collective consequences of following those rules" (Young 1990, 56). In other words, the seamless penetration and normalization of injustices (such as racism, classism, sexism, ableism, and gender discrimination) allow for longstanding behaviors, which require recognition and accountability. Tolerance of structural injustice seamlessly overrides political decision-making and has penetrated all parts of society, yet, there are certain systems—such as the US food system—in which the evidence for tolerance of structural injustice is overflowing and thus serves as the prime model for illustration.

2.1.3.1 Tolerance of Structural Injustice and the Foundation of the US Food System

With the dawn of European-led agriculture of America, in the late 1700s, came widely exploitative practices that influenced the nature of the food system we see today. One particular practice, known as a type of primitive accumulation, involved the displacement of people from their own means of production, and often, their native lands—through "colonization and capture" (Wilson 2012, 201-2). This developed a "flexible labor force" that was "recruited and discarded at will, with no cost to the receiving country" (207). This arrangement became structurally embedded in the food system with the commencement of the Bracero Program (1942-1964) that gave farmers the right to bring Mexican laborers across the border to substitute for lowered levels of labor post-World War II (Kandel 2008; Wilson 2012). This continuous process of expatriation is coined as "ecological poverty," and is deemed as one of the precursors to the advent of both the developing world and adverse climate change (Davis 2002, 310). Specifically, the loss of traditional agricultural resources has shown causal associations to "household poverty and state decapacitation" (310), as well as links to climate incidents such as El Niño (279). It is to no surprise, then, that the legacy of exploitation trickled its way down and into the food system and society—laying down the foundation for structural injustice that exists today.

Historical discriminatory legacies paved the pathway for present forms of structural injustice to become manifested within the domestic food system. Organized along the lines of race, gender, and class, structural injustice regularly demeans certain social groups (for example, non-whites [also known as people of color or POC], women, LGBTQ, poor, and disabled populations) by treating them as unwelcomed, less-than, or simply different. These structural injustices are exemplified by the following examples that are summarized from Allen and Melcarek's (2013) findings across the food system: wretched agricultural working conditions

and resulting injuries and illnesses; higher instances of food insecurity (insufficient access to nutritious food) and resulting chronic health conditions amongst POC; disproportionate income distribution on the basis of race and gender; and a concentration of power and wealth amongst a handful of farmers and monopolizing food corporations. With the US continuing to push against the idea of embracing a human "right to food" (Maye and Kirwan 2013, 4), the injustice of food insecurity alone is enough to inflict life-threatening health risks such as malnutrition, heart disease, diabetes, and obesity (Allen and Melcarek 2013, 3). Moreover, the infant mortality rate, which is "widely understood to reflect a society's food insecurity and poverty" places the US as 56th in the world—falling beneath countries like India and Yemen (Moore Lappé and Collins 2015, 4). As the largest employment sector in the nation (Lo and Koenig 2017, 135), the food system becomes a key area of focus for analyzing this complex social problem. It is comprised of a wealth of diverse roles and functions; yet, given our fixed roles as consumers of food, we all become participants in this system and must assess the ways in which we can rectify the structural injustices in which it was built upon.

2.1.3.2. Reasoning Behind Tolerance of Structural Injustice

Solving the puzzle of why we tolerate structural injustice is not an easy task, nor does it have one right answer; however, in a world that continues to evolve technologically, it is visible that the human consumption of information into smaller and more frequent bits is detrimental to our understanding of social problems and willingness to participate in rectifying them. Rather than digging deeper to reveal the root causes that keep the pot of injustice brewing, well-intended citizens more commonly tend to scratch at the surface of problems, given the "division of attention" that has emerged with unlimited access to information via the internet and hand-held technology (Carr 2010). As more of us become "scattered and superficial thinkers," who prefer

bite-sized information as our dominant form of news, interest in a problem or topic often leads to brief research and frequent distractions, which prevent critical thinking skills and a mastery of complex subject matters (Carr 2010). This current state of wanting more information in less time leads to grave concerns regarding future generations' abilities to balance new technologies while generating a deeper insight on critical subject matters, such as structural injustice.

Regrettably, we also find a number of citizens who are well-equipped with privileges to help advance change but choose not to—whom I have coined the "sedentary citizen". The sedentary citizen symbolizes those who are afforded some type of privilege, based on social constructs and level of influence, but uses it to their advantage only. While the latter action may not be purposeful, one common example of this is found as a consequence of white privilege, in which whites assume that their individual experiences (including feeling about food) are commonly shared with everyone else (Allen 1999; DuPuis and Goodman 2005; Guthman 2008). On an individual scale, perhaps the sedentary citizen is overwhelmed or intimidated by the level of injustice that they or others are faced with. Perhaps a number of people suffer from "affected ignorance" because they do not know the half of it yet do not feel the need to know—even if their actions are implicated as immoral or ethically unsound (Williams 2008, 371). At some point, however, we have to assess this situation and ask the following questions: why is America sitting idle in this state of tolerance? What is truly holding us back from reversing or resolving these injustices? And why is there such a huge discrepancy between the Unites States' power and its willingness to confront these critical issues? Indifference and inaction not only enable current structural injustices to exist but reproduces it in a way that allows it to flourish. Although tolerance for structural injustice is blatantly evident by the widespread existence of such

injustice, our implicated roles as citizens need to become clearer if social change is to be

garnered.

2.2. Social Responsibility, Structural Injustice, and Social Change

In order to invoke meaningful social change, a review of social responsibility and its

relation to structural injustice is required for establishing some of the groundwork for this thesis.

By reviewing the meaning of social responsibility, the types that exist, and examples that occur

in the food system, our roles in enacting social change may become clearer.

2.2.1. Personal vs. Social Responsibility

In a country that prioritizes personal over social responsibility, general social problems

regularly and wrongly become obscured as personal matters. On the one hand, personal

responsibility is built around the idea that individuals are accountable for their decisions, as they

may affect others (Alessio 2011, 11). In the context of personal responsibility, however, "others"

are normally the people found in an individual's close social circles (e.g., family and friends),

and in terms of social change, the people within those circles are the ones who may be affected

by the individual's decisions. On the other hand, social responsibility comes into play "When

apparent choices are not real choices" (14). This description implies that some of us do not have

full reign of choice and are limited to a selection that is usually based on our social location and

identities, which are often built on social constructs (such as race, gender, and class). By being

denied from choosing what others can, injustice is clearly at play, and responsibility then spreads

to the greater society to work on providing the full reign of choice. Social responsibility

illuminates the fact that there are victims of the system who do not have full freedoms; yet, both

the victims and the non-victims can take responsibility to help resolve the situation through

positive and collaborative social change (14). It is important to note that the latter group of

people are the privileged ones, with access to resources and "behavioral latitude" that make them far more capable of rectifying structural injustice and committing acts of social change (14). The US, however, is counteracting social responsibility, as the country moves away from a "social safety net" of welfare services and towards a path saturated in matters of personal responsibility (Harvey 2005, 76). I wholly agree with Harvey's claim, given that over a decade later, our system continues to divert accountability of *our* social problems to individuals who happen to experience them. For instance, our nationwide problem of hunger has been diverted from federal accountability to individual circumstances, so that it no longer is viewed as "our problem" (Moore Lappé and Collins 2015, 4). Instead, hunger is made to be viewed as a personal matter that individuals bring upon themselves. By sponsoring eight different hunger relief programs (Feeding America 2018), the federal government successfully portrays itself as a strong advocate of anti-hunger but fails to take accountability or illustrate how it is largely a result of structural injustices such as income inequality. Since the idea of social responsibility is normally overshadowed by personal matters in US discourse, I make it a point to elaborate on this subject and illustrate how it can also be utilized for rectifying structural injustice.

2.2.2. Social Responsibility Targeted at Structural Injustice

If one can imagine social responsibility as a conceptualized ladder with gradually narrower levels of influence towards the top, the matter of structural injustice falls squarely at the base, where all citizens become largely implicated. While other types of social responsibility, such as corporate social responsibility, may be approaches found towards the top of the ladder due to a smaller scope of influence, structural injustice implicitly suggests that we are all involved as influencers. Young (2011) establishes the idea that structural injustice, unlike other forms of injustice, is the consequence of a number of people and institutions "acting to pursue

their particular goals and interests, for the most part within the limits of accepted rules and norms" (52). She proclaims that a general understanding of responsibility involves individualized blame, but in some instances of structural injustice we cannot attribute this type of fault or blame because some actions contribute to injustice "indirectly, collectively, and cumulatively" (96). Nonetheless, a new type of responsibility, which she calls "a social connection model of responsibility" recognizes that some individuals still bear responsibility for structural injustice (96). By examining individuals' actions and their effect on structural processes, this concept proposes that the individuals whose actions result in some unjust consequences may not be specifically at fault (106) but must share the responsibility for structural injustice "in order to transform the structural processes to make their outcomes less unjust" (96). This specialized type of responsibility veers away from the traditional types (e.g., liability model) that are based on "guilt, blame, fault, or liability" because it is not always possible to legally accuse or attribute cause to harm in cases of structural injustice (97). This concept is categorized by the following ideas: not isolating, judging background conditions, forward-looking, shared responsibility, and discharged through collective action (106-112). These ideas refer to the understandings that 1) isolating perpetrators is not adequate enough for addressing structural injustice, 2) the background behind our actions is immoral (given that structural injustice exists), 3) injustices and our actions to rectify them are ongoing (forward-looking) and reviewing structural processes that produce/reproduce injustice (backwards-looking), 4) we bear this responsibility together, and 5) joining forces with others is the only way to instill forward-looking responsibility (106-112). In an effort to help people understand their roles in responsibility, Young's social connection model of responsibility is utilized as an analytical framework later in this research and aims to help us discover our part in the social responsibility pie.

2.2.3. Social Responsibility in the US Food System

There are two prominent ways in which social responsibility is invoked regarding

inequality in the US food system: charity and ethical consumerism. On one end, people who lack

access to healthy food and/or cannot afford to buy enough food to feed their families end up

relying on charitable food donations. Producers of food are increasingly expected to play a large

role here as well, by diverting food from what would have been waste and giving back to their

local communities through food donations. On the other end, consumers are being informed that

they can make mindful food choices by putting their money where their mouth is. Mindful food

choices are normally tied to the realm of ethics and sustainability, where the people, animals and

environment involved in the production of food are treated in the best way possible. Foods that

are certified as Fair Trade, local, non-GMO, and organic are known for being closely in line with

the so-called mindful food. While some people argue that the aforementioned food labels are

hard to trust, due to the misleading reputation of the food industry, others say that it is important

to participate in the promotion of these realms so as to change the direction of the food industry.

Although food has become a bigger priority and social responsibility has been growing as a trend

in the food system, the methods surrounding this trend are falling short of addressing structural

injustice.

2.2.3.1. Charity

Although it is one of the most popularized forms of social responsibility, charity can

sometimes distract us from the social problems that it attempts to relieve. The act of charity,

which is commonly understood as the "public provision for the relief of the needy[2]" deals with the symptoms of injustice rather than its causes. In the US food system, emergency food provision (i.e., the food bank) is the epitome of charity, and while it does accomplish the goal of feeding the hungry, it does not force us to acknowledge why people are hungry nor does it tackle the inequity of economic injustice (i.e., income inequality) that fuels food insecurity and hunger (Poppendieck 1999; Wakefield et al. 2012). Alessio (2011) urges us to reconsider the benevolent visage of charities, and instead, view them as "a social institution [that] is based on the assumption that the problems of people are to be treated as unrelated to the forces that caused the predicament of the people receiving the charity" (16). In other words, charities tend to disassociate the problem from its cause, which ultimately reinforces the root cause(s), maintains tolerance for structural injustice, and thwarts any steps made towards radical social change. Although intended to resolve social problems, charities normally address only part of the targeted issue and thus fall short of remediating these problems. Aside from charity, there is a more recently popularized tactic that involves giving back through our daily, lifestyle choices.

2.2.3.2. Ethical Consumerism

Another growing form of social responsibility in the food system is found along the consumer market of food, which has encouraged the usage of our dollar as a means to advocate for our voices and desires. This idea of "voting with your fork" translates to the notion that "when we buy from companies that act responsibly…we promote their values and contribute to social change" (Montagut 2011, 197). This suggests that our directed purchases—for instance,

---

[2] *Merriam-Webster,* s.v. "charity" [accessed January 12, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/charity]

for local, grass-fed dairy—can shape the landscape of our food system; yet, it is also a right only found with those who are privileged (Viertel 2011, 139). This is because voting with your fork is deeply entrenched in the neoliberal governmentality that exemplifies consumer choice through an individualist mentality and the economic marketplace. A "dictatorship of supply," in which powerful groups largely control our consumer choices, suggests that the market is "a nondemocratic voting system," in which unequal distribution of votes overshadows individual acts (Montagut 2011, 197). This is a prime illustration of the privileges that fuel structural injustice, as they allow special treatment for select social groups whilst suppressing others. The concept of voting with your fork, nonetheless, is a form of "ethical consumerism," which seeks goods that are produced in a way that is socially and environmentally just, whilst targeting the objective of instigating social change and alleviating man-made destruction to the planet (Gunderson 2014). One example of this is buying Fair Trade products, which attempts to reside in a "different market" in which smallholder cooperatives and producers gain more political economic power and help form fairer and more environmentally sustainable methods of production (Viertel 2011, 140). These kinds of actions, although intended to address structural injustice, often neglect tackling the root causes of the issues at hand by neglecting those who cannot participate and thus avoid the structural changes required to achieve justice. While we certainly have the means to rectify structural injustice, I contend that there is one critical factor, known as empathy, which is currently being suppressed and is necessary for tackling this challenge.

2.3. Activating Social Responsibility

With the connections made between structural injustice and social responsibility, there remains a missing piece of the puzzle—one that may trigger a deeper level of social

responsibility and transformational change. I have identified the sedentary citizenry as the ones with the most potential to instigate this type of change, given that they are privileged with resources to potentially alter the situation surrounding the issues. Those who fit this category makeup a wide range of people and could range from a middle school teacher, to a restaurant owner, or even a professional athlete. In order to prompt the transformation of the sedentary citizenry into activists for social justice, however, there needs to be a better understanding of the motivational factors that move individuals to participate in creating change. Motivations are described as "an urge to behave or act in a way that will satisfy certain conditions, such as wishes, desires, or goals" and are found in two forms: motives and drives (Lumen 2019). Our motives are normally fueled by social and psychological (or psychosocial) means, while drives represent our biological mechanisms (such as thirst and hunger) (Lumen 2019). Research has illustrated that the psychosocial motivations behind social responsibility tactics, such as collective action, include grievances, anger, identity, and efficacy; however, it has been recently demonstrated that other positive emotions (e.g., hope, pride, and optimism) underpin motivation as well (Vilas, Alzate, and Sabucedo 2016, 173). This finding suggests that there may be other psychosocial motivations to unravel and possibly link to a deeper level of social responsibility for rectifying structural injustice. While there may be several pathways to explore a deeper level of social responsibility in the food system, I am focusing on the empathic pathway and elaborate on this concept in the next section.

2.3.1. Empathy as the Pathway to Responsibility for Justice

By helping us imagine the life and strife of someone else, empathy may hold the power to unlock deeper form of social responsibility for justice. Empathy is the ability, shown in humans and animals, that is generally understood as "the art of stepping imaginatively into the shoes of

another person, understanding their feelings and perspectives, and using that understanding to guide your actions" (Krznaric 2014, x). The ability to empathize is fundamental to the processes behind important realms of society—such as law and the food system. In a court case, for instance, the judge and the jury normally picture themselves in the shoes of both the defendant (person being accused) and plaintiff (accuser) and considers the evidence provided before they rule in favor of one or the other. In the food system, empathy helps us imagine the stories behind our food—namely the people who grew, tended to, and picked the food that ends up in grocery stores—and develop a sense of appreciation for these people and the food itself (Viertel 2011, 139). Empathy, then, lets us picture the life of any individual—be it a factory worker, a farmer, or a hungry child—and not only feel what they may be feeling but alter and improve our understanding of another's circumstances. Although empathy can also be found behind the actions related to "voting with your fork," empathy can extend beyond individuals and "can be applied to animals and to place" (139). It allows us to imagine the life of a factory farm animal, or the neighborhood residents that live parallel to a pig farm that exposes them to pesticides and wretched odors. More importantly, empathy "demands that I imagine the experience of people who have less choice than I do…[and] calls solidarity into being" (139). Harnessing the eye-opening process that empathy is shown to motivate may be crucial for social change, hence a further look at the processes behind this ability is necessary to help us understand how empathy may transform unjust behaviors that are attributed to structural injustice.

In relation to social responsibility for structural injustice, the role of empathy has been increasingly raised but not analyzed enough. Concerned with a lack of empathy, especially among leaders, Rather and Kirschner (2017) assert that this is a

> phenomenon that is born from, and that exacerbates, the broader divisions tearing at our republic…[with] rising tribalism along cultural, ethnic, economic class, and geographic lines. And the responsibility for these divisions should fall more squarely on the shoulders of the powerful, those who need to be empathetic, than on those who need our empathy (101).

This bold declaration calls for a sensible switch in gears for this country, which moves the spotlight to the privileged movers and shakers, whose empathy gap is often greater than most (103). These are the ones who preach the loudest about morality and personal responsibility, who often throw the blame of injustices on the victims who experience them, and who "are in dire need of humility… [that is] bathed in the refreshing waters of empathy" (104). In order to assess the role of empathy on social responsibility for structural injustice, I will be utilizing Young's (2011) "parameters of reasoning about responsibility," which I explain further in Chapters Four and Five, along with empathy's relationship to each of these parameters. An analysis of these associations can shed light on empathy's influence for differently situated individuals to strive towards affecting structural injustice. Goodman (2000) highlights how oppression is perpetuated when empathy is inhibited, since humans can easily dismiss someone else's problems "if we fail to see our common humanity with people we perceive different from ourselves" (1063). This dehumanization is said to be negated through empathy, however, because it challenges the us vs. them mentality and, thus, "can be a powerful tool in promoting social responsibility" (1063). It is believable, then, that the more empathy an individual has, the stronger the individual's urge to improve the conditions of another's welfare (Riess and Neporent 2018, 24). This idea, in itself, gives us a general understanding that an activation of empathy may push past the common acts of social responsibility that we find in the US today.

2.3.2. Understanding Empathy

In existence for only a century, the term "empathy" has evolved as it has traversed through different disciplines and is still considered a contested subject. Derived from a German term *Einfühlung*, meaning "feeling into," empathy primarily became recognized after being adopted into American psychology in the early 1900s (Krznaric 2014, 9). Rather than feeling into works of art and nature, later conceptions of empathy centered on feeling into another's emotions and perspectives (9). For over fifty years, neuroscientists and psychologists have studied the psychosocial processes behind a more scientific version of empathy that involves emotional mimicry (9). According to Lanzoni (2015), a historian of science and medicine, empathy is still a cultural debate and even within distinct branches of psychology, we find several different explanations of this very topic. In the last decade, Krznaric (2014) claimed that the Darwinian idea of primarily attending to ourselves as *Homo self-centricus* is a one-sided account of our human nature, since we have recently discovered our *Homo empathicus* (2) and *Homo socioempathicus* selves who counteract our self-help culture and foster collective action (164). Multiple sides have come through to contest the topic of empathy and its ability to move humankind in a forward or backwards direction; yet, there still exists large gaps of knowledge within this largely complicated topic.

In order to address empathy as a pathway to responsibility for justice and social change, we must concern ourselves with the processes behind it. Also described as an "embodied and sensorial practice of affective attunement" empathy is "commonly linked to the promise of self and social transformation" (Pedwell 2017, 96). This transformative potential and reaction to emotions is suggested to be a result of a neurological hard-wiring of mirror neurons, which have only recently been discovered by scientists (Riess and Neporent 2018; Winerman 2015). One of

the ways in which we are known to react to others is mimicry, which falls under the first aspect

of empathy and is also known as emotional (or affective) empathy. This causes us to catch

another's yawn or tear up when we see someone cry. Emotional empathy gives you a "sense that

you can feel what other people feel…based on either your own personal familiarity with pain or

from past experience" (Riess and Neporent 2018, 20). The second aspect is cognitive (or

thinking) empathy, which involves perspective-taking but also the acknowledgement "that

another person has thoughts and feelings separate from your own" (22). The third and perhaps

most critical aspect of empathy for the purpose of this thesis is empathic concern or empathic

response, which encompasses the "inner motivation that moves people to respond and express

the urge to care about another person's welfare" (24). This has far-reaching implications, one of

which is that humans, at our core and without any influences from society, are made to see one

another as more similar than different (Winerman 2005). In regard to structural injustice, this

means that an application of empathy may make visible the unfair treatment that certain people

receive, especially by helping the non-victims of structural injustice cognize the victims and

possibly become motivated to change their circumstances. Empathy's multi-layered nature

reveals its complexity and presents deep implications for changing the social justice narrative of

future generations.

2.3.3. Empathetic Language and Structural Injustice

In addition to social responsibility, the analytical framework of language becomes highly

useful in addressing empathy's role in rectifying structural injustice. It is well-known that the

phenomenon of language is foundational to understanding, but recent evidence has shown that

the human ability to empathize is largely traced to our means of communication. Physiological

associations between empathy and speech suggest a notable relationship between how we think,

speak, and empathize (Flynn 2007). Other habits of empathizing, such as listening and reflecting, are also crucial components of this communicative process of language (Martinovsky 2006; Tatsenko 2016). According to Kathryn Flynn (2007), an Associate Professor of Program Evaluation at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California, "the neural center for empathy in the human brain is believed to be closely associated with those neural structures which support language" (4). Flynn argues that our usage of words largely reflects our view of the world and empathetic perspective, given that they "inherently generate and circumscribe the complex social reality and the ideological world in which we live" (1). These findings pose significant implications on language as a tool for creating more inclusive and empathetic discourse, influencing our view of our self and others, and determining how we comprehend and attempt to tackle social problems.

2.3.4. The National Empathy Deficit

Naturally, humans are empathic beings, but this side of us is seemingly fading. Quite literally, there is an empathy gap that exists in the US, in which the biggest drop in empathy levels have been reported in the past decade, as well as a considerable rise in narcissism (Krznaric 2014, University of Michigan 2010). Over a decade ago, Barack Obama directly addressed this shortcoming in his pre-inaugural speech, switching the focus from a federal to an empathy deficit, stating "We live in a culture that discourages empathy, a culture that too often tells us that our principal goal in life is to be rich, thin, young, famous, safe and entertained" (Krznaric 2014; Northwestern 2006). This observation has also been backed by research findings. One particularly notable study on empathy was conducted over thirty years, between 1979 and 2009, and analyzed data on 14,000 college students (University of Michigan 2010). Konrath, a researcher at the U-M Institute for Social Research, stated that a major finding of the

study was that "College kids today are about 40 percent lower in empathy than their counterparts of 20 or 30 years ago" (University of Michigan 2010). This finding was discovered through the administration of empathy personality trait tests, which involved agreeing or disagreeing with statements concerned with others' wellbeing (University of Michigan 2010). Konrath claims that this current "Generation Me" is commonly viewed as "one of the most self-centered, narcissistic, competitive, confident and individualistic in recent history" (University of Michigan 2010). This declining interest in the lives of others leads to a growing concern for future social relations and willingness to improve social conditions. Thus, developing a greater understanding of empathy and the reasons behind the nation's deficit may shed light on important information to regain our empathic selves and responsibly address structural injustice.

Research Questions

To give a brief overview of my research, I include here an outline of the problem I highlighted previously in this chapter and the questions that I aim to tackle in the following chapters. The research problem involves assessing the national empathy deficit as an obstruction to social change in the food system and society. Overall, this research addresses empathy because I want to learn how a greater understanding of empathy may affect social transformation, so that we can shed light on its potential for tackling structural injustice and suggest applications for it within the food system and society. My central research question asks, In what ways could a greater understanding of empathy contribute to addressing structural injustice in the US Food System?

Constitutive Research Questions

The first constitutive research question asks: What cultural and ideological phenomena activate or repress empathy? Given the social problem of structural injustice and my postulation that it is related to the empathy deficit, this question looks at revealing the underlying mechanisms that are helping to establish this deficit. I categorize the findings into 1) cultural behaviors and 2) ideologies (or overarching ideas) that have been historically established in the United States and exhibit an activation and/or repression of empathy. I also utilize my own analytical framework of empathetic rhetoric and criteria for that rhetoric (compassion, diversity, and situational awareness) to analyze whether certain phenomena depict an activation or repression of empathy. These criteria help illustrate how the mechanics of language largely influence how we think and act.

The second constitutive research question asks: What is the role of empathy in addressing structural injustice? This question seeks to provide evidence of the function of empathy in social responsibility for structural injustice. I utilize Young's (2011) social connection model and parameters of reasoning (power, privilege, interest, and collective ability) that address responsibility for structural injustice as criteria for analyzing empathy's role in this process. By clarifying the role of empathy in social responsibility for structural justice, this research can help answer the overall question about what the relationship looks like between the two.

The third constitutive research question asks: What are ways in which empathy is being cultivated to motivate action on structural injustice? In light of the ideas that are dampening the potential of empathy to instigate meaningful social change, this question seeks to provide examples of empathic praxis, or how people are translating ideas behind empathy into action. This question will seek to provide illustrative examples of activists and advocates who are

currently working to instigate empathetic behaviors in the food system and society. A main objective of this question is to highlight the ways in which empathy is being instilled in the "haves," for the purpose of rectifying the conditions of the "have nots," and, therefore, acting towards social justice.

In this chapter, I have discussed the context behind the social problem and research problem, the frameworks for analysis, and provided the research questions on these topics that I tackle later in this thesis. In the next section, I will cover the logic of why I chose to collect data in certain ways, as well as the techniques I used to collect them for each of my research questions. Specifically, I will discuss the importance and key factors underlying the qualitative research strategy and elaborate upon my interpretivist epistemology and positionality. Following this section, I will list my research problem, research statement and accompanying questions that I aim to directly address in Chapters Four and Five.

Chapter Three

Methodology and Methods

In this chapter, I review the methodologies utilized in this paper and present my position as a socially situated researcher. I highlight my epistemology as interpretivism and follow with a brief overview of methodology. Specifically, I describe critical inquiry as my main methodology and delineate my positionality on the research topic. Finally, I give an overview of my research questions and methods used to obtain data for each one.

3.1 Methodology

Trailing the order of ontology and epistemology in social science research, methodology follows with an explanation of the logic behind our strategy for collecting data. This step frames the research problem and the ways in which I will address it. Similar to epistemology, there exist a large number of methodologies that can be used to organize the overall structure of the research paper. Given that this paper's focus is grounded in social justice and social change, there are specific ideas that I will utilize to help facilitate this discussion.

3.1.1 Critical Inquiry

One of the methodologies that this research is grounded in is critical inquiry. The tenets of critical inquiry are very much aligned with this paper and the goal of seeking social justice— through questioning power relations, transforming political discourse, voicing the silenced, and sparking action (Miller 2008, 823). The last tenet is one that is especially important for this paper, as I aim to discover what motivates and discourages participant mobilization in the food system and society. Additionally, this methodological approach has guided much of the qualitative research that exists today and aims at "self-conscious practice which liberates humans from ideologically frozen conceptions of the actual and the possible" (Comstock 1994, 626).

This liberation is largely dependent on critical inquiry's goal of *critiquing* the current issues and inciting awareness and action (Miller 2008, 824). For the purpose of freeing the mind from dogmas we once thought were eternal, this critical qualitative research is grounded in shedding light on a social problem that is often overlooked and the system that serves to undermine it.

3.2. Epistemology

In order to understand how I have come to know about my particular research topic, it is important to examine my epistemological orientation. Based on the theory of knowledge, epistemology is more clearly explained as "how we come to know what we know," which proceeds the idea of ontology of "what we may know" (Grix 2002, 177). This reasoning behind our knowledge is an important foundation for social science research, as it determines the logic and procedures for going about data collection. These are fundamental pieces for developing research and understanding that various thought processes will obtain information in various ways.

3.2.1. Interpretivism

Two juxtaposing epistemological positions that are found in social science are positivism and interpretivism. On the one hand, positivists advocate for natural science methods in the study of social science, while interpretivists reject these methods and underscore the reflexivity of the social world (Lazar 2004, 8). Rather than rely on traditional methods of the scientific method, interpretivists acknowledge the evolution of knowledge and "seek to grasp the meanings that individuals and social groups give to their actions and institutions" (18). This research seeks to engage this epistemological orientation, as I attempt to understand the intertwined relations between social responsibility, empathy, and justice.

3.3. Positionality

As a Middle Eastern woman of color, I have endured the structural injustices of both racial and gender discrimination that have been built into the foundation of our nation. As a first generation American, I was raised under a roof that largely symbolized the "American Dream". My parents fled from Lebanon, in their post-Civil War era, in pursuit of a more opportune life for the family they were to create. They established a home in the South, where I was raised to be a proud Texan and concurrently proud of my heritage. This was difficult to grasp at a young age, however, as I felt that I was just like every other kid in my class.

It wasn't until one "Show and Tell" day in pre-Kindergarten that I realized I was different from the other kids in my class. That week's theme involved bringing a food that represented your cultural background, and when I was deprived of the Vienna sausage that my classmate brought (on the basis of my Islamic upbringing and strict dietary rule of no pork consumption), I was bewildered and felt largely othered. A naïve and failed attempt to declare my religious affiliation with both Islamic and Christian faiths resulted in my questioning of a number of ideologies.

As I grew older, I made it an objective to do my best to understand multiple perspectives before I made a decision or judgement on a particular topic. One could say I adapted the title of the "well-meaning liberal" who falls more on the progressive end in terms of beliefs and values, and who follows multiple forms of non-partisan media. Given all of this, however, I have always felt that this wasn't enough to enact meaningful change, and that even though I generally consider myself to be empathic, I have felt constrained by societal norms and ideologies to focus on emotions that are geared more towards personal responsibility. I found myself trying to meet the popularized notion of becoming an independent woman, who can thrive in this society on her

own. Given that I am a witness and a victim to structural injustice, however, I aim to push the

boundaries once more and make that leap into activism, where I could use my experience,

knowledge, and privilege to highlight what is wrong and act to rectify it.

3.3.1 The Socially Situated Researcher

It is clear that our experiences and background shape our beliefs and understandings of

certain phenomena, but it is rare for researchers to acknowledge these pieces whilst undertaking

their research. In their argument for being able to work towards social change, Jensen and

Glasmeier (2010) assert that being cognizant of our "social situatedness" is crucial for research,

which they define as "the perspective of the problem by the researcher and the positionality of

the investigator relative to the problem" (82). This type of recognition allows for important

insight, in which the researcher can augment by giving their stated perspectives (82). This idea is

based on Haraway's 1987 concept of "situated knowledge," and her proclaimed feminist

objectivity, which declared that "all knowledge stems from a particular combination of

researcher and place" (83). By acknowledging my positionality and social situatedness, I am

optimistic that my interpretations will magnify the quality of my research findings and bring to

light answers that I would have otherwise not come across.

3.4. Methodologies: Approaches to Answering Constitutive Research Questions

In this thesis, I chose several methodologies to discover the information I needed to help

answer my overall research question: In what ways could a greater understanding of empathy

contribute to addressing structural injustice in the US food system? For my first constitutive

research question (what cultural and ideological phenomena activate or repress empathy?), I

employed a systematic review methodology, which "attempts to identify, appraise, and

synthesize all empirical evidence that meets pre-specific eligibility criteria to answer a given

research question" (University of Toronto 2019). In using this methodology, I selected criteria to help gauge whether an idea met or failed to meet empathic rhetoric, which helped illuminate whether the idea appeared to systematically suppress or activate empathy. For my second constitutive research question (what is the role of empathy in addressing structural in justice?), I also utilized a systematic review methodology, in which I searched for academic literature that discusses associations between empathy and social justice, under the pre-selected criteria of power, privilege, interest, and collection ability. For my third constitutive research question (what are ways in which empathy is being cultivated to motivate action on structural injustice?), I utilized a scoping review methodology, which is "a form of knowledge synthesis that addresses an exploratory research question aimed at mapping key concepts, types of evidence, and gaps in research related to a defined area or field by systematically searching, selecting and synthesizing existing knowledge" (University of Toronto 2019). For this question, this examined national and international examples that are implementing or increasing empathetic tendencies to motivate social change.

3.5. Methods: Techniques for Answering the Constitutive Research Questions

In this section, I elaborate on the techniques I used to find and analyze the data that I collected for each research question.

3.5.1. Research Question 1: What cultural and ideological phenomena activate or repress empathy?

My first research question observed peer-reviewed academic literature, on a national scale, that describes cultural and/or ideological phenomena and demonstrates empathetic or apathetic rhetoric. I utilized a literature review method to determine the categories of empathetic rhetoric, which I used to analyze the literature retrieved in my scoping review method. For the

latter method, I researched the term "empathy" in combination with the following key words: "capitalism," "neoliberalism," "individualism," "communitarianism," "democracy," and "feminism". I initially searched for articles in my personal documents that were from past Food Systems and Society (FSS) Master's courses and then searched for these terms within three separate platforms (first two of which were accessed through Oregon Health and Science University's Library): SCOPUS database, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection, and Google/Google scholar. I utilized the method of thematic analysis, in which predetermined categories, or themes, determine where my findings were organized under. Specifically, my units of analysis included the ideologies of capitalism, neoliberalism (includes blame the victim ideology (BVI)), individualism (includes the cultural phenomena of othering and affected ignorance), communitarianism, democracy, and feminism. I examined the first three themes as antagonists to empathy and the remainders as expected activators of empathy—attributing the features of each ideology or cultural phenomenon against empathic rhetoric criteria (compassion, diversity, and situational awareness). The findings were also applied to the US food system as an analytical lens.

In order to answer this research question, I chose to create my own framework of empathic rhetoric that was inspired by Flynn's findings on empathy and language. Flynn asserts that "public understanding and response to acute social challenges will be deeply rooted in empathetic perspective if the language employed to construct and articulate communal awareness is one which embodies compassion, allowance of complexity, and sensitivity to context" (3). Since Flynn does not elaborate on these three aspects in her research, I interpreted her ideas into a new framework for this question. Given that there is no other term close enough to compassion, and since it strikes a very strong chord with empathy, I chose to keep it in my

new framework. My chosen categories that I apply as criteria for analyzing my findings later in this thesis are compassion, diversity, and situational awareness. Compassion, the first principle of empathic rhetoric, is elicited through empathy (specifically via the third aspect of empathy known as empathic response), in addition to action (Riess and Neporent 2018, 24). This idea is a "psychologically subversive [process] because one recognizes, knows, and treats the Other as a person" (LaMothe 2018, 10). Naturally and quite often, people (often minorities) who are subjected as Others represent the unknown or someone who can pose some type of threat. This idea invokes both desire and dread, where the Other concurrently becomes an "object of fear" and an "object of fascination" (Jackson 2006, 201). Acknowledging the Other as a person and not an object that can be manipulated, is, thus, a key component of exuding compassion (LaMothe 2018, 10). The second criterion of diversity includes people from different backgrounds and encourages engagement with individuals who bring diverse perspectives. Diversity places an emphasis on voice by integrating more people and giving them a seat at the table. Lastly, the third criterion of situational awareness suggests that the needs and wellbeing of other entities in a certain situation are acknowledged and considered in any decision-making process. Situational awareness may involve any living organism or other resources to be utilized or affected, such as the physical environment. Since the needs of marginalized groups are often overcome by powerful structures that regularly disregard their needs (Flynn 2007, 3), this method of accountability becomes crucial in addressing the needs of particular social groups who are victims of structural injustice.

3.5.2. Research Question 2: What is the role of empathy in addressing structural injustice?

My second research question observed peer-reviewed academic literature, on a national scale, that states or suggests associations between empathy, social justice and/or social change. I

utilized a literature review method to extrapolate terms that signify empathetic behavior, which I will applied to the literature retrieved in my scoping review method, where I researched the term "empathy" in combination with the following key words: "activism," "social justice," "social responsibility," and "social change". I searched these terms within three separate platforms (first two of which were accessed through Oregon Health and Science University's Library): SCOPUS database, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection, and Google/Google scholar. This question's findings are organized by showing the findings under each of Young's (2011) parameters of reasoning about responsibility (power, privilege, interest, and collective ability) and then by discussing the application of empathy-driven social responsibility for structural injustice in the food system and society.

There are proposed measures that may help guide the pursuit of social responsibility, in an attempt to address structural injustice. Young (2011) refers to a "practically manageable" version of her social connection model of responsibility that can help each individual reason through their own level of responsibility (124). The following measures, known as the "parameters of reasoning," are to help guide this process: power, privilege, interest, and collective ability (142-147). The first two parameters of power and privilege state that the more power and privilege one has, the more responsibility that individual reaps (xvii). These parameters can be mutually exclusive, since some privilege is not always paired with "causal influence" that power bears (xvii). For instance, one who has the privilege of being geographically zoned for a top-rated high school, may not have the power to influence many people at their school. The last two parameters of interest and collective ability demonstrate that the more interest one has in changing structural injustice and the more connections one has to social groups for facilitating change, the more responsibility that individual has. The higher the

interest in tackling the structural injustice by broadcasting a situation as unjust, the higher the

chance of it being heard; thus, victims of injustice normally show higher levels of responsibility

in this instance (146). An illustration of this is the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) who

display a high interest in gaining equal rights and fair wages for food workers by campaigning

against slavery and for fair food (CIW 2018). As for people who demonstrate collective ability,

these are often people who play a role in organizations, such as a sorority or a church (147).

These parameters are helpful for both individuals *and* organizations, to help them decide how

much they can contribute, provided that energy and resources are not infinite (124). Parameters

for rating our social responsibility, such as Young's, can help us determine empathy's role in

driving responsibility for structural injustice.

3.5.3. Research Question 3: What are ways in which empathy is being cultivated to motivate
action on structural injustice?

My third research question observed different strategies or techniques, on the

international scale, that are shown to elicit empathic behaviors. I utilized a scoping review to find

a range of activities that exist in different realms: narratives, education, and technology, and the

method of thematic analysis to organize the data into the aforementioned categories. I searched

for activities and methods that cultivated empathy on websites (including several Google

searches for "cultivating empathy" and "fostering empathy"), scholarly articles, and educational/

recreational blogs. I then analyzed the findings and conjectured how I believed the strategies

found can be applied to the US food system.

As seen in this chapter, there is a considerable influence of our background knowledge on

the way scholars conduct qualitative social science research. My logic for choosing certain

approaches for analysis (methodology) and ways in which I collect my data (methods) are

significant in regard to the data I find and my analysis of them. Different methodologies and methods could certainly lead to different results, so it is important for us to have an overview of the details behind our approach before diving straight into the findings. In the next chapter, I outline the results of my research, analyze what they signify, and close with my overall contribution of this thesis.

Chapter Four

Results, Analysis, and Contribution

In this chapter, I revisit the research problem, uncover the results to my questions, provide an analysis of the findings, and share my anticipated contribution of this paper. My research topic is about the relationship between the deprivation of empathy and the tolerance for structural injustice and inaction, and how this may affect social change in the US food system and society. I have identified the social problem as structural injustice, and the research problem as the relationship between a lack of empathy and inaction on structural injustice. I hypothesize that the lack of empathy acts as an obstruction to participant mobilization and social change within the food system and society. In addressing these issues, I pose an overall research question that asks, "In what ways can a greater understanding of empathy contribute to addressing structural injustice in the US food system?" In order to answer this question, I ask three constitutive research questions to help unravel these larger concepts. The first one asks, "what is the role of empathy in addressing structural injustice?" The second question asks, "what are the cultural and ideological phenomena that activate or repress empathy?" The final question asks, "what are the ways in which empathy is being cultivated to motivate action on structural injustice?"

These are important questions to ask because our psychosocial abilities play a pivotal role in determining our actions. This research dissects this process by examining three parts: the reasons or root causes behind the empathy deficit (which possibly explains the widespread inaction), the potential for empathy to rectify structural injustice, and the strategies that have been implemented to increase empathic behaviors and challenge the injustices that exist today. The following chapter will review the results of each question, provide an analysis of the data

(including the application of the food system), and close with the contribution of the results to the US food system and society.

4.1. American Cultural and Ideological Foundations

In asking "what cultural and ideological phenomena activate or repress empathy?" I attempt to discover ideas and behaviors that influence our ability to empathize and the ways in which each furthers or hinders our progress in reaching social justice. It has become increasingly evident that empathic cognition and behavior are predisposed to overarching ideas and traditions that drive our thought-processes, precisely by altering the ways in which we unpack social problems and foresee changing the motives behind them. Although we are innately built to empathize, there are ideologies and cultural phenomena that sway our social narrative and may either fuel or stand in the way of our ability to restructure our society, our perspectives, and our urgency to mobilize. I present and discuss my findings in either category of 1) ideology or 2) cultural phenomena and assess how each of them work to either activate or repress our empathic cognition and behavior. In order to assess each idea as activators or repressors, I utilize empathic language as the analytical framework and the empathic rhetoric criteria (compassion, diversity, and situational awareness) for answering this question.

By examining the language used to describe each idea, my objective is to reveal instances where empathy shines through and where it has no place at all. The first category of empathic rhetoric to be used as analytical criterion is compassion. The second criterion of diversity acknowledges that social problems are multi-faceted and often require multiple players to help deconstruct its intricate layers and challenges. The third criterion, situational awareness, may be the most important since it takes into consideration all entities being affected by the problem. In other words, the empathetic rhetoric is sensitive to the people and/or subject that it is addressing.

While the criteria are geared to help illuminate empathy-activating ideas, I choose to look at the opposing meanings of the criteria in order to analyze the ideas that are empathy-repressing.

4.1.1 Repressing Empathy: The -isms of Capital, Neoliberal, and Individual

The ideological/cultural cluster of capitalism, neoliberalism, and individualism acts as one of the predominating and most powerful belief systems in the United States. I have chosen to look at this cluster due to the exploitative and oppressive practices that underlie these ideas, especially within the food system.

4.1.1.1. Capitalism

As the prevailing US economic system, capitalism has reaped financial success for the nation, but only at the expense of the livelihoods of people and animals, as well as the surrounding environment. Capitalist origins "required vast social transformations and upheavals" and particularly "a transformation in the human metabolism with nature" (Wood 1990, 39). As mentioned earlier, "social transformations and upheavals" involved primitive accumulation, which involved "divorcing peasants and other laborers from their own means of production so that they have to become wage laborers for the capitalist system" (Wilson 2012, 201). In time, productivity in the ways of capitalism led to expanding and deepening exploitation of labor, land, and the animal biosphere (39). This rhetoric demonstrates the normalized injustice of capitalist exploitation and a complete lack of sensitivity for the aforementioned factors involved in capitalism's success—specifically, in the food system, the overworked and underpaid workforce, abused factory farm animals, and the overused and pesticide-ridden land that grows the food. Wood (1990) exemplifies this lack of sensitivity by deeming the capitalist idea of improvement— "in which production is inseparable from profit"—as "the ethic of exploitation, poverty, and homelessness" (39). These capitalist practices clearly illustrate a void in the

empathic criterion of compassion, as well, with the Other primarily representing the immigrant workforce and the animals bred for food. Animals, in particular, are viewed to be beneath humans, provided specieist factory farming practices that condemn them to "extreme animal suffering" (Williams 2008, 383) and our regular practice of "meat eating" being "the most frequent way in which we interact with animals" (Adams 1993, 40). Additionally, food insecure populations are also demeaned and othered by the capitalist food system, provided that their access to food is largely processed "convenience" food that has dominated "predominantly of-color neighborhoods" and inflicted disadvantageous health outcomes onto these groups (Allen and Melcarek 2013, 3). These outcomes also disproportionately affect women, people of color, and low-income households (Allen and Melcarek 2013, 2). Thus, exploitation is a debilitating, dehumanizing, and anti-empathetic feature of capitalism that serves to feed structural injustice in the US food system.

By heightening the financial and social successes for only a small group of people, capitalism deepens inequalities and perpetuates the existence and tolerance of structural injustice. Although some have positively portrayed capitalism to involve "mass production and consumption of commodities, [and consequently] a phenomenon generalized to embrace the sum total of activities of social life" (Goodman and Redclift 1991, 94), others have argued that it has deepened social inequities by increasing the economic concentration, or monopolization, of power (Howard 2016, 3). The consolidation of industries, profit, and power thus exemplifies the failure to meet the second criterion of empathic rhetoric, which is diversity. This lack of diversity is purposefully designed so that there exists a higher concentration of power in which fewer and larger corporations gain more control and a bigger piece of the pie. Howard (2016) points this with his assertion that "Capitalism as a system is…better understood as a mode of power rather

than a mode of production" (11). In the food system, however, power is paralleled with control over food production. Food giants, such as Walmart, Monsanto, McDonald's, and Tyson not only make up the vast majority of food sales, but they pose negative consequences to society and the environment (2). By getting away with structural injustices that have become normalized— such as extremely low worker wages, pollution, and poor treatment of farmers—less-complex food monopolies under the capitalist system not only evade equal distribution of wealth and punishment for their seemingly normal business practices, but they also successfully sustain the empathy deficit and tolerance for injustice.

4.1.1.2. Neoliberalism

The beginnings of neoliberalism in the twentieth century signaled a rise in anti-empathetic leadership and a shift to methods of care through the market. With the admission of Ronald Reagan into office in 1980 came a rise in whiteness (Layton 2009, 108), which is understood as "a, fiction, cultural ideal created by repudiating undesirable attributes labeled non-white," and shift in understanding of the ideas of human action and freedoms (LaMothe 2018, 7). According to Layton (2009), Reagan and his supporters convinced poor whites to "disidentify with poor blacks," or "welfare queens," who were "deemed unworthy of white empathy" (108). Such lack of compassion and heightened view of the Other remained so strong in the US that it primed impoverished communities of color to succumb to disasters, such as the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina (108). In other words, political and cultural values have shown power in depicting certain social groups as deserving of our attention or undeserving, and this largely dictates how well-equipped they are for facing challenges that lie ahead. Herein lies the "failures of empathy and responsibility towards others in neoliberalism," in which citizens embrace an us versus them mentality (Layton 2009, 117) and start to depend less on each other and more on

their own success. As an ideology that cherishes the ideas of "moral autonomy and 'human freedom [that is] best achieved through the operation of markets'" (Dean 2009, 51), neoliberalism attempts to provide reign of choice through personal purchases. However, as Hoggett (2006) points out, it creates a falsified "market of care" in which people try to ease their vulnerabilities by buying "a phantasied 'security'" for themselves and their loved ones (153), while outsourcing empathy to professionals, such as psychological therapists (Layton 2009, 118). While neoliberalism attempts to provide a diversified market to meet individual needs, it often leans in favor of certain social groups who can afford the top tier of services and fails to provide the preferred level of service and opportunities for every individual. This ideology fails to provide a fair and diverse representation, then, of voice and engagement since there are people unable to participate in the marketplace. Rather than form a system to meet the needs for *all* people, neoliberalism has created a system that fuels inequities by only meeting the needs of *some* people.

Although neoliberalism places a heavy emphasis on the individual, the ideology fails to the view the individual as a human, but rather as a numeric variable. The neoliberal idea of human freedom being given through the market is overrun by the fact that in a neoliberal capitalistic society citizens become human capital, "No longer…constituent elements of sovereignty, members of publics, or even bearers of rights…Rather…they may contribute or be a drag on economic growth; they may be invested in or divested from depending on their potential for GDP enhancement" (Brown 2015, 110). In other words, citizens are viewed not as people, but as contributors or non-contributors to the financial success of the American businesses. With this, we find that there is a forbiddance of both compassion and situational awareness here, given that human beings are reduced to numbers and neoliberal business models bend the rules to

maximize profits. This finding is especially true in the food system, where the logic of a "free market" economy is seen as "antithetical to achieving food security" since those going hungry fail to create "effective demand" for food and do not benefit the capitalist economy (Allen 2004, 130). If people are not buying food, they are not viewed as active participants in the neoliberal market economy. This becomes a crisis between the "stuffed and starved," where the latter group experience huge socioeconomic disparities and are subject to impending food insecurity (Holt-Giménez and Wang 2011, 84). This ongoing removal of humanity and empathy from societal norms, via neoliberalism, poses a threat to society by deepening divisions between social groups and preventing large strides in progress towards uprooting structural injustice.

By creating far-felt experiences through recognized figures, neoliberalism's falsified version of empathy only distracts us from the social problems that exist right outside (and perhaps inside) our doorsteps. This is normally seen through a wave of international celebrity humanitarianism and charitable acts, where people more readily connect, given the identification with a familiar face or name. Some have pointed to the fact that a neoliberalized empathy exists, in the form of a "international humanitarian 'compassion economy,'" which creates immersive experiences and facilitates transnational empathy (quoted in Pedwell 2012a, 173). These experiences, however, are said to reproduce inequity by "fixing categories of 'empathiser' and 'sufferer'" (174). Pedwell (2012a) argues that we cannot divide empathy into a good and bad version, because it is not possible to remove the idea of empathy from the current influence of neoliberalism; rather, neoliberalism can be disrupted through new ways of thinking (174). An additional perspective claims that compassion is "profoundly subversive to market relations and to neoliberal capitalism's formation of entrepreneurial subjects" (LaMothe 2018, 10). Celebrity humanitarianism, more simply understood as popular figures promoting their alliance with a

good cause, creates these entrepreneurial subjects. It is viewed as "part of a larger process of

neoliberal citizenship formation and depoliticization, in which subjects are subtly directed away

from state-based responses…and towards more individualized, enterprising, and market-

mediated forms of social aid" (Mitchell 2016, abstract, 288). While these acts may aid a large

number of people in deeply impactful ways, they may also instigate hyperindividualism, which

celebrates the power of the individual who is able to care for others. One example of celebrity

humanitarianism is Chef José Andrés and his widely known non-profit, World Central Kitchen,

which aided in the creation and facilitation of thousands of meals in Puerto Rico after Hurricane

Maria ; yet, by recently hinting at himself as "the food tsar" (Holpuch 2019), Chef José Andrés'

desire of recognition emphasizes the neoliberal products of fame and fortune that reinforce

power dynamics of hyperindividualism. Neoliberal rationalities in food activism, through

"consumer choice, localism, entrepreneurialism, and self-improvement…[limit] the arguable, the

fundable, the organizable, [and] the scale of effective action" (Mares and Alkon 2011, 72).

Empathy, under a neoliberal influence, "may enable transformative social connections, yet it can

also reproduce dominant social and geopolitical hierarchies and exclusions" (Pedwell 2012a,

176). This ideology, then, lends itself to the sole attribution of power to the privileged via a

wealthy provision of choice and control. Thus, neoliberalism successfully distracts us from

structural injustice in the US, by formulating a version of empathy that often works to reinstate

injustices.

4.1.1.3. Individualism

Shifting the focus from the larger society to the citizen, individualism successfully

represses empathy and a responsibility for structural injustice by encouraging strict

accountability for the self. Foundational to the ideologies of capitalism and neoliberalism,

individualism successfully upholds the commonly held belief of "every man for himself," where only you can look out for yourself. By stressing the idea that individuals are directly accountable only for their life and those within their personal circle,[2] individualism directly promotes the cultural phenomenon of othering. The Other often symbolizes "those who are not represented in generalizations made by those in power" (Jensen 2016, 90). In the United States, the Other is representative of many social identities, but mainly encompasses minority groups, who are often oppressed. Moreover, this contributes to the neoliberal outlook of "us vs. them," and the "blame the victim ideology" which both give people the deceptive belief that we should pit ourselves against the Others because *they* are the problem (Alessio 2011, 16). This narrow scope of mind immediately dismisses the Other and fails to meet the empathic criteria of compassion and the allowance of complexity since it prioritizes a lack of diversity by disassociating with minority groups. This dissociation from others has cultivated "group identities that have become oppositional" and a sense of struggle that is "invigorated by envisioning an enemy group" (Collier 2018, 13). In other words, solidarity in capitalism translates to individuals identifying with a social group, who defends itself against another. Moreover, in Wakefield et al.'s (2012) critical analysis of emergency food programs, they reveal individualism's insensitivity to context for the Other, given "the costs to human dignity of receiving charity [i.e., food stamps], and the damage to social cohesion (i.e., social othering based on constructed identities as 'haves' and 'have-nots')" through shame and stigma (430). Collier contends, however, that "In a successful society people *flourish*, combining prosperity with a sense of belonging and esteem" (25). According to Layton (2009), "The individualist individual fostered by neoliberalism is ever more

---

[2] This has also been termed amoral familism by sociologist John Rodger (2003).

split from the citizen or social individual, which causes a crisis in empathy, responsibility, and accountability" (108). Here, Layton suggests that neoliberalism creates an extreme version of individuals who are displaced from the social realm almost entirely and live within their own bubble. With this highly individualistic existence, empathy exhibits almost no chance of flourishing, let alone surviving. By displacing the individual from the greater society and placing them within smaller versions of society, individualism can only truly foster empathy and accountability within constricted social circles.

By emphasizing the creation of our own unique identities, individualism strategizes to deepen social constructs so as to separate ourselves even more from the Other. Specifically, Layton points out that neoliberal-laced fear of being vulnerable created defense mechanisms that triggered a regression of empathic tendencies and accountability for others (abstract, 105). Individualistic pressures to create identities that mask vulnerability and need are enacted with the purpose of separating ourselves from the more vulnerable (106). This feature of individualism not only entertains a lack of compassion by strengthening social constructs that divide us (race, class, and gender), but deepens structural injustices found along these lines. The strengthening of social constructs works to suppress a diversity of voices, rather than encourage it. Furthermore, the phenomenon to not concern ourselves with others and the structural injustice they face becomes a precursor for what Williams (2008) has called "affected ignorance" (371). She describes this idea as a "phenomenon of people choosing not to investigate whether some practice in which they participate might be immoral or rife with controversy" (371). In other words, people often know that what they participate in may involve some type of wronging to someone or something else but decide that ignoring this feeling is better than addressing it. One example of this is the meat-eating culture that attempts to subdue the backlash it sometimes

receives for the inhumane slaughterhouse conditions that billions of animals face each year

(375). Affected ignorance directly negates the empathic criterion of situational awareness, given

that the people who practice it blatantly choose to disregard the context of a situation. This is

illustrated by the four ways affected ignorance can occur: by refusing to acknowledge the

consequences of their actions, asking to be uninformed, avoiding asking questions, or refusing to

accept that normalized ideological forces can be "mistaken or cruel" (373). Although

individualism represses empathy and social responsibility for the Other (and thus structural

injustice), it is viewed as a special case in the food system.

In the US, individualism has increasingly created a consumer society that is largely

customizable in terms of food design, but negligent of the mechanics of nature. Grocery stores

are becoming increasingly packed with convenience foods that are covered in plastic and

intended to minimize the effort it takes for eating the food (such as prepackaged apple slices);

yet, this comes at a high environmental cost (Hunt 2017). This customized food design highlights

the lack of situational awareness that results from the influence of individualism in the food

system. Lee (2017) posits that our abundant and "permanently cheap food supply," which is

granted by subsidies to crops such as corn and soy, has taken up tons of energy and advantage of

the natural environment. He argues that the food industry displays "extreme empathy," towards

the consumer, which results from a bending of the rules that the food industry so successfully

partakes in (Lee 2017). Having produce all year round, for instance, completely neglects the

natural planting season of fruits and vegetables (lack of situational awareness) but provides the

consumer with tomatoes even when it is not in season (extreme empathy for end user) (Lee

2017). With food innovation accepting every challenge, the idea of "you can't have that right

now" is immediately shut down by the notion to never say never (Lee 2017). However, since

empathy can be detected given the criteria of empathic rhetoric—compassion, diversity, and situational awareness—I argue that this "extreme empathy" for the end user is not *true* empathy since (as highlighted above) it blatantly rejects the last criterion. The plastic and packaging that increasingly masks food symbolize the "physical and psychological barrier [that exists] between us and what we eat" (Hunt 2017). Today's "broken food system" requires us to look at ways in which we can design a future for food that respects the human relationship to the natural food cycle (Hermannsdóttir et. al 2016). While the food system has shown increasing examples of individualism by tending to the consumer, empathy is still repressed as a result of the inconsiderate marketing methods that have increasingly separated consumers from food itself.

In an overview of the ideological/cultural cluster discussed above, it is visible that our empathy is incompatible with all three ideologies and the cultural phenomena (i.e., othering and affected ignorance) that they foster. The ideologies and cultural practices that I chose to analyze highlighted a dependence on exploitative methods, a market that prioritizes profit over people, and identities that deepen social divisions. The cluster's negation of empathic rhetoric—namely compassion, diversity, and situational awareness—actively works to suppress empathy and characteristics of it. As the impetus for obtaining social justice expands within rising food movements, such as local food (Agyeman 2016), the unjust allocation of profit, power, and privilege of this system must be reconsidered. Now, I turn to the ideologies and cultural phenomena that illustrate an activation of empathy.

4.1.2. Activating Empathy: Democracy, Feminism, and Community

There are a number of ideas and cultural practices that may enhance our ability to empathize, but given the timeframe of this paper, I will only elaborate on a select few that exhibit empathic rhetoric and evidently activate this ability. Given that empathy involves some

level of interaction with others and improving others' welfare, I present and discuss the cultural

phenomenon of community and the ideologies of democracy and feminism as important

activators for empathy.

4.1.2.1. Democracy

Original notions of democracy are fundamentally rooted in empathy by allowing the

people of society to be in control, although recent forms of democracy suggest that these ties

may be dwindling. The root meaning of democracy comes from the Greek terms, *demos* (people)

and *kratos* (rule) (Bennett, Grossberg, and Morris 2005, 72). True democracy deems "'the

(common) people' as the quintessential democratic protagonist" (73). This feature of democracy

embraces the empathic rhetoric of the diversity by spreading control to the greater society and

enabling a significant number of people (rather than one ruler or a few representatives of society)

to cast in their vote. The emphasis on deliberation in democracy allows further diversity to the

decision-making process, in addition to situational awareness, given that the people are allowed a

chance to argue and/or discuss their perspective and potentially influence the ways of society.

The common ground for deliberation that humans have "provides a tangible bond that connects

citizens and encourages greater mutual understanding and empathy," in addition to inspiring

solidarity (Kymlicka 2002, 291). This indirectly showcases the encouragement of compassion, as

well, given that all voices (including the Others) of society are meant to be included. Yet, today's

form of democracy, influenced by ideas such as individualism and consumerism, is seemingly in

favor of powerful groups (such as stakeholders and lobbyists) who are seen as "'apathetic,' [due

to] their active control over their own lives and the world at large appearing to be sheer fantasy"

(Bennett, Grossberg and Morris 2005, 76). In other words, powerful influencers have

demonstrated their strong hold over the political-decision making process. One prime example of

this are the large donations of money that "big food" companies send to fund political campaigns (CSPI 2015, 4). These strategies largely skew interests in favor of those who have financial power, and thus largely impact the rest of the nation. This neoliberalized form of democracy, in which money drives the decisions rather than a diverse set of voices, has become a recognized feature of today's politics and veered away from the traditional principles of democracy that lean more towards empathy and justice.

Reviewing modern forms of democracy calls for a need for a revival of these old democratic traditions, since empathy is recharged through foundational ideals of democracy that are inclusive and humanizing. According to Merritt (2017), empathy is critical in inspiring participation of citizenry and overall democracy, but more importantly, it has profound potential to help us address social problems, by diverting from "punitive and judgmental policies, and toward solutions premised on human value and dignity". This rhetoric illustrates a deep sense of compassion with democracy that aims to provide everyone with a sense of livelihood and belonging, rather than inducing the phenomenon of othering that individualism demonstrated. The principles of this ideology have been taken and applied to other sectors, such as the food system, where food democracy represents the idea that citizens are not "passive spectators on the sidelines" but rather gain influence and control agro-food policies on all scales (from local to global) (Hassanein 2003, 79). One growing example of food democracy is the food policy council, which has arisen from North America in the past few decades and brings together a range of groups from the food system to "engage in regular dialogue and constructive, collaborative action" (79). The Toronto Food Policy Council has gained recognition and embraced "food citizenship" and the accountability it suggests— "both belonging and participating, at all levels of relationship from the intimacy of breastfeeding to the discussions at

the World Trade Organization" (Welsh and MacRae 1998, 241). The consequences of democracy—citizenship and collaboration—embrace diversity and situational awareness. Democracy, then, conveys an objective that empowers the people to contribute and collaborate in designing a world that works to defeat adversity and injustice.

4.1.2.2. Feminism

Feminist motives to place women on the same level of men rely on activating empathy so that the dominant male gender can envision the life of the oppressed woman. Comprised of numerous meanings and interpretations, feminism has taken off in many directions. I view today's feminism as a combination of three forms: liberal, radical and socialist feminism. The first focuses on eliminating roadblocks that prevent equality with men, the second attempts to drive a culture that lends more respect and autonomy to women, and the third calls out capitalism's subservient treatment of women (Bennett, Grossberg and Morris 2004, 129). Feminist literature finds that an empathetic process of identifying with another, also termed "affective self-transformation," is key to achieving social justice (Pedwell 2012a, 164). This idea "can open oneself up to different ways of knowing" by reimagining "dominant assumptions, truths and boundaries which underscore gendered, racialized and classed hierarchies" (164). In other words, feminist theory claims that by empathizing with others, we can develop new ways of thinking, or new ideologies, that attempts to portray the Other. This illustration of compassion is a really important characteristic of feminism that challenges antiquated thinking and preserved habits of discrimination. Slocum and Cadieux (2015) further illustrate how "feminist scholarship of emotion, affect, and embodiment" suggest how engaging discourse on the concept of trauma could inspire solidarity and spread empathy to those who haven't experienced it, which is useful in the study and application of food justice (32, 34) since it exposes inequities and relations of

power that inflict harm (32). Additionally, the criteria of diversity and situational awareness are met in this case, since it demands the inclusion and equal treatment of others who are not afforded the same rights. In the food system, this illustration of inequity is seen by the highly disproportionate rates of food insecurity amongst women (Allen and Melcarek 2004, 2). While feminists draw on empathy for gaining attention for their cause, as well as activate empathetic tendencies, feminism is often overshadowed by more dominant ideologies in the United States.

Provided that the US is still a predominantly white, capitalist patriarchy, both racism and the patriarchy work against feminist notions of empathy. Some say empathic features "are considered 'atypical' for males by society's standards…and have the potential to threaten the masculine sense of self" (Freedberg 2007, 254). This generally accepted gendered belief essentially deems the male gender as universally insensitive or apathetic to others' emotions so that their sense of masculinity is not made to seem weaker. Others argue that the notion of justice is male-biased and that a more feminist-sensitive version would "replace the emphasis on justice with an emphasis on caring" (Kymlicka 2002, 377). This male-biased version of justice seems to be what we are experiencing in today's patriarchal society, where the deprivation of empathy (especially for the Other) is failing to achieve justice for those who are victims of oppression. Given that empathy is a physiological feature of humankind, I contend that outside ideologies are always bound to influence empathy, but these influences can always be mitigated or even overthrown by others. This may be acknowledged by the "enhanced feeling of power [that] grows out of the healthy interaction with empathically attuned others, contributing to the capacity to act in the environment with a sense of self-efficacy and purposefulness" (Freedberg 2007, 256). Thus, empathy through feminism may override the dominance that the male gender displays, by transferring an enhanced sense of responsibility towards social justice. It is

important to note, however, that the first wave of feminism in the mid-19th century, sometimes referred to as white feminism, focused on women's suffrage but also "racist rhetoric and unwillingness to include women of color in the vote" (Sheber 2017). Later waves of feminism "were more aware of their use of language and compliance with gender constructs" by embracing intersectionality, or the complex interconnectedness of social constructs (Sheber 2017); nonetheless, the cultural phenomenon of white feminism still exists (RachelCargle 2018). White feminists have been pointed out by women of color for being unaware of the "benefits that they enjoyed from racist institutions and practices," (Bennett, Grossberg and Morris 2004, 130) and of the deeper level of structural injustices that women of color face. Although the feminist movement has made great strides to attain equality among genders, it has also included moments of ignorance that have both intentionally (via racism) and unintentionally maintained structural injustice. Thus, while features of feminism draw on empathic rhetoric and can expectedly strengthen the presence of empathy through modern critique and response, there are also moments where feminism can oppose the activation of empathy through othering.

4.1.2.3. Community

The cultural phenomenon of community has spread to many disciplines of thought and acts to fill an empty void of intimate relations in the American capitalist society. The concept of a community has evolved over the centuries, used first to describe social entities, such as "the commons or common people, as distinguished from those of rank" to a special type of relationship, "in which community was felt to be more immediate than society" (Williams 2015, 39). Williams (2015) describes it as a "warmly persuasive word" which "seems never to be used unfavorably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing terms (40). The positive connotation of community thus lends itself to many social applications in which

participation and compassion for the local community is heavily encouraged. For instance, community supported agriculture, also known as CSA, is a paid subscription of seasonal, farm fresh foods that benefits the farmer and the consumer. This illustrates an empathic situational awareness, in which the people aim to support the community by actively participating in the local business economy. Communitarian emphasis of "the good life as community-shared values" (DuPuis, Harrison, and Goodman 2014, 288) is another indicator that even amongst different types of people in a community, their shared morals automatically creates a sense of compassion for one another. It is important to note here that a community does not solely represent a geographic-based or living community but can be representative of different types that exist across spatial realms, such as "scientific, academic, legal, religious, or business communities" (Bennett, Grossberg and Morris 2004, 51). The versatility of community represents the empathic rhetoric of diversity since, amongst a community of scientists, for example, the mix of assorted backgrounds is still at play. It is important to note, however, that physical communities are not always ideal, since "Geographical proximity does not reduce social and economic distances among people" (Allen 2004, 172). In many instances, the cultural phenomenon of community can bring people together and foster a deep and unique sense of empathy all across the world; yet, there are other instances in which the opposite is true.

While community has given a sense of shared identity that can fuel empathy for members *within* a community, it may also repress empathy for the members *outside* of a community. Generally, the interest behind empathy "renders the disadvantaged into a common in-group" (Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor 2009, 326), but according to a number of scholars, our ability to empathize lends itself to greater interest or fixation on social groups more similar to us than different—via a phenomenon known as empathic bias (Hoffman 1990; Decety and Cowell 2015;

Chen, Martinez and Cheng 2018). Due to empathy's evolvement "within the confines of

parental-care and cooperatively group coexisting," it is likely that we feel more with people who

are members of social groups that we identify with (Chen, Martinez and Cheng 2018, 2). A

community can also exist, then, as an exclusive entity, illuminating social disparities through

"clear asymmetries of power and privilege" (Allen 2004, 172) and separating itself from a larger

society in which people then become strangers in (Strike 2000, 135). This framing of community

and empathy, then, disregards the diversity that we find outside of the spatial realm of a

community and fails to extend situational awareness outside of a specific community. Strike

(2000) argues that "empathy and sympathy continue to be significant motivations to justice" and

fall in a "space between" communitarianism and liberalism, because they are initiated by

interactions with strangers that do not fall into individualistic tendencies of liberalism nor shared

identities of communitarianism (133). This empathic space in between suggests that a more

inclusive version of community may be the next stage of its evolvement, especially in a world

that feels increasingly devoid of empathy. For the food system, this might mean looking past

community-based local food systems, which can result in othering or "otherness" (Allen 2004,

176) by mainly benefiting elite groups who are able to afford and access locally produced foods.

It might also mean finding an empathic and inclusive space that is more accessible to those who

need it most (perhaps through methods of food democracy). While communities create

connection and empathy within their spatial realms, they may also instill an exclusivity that

prevents widespread empathy and social change.

  In answering what ideological and cultural phenomena activate or repress empathy, I

have identified the ideological/cultural cluster of capitalism, neoliberalism, and individualism to

sufficiently repress empathy and the ideological/cultural phenomena of democracy, feminism,

and community to activate empathy. Additionally, I have pointed out the dual-nature of feminism and community to also repress empathy. In the next section, I dig deeper into empathy as it pertains to the social problem of structural injustice and our shared responsibility to alleviate this problem.

4.2. Addressing Structural Injustice

In asking "what is the role of empathy in addressing structural injustice?" I attempt to find out the ways in which empathy may help rectify this social problem. As outlined in Chapter Two, Young's (2011) social connection model serves as a fundamental theory that I apply to this question. Since agents of change have various capacities and restraints in regard to processes that facilitate structural change (Young 2006, 126), I utilize Young's (2011) "parameters of reasoning about responsibility"—power, privilege, interest, and collective ability—which specifically guide our responsibility for structural injustice (144). I look at empathy's role in each of these categories, which I use as criteria for analysis, to then delineate empathy's relationship to structural injustice. To briefly review these criteria, or different degrees of forward-looking responsibility for justice, power refers to the level of influence one may have on inciting change on social structures; privilege, meaning special advantage or benefit (Williams 2015, 184), refers to the adverse side of being victim to an injustice; interest refers to the varying concerns differently positioned people have for rectifying or maintaining structural injustice; collective ability refers to the idea that social change has a higher chance of occurring when multiple people are pushing for it (144). I seek to illuminate empathy's role within these processes and further analyze these findings via the application of the US food system.

4.2.1. Power

      It is with those who have power that are deemed more responsible for inducing structural change, yet the lack of empathy seen in the powerful makes them less likely to go about pursuing this goal. According to Bennett, Grossberg and Morris (2005), "Power has been a compelling reference point in understanding what motivates people, how they stand with one another, what they are in control of and what controls them, and what the future might hold for human societies" (274). The topics of empathy and power rarely coexist in the same space, unless one is mitigating the other. This is due to the inverse relationship that exists between empathy and power, which illustrates the idea that the more power one has, the less empathic one will usually be (Riess and Neporent 2018, 25). Political power has been a prime example of this, which CNN anchor, Dan Rather and co-author Elliot Kirschner have clearly pointed out in their latest publication, "What Unites Us". They claim that "Empathy is not only a personal feeling; it can be a potent force for political and social change…thus the suppression or denial of empathy is a deliberate part of cynical political calculus" (Rather and Kirschner 2017, 102). This political, purposeful suppression of empathy corresponds with the power structures that influence structural injustice found in the food system today. By prioritizing profit and only a handful of food corporations, the corporate food regime reaps power and control over the food system by monopolizing its gains (Holt-Giménez 2011, 312) and creating a monoculture of food and leaders (Alkon and Agyeman 2014, 1-2). This concentration of power and wealth not only furthers the uneven social landscape of economic injustice, but it increasingly makes it difficult for other food system players to participate. By furthering global market liberalization, "technological 'fixes,' and 'land mobility,'" actually render "continued disenfranchisement of the rural poor from food-producing resources to make way for the 'more efficient' producers"

(Holt-Giménez 2011, 320). Additionally, "labor power" is the only commodity capable of generating new value once disbursed (Young 1990, 61). Empathy, in these instances, holds the power to shed light on these unjust power structures. Perceived as "an important ingredient of affirmative social transformation," the perspective-taking feature of empathy "recognises and respects the subjectivity and agency of others and interrogates oppressive hierarchies of power across geopolitical boundaries" (Pedwell 2012b, 282). Thus, in the case of the power*ful*, empathy is instrumental in making the powerful see the power*less* and changing the latter's circumstances so that they are more in line with social justice.

The role of empathy amongst the powerless becomes less about cognizing the victims of structural injustice but rather about creating common grounds and a collective power that inspires structural change and solidarity. Shared experiences of trauma (e.g., homelessness, food insecurity, and racial discrimination) create a sense of understanding amongst different social groups who experience similar circumstances (Slocum and Cadieux 2015, 34). In the practice of food justice, for instance, the focus on trauma and inequity is one of four nodes (others including exchange, land, and labor) found in food justice organizing that confronts "historical, collective trauma and persistent race, gender, and class inequality" (Slocum and Cadieux 2015, abstract, 27). Empathy also plays a strong role at the base of grassroots movements, which prioritize and organize the powerless and impede power that often protects the well-to-do (Riess and Neporent 2018, 25). Movements like the Women's March have garnered the power of empathy amongst a global community of women and supporters for "equality, justice, and compassion for all" (Women's March Global 2019). In this instance, empathy can create social cohesion (Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor 2009, 325) which, as illustrated by the Women's March, can empower people to challenge the current system and stand up for the fair treatment and rights that they

deserve. Thus, empathy's role for the less powerful functions as the glue for solidarity and

motivator for challenging and changing structural injustice that exists within the current system.

Additional viewpoints of the empathy-power relationship are important to consider.

Pedwell (2012b) contends that "the relationship between empathy and social justice is not simply

about the creation of affective connections and openings that allow `difference', power, and

complicity to be recognised and negotiated in the present… [but] also about how empathy might

function as an affective portal to imagining, and journeying towards, different spaces and times

of social justice" (295). Imagination, then, provides a fuel for empathy that allows us to picture

forms of social justice that are not yet in inexistence but inspires us to reach them. This is

perhaps the marvel of empathy, where our minds can sometimes convert the abstract, or what's

seemingly impossible, into reality. While imagination can elevate the role of empathy in relation

to power, other scholars point out that empathy may perpetuate social divisions when the

empathizer neglects "differences in history, power, and experience" (283). This kind of

empathizer negligence is often found when isolation and ignorance is heightened and allows

people to lose sight of the injustices that exist in society (Pedwell 2017, 97). Pedwell (2017)

suggests, however, that powerful and privileged individuals would be convinced to change "their

ways of seeing and being in the world" if emotional processes such as empathy were potent

enough (97). Thus, acknowledging empathy's role within the deeply entrenched power structures

that exist in society illuminates the complexity of structural injustice and the challenges in

attaining social justice. While Young's (2011) parameter of power points out that taking

advantage of our personal power can facilitate social change within our social groups, (and I

concede this to be an integral part of leadership), I also find it critical to point out empathy's role in power structures and the aforementioned implications on the inequity of structural injustice.

4.2.2. Privilege

Privilege, also viewed as a special advantage, very well parallels the parameter of power, since the acquisition of power automatically confers to higher levels of privilege. With that said, empathy is also found to be largely lacking with people who are more privileged, or in other words, with "those who were born lucky" (Rather and Kirschner 2017, 103). Privilege often becomes visible through financial wealth and the dominant racial/ethnic profile, gender, and sexuality. In addition to the upper class and heterosexual male categories, white privilege or whiteness, is a social power that seamlessly permeates all social structures. In the food system, whiteness is readily apparent in food movements by how it "*articulate(s)* white ideals of health and nutrition, *offer(s)* whitened dreams of farming and gardening that erase the past and present of race in agriculture, *mobilize(s)* funding to direct programming toward non-white beneficiaries, and *create(s)* inviting spaces for white people" (Slocum 2011, 314). This is showcased by the demographic of the average landowner in the US, in which "white American families privately own over 98 percent of U.S. land" and POC gradually become less represented in the farming world (Moore 2015). Consequently, black racialized food geographies that were born out of slavery and the planation economy are revealed and showcase "uneven geographies of the present" (Ramirez 2014, 759). It is pertinent to note, however, that being in these roles of privilege makes it quite difficult to "see" one's privilege, which then limits the ability to empathize with those less privileged. Pulido (2000) explains this phenomenon, claiming that "it is precisely because few whites are aware of the benefits they receive simply from being white and that their actions, without malicious intent, may undermine the well-being of people of

color" (15). Fostering empathy within privileged groups is possible, nonetheless, given the exposure to "books, movies, panels, and personal testimony" and perspective-taking models of "simulations, role plays, and case studies" (Goodman 2000, 1066). In order to provide a more accurate representation of a group, however, the provision of a variety of experiences from a particular group is suggested (1066). Privileged groups can be taught empathetic habits, which are shown to "motivate social activism and support for social justice" (1063). Although it is rare that we find ourselves analyzing or even thinking about our positionality of privilege, utilizing tools to activate empathy can allow for the privileged to be moved to modify the unjust conditions of the underprivileged.

While there are associations between empathy and driving social justice motivations within privileged groups, there is a notable limitation of the role of empathy in addressing structural injustice. Feminist and antiracist theorists point out "that claims to `know' or represent the experiences of `others' through empathy may involve forms of projection and appropriation on the part of `privileged subjects' which can reify existing social hierarchies and silence `marginal subjects'" (Spelman 1997, 115). In other words, people exhibiting a type of privilege may have already fixed ideas in their minds of what underprivileged groups may be experiencing, which takes away the chance for the latter group to share their real experiences and for privileged groups to be open to learning about them. This brings up a similar limitation to the one mentioned in the parameter of power and the role of empathy in that the privileged may reinstate differences by overlooking key components of the empathizee's background and positionality. Pedwell (2012a) argues that fixing categories or terminology of the "empathiser" and "sufferer" or "privileged" and "underprivileged" may also reinstate inequities more than they destruct them, but I contest that by not using these terms, one may also forget or override the

critical differences that these groups display. Overall, however, I see empathy's benefits for the privileged to override the limitations. By continuously opening our minds to the lives of others, I suspect that the practice of empathy should reduce these limitations in individual cases over time. More experiential instances of empathy create a "radically 'unsettling' affective experience" where privileged subjects go through "a transformation in consciousness which leads them not only to respond to the experience of 'the other' with greater understanding and compassion but also to recognise their own complicity within transnational hierarchies of power" (Pedwell 2012b, 282). In other words, people with privilege may also considerably benefit from empathy by transforming how they think of themselves in relation to others.

4.2.3. Interest

Interests in changing the circumstances of structural injustice vary according to empathic nature and an individual's positionality, as it relates to the social problem. It might be obvious that victims of injustice hold the highest levels of interest in transforming structures, while civilians who perpetuate injustice may not be so keen on changing a system that they already feel comfortable in (Young 2006, 128). Interest in maintaining structural injustice is void of empathic behavior and largely seen in the US food system as a result of powerful entities, including the aforementioned corporate food regime that controls the decision-making process for what we are allowed to eat. In other words, the choice of food that we find in our zip codes are largely determined by higher powers that are in control of large numbers of food-producing and distributing centers. Further uneven politics that happens to largely control what we eat include "interest groups," such as meat and dairy groups, whose large sums of money and funding influence the governmental guidelines that dictate what *they* think we should be eating (What the Health 2019). A general increase of empathy, in this instance, could begin to stray away from

capitalist food ventures and foster more humanistic goals and policies that reject larger sums of money to determine the foods that are largely made available to us. In other words, empathy-driven policies and an increase in empathic leaders and activists can influence the rules of the food system so that the food in grocery stores and the publicized information on what to eat actually benefit the people and not the economy. Moreover, interests in rectifying structural injustice can be found on the ground-level, where communities are held together by an embrace of empathy and solidarity. One example of this is grassroots, alternative food movements that are often grounded in empathy (Riess and Neporent 2018, 25) and often inspired by marginalized groups. It is important, nevertheless, that we continue to critique movements that are considered "alternative," such as local food, which has been heavily critiqued for its embrace of white leaders and beneficiaries (Agyeman 2016), which reinscribes privilege to the already privileged. Given that empathetic behavior is largely founded on our interests to rectify instances of injustice, it is crucial that agents of change challenge current ideologies and responses that may be suppressing empathy so that empathetic waves of activism and a shared social responsibility are generated for social change.

Our collective and innate interest to bond to those more similar to us is a human tendency which lends itself to a greater likelihood of empathy occurring within, rather than between, social groups. According to Decety and Cowell (2015), a series of neuropsychological exams have revealed that our ways of empathizing are established by social groups we grow up in, since they establish "how people perceive their social environment, experience empathy, and behave prosocially toward others" (9). This reveals significant implications of how childhood development can inherently determine our interests and values for empathizing with others less similar to us and raises a cautionary flag for parenting that does not demonstrate empathic

techniques. This limitation of empathy, referred to earlier as empathic bias, can encourage people to feel less responsible or less *interested* in caring for others who are unlike them, which could potentially obstruct social change towards justice (Hoffman 1990, 169-70). New applications of empathy, however, reveal that there are external influences that present themselves with our social environment and affect how empathy is perceived and utilized towards social justice.

Alternative modalities of empathy can counteract the interest of empathizing within an in-group only. In an effort to employ empathy within and outside of our chosen social groups, scholars propose the application of justice has been found to counteract the limitation of empathic bias (Hoffman 1990, 169-170; Decety and Cowell 2015, 10). One example that shows this application is in Rawl's 1971 "difference principle," which marries the ideas of merit and need so that "merit justifies unequal distribution only if it helps society's least advantaged" (as cited by Hoffman 1990, 169-170). This application is claimed to reduce chances of empathic bias and distress (169-170) by empathizing with the Other, who is often represented in the least advantaged groups. As identified in the previous research question, various interests seem to fuel additional types of empathy. Pedwell (2012b) contends that larger ideologies are impressionable on how we perceive empathy, such as neoliberalized versions that "inflict market-oriented rhetorics…concerned with 'care,' 'equality,' and 'social justice' primarily to the extent that they can be incorporated within, or leveraged to advance, goals of economic competitiveness" (294). These external influences on empathy and on the interest for rectifying structural injustice become complicated and intertwined with outside forces of society, but it is clear that empathy encompasses a versatility that can be tweaked to help guide the interest in rectifying structural injustice.

4.2.4. Collective Ability

In addition to instigating individual action against injustice, empathy is a necessary ingredient in fueling our collective capacities. Over the last few decades, researchers have established that there are associations that exist between empathy and prosocial behavior (Hoffman 1989; Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor 2009; Decety and Cowell 2015; Gair 2017), and specifically that there exists a united phenomenon known as "collective empathy" (Krznaric 2014, 163). One instance of collective empathy has resulted from rising gun violence in the US and the youth-led movement, March for Our Lives, that has inspired people all over the country to actively participate in the political processes to promote gun control and has resulted in 25 states mandating policies on gun reform (NowThisNews, February 14, 2019, accessed March 2, 2019, https://www.instagram.com/nowthisnews). The growth of social movements in the food system also illustrates the collective ability of tackling structural injustice. While there exist many overlaps in food movements' goals and actions, I find that there is one in particular that exudes collectiveness—that is, the food sovereignty movement. Moving past the scope of localized food systems, this movement also embraces allowance of complexity by widening the scope of key players to regional and global scales. Led by the people, for the people, food sovereignty takes a humanizing and radical approach that aims to redistribute natural resources and rights to those resources to help resolve the economic inequities that have caused poverty and hunger in the first place (Holt-Giménez 2011, 324). In an interview called "The Problem of Wokeness," fashion stylist, writer, and artist Ayishat Akanbi stated,

> Once you have compassion and empathy, you can often see that
> you have a lot more in common with people than you do apart and
> it's the system under which we live that forcefully tries to group us
> on our differences. What is radical is kindness. What is radical is
> understanding. That's the one thing they don't want us to do is to

> understand each other. Arguing with each other isn't actually
> radical at all, it's very conformist actually (Double Down News,
> October 2018, accessed November 12, 2018,
> https://www.facebook.com/DoubleDownNews/videos/2830348892
> 16494/?v=283034889216494).

Although Akanbi's viewpoint is rather explicit in tying compassion, empathy, and radicalized behavior, it paints a necessary picture of how this demonstrative trifecta challenges the merciless and anti-collectivist system that we see today. In utilizing our collective and our paralleled empathic abilities, I contend that agents of change in the food system will have a greater chance in rectifying structural injustice. This collectivist feature of empathy serves as a critical force in bringing people together in ways that other related emotions and abilities seem incapable of doing.

An ongoing debate of empathy's effects on our actions, however, includes the idea that while empathy may drive collective abilities for addressing structural injustice, other emotions may be at play. In a review of identified prosocial emotions—specifically, guilt, sympathy, empathy, self-focused anger, and moral outrage—the latter emotion was identified as the one most affiliated with social change outcomes (Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor 2009, 316). Definitions for each of these emotions in this review were provided and included the following: guilt as a feeling arising "from actions (or imagined actions) that we regard as morally reprehensible…for which there is blame to the self" (Lazarus 1991); sympathy as "heightened awareness of another's plight as something to be alleviated" (Wispé 1986, 314); empathy as "the psychological process that at least temporarily *unites* the separate social entities of self and other (Davis 2004, 20); self-focused anger as anger "directed inward at the advantaged group themselves for perpetrating and perpetuating the disadvantage" (Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor 2009, 322); and moral outrage as "anger provoked by the perception that a moral standard—

usually a standard of fairness or justice—has been violated" (Batson et. al 2007, 1272). While

this study's findings suggest that empathy still "motivates wide-ranging forms of action to

alleviate suffering" and social cohesion by merging the normally separate realms of self and

other, it also revealed that moral outrage's moralistic element had a higher likelihood of

influencing change towards social justice (326). This finding is based on the ideas that moral

outrage brings both advantaged and disadvantaged groups toward a common, moral cause

through "shared anger at the system or third party," and being based on political context suggests

political action (324-5). According to Hoffman (1989), however, "Prosocial activism involves

not only empathic motivation, but it also has a significant moral-cognitive component

(principles, values, ideologies)" (79). Hoffman (1994) has discovered empathy presupposing

other emotions, known as empathy-based moral affects, which arise out of seeing someone in

pain (58), and contends that the combination of empathy and abstract principles of empathic

thinking may be enough to instigate mature moral action. As I have revealed in the previous

research question, ideologies largely affect our ability to empathize and thus, I argue that

empathy can be influenced to obstruct social change but in combination with principles of justice

and imagination, it can be a *catalyst* for social change—through individual and collective acts.

The above parameters of reasoning are suggested ways that Young (2006) believes can

help guide a person's reasoning for action in relation to structural injustice (127), and as I have

discussed, each parameter can help illuminates empathy's role in addressing our social

responsibility for structural injustice. For the parameter of power, empathy is found to inspire the

powerful to tend to the powerless and elicit solidarity amongst the latter group; in privilege,

empathy similarly fuels privileged groups to help the underprivileged but also inflict empathizer

negligence by neglecting contextual background of an empathizee (an individual who one is

attempting to empathize with); in interest, empathy is more crucial for those who want to maintain the current state of injustice but also can inflict empathic bias by fostering natural tendencies of empathizing within (rather than between) social groups; in collective ability, empathy is evidently a motivator in collective action for social justice, but shows a higher chance for driving moral action if combined with abstract/imaginative empathic thinking. In the following section, I review methods that are inspiring an activation of empathy.

4.3. Cultivation of Empathy

In asking, "what are ways in which empathy is being cultivated to motivate action on structural injustice?" I review ways in which people and organizations are attempting to increase empathy. I break my findings down into three categories in which I have discovered an ample amount of potential for inspiring empathy: storytelling, education, and technology. I follow these findings with an analysis that includes how I foresee certain strategies applying to the US food system.

4.3.1.1 Empathy in Storytelling

As a result of language itself, narratives, or stories, are increasingly being recognized as a linguistic tool that is used to activate empathy. While studying the cognitive and conceptual processes behind empathy, Martinovsky (2006) revealed that empathy is the adhesive between social interaction since it allows us to align ourselves (cognitively and communicatively) with other people (1787). Similar to other modes of communication, "the act of empathy can be elicited (E), given (G), and received (R)" (1787). According to Martinovsky's research on discourse, a "'fulfilled' empathy episode starts with elicitation of empathy, continues with empathy giving followed by empathy receiving" (1787). The 'empathee' is the one who elicits (or is in need of) empathy *and* receives it from the 'empathizer'; yet, it is important that

individuals can fulfill both roles so that they have the capacity for interaction and discussion that comes with emotions (1785). It is possible for one "utterance" to elicit all three empathic acts, but the last act of receiving, is either in the form of acceptance or rejection (1787). While Martinovsky focuses mainly on linguistic pragmatics through observing dialogue, it is notable that the elicitation of empathy has been historically observed through a phenomenon of which the general population is certainly familiar with—narratives.

This phenomenon of story-telling serves important purposes in changing our thinking and behavior with regard to others. Collier (2018), a professor of economics and public policy at Oxford University, underscores the power behind narratives and presents three functions: to give us a sense of 1) belonging, to a particular group and place, 2) obligation, of knowing what we should and should not do, and 3) causality, to understand that our actions should have purpose since all actions reap consequences (33-34). Collier contends that these three functions of narratives, unite to form "a *belief system*, changing our behavior" (34). Although belief systems can result in poor and undesirable behaviors, they can also transform selfishness and individualistic behaviors into communitarian beliefs, "in which people view each other not with fear or indifference, but with a presumption of mutual regard" (34). The implications of narratives, then, is significant in relation to social transformation, especially since studies show that as humans, "we rely more on stories than on direct observation or tuition" (33). Narratives that shape our understanding of the food system, for instance, help us develop empathy for some while dehumanizing others. Given the dominant narrative of the US food system highlighting the romanticized farmer and his picturesque family farm, it has become clearer that many stories and voices in the food system are still unheard, and that the stories we hear and see shape our understanding of the problems and processes of the food system. The "Voices 2016: Stories

about hunger and its root causes from the Oregon Food Bank Network" project does just this, by demanding "systemic, broad spectrum change" (Oregon Food Bank 2016) and humanizing the people that the American food system has vilified and poorly portrayed. Projects like these are crucial for instigating empathy and social change because it is these untold stories that are important for eliciting compassion for largely oppressed groups—including food system workers (such as farm, factory, and restaurant workers), those without access to healthy food, and even the animals and lands that are subject to exploitation. Thus, it is safe to say that this exchange of information, through narratives, may subconsciously transform the way we think and act towards others.

As an activity found in everyday dialogue, such as within interpersonal and media communications, narratives showcase a variety of techniques that are shown to activate empathy. According to Keen (2006), "character identification" is most commonly associated with empathy, with "narrative situation" following close behind (216). Specifically, "first person narration and the interior representation of characters' consciousness and emotional states" have been found "supporting character identification, contributing to empathetic experiences, opening readers' minds to others, changing attitudes, and even predisposing readers to altruism" (213). This finding has significant implications for school-age children. For instance, narration of the natural world has been shown to create strong potential for activating environmental empathy and mitigating the chances of children developing ecophobia, which has been found to occur when they are presented with fearful accounts of the environment (McKnight 2010, 1). McKnight argues that even the latest scientific research can be translated for the youngest audience and presented in narrative format so that children can develop environmental literacy

(5-6). This illustrates how narratives offer a wide applicability for people, in which the story can speak to or can be geared towards a particular subject matter and target audience.

One growing form of narrative, amongst children and adults, are comics. Also known as graphic essays, comics are shown to "provide 'fast tracks' to empathy" that surpass other methods of narrative techniques (Narrative Empathy 2019). There are several reasons that defend this claim. One is that readers often see themselves as the protagonist, since cartoon faces are too abstract to describe a particular person (Narrative Empathy 2019). Second, the involvement in reading a comic and activation of the brain is elevated because 1) the act of alternating between text and imagery in a comic repetitively reawakens the reader's focus and 2) imagination is triggered for the reader to conjure the events that occur between scenes (Narrative Empathy 2019). Third, context is automatically provided in graphic essays, through the use of imagery and text, whereas modes of film and text do not usually provide this information all at once (Narrative Empathy 2019). Even without narration, the illustrative component of comics allows readers to fully immerse themselves in the characters without having to put much effort into imagining the setting for these circumstances. Fourth, comics can be simple yet complex, given that help create audiences that are "more receptive to nuance and subtlety" (Narrative Empathy 2019). Comics, then, are theorized to trigger the first (affective or emotional) and second (cognitive or thinking) aspects of empathy through expressive images and text that signals logic (Narrative Empathy 2019).

Some comics have taken advantage of their ability to cultivate empathy and tackle social problems that are normally reserved for other mediums (such as academic journals, blogs, and broadcast film). One example of such is Lunarbaboon, a webcomic that provides a humorous spin on topics of "social justice, gender issues, [and] xenophobia," while also incorporating

"messages about tolerance, empathy, and being a force for good in an often dark world" (Bologna 2018). Although some comics provide minimalistic backdrops or even blank facial expressions (Abolish Restaurants), the notion of a character being affected by the relatable social problems is enough to activate empathy. Moreover, the use of comics to bring awareness to serious social problems is important in this day and age, because beyond being an engaging medium, comics are presented from a point of view that does not ask to be debated with. In other words, comics can present a perspective in which the reader does not need to feel immediately defensive about (such as in the form of conversation), but rather to sit and ponder the subject matter. Comics evidently present an important form of art for engaging citizens in a variety of social matters and for creating open-mindedness.

In addition to comics, podcasts have increasingly popped up as popular forms of delivering information, some of which are known for issues of injustice involving race, gender, and class. Similar to comics, podcasts can also provide a platform for storytelling, and more interestingly, evade the immediate judgement of content since most of the time, listeners are unaware of the demographic of the people speaking. Shows like "The American Life" and "Hidden Brain" have cultivated empathy for refugees and POC who are denied shared housing based on their race (Schairer 2019). Additionally, podcasts can feature reporters and journalists, such as Abby Martin, who attempt to spread news that mass media channels neglect to feature. For instance, Martin has been explicit in her findings of the treatment of Palestinians in the Gaza strip, and criticizes the media for failing to address these social justice issues ("#1111-Abby Martin" 2018). Podcasts on food matters, such as The Racist Sandwich and The Secret Ingredient, provide necessary critiques of the flaws of our system and in a variety of perspectives that need to be heard. The Racist Sandwich, for instance, traverses into topics such as food

racism, where guests have furthered conversations on social justice, and shared their personal

stories and perspectives on food that intersect with race, class, and gender (Racist Sandwich

2018). In this type of narrative, content is usually highly informative and can deepen one's

knowledge as well as empathy for a particular person, group, or subject.

4.3.1.2. Empathy in Education

In the sphere of education, cultivating empathy has been growing in a number of ways. In

elementary schools, programs have been administered to tap into emotional literacy and habits of

empathy. In higher academia, the research on empathy has taken off and the findings behind how

it works suggest applications for it that tend toward social justice. In the public sphere, museums

and workshops have become more accessible and empathy-engaging. While there are a number

of efforts increasing empathy, I will divulge the findings of empathy cultivation in education in

the order I have listed above.

Given that stages of childhood development are viewed as prime chances for introducing

morals and values, educators have begun to instill behaviors that reflect positive outcomes later

in life. Roots of Empathy is a program that is doing just that. It is described as an "evidence-

based classroom program that has shown significant effect in reducing levels of aggression

among schoolchildren by raising social/emotional competence and increasing empathy"

(RootsofE 2019). Starting in Canada and spreading to a number of other countries, including the

United States, Roots of Empathy views children as "Changers" and a human baby as the

"Teacher," who visits every few weeks to "help children identify and reflect on their own

feelings and the feelings of others"—the latter of which they refer to as empathy (RootsofE

2019). Along with an assigned curriculum for four different age groups (from kindergarten to 8th

grade), this program has proven to "indicate significant reductions in aggression and increases in

pro-social behavior" (RootsofE 2019). Comparatively, Ashoka's Start Empathy program "supports changemaking in young people and adults" (Ashoka 2019). In the words of Russell Shaw, Headmaster of Georgetown Day School (also an Ashoka Changemaker School), school is not just about conveying content, it's about developing skills and capacities" (Start Empathy 2014). Social-emotional concepts, such as self-regulation and caring, are a central part of the curriculum (Start Empathy 2014), but the strategy to spread their initiatives start with three strategic principles: 1) gathering empathy entrepreneurs by identifying and electing Ashoka Fellow, 2) identifying influential schools, and 3) altering discourse for educators and teachers to include empathy (Start Empathy 2019). By teaching kids and parents alike the morals of care, educational tools for activating empathy can create future generations that are capable of spreading change and understanding.

In higher education, there are applications of empathy to broader subjects that also contribute to how we perceive others and different aspects of the world. Some scholars argue that empathetic humanities (such as history) need to encourage the act of "Reading like a historian," where we must contextualize prior times and thinking, put our values to the side, and try to understand rather than judge (Bevilacqua 2019). This encouragement of empathy as a life practice, in addition to critical thinking and reading skills taught by these humanities, can afford more compassion and altruistic thinking (Bevilacqua 2019). A more indirect application of empathy is said to be found through food, which is what Alison Alkon, a professor of sociology and food studies, refers to as "radical empathy" (Tedx Talks 2018). She deems that food itself "has this tremendous potential to bring us together to allow us to get inside one another's realities," but this requires "engaging with the totality of food system" and sharing our stories by

eating each other's foods and learning about the people behind them (Tedx Talks 2018).

Moreover, educational applications of justice to empathy, such as the concept of social empathy, are normally applied to the teachings in social work, but can be adapted to other areas. The social empathy model, shown in Figure 1, outlines the application of social justice through "social empathy," where contextual understanding and macro perspective-taking are built on educational lessons of oppression, cultural competency, role playing, and policy analyses (Segal and Wagaman 2017, 209).
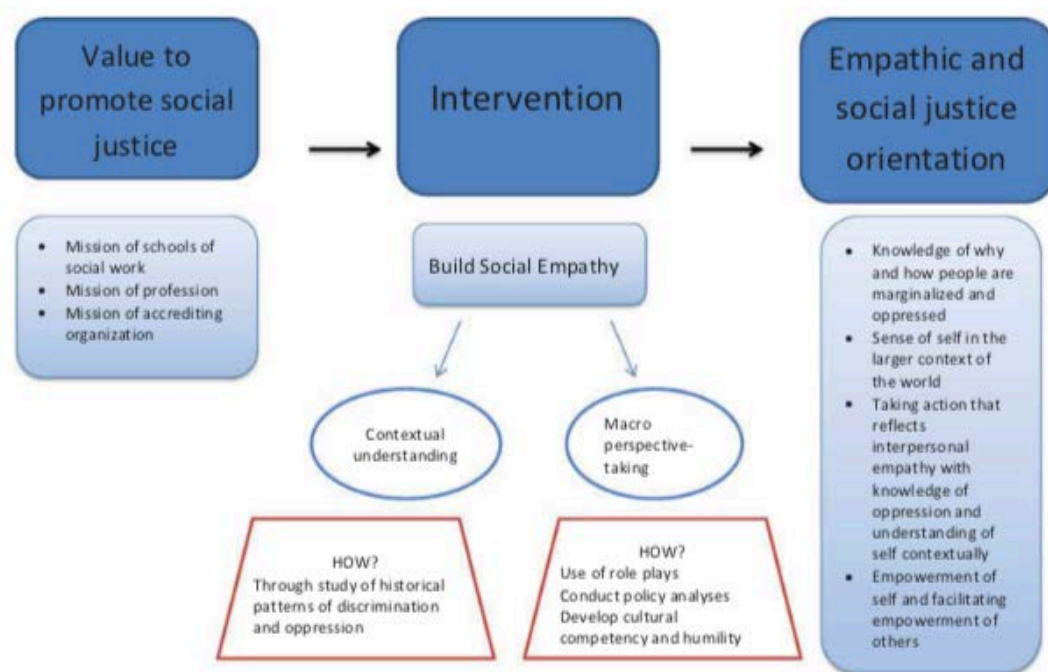

Figure 1: The social empathy model is a social work framework for teaching empathy and social justice

Although this model is specifically geared for social work, I argue that employing a social empathy model can be adapted to all realms of society (especially the food system) and find that agents of change can and should augment their roles by integrating social work principles.

Teachings of historical patterns of discrimination and oppression (contextual understanding) and analyses of self/other, policy and culture (macro perspective-taking) can establish a form of social empathy that may drive a greater understanding of structural injustices that many people face and a willingness to change the system. Hence, empathy can be applied to education in a multitude of ways, to drive all sorts of empathy—including environmental, historical, and social empathy.

Museums have provided a wide range of knowledge to help us learn, feel, and sometimes connect to one another. At the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, for instance, an installation allows for visitors to converse with live people who are victims of displacement or refugees in countries abroad (Merritt 2017). Just in the last year, the Minneapolis Institute of Art established the "world's first Center for Empathy and the Visual Arts," in which "a team of experts have come together to focus on how art museums can teach empathy and compassion" (Caldwell 2018). By enlisting a team of scholars, artists, content experts and more, this center aims to affect visitors through art from all over the globe to instill a sense of "common humanity," even with people with lived in drastically different time periods and places (Cascone 2017). This center aims to measure empathy of its visitors before and after taking a tour of the space, so that it can develop and test ways to further cultivate empathy; still, they believe that their objects project human stories that "can play a vital role in helping people understand each other in our increasingly connected and yet fragmented world" (Cascone 2017). While museums used to be thought of primarily as places to provide us with knowledge, they are now found to be places to teach us humanizing skills, such as empathy.

Attempts to cultivate empathy through museums have been seen to arise all over the world. Prior to the launch of the Center for Empathy and the Visual Arts, "the Empathy

Museum" was launched in 2015 by Roman Krznaric, who has created a pop-up exhibition that

has traveled across the globe (Empathy Museum 2018). Three exhibits have come about from

this concept, including one called "A Mile in My Shoes" which in an enlarged shoebox that

houses more boxes of shoes that one can physically walk in, whilst listening to an audio story of

the owner of the particular shoes—be it a refugee, surgeon, or a sexworker (Empathy Museum

2018). A second exhibit, the "Human Library," was adopted from the previous developers in

Copenhagen in 2000, and invites people to borrow a person for conversation, rather than a book

(Empathy Museum 2018). This movement has made its way to 70 countries, including cities

such as Chicago, where "'Books' are volunteers…who have experienced discrimination based on

race, religion, sexual preference, class, gender identity, sex, age, lifestyle choices, disability, and

other aspects of their life" (Human Library Chicago 2019). Museums have been shown to

provide immersive storytelling experiences that can increase "emotional, educational, and

economic success of their communities" via the cultivation of empathy (Merritt 2017). With

museums taking on the roles of empathic engines, it is foreseeable that the empathy gap will

lessen in the coming years.

Public workshops invite people to come to an open setting to review topics of interest—a

growing number of which are cultivating empathy. The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive

Society at UC Berkeley has hosted public sessions on a variety of topics that encourage one to

put themselves in others' shoes: othering and belonging, the issue of access in environmental

design, violence and so on (Haas Institute 2019). Other workshops are perhaps more intimate,

and impactful. Activist, writer, and lecturer Rachel Cargle has recently traveled the country and

sold out events for her workshops on "Unpacking White Feminism" (RachelCargle 2018). Her

work aims to uncover "the problematic effects that white centered activism has had on the past

and present of the feminist movement and action items…to be more intentional and inclusive" (RachelCargle 2018). The presence of panels in some workshops can add perspective to a subject matter, while creating an engaging platform. The features of film and narrative are additional methods that can also garner empathy amongst the audience. While these workshops do not necessarily state empathy as an end goal, they actively work to cultivate it by fostering the skills of understanding, perspective-taking, and compassion for the Other.

4.3.1.3. Empathy in Technology

Technology has shaped the world as we know it, yet it also has the capability of shaping our perspectives of how we imagine the lived experiences of others. One particular advancement has been virtual reality (VR), which is increasingly becoming an "empathy machine" that "gives people the opportunity to transport themselves into the digital equivalent of another person's shoes (Merritt 2017). Institutions are taking advantage of this technology, in order to create a better sense of understanding for their cause. One such institution is Planned Parenthood, which has introduced a VR video that is created to cultivate empathy for "women who endure harassment from protesters in order to access reproductive health care" (Merritt 2017). Studies of this technology and empathy have continued at places like Stanford's Virtual Human Interaction Lab, which attempts to foster empathy for homeless people by putting someone through experiences such as home eviction and losing a job (Merritt 2017). In the medical world, this is also being applied to make it easier to understand the lived experiences of people with medical disabilities, such as disordered thinking produced through psychiatric illness (Jauhar 2017). Other "empathy gadgets" are furthering this "tele-empathy" by simulating numbness experienced in Diabetic patients, and pain that results from Parkinson's disease (Jauhar 2017). Although some may argue that this is not true empathy, it has incredible implications for caregivers and

those who are "unencumbered by illness" (Jauhar 2017). In a world where imagination is being stifled, artificial replications may serve as a solution for creating improved experiences of understanding and compassion.

Although technology and social justice are topics that are not often grouped together, a combination of these ideas may serve to cultivate empathy in the food system. Museum exhibits on food systems, for instance, can provide a VR experience of what the life of a farm laborer or factory worker looks and feels like. This technology can also be adopted to portray the medical illnesses that result from a typical American diet, such as the physical and social effects that result from obesity. In educational settings for food systems scholars, these types of technological advances may even help us imagine socially just food systems that employ empathetic ideas such as liberation (Harro 2000), and healing historical trauma (Slocum and Cadieux 2015, 34). Technology is constantly improving, which means that its application to the food system holds a great promise for instilling empathy and change.

Contribution

This research addresses empathy because I want to learn how a greater understanding of empathy may affect social transformation, so that we can shed light on its potential for tackling structural injustice and suggest applications for it within the food system and society. Multiple applications of empathy have been discovered through this research, shedding light on the versatility and further complexity of this topic. Depending on the context, empathy has been found to be applied to almost any subject matter (i.e., neoliberalized empathy, historical empathy, environmental empathy, etc.). The influence of larger, oppressive ideologies on the topic of empathy reveals the need to teach habits of empathy that are aligned with social justice. The application of social justice to empathy (aka social empathy) may reduce the limitations of

empathy on structural change (such as empathic bias, empathizer negligence, and an empathizee's rejection/ill-desire of receiving empathy), but further research is needed to expand on these connections. This research has pointed to empathy as a tool that can be learned and practiced for the betterment of ourselves and the greater society.

Additionally, findings in this paper illustrated the power of empathy in regard to social connection and in establishing human dignity, which inspire activism, collectivism, and inclusivity within food-related programs, policies, and movements. Gaps in the knowledge on empathy and justice, especially on their direct relationship, suggest a need for future research to help establish methods and motivations for social change. Overall connections established between empathy and justice suggest that the activation of empathy in the US and abroad will induce greater awareness of social issues and a willingness to mobilize.

I am hopeful that people will be better able to recognize and tap into their empathic ability and situate themselves to better understand others' perspectives after reading this thesis. Consequently, I am hoping that increased awareness of empathy and the national deficit could spark individual and collaborative action, as well as food citizenship. Moreover, our ability to empathize can be useful in almost any situation or problem in which people have to make a decision that will affect someone or something else—given that it may create more considerate thoughts, behaviors, and even connections between diverse peoples. There may also be the indirect effect of forming a stronger identity, and connection with ourselves. This can be encapsulated by the idea based on the premise of human connection—in which we get to know ourselves better by getting to know others.

In this chapter, I have presented the results to my research questions, provided an in-depth analysis of the findings, and illuminated the findings' contribution to the field of the food

system. In this chapter, findings to all three research questions suggest significant implications for the application of empathy. In the first set of findings, activators of empathy were identified as democracy, feminism, and community, whereas capitalism, neoliberalism, and individualism collaboratively work together to repress empathy. Feminism and community show dual characteristics in being able to repress empathy as well, through exclusionary attributes. Moreover, empathy illustrates an important role in parameters of responsibility (power, privilege, interest, and collective action) that illustrates a possibility toward rectifying structural injustice. Empathy's ability to show the powerful and privileged the orientation of their self to the Other proves highly impactful for these social groups to commit to social change. Empathy also has potential to influence people with lower interest in changing the conditions of structural injustice, as well as those who are involved in collaborating with various groups and organizations. Limitations of empathy's role on structural injustice included its tendency to elicit empathic bias and empathizer negligence. Finally, empathetic strategies have been shown to exist all over the world and especially through practices of storytelling, education, and technology. In the following section, I wrap up the research with my conclusion on the findings.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have addressed the topic of empathy and its relationship to structural injustice in the US food system and society. I presented structural injustice as a main social problem that is largely tolerated in the US and theorized that this is due to the lack of empathy that has especially deepened within the past few decades. I proposed that inaction results from this nationwide tolerance and present the notion that empathy, through the lenses of social responsibility and the pragmatics of language, is a key concept and skill for initiating social change in the food system and society.

The results of my research produced both expected and unexpected results. Expectedly, the ideological and cultural cluster of capitalism, neoliberalism, and individualism demonstrated a repression of empathic tendencies, given the apathetic rhetoric that represents the foundation of these ideas. Opposing ideological and cultural phenomenon, such as feminism and community, were found to provide conflicting evidence and both activated and repressed empathy, while the ideology of democracy illustrated empathetic rhetoric that activated empathy. Both sets of repressors and activators were illustrated in the food system. The repressors were found to dominate the current food system, through a monopolizing corporate food regime that highlights individual gains and perpetuates structural injustice through unequal distribution of power and money. The activators were found to be less apparent in the food system but growing from the bottom-up—in the realms of activism and alternative food movements. Additional findings showed that empathy is capable of being influenced by these larger ideologies and cultural phenomena, so much so that it can evolve into different versions, such as neoliberalized

empathy. In the next set of findings, however, specific applications of empathy are suggested to be more suitable for rectifying structural justice.

Empathy was found to act as both a perpetuator of structural injustice and a tool for addressing structural injustice. On the one hand, negative aspects of empathy, such as empathic bias and empathizer negligence, revealed that humans tend to empathize more with people similar to themselves, forget our differences, and project their perspectives and privileges onto others. A social justice model for empathy, however, illustrates how the application of social justice mitigates the chances that the negative aspects of empathy will occur. On the other hand, empathy can act as a tool for people with higher levels of power and privilege, since it helps them "see" their positionalities in relation to others and may result in empathic reaction to improve the welfare of others' conditions. Thus, it is important that empathy is practiced and taught in relation to the topic of social justice.

In researching strategies of practicing empathy, it is surprising and encouraging to see the wide range of organizations that are implementing empathetic skills. In the field of education, empathy is being introduced to youth in school through a variety of programs, and adults are conversing on topics of empathy through the mediums of podcasts and public workshops. In the field of art, empathy is being elicited through expressive mediums that depict the lives of the Other, which are also being put on display in large public settings such as museums. In the food system, the application of such practices may go very far. I propose that an increased concentration of food and food systems in storytelling, education, and higher academia, is in itself increasing awareness of the structural injustice that occurs, but that through the similar strategies mentioned above, greater levels of empathy for the Other can be elicited within the food system. For the greater good, the mediums of narrative and education can improve the

knowledge of food systems that is out there, as well as workshops for the "haves" to help rectify conditions for the "have nots". For those within the food system, an increased output of knowledge and stories about food may elicit more empathy from those outside the food system. Social empathy-social justice workshops for food systems leaders and human rights workshops for food workers could also help inform those within the food system of ways in which social justice can be attainable.

While empathy does not guarantee a shift towards social change and social justice in the food system and society, evidence is favorable for this projected path. Although we'll never *really* know what it would be like to live in someone else's shoes, our imagination and innate ability to empathize can take us past social boundaries that we are told to see as divisions of humankind. And just as structures can be altered, empathy can alter how we envision the world. It encourages us to look where others do not, to question systems that have been in place for longer than we have been alive. As we have discovered throughout this thesis, these structures largely forgo being questioned, challenged, and analyzed as root causes that sustain injustice and bridge social groups from one another. I have attempted to open our eyes to this issue, to the victims of structural injustice, to the power of empathy, and to the fact that we are all involved. In the words of actress Amandla Stenberg and civil rights icon, Congressman John Lewis, "…any journey that opens someone's eyes and softens their hearts is one that is worth taking. Young or old, I encourage you to be an active participant in the journey" (AJC 2019). I believe we all have a role, whether it is leading or supporting, to understand one another and act collectively on our human journey towards an equitable and socially just world.

References

"#1111-Abby Martin." 2018. Hosted by Joe Rogan. The Joe Rogan Experience. *JRE Podcast*, April 26. http://podcasts.joerogan.net/podcasts/abby-martin-6.

Adams, C. J. 1993. "The Rape of Animals, the Butchering of Women." In *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*, 39-62. New York, NY: The Continuum Publishing Company.

Adelman, J. 2013. "Why The U.S. Remains The World's Unchallenged Superpower." Forbes, November 24. Accessed January 12, 2019. https://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2013/11/24/why-the-u-s-remains-the-worlds-unchallenged-superpower/#1ac44f9f5b6e.

Agyeman, J. 2016. "Food." Zed Books, July 26. Accessed May 12, 2019. https://www.zedbooks.net/blog/posts/food-social-justice/.

AJC. 2019. "Congressman John Lewis appears on Academy Awards Show." The Atlanta Journal Constitution, February 24. Accessed February 25, 2019. https://www.ajc.com/news/congressman-john-lewis-appears-academy-awards-show/vUrQdZXMWiw8zpxohUSg0J/.

Alessio, J. 2011. "The Systematic Study of Social Problems." In *Social Problems and Inequality: Social Responsibility through Progressive Sociology*, 1-17. Farnham: Taylor & Francis Group.

Allen, P. 1999. "Reweaving the food security safety net: Mediating entitlement and entrepreneurship. *Agriculture and Human Values* 16: 117-29. Quoted in Ramirez, M.M. 2014. "The Elusive Inclusive: Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food Spaces." *Antipode* 47, no. 3: 748-769.

Allen, P. 2004. *Together at the Table: Sustainability and Sustenance in the American Agrifood System.* 1st ed. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Allen, P. and H. Melcarek. 2013. "The Human Face of Sustainable Food Systems: Adding People to the Environmental Agenda." In Sustainability in the Balance Series." Special Issue. *The Center for Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems* no. 5 (August), 1-18. Accessed September 25, 2016. https://casfs.ucsc.edu/documents/issue-papers/sust_in_balance_5.pdf.

Alkon, A. H. and J. Agyeman. 2014. "The Food Movement as Polyculture." In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability.* Cambridge, US, MIT Press.

Aragon, C. and A. M. Jaggar. 2018. "Agency, Complicity, and the Responsibility to Resist Structural Injustice." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 49, no. 3 (fall): 439-60. Accessed February 2, 2019. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/josp.12251.

Ashoka. 2019. "Every Child Practicing Empathy." Ashoka United States. Accessed February 15, 2019. https://www.ashoka.org/en-US/focus/every-child-practicing-empathy.

Bales, K. and R. Soodalter. 2010. "Slaves in the Pastures of Plenty." In *The Slaves Next Door: Human Trafficking and Slavery in America Today,* 43-77. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Batson, C. D., Kennedy, C. L, Nord, L., Stocks, E. L., Fleming, D. A., Marzette, C. M., et al. 2007. "Anger at unfairness: Is it moral outrage?" *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37: 1272-1285.

Bennett, T., Grossberg, L., and M. Morris. 2014. *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. 1st ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Bevilacqua, A. 2019. "The empathetic humanities have much to teach our adversial culture." Aeon, January 15. Accessed January 26, 2019. https://aeon.co/ideas/the-empathetic-humanities-have-much-to-teach-our-adversarial-culture.

Bologna, C. 2018. "Dad's Sweet Comics Promote Empathy, Tolerance, and Love." Huff Post. Last modified December 12. Accessed January 20, 2019. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/lunarbaboon-comics_n_5a0f15d1e4b0e97dffed08aa.

Brown, W. 2015. Undoing the demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution. New York: Zone Books.

Cadieux, K. V. and R. Slocum. 2015. "What does it mean to *do* food justice?" *Journal of Political Ecology* 22: 1-26.

Caldwell, E. C. 2018. "Can Art Help People Develop Empathy?" JSTOR Daily, January 16. Accessed February 6, 2019. https://daily.jstor.org/can-art-help-people-develop-empathy/.

Carr, Nicholas. 2010. "How the internet is making us stupid." The Telegraph, August 10. Accessed March 14, 2019. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/internet/7967894/How-the-Internet-is-making-us-stupid.html.

Cascone, S. 2017. "Does Art Breed Empathy? This Museum Just Got $750,000 to Find Out." Artnetnews, December 14. Accessed February 20, 2019. https://news.artnet.com/art-world/minneapolis-institute-art-empathy-center-1169075.

Center for Science in the Public Interest. 2015. "Congressional Catering: How Big Food and Agricultural Special Interests Wield Influence in Congress and Undermine Public Health." Accessed March 20, 2019. https://cspinet.org/sites/default/files/attachment/riders-dga-campaign-analysis-report.pdf.

Chen, C., Martinez, R. M., and Y. Cheng. 2018. "The Developmental Origins of the Social Brain: Empathy, Morality, and Justice." *Frontiers in Psychology* 9, no. 2584 (December): 1-9.

Coalition of Immokalee Workers. "About CIW." CIW. Accessed March 11, 2017. http://ciw-online.org/about/.

Collier, P. 2018. The Future of Capitalism: Facing the New Anxieties. NY: Harper Collins Publishers.

Comstock, D. E. 1994. "A Method for Critical Research." In *Readings in the Philosophy of Social Science*, 625-38. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Davis, M. 2002. "The Origins of the Third World." In *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Nino Famines and the Making of the Third World*, 279-310. London, UK: Verso.

Davis, M. H. 2004. "Empathy: Negotiating the border between self and other. In L. Z. Tiedens & C. W. Leach (Eds.), The social life of emotions, 19-42. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dean, J. 2009. *Democracy and other neoliberal fantasies.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Decety, J. and J. M. Cowell. 2015. "Empathy, justice, and moral behavior." *AJOB Neuroscience* 6, no. 3 (July): 3-14. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21507740.2015.1047055.

DuPuis, E. M. and D. Goodman. 2005. "Should we go 'home' to eat? Toward Reflective politics of localism." *Journal of Rural Studies* 21: 359-371. Quoted in Ramirez, M.M. 2014. "The Elusive Inclusive: Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food Spaces." *Antipode* 47, no. 3: 748-769.

Empathy Museum. 2018. Empathy Museum. Accessed March 2, 2017. http://www.empathymuseum.com.

Feeding America. 2018. "Federal Food Assistance Programs." Feeding America. Accessed March 15, 2019. https://www.feedingamerica.org/take-action/advocate/federal-hunger-relief-programs.

Flynn, K. A. 2007. "The Storm of the I: Cultivating Empathy Through the Choice of a Single Word." *The CEA Forum*, 36.1 (Winter/Spring): 1-5.

Freedberg, S. 2007. "Re-examining Empathy: A Relational-Feminist Point of View." *Social Work* 52, no. 3 (July): 251-9. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/sw/52.3.251.

Gair, S. 2017. "Pondering the Colour of Empathy: Social Work Students' Reasoning on Activism, Empathy and Racism." *British Journal of Social Work* 47: 162-180. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcw007.

Goodman, D. and M. Redclift. 1991. "The Origins of the Modern Agri-Food System." In *Refashioning Nature,* 87-132. London: Routledge.

Goodman, D. J. 2000. "Motivating People from Privileged Groups to Support Social Justice." Teachers College Record 102, no. 6: 1061-1085.

Grix, J. 2002. "Introducing Students to the Generic Terminology of Social Research." *Politics* 22, no. 3: 175-186.

Gunderson, R. 2014. "Problems with the Defetishization Thesis: Ethical Consumerism, Alternative Food Systems, and Commodity Fetishism." *Agriculture and Human Values*, 31: 109-117.

Guthman, J. 2008. "Bringing good food to others: Investigating the subjects of alternative food practice." Cultural Geographies 15: 431-447. Quoted in Ramirez, M.M. 2014. "The Elusive Inclusive: Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food Spaces." *Antipode* 47, no. 3: 748-769.

Haas Institute. 2019. Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society. Accessed October 12, 2007. https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu.

Harro, B. 2000. "The Cycle of Liberation." In Readings for Diversity and Social Justice. New York, NY: Routledge.

Harvey, D. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Hassanein, N. 2003. "Practicing food democracy: a pragmatic politics of transformation." *Journal of Rural Studies* 19: 77-86.

Hermannsdóttir, H. S., Dawes, C., Gideonsen, H. and E. De Moor. 2016. "Designing with Empathy: Implications for Food Design." Proceedings of DRS 2016, Design Research Society 50th Anniversary Conference, Brighton, UK, June 27-30. Accessed December 12, 2018. http://www.drs2016.org/520.

History.com Editors. 2009a. "Emancipation Proclamation." HISTORY. Last modified September 3, 2018. Accessed January 20, 2019. https://www.history.com/topics/american-civil-war/emancipation-proclamation.

History.com Editors. 2009b. "Women's Suffrage." HISTORY. Last modified October 9, 2018. Accessed January 20, 2019. https://www.history.com/topics/womens-history/the-fight-for-womens-suffrage.

Hoffman, M. L. 1989. "Empathy and Prosocial Activism." In *Social and Moral Values: Individual and Societal Perspectives*. Edited by N. Eisenberg, J. Reykowski, and E. Staub. NY: New York University.

Hoffman, M. L. 1990. "Empathy and Justice Motivation." *Motivation and Emotion* 14, no. 2: 151-172.

Hoffman, M. L. 1994. "The contribution of empathy to justice and moral judgement." In *Moral Development*: *A Compendium*. Vol. 7, *Reaching Out: Caring, Altruism and Prosocial Behavior*. Edited by B. Puka. N.p.: Rensselaer Institute.

Holpuch, A. 2019. "Chef José Andrés: 'I wouldn't mind if they told me: you are the food tsar'." The Guardian. February 9, 2019. Accessed February 22, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/food/2019/feb/09/chef-jose-andres-disaster-relief-puerto-rico.

Holt-Giménez, E. 2011. "Food Security, Food Justice, or Food Sovereignty?" In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman, 309-30. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Holt-Giménez, E., and Y. Wang. 2011. "Reform or Transformation? The pivotal role of food justice in the U.S. food movement." In *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary global contexts* 5, no. 1: 83-102. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Howard, P. H. 2016. "Food System Concentration: A Political Economy Perspective." In *Concentration and Power in the Food System: Who Controls What We Eat?,* 1-16. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Human Library Chicago. 2019. "Home." Human Library. Accessed February 12, 2019. http://humanlibrarychicago.org.

Hunt, T. 2017. "Fruit and veg come in their own natural wrapping. Why do we smother them in plastic?" The Guardian, June 28. Accessed May 9, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2017/jun/28/fruit-vegetables-plastic-packaging-food-relationship-pollution.

Jackson, P. 2006. "Thinking Geographically." *Geography*, 91, no. 3: 199-204.

Jauhar, S. 2017. "Empathy Gadgets." The New York Times, July 29. Accessed November 6, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/29/opinion/sunday/empathy-gadgets.html.

Jensen, K. B. and A. K. Glasmeier. 2010. "Policy, Research Design and the Socially Situated Researcher." In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, edited by D. DeLyser, S. Herbert, S. Aitken, M. Crang, and L. McDowell, 82-93. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Jensen, S. 2016. "Empathy and Imagination in Education for Sustainability." *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education* 21: 89-105.

Kandel, W. 2008. "Profile of Hired Farmworkers, A 2008 Update." In *Economic Research Report No. 60, Economic Research Service.* N.p.: USDA.

Keen, S. 2006. "A Theory of Narrative Empathy." *NARRATIVE* 14, no. 3 (October): 207-236.

Krznaric, R. 2014. *Empathy: Why it Matters, and How to Get it.* London, UK: Ebury Publishing.

Kymlicka, W. 2002. *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

LaMothe, R. 2018. "Pebbles in the Shoe: Acts of Compassion as Subversion in a Market Society." *Pastoral Psychology*: 1-17. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11089-018-0833-1.

Lanzoni, S. 2015. "A Short History of Empathy." The Atlantic, October 15. Accessed February 20, 2019. https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2015/10/a-short-history-of-empathy/409912/.

Layton, L. 2009. "Who's Responsible? Our Mutual Implication in Each Other's Suffering." *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 19: 105-120. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1048188092779695.

Lazar, D. 2004. "Selected Issues in the Philosophy of Social Science." In *Researching Society and Culture*, edited by C. Seale, 7-19. 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications.

Lazarus, R. S. 1991. *Emotion and adaptation*. NY: Oxford University Press. Quoted in Thomas, E.F., McGarty, C., and K.I. Mavor. 2009. "Transforming "Apathy into Movement": The Role of Prosocial Emotions in Motivating Action for Social Change." *Personality and Social Psychology Review*: 310-333. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1088868309343290.

Lee, M. 2017. "Empathy for the Food System." Food Tech Connect. Accessed September 10, 2018. https://foodtechconnect.com/2017/03/08/empathy-food-system/.

Lo, J. and B. Koenig. 2017. "Food workers and Consumers Organizing for Food Justice." In *The New Food Activism: Opposition, Cooperation, and Collective Action*, edited by A. Alkon and J. Guthman, 133-156. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Lumen. 2019. "Introduction to Motivation." Lumen Boundless Psychology. Accessed March 16, 2019. https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-psychology/chapter/introduction-to-motivation/.

MAP. 2019. "Conversion Therapy Laws." Movement Advancement Project. Last modified March 1, 2019. Accessed February 6, 2019. http://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps/conversion_therapy.

Mares, T. M. and A. H. Alkon. 2011. "Mapping the Food Movement: Addressing Inequality and Neoliberalism." *Environment and Society: Advances in Research* 2: 68-86.

Martinovsky, B. 2006. "Cognitive and Emotive Empathy in Discourse: Towards an Integrated Theory of Mind." Paper presented at the 28th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Society, Vancouver, BC, July 26-29. Accessed November 12, 2018. http://csjarchive.cogsci.rpi.edu/Proceedings/2006/docs/p1783.pdf.

Maye, D. and J. Kirwan. 2013. "Food Security: A Fractured Consensus." *Journal of Rural Studies* 29: 1-6. Accessed January 30, 2017. http://dx.doi.org/10/1016/j.jrurstud.2012.12.001.

McKnight, D. M. 2010. "Overcoming "ecophobia": fostering environmental empathy through narrative in children's science literature." *Front Ecol Environ* 8, no. 6: e10-e15. http://dx.doi.org/10.1890/100041.

Merritt, E. 2017. "Empathy a Mile in My Shoes: Closing the Empathy Deficit." American Alliance of Museums, May 1. Accessed November 4, 2018. https://www.aam-us.org/2017/05/01/empathy-a-mile-in-my-shoes-closing-the-empathy-deficit/.

Miller, P. 2008. "Social Justice." In *SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*. Edited by L.M. Given. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Mitchell, K. 2016. "Celebrity humanitarianism, transnational emotion and the rise of neoliberal citizenship." In "Transnational Lived Citizenship," edited by Kirsi Pauliina Kallio and Katharyne Mitchell. Special Issue, *Global Networks* 16, no. 3 (July): 288-306. Accessed January 19, 2019. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/glob.12114.

Montagut, X. 2011. "We Eat, We Decide." In *Food Movements Unite! Strategies to Transform Our Food System*, edited by Eric Holt-Giménez, 187-199. California: Food First Books.

Moore, A. 2015. "#BlackWealthMatters: The 5 Largest Landowners Own More Land Than All of Black America Combined." Huffington Post. Last Modified December 6, 2017. Accessed April 11, 2017. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/antonio-moore/ted-turner-owns-nearly-14_b_8395448.html.

Moore Lappé, F. and J. Collins. 2015. "World Hunger: Ten Myths." *Food First Backgrounder: Institute for Food and Development Policy* 21, no. 2 (summer): 1-4.

Narrative Empathy. 2019. "Cultivating Empathy with Comics." Narrative Empathy. Accessed February 20, 2019. http://www.narrative-empathy.com/how-can-comics-cultivate-empathy/.

Northwestern University. 2006. "Obama to Graduates: Cultivate Empathy." Northwestern University News, June 6. Accessed March 20, 2018. https://www.northwestern.edu/newscenter/stories/2006/06/barack.html.

Oregon Food Bank. 2016. *VOICES 2016: Stories about hunger and its root causes from the Oregon Food Bank Network.* Oregon: Oregon Food Bank. Accessed May 12, 2018. https://www.oregonfoodbank.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Voices_2016_FINAL_r2-7.pdf

Pedwell, C. 2012a. "Affective (self-) transformations: Empathy, neoliberalism and international development." *Feminist Theory* 13, no. 2: 163-179. Accessed October 20, 2018. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1464700112442644.

Pedwell, C. 2012b. "Economies of empathy: Obama, neoliberalism, and social justice." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30: 280-297. http://dx.doi.org/10.1068/d22710.

Pedwell, C. 2017. "Transforming Habit: Revolution, Routine and Social Change." *Cultural Studies* 31, no. 1: 93-120. Accessed February 4, 2019. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2016.1206134.

Poppendieck, J. 1999. Sweet Charity? Emergency Food and the End of Entitlement. City: Penguin Books.

Pulido, L. 2000. "Rethinking environmental racism: White privilege and urban development in Southern California." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90: 12-40. Quoted in Ramirez, M.M. 2014. "The Elusive Inclusive: Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food Spaces." *Antipode* 47, no. 3: 748-769.

RachelCargle. 2018. "Meet Rachel." Accessed February 20, 2018. https://www.rachelcargle.com/.

Racist Sandwich. 2018. "Home." Accessed November 12, 2018. https://www.racistsandwich.com.

Ramirez, M. M. 2014. "The Elusive Inclusive: Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food Spaces." *Antipode* 47, no. 3: 748-769.

Rather, D. and E. Kirschner. 2017. *What Unites Us: Reflections on Patriotism*. Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill.

Riess, S and L. Neporent. 2018. *The Empathy Effect*. Louisville, CO: Sounds True Publishing.

Rodger, J. 2003. "Social solidarity, welfare and post-emotionalism." Journal of Social Policy 32, no. 3: 403-421.

Roots of Empathy. n.d. "Roots of Empathy." Roots of Empathy US. Accessed February 10, 2019. https://us.rootsofempathy.org/roots-of-empathy/.

Sangiovanni, A. 2018. "Structural Injustice and Individual Responsibility." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 49, no. 3 (fall): 461-83. Accessed February 2, 2019. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/josp.12250.

San Francisco Chronicle. 2015. "Same-sex Marriage Timeline." SFGATE. Accessed February 4, 2019. https://www.sfgate.com/lgbt/article/Same-sex-marriage-timeline-6353000.php.

Schairer, S. 2019. "Listen Up! 6 Podcast Episodes for Cultivating Compassion." The Chopra Center. Accessed February 16, 2019. https://chopra.com/articles/listen-up-6-podcast-episodes-for-cultivating-compassion.

Segal, E. A. and M. A. Wagaman. 2017. "Social Empathy as a Framework for Teaching Social Justice." *Journal of Social Work Education* 53, no. 2: 201-211. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2016.1266980.

Slocum, R. 2011. "Race in the study of food." *Progress in Human Geography* 35, no. 3: 303-327. Quoted in Ramirez, M.M. 2014. "The Elusive Inclusive: Black Food Geographies and Racialized Food Spaces." *Antipode* 47, no. 3: 748-769.

Slocum, R. and K. V. Cadieux. 2015. "Notes on the practice of food justice in the U.S.: understanding and confronting trauma and inequity." *Journal of Political Ecology* 22: 27-52.

Start Empathy. "Ashoka's Start Empathy Initiative" (video). Ashoka United States. January 13, 2014. Accessed February 16, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bfEJBFr5Vxc&feature=youtu.be.

Start Empathy. 2019. "Our Strategy." Ashoka United States. Accessed February 16, 2019. https://startempathy.org/about/strategy/.

Spelman, E. 1997. Fruits of Sorrow: Framing our Attention to Suffering. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Strike, K. A. 2000. "Liberalism, Communitarianism and the Space Between: in Praise of Kindness." *Journal of Moral Education* 29, no. 2: 133-147. http://dx.doi.org/00/020133-15.

Tatsenko, N. 2016. "Empathy in Discourse: Towards an Embodied Cognitive Semantics." *Fìlologìčnì traktati* 8, no. 1: 79-86.

Tedx Talks. "Food as Radical Empathy" (video). 2018. Ted Talk, Emory University, May 30, 2018. Accessed November 2, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f3aW-5qmblY.

Thomas, E. F., McGarty, C., and K. I. Mavor. 2009. "Transforming "Apathy into Movement": The Role of Prosocial Emotions in Motivating Action for Social Change." *Personality and Social Psychology Review*: 310-333. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1088868309343290.

University of Michigan. 2010. "Empathy: College students don't have as much as they used to." University of Michigan News, May 27. Accessed December 28, 2018. https://news.umich.edu/empathy-college-students-don-t-have-as-much-as-they-used-to/.

University of Toronto. 2019. "Systematic & Scoping Reviews: Methodology Behind the Search Strategies." University of Toronto Libraries, Last modified February 19, 2019. Accessed March 2, 2019. https://guides.library.utoronto.ca/c.php?g=588615&p=4068447.

Viertel, J. 2011. "Beyond Voting with Your Fork: From Enlightened Eating to Movement Building." In *Food Movements Unite! Strategies to Transform Our Food System*, edited by Eric Holt-Giménez, 137-147. California: Food First Books.

Viebeck, E. And D. Cassata. 2019. "Senate Backs Bill to Make Lynching a Federal Hate Crime as 2020 Rivals Harris, Booker Join Forces." The Washington Post, February 14. Accessed February 12, 2019. https://www.washingtonpost.com/powerpost/senate-backs-bill-to-make-lynching-a-federal-hate-crime-as-2020-rivals-harris-booker-join-forces/2019/02/14/a9b43f6a-3078-11e9-86ab-5d02109aeb01_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.1a3e8b7420d2.

Vilas, X., Alzate, M., and J. M. Sabucedo. 2016. "Mobilized citizenship: motivates, emotions, and context." *Revista Diversitas: Perspectivas En Psicologia* 12, no. 2: 167-181. http://dx.doi.org/10.15332/s1794-9998.2016.0002.01.

Wakefield, S., J. Fleming, C. Klassen, and A. Skinner. 2012. "Sweet Charity, revisited: Organizational responses to food insecurity in Hamilton and Toronto, Canada." *Critical Social Policy* 33, no. 3: 427-445.

Welsh, J., and R. MacRae. 1998. "Food citizenship and community food security: lessons from Toronto, Canada. Canadian *Journal of Development Studies* 19: 237-55.

What the Health. 2019. "Facts." What the Health Film. Accessed March 10, 2019. http://www.whatthehealthfilm.com/facts.

Wilkinson, R. 2011. "Why Inequality is Bad for You—and Everyone Else." CNN, November 6. Accessed February 29, 2019. https://www.cnn.com/2011/11/06/opinion/wilkinson-inequality-harm/index.html.

Williams, N. M. 2008. "Affected Ignorance and Animal Suffering: Why Our Failure to Debate Factory Farming Puts us at Moral Risk." *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 21, no.4 (August): 371-384.

Williams, R. 2015. Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, T. D. 2012. "Primitive Accumulation and the Labor Subsidies to Capitalism." *Review of Radical Political Economics* 44, no. 2: 201-212.

Winerman, L. 2005. "The Mind's Mirror." *American Psychological Association* 36, no. 9: 48-51.

Wispé, L. 1986. "The distinction between sympathy and empathy: To call forth a concept, a word is needed." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50: 314-321. Quoted in Thomas, E. F., McGarty, C., and K. I. Mavor. 2009. "Transforming "Apathy into Movement": The Role of Prosocial Emotions in Motivating Action for Social Change." *Personality and Social Psychology Review*: 310-333. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1088868309343290.

Women's March Global. 2019. "About Women's March Global." Women's March. Accessed March 21, 2019. https://womensmarchglobal.org/about/.

Wood, E. M. (1990). The Agrarian Origins of Capitalism. In *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View* (pp. 23-41). N.p.: Monthly Review Press.

Young, I. M. 1990. "Five Faces of Oppression." In *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 39-65. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Young, I. M. 2011. *Responsibility for Justice.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Adobe PDF eBook.