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Feeding the Poor: The Interactions of Not for-Profit Organizations and the Decision Making Process of Food Pantry Leaders

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

FEEDING THE POOR:
THE INTERACTIONS OF NOT-FOR-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AND
THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS OF FOOD PANTRY LEADERS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN SOCIOLOGY

BY
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CHICAGO, IL

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Finally, I would like to thank my family for supporting me through this process. My wife, Tammy Madajewski, endured my trials and tribulations during the writing this project, because of her, this would not be possible. My two children, Collin and Rowan, gave me the extra incentive to move forward with this project.

The meaning which production has in relation to the rich is seen revealed in the
meaning which it has for the poor....

—Karl Marx

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ABSTRACT

Organizational theorists have studied institutions on a macro level in order to understand how these structures operate at a social level, accounting for the nature of the written rules and regulations where the involved individuals act both in the internal and external settings. Recently, scholars have focused on the micro level of interactions of individuals within organizations in which they attempt to identify themselves in their given prescript roles. Attempting to understand the interactions of actors within an organization and studying the formation of relationships between organizations, my research about Food Pantries will also discuss the nature of food distribution within poor communities. Because much of the restaurant industry has been focused on the cultural aspects of food preparation and the roles of culinary experts, my research will focus on the flow of food resources. In that regard, scholars also have studied food production on a macro level; however, my research would like to show this process on a micro level. Attempting to focus less on the cultural aspect of food, I will show that the distribution of food resources is a social based issue when combating hunger in poorer communities. In fact, the interviews with Food Pantry leaders will reveal the processes that allow them to allocate necessary resources. Therefore, my research will investigate the nature of Food Pantries as these organizations attempt to combat hunger and how the importance of these leaders is viable to these organizations.

CHAPTER ONE

UNDERSTANDING POVERTY AND FOOD SHELTERS

When arriving to the location, I noticed the grandeur of the campus as it covered approximately a half a city block that included the church, school and the rectory. When on the phone, Alice had asked me to go straight to the rectory which had fine stone details. In front of the entrance, a statue of Mary with open arms stood in middle of a split cement staircase, leading towards two dark doors. Despite the fact it was winter, the grounds were superbly maintained. Once entering the rectory, a security door of single pane glass stood between myself and the reception area. The receptionist, who was thin and in her mid-fifties, buzzed me into the building. As I waited for a few minutes, I noticed a deep dark mahogany wooden cross that seemed unusually small against the tall cathedral ceilings.

Alice, who was the Food Pantry leader, came around the corner and then shook my hand firmly. She was dressed in a casual business attire of dark brown pants, white blouse and long pale yellow shirt. A small cross hung from her neck. Guiding me through an organized set of office spaces, which was outlined for the school, parishioners, who volunteer their time in the rectory, and the clergy, we entered a fairly large conference area. A square wooden table of 15 by 15 was placed in the center of the room where she already had a folder out, and bottled water for me.

Once I sit down, Alice told me that we would go downstairs for the tour after our meeting. At that point, as it would be on my next interviews, I realized that the Food Pantry was an auxiliary branch of the Church. As I would conduct more interviews, I would be reminded over and over again of the first meeting with Alice, these leaders were the managers of the sites, organizing the food products, training the volunteers, reaching out to the community for donations. As I sat with these leaders, I would also realize the magnitude of their work and understand their role in the organization. Even more, being toured by these individuals, I would learn how these leaders would find the necessary food resources in order to distribute to their clients.

Research Question

Due to the recent economic downturn, poor urban communities face greater challenges with the rise of unemployment, ciphering of welfare programs and increase of shortage of public housing (Reuters 2012; Steinhauer 2012; New York Times 2012). Unfortunately out of necessity, various institutions are located in these areas in order to provide the needed social support. Such an example can be the Food Pantry, which is one of the key pieces within these Not-For-Profit Organizations (NFPO) in the community. It provides the necessary food resources for those who cannot afford or obtain food on a weekly, or daily, basis. In these poor urban landscapes, Food Pantries are a part of organizational system within community centers as they become the "resource broker" to help the needy (Small 2006). In fact, these Not-For-Profit Organizations (NFPO) are led by managers, the

Food Pantry Leader, who attempt to find the necessary food resources to feed the poor community. Thus, I define a food pantry leader as the person (or persons) who have the authority to initiate conversation with other organizations, become the key person(s) for the Food Pantry and maintain the relationship for continual support. Therefore, Food Pantries are an essential piece to be examined in poor urban areas to combat the issue of hunger.

Thus, a few scholars have explored how Not-For-Profit leaders develop their roles and responsibilities within the organization as they attempt to combat a social issue and legitimize their progressive need for more resources (DiMaggio and Anheier 1990; Frumkin and Mark 2001). Even more, less research have been focused on how interactions of FPO (For-Profit Organization) and NFPO interact with each other in the daily format beyond the occasional glimpses viewed in public (Atkinson and Galaskiewicz 1988; Small 2006). With these reasons, I ask the following thesis question: How do key Food Pantry Leaders initiate and maintain relationships with For-Profit Organizations? Specifically, how do these leaders develop and maintain these relationships in a way to obtain the necessary food supplies for the organization?

The Poor Community

When understanding the poor communities, research on Food Pantries are illustrated in a myriad of other social disciplines. Not many scholars have noted the importance how Food Pantries feed the poor and have remained out of the spotlight. Reed (2001) discussed how the implications of various issues such as enough food

resources for communities are significant, yet his research focused primarily on housing inequality (175-211). Patillo-McCoy (2004) discussed the importance of community shelters in black communities within church institutions, setting up the basic institutions such as food pantries for social support in the area: Her focus had been on the social movement within churches for black populations to organize and create political and economic change. Even more, Lee and Greif (2008) developed their research about the homeless as they engaged their interviewees in the kitchen areas of community centers, allowing it to become the backstage of their study. Thus within recent research, Food Pantries have been limited in the importance of not how these NFPOs can be an intricate piece but a mere prop to highlight the nature of the intended study.

Due to the "devolution" of federal funding in the recent decades (Marwell 2004: 260), For-Profit Organizations (FPO) are recently supporting more Not-For-Profit organizations (NFPO), such as Food Pantries, while they still follow their own regulations and duties to maintain profits. In essence, food pantry leaders initiate relationships with key members in local for profit organizations in order to stock their food resources and provide meals for the poor. Since the 1980s, Hackworth (2007) noted how city governments have developed an entrepreneurial expansion through the course of neoliberalism and allowed many private corporations to fund privatized programs (17-39).

Even more, research has shown that the poor community demonstrates the perpetual effects of poverty. Wilson (1987) illustrated how these communities

have become dilapidated over the recent decades: One, the movement of large businesses and factories from urban areas have created the influx of rising unemployment and deplorable conditions for the poor; and two, the black middle class leaving the urban communities have shown the displacement of funds and social interest for these communities. As noted earlier, Food Pantries become an intricate piece within community centers in poor urban areas. Consequently, the interactions of NFPOs and FPOS had been presented in a large scale of organizational communication.

Thus, the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) within corporate regulations becomes a response to generate NFPO resources and community support. Therefore, it is the commitment of selected internal actors of that business is to "take action which protects and improves the welfare of society" and to keep their own business interests a priority (Wulfson 2001: 136). More so, CSR is then driven into the other members of that organization and becomes part of the "culture of production," in which all participates are conformed to the business' practices and regulations that affect their performances to adhere to these policies (Vaughan 2004: 337). Although most corporate donations can be defined as a single cause (Kennett 1980: 345), some establishments do create long term relationships with NFPOs where the businesses are "bearing the cost" of community (Keim 1978: 38). Interestingly, corporate donations are viewed externally through their customers who believe that they are contributing to a decent cause.

In the same reasoning, Food Pantries rely on the food industry to allocate resources. Governmental policies have challenged the restaurant industry's stance on donating food products to NFPOs. The Environmental Protection Agency (1996) created two programs to help local communities receive food resources. First, the Traditional Program allows donation of products that are in sealed prepackaged containers. Second, the Prepared Perishable Food Programs allows food establishments to donate already made products in sealed containers with the option of free pick up from the NFPOs. The EPA based program secures restaurant's liability on the perishable products through signed release form of the transferred goods which falls under the Good Samaritan Act (2012). Ironically, these programs are regulated differently from state to state (Illinois State Law 2012). Recently, the National Restaurant Show has reopened this dialogue through educational seminars, examining how restaurants should use the Non Perishable Food Program and using possible tax reforms as a possible incentive (NRA 2011: 1). Thus, the food pantry relies on the handful of restaurateurs who believe in assisting its community.

The perception of NFPOs is seen as self-independent organizations that have its own liberal intentions and goals for assisting the community. In the case of the food pantry, the necessary resources are linked to the relationships of other organizations through its leaders. Consequently, the decision making process for these leaders becomes externalized from the institution in order to obtain the necessary resources for their cause.

Organizational theorists have studied institutions on a macro level to understand the interplay of these structures in society, accounting for the nature of the written rules and regulations where the involved individuals act in both internal and external settings (Scott 2000; Meyer and Rowan 1977; Vaughan 1996). Recently, scholars have focused on the micro level of interactions of individuals within organizations in which they attempt to identify themselves in their given prescript roles (Merton 1940; Hallet 2010; Perrow 1986). Attempting to understand the interactions of actors within an organization, my research will further add into current research being conducted. As I study this formation of relationships between organizations, my investigation will also discuss the nature of food distribution in poor communities. Because much of the restaurant industry have been focused on the cultural aspects of food preparation and the roles of culinary experts (Fine 1996; Inwood et al. 2009), my research will focus on the flow of food resources. In that regard, scholars also have studied food production on a macro level (Pollan 2008; Fonte 2002; Santerre 2008). However, my research would like to show this process on a micro level. The Food Pantry can be a great example as it serves two purposes: One, as a Not-For-Profit organization, it strictly relies on resources from For Profit Organizations, and two, it also combats a larger compounding issue to feed the increasing number of poor people. Therefore, my study will include an organizational theorist perspective and understand the micro level process of food distribution.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY AND FINDING PATTERNS IN DATA

In this chapter, I will discuss how I obtained the necessary data to achieve the results to my research question. Interestingly, as I conducted interviews over the months, they were set mainly in the suburban parts of Chicago versus poor urban areas of the city. This is important because the data will prove that poverty is not just an urban issue. As a result, the interpretation of the data demonstrates the emerging patterns from the interviews.

Methodology

I had conducted one-on-one interviews with Food Pantry Leaders in the Chicago Southwest Suburbs. I chose Food Pantry Leaders because this individual person was in charge of operating the food pantry, had direct contact with other organizations and assisted the needy on a regular basis. As a result, through a snowball effect, I had fifteen interviews through a period of several months which beginning of January until May of that year. Interestingly as I will explain later, the period corresponds to the answers supplied by these leaders.

By using ethnographic data collection, the information from my interviewees shows the mechanisms of running food pantries. Emerson et al. (1995) established how ethnographic research has allowed a firsthand account of social issue to assist the researcher in order to analyze this evidence for a clear answer to the Thesis

question. Thus, by conducting one-on-one interviews, my selected interviewees will give uncompromising view about managing a Food Pantry. Also, with my experience in the restaurant industry, my questions will be open ended for larger discourses. Jessor et al. (1996) illustrated how a researcher's prior knowledge can help in creating and establishing the correct tone for the interview (312). Thus, conducting one-on-one interviews was the best method for the given thesis question. In order to reach out to these leaders, I first emailed a formal letter to them and stated the nature of my study. At that point, the leader would respond back to me within several days.

In addition, the interview itself was conducted at the Food Pantry itself. In all cases, the leaders would give me a tour of the facility. Each location ranged in size and form to help the poor. In fact, three types of locations began to form. One, smaller pantries would be locations with a storeroom ranging in size from two closets to a 20 by 30 square foot storeroom and had extremely limited of hours and services (i.e., two hour period for once a week) for the needy. Two, medium pantries would be locations with available refrigeration, rooms dedicated to product and a dedicated space for the Food Pantry with limited in hours of service (i.e., open twice a week for two hour periods) for the needy. In the first two cases, the leaders were part-time employees of the facility with a set stipend salary and had a budget to run their pantry. Finally, large pantries would be locations that were freestanding buildings with warehouses to storage for food, paper and sundry products, offered a plethora of services beyond food resources and had dedicated full time staff

members. In each of these cases, the pantry dictates how the leader can operate the Not-For-Profit Organization.

The dynamic of the group had been made up of three-fourths women leaders and one-fourth men leaders. As such, out of the 15 interviews, one leader was an African-American woman who ran one of the smaller units. I point this out because my sample size was specifically in the Chicago suburbs. While I had interviewed only two leaders who ran soup kitchens to feed the unemployed, disadvantaged and homeless populations, the majority of my testimonials come from a suburban perspective.

When questioning my interviews, my central focus had been on the organizational set up of the Not-For-Profit organization and the role of Food Pantry Leader. During the conversations, I asked the following questions in order to achieve the necessary results: How does the leader obtain food items on monthly basis? How valuable are the leader's volunteers? How do the clients obtain the necessary goods when they enter into the location? Thus, these various questions would answer the relationship of the food pantry leader with other organizations and their clients in order to address the issue of hunger.

Emerging Patterns in the Data

When understanding the nature of Not-For-Profit Organizations, Food Pantries can represent how these institutions function. While on the parameter of large corporations, a small amount organizations and institutions rely on government support (DiMaggio and Anaheim 1990: 150) and philanthropic

investment (Cheng and Wegner 2001) in order to obtain their resources. Thus, clear definitions should be established in order to understand how these organizations interact with each other. First, FPO (For Profit Organizations) is driven for the capitalistic need to produce and maintain profits for either the shareholders or the private business owner (Perrow 1986: 23). Whereas, the NFPO (Not-For-Profit Organizations) drive goods and services for the community without depending on profit and not its reliant resources (Frumkin and Kim 2001). Consequently within these settings, key individuals determine the formation of relationships towards other organizations, interpret the meaning of institutional rules and produce a social awareness beyond institutional roles.

Even more, a handful of scholars have noted the importance of Not-Profit leaders within their studies through other disciplines (Vyas 2001: 4405-7; Kennett 1980). Therefore in order to understand the food pantry leader, an exploration of their role within the organization itself should be defined. Actors within any organization are vital to the success of the establishment because they interact with people both internally and externally. In effect, the organizational field of a corporation involves the development of departments and creates frequent interactions of these groups in order to understand the decision making processes within the rules and regulations of that given institution (Scott et al. 2000: 13). The individuals of an institution can reach beyond of its parameters to conduct proper relationships with other organizations.

On a macro level, many scholars have studied FPOs in order to understand how it functions in the economic marketplace, defines itself culturally and establish work ethics (Merton 1940; Smircich 1983; Star 1985). In one aspect, research has focused on the organizational plan involving individuals and their burgeoning roles. Meyer and Rowan (1997) explored how the rationality of bureaucratic systems in large firms develops rules and regulations for individuals who play certain roles in that institution. Perrow (1986) analyzed the creation of hierarchy of an organization in order to understand how actors act and react within the surroundings. As a result, he discovered that key individuals control and maintains the institution where the rest of the individuals conform to the rules of that institution to be successful for achieving the necessary profits.

Therefore, Food Pantry Leaders gave insight into their Not-For-Profit Organizations. These women and men demonstrated how the Food Pantry has the means to provide food resources for their clients. In the following sections, I will explore four major reasons how these NFPO leaders adapt to the surrounding community. One, the leader's role and responsibilities establish how the Not-For-Profit organization operates within the parameters of their communities. Two, the reliance and abundance of volunteers within these organizations becomes the essential backbone to the operation. Three, the allocation of food products determines how the Food Pantry leader negotiates the needed resources for the poor. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the Food Pantry leaders establish certain guidelines for the poor to receive food products and other services. In effect,

the following sections will investigate how Food Pantry leaders negotiate their roles and implement necessary rules and regulations within and outside the given institutional settings.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF THE FOOD PANTRY LEADER

The role of the Food Pantry Leader takes on a different form as he or she accepts the social responsibility of combating hunger. In many aspects, the leader is similar to any business manager as he or she attempts to budget their costs in order to provide the right amount of food for the needy. As a result, he or she depends greatly on the needs of other organizations in order to achieve their results. Moreover, I will argue that the Food Pantry leader represents the modern social community organizer.

In addition, the support of the Food Pantry cannot be obtained without the amounts of volunteers who dedicate their time to support the Not-For-Profit organization. The leaders utilize their labor in order to combat the issue of hunger as they deliver humanity into the provided service. In fact, the volunteers become the necessary piece within the organization as they can be both directly and indirectly involved with needy.

In this section, I will demonstrate the characteristics of the Food Pantry leader as he or she negotiates their role both within and outside of the organization. Also, I will explore the volunteer groups within these locations as they are a key element to the organization. Thus, the leader becomes the voice for their clients and cultivates the volunteers for the cause of the organization.

The Responsibilities

While the Food Pantry leader is in charge of the location, he or she still works for a Not-For-Profit organization. In effect, the Not-For-Profit Organizations is reflective on the structure, nature and resources of those institutional goals with the direct influence of the actors of the institution (DiMaggio and Anheier 1990). As such, sociological studies about Not for Profit Organizations focused on different aspects such as policy making for these institutions, and lack of social stratification of poor people (Wu and Schmielle 2005; Corcoran 1995; Scandizzo and Knudsen 1996). Indirectly, these Not-For-Profit agencies are placed to help support the social structure of that given area due to decrease of local governmental support. In this environment, the Food Pantry works within a certain set of guidelines to adhere.

Even more, the Food Pantry leaders are key actors within their locations as they interact with people not just in their organization but beyond as well. The involved actors have the necessary sense making processes to follow the rules. In fact, the socialization of individuals stem beyond the job description and task as they attempt to understand how they fit into the organization. Recent studies have been showing the emergence of new institutionalism and symbolic interactionism in attempting to understand the relationship of actors in their respected organizational duties and responsibilities (Binder 2007; Hallett 2010; Hallett and Ventresca 2006). Hallett (2010) states that the interactions of these actors in society "advances efforts to 'inhabit' institutionalism...with people, their work activities, social interactions and meaning-making process, all which tend to be

obscured by the macro-gaze common in contemporary neo-institutionalism" (53). In other words, the institution creates the essential policies that cultivate a certain relationship with its participants both internally and externally and establish a commonality for these actors to interact cohesively.

In essence, they adapt to the ever changing times and conditions, in order to feed the poor. In fact, they accomplish this process through three ways. One, given their locations for the Food Pantry, the leaders reinstates the mission for the community and the organizations itself. Two, the leaders transcends the message through their offsite interactions and training of their volunteers. Three, the leaders adapt to the social conditions through the creation and redeveloping the program to assist the poor. Despite the Not for Profit organization, the Food Pantry leader represents how current community leaders are conducting the necessary means to invoke change in their communities.

Reinstating the Cause

The primary purpose of the NTFP organizer, like the Food Pantry leader, is to get the community involved and educated on a certain issue. In instances, these particular people can be the charismatic leader who begins the organization, but they are also rare. Weber (1978) stated how these members bring about a certain spiritual aspect in order have the group following (241-261). The next group of individuals come along and bring forth the message of the key individual for the whole organization. Thus, the organization relies on the leader for direction and purpose for the organization, where the mission for the community can be

contrived. Interestingly, the Food Pantry leaders each have different reasoning for coming into their current positions. However, both their philanthropic interest in assisting the needy and their faith for a purpose guided them into helping the organization reinstate the cause for the community.

Primarily, the need to help the poor has a major influence in American history, stemming from the Great Depression. Loeske (1997) established how individuals to donate their services, money and time to charitable causes. There were three main reasons: One, it had been a moral cleansing desire for these giving people to assist the deserving poor; two, a self-political perception was formed that in helping the poor as a noble selection; three, these individuals are upholding the humanity for the desolate, trying to share a piece of normalization (Loeske 1997: 424-444). Essentially, philanthropic work allowed the person to contribute his or her worth into the whole of society. Even more, the development of services had been for those in desperate need and were "to offer protection and repair" such as public health organization or the "basic need means to participate in the labour market" such as the educational system (Evers 2009: 245).

As a result, Food Pantry Leaders had an intrinsic need to help the poor. For instance, Brain runs a large pantry out in Du Page County which feeds approximately 1,500 families on a monthly basis. When asked about his background, he stated:

Well I had worked retail and inside and outside sales and I went back to get my master's Degree. You know, sales takes a lot out of you. And basically, I wanted to give something back to the community. So I went back to get for

Master's and I obtained a position at Catholic Charities where I oversaw the Junior Board.

Brian's desire to help the poor became a professional responsibility. On the other hand, most of the leaders had volunteered at the organization for a period of years before they given a chance to run the operation. In one case, Carrie volunteered at the church for nine years prior before she was asked to run the Pantry, in which she was flattered to do so. In another case, Alice developed Hunger Awareness program for the youth of her church's school where she taught the youth to be aware of people who are hungry and poor. When she had been approached about the position, she felt it was natural for her to take it. Thus, the act of volunteerism helps the leader to reiterate the established community message. The Food Pantry leader's personal desire to help the needy allows them to fall naturally into their current position.

Location of the Pantry

In addition, the location of the Food Pantry was founded by some sort of religious organization. The relationship on the religious affiliation and the community providing social services had been contingent on the worshippers and the beliefs in that community. In understanding religious organizations and educational programs, Sider and Rolland-Unruh (2004) explored how the typology of a religious affiliation had a significant influence in the allocation of resources for a given social service. The authors developed three factors that shaped this point: One, how the religious affiliation shapes its view on the community; two, the objectives of the provided social programs and the structure of the religious

organization; and three, the clear definition of the social service program for its clients (Sider and Rolland-Unruh 2004: 117-9). For Food Pantries, about 60% of their food or monetary donations are received through the parishioners of that given church.

More so, in providing social services, religious organizations mirror their secular counterparts in order to establish the same type of program while conveying a faith based mission statement upon its clients. Thaut (2009) examined how the misperceptions of church services can be construed within its organizational structure and purpose towards the community. As a result, the religious institution affects the nature of the social programs and manipulates the programs objectives, depending on type of religiosity and efficacy of its overall goals (Thaut 2009: 327-8). In determining the taxonomy of religion within these religious organizations, several guidelines should be considered: One, the strength of religious ties to its community; two, "the working culture or staff policies of faith based agencies... reflect their degree of religiosity"; and three, the constraints of donations determine the effectiveness of their religiosity (Thaut 2006: 328-9). Therefore, Christian based faith programs have variance into the degree in the amount of resources and influence of religious beliefs upon its members and clients. Essentially, faith proved to be an important factor in the allocation of resources and "the success of humanitarian efforts" (Thaut 2006: 347).

Effectively, the relationship of the Church and The Food Pantry Leader has unifying effect on the community and the poor. For these leaders, not one person is

turned down or never given provisions. Alice makes a strong case that she never turned anyone down even if the pantry is not open because the information would go back to the priests. In larger locations, like Brian's, Sarah's and Irene's locations, the standards of their operation are reflective of the founding church's principles of never giving to the poor. Thus, the influence of faith resides in these leaders as a response to helping the needy. More evidently, Alice explained that "we come Christen view point that we're all...responsible for each other. We all are all brother and sisters. It's our right in our responsibilities. Goes hand in hand to help those who are struggling." In other words, each of the interviewed leaders had a relationship with the corresponding church.

The Food Pantry leader not only has her personal philanthropic interest at stake but her personal faith to help the poor. Consequently, these leaders effectively manage a well-established community organization and become the voice for the community.

Communicating Need

Food Pantry leaders attempt to communicate the need for resources in their area. As a result, the concept of hunger issues can be a challenging topic to discuss. Food security can be best defined as the "adequate access to healthy and affordable food...[in which] communities that have a range of affordable and accessible food outlets and healthy food choices...are best able to support food security for all households" (Wisconsin Food Security Project accessed 2013). Under this definition, poor communities suffer as a result from financial disparity. Coleman-Jensen (2009)

recently discussed how the concept of food security should be re-addressed in the United States. In the study, lower income households have a greater risk of obtaining food resources and rely on either family members or Not-For-Profit Organizations to receive food products (Coleman-Jensen 2009: 224), concluding that government assistance programs and "emergency food assistance" needs to have a clear definition (Coleman-Jensen 2009: 228).

While the locations of the Food Pantries were in affluent areas, Shaw (2006) attempted to establish a definition of food deserts by understanding the spatial relationship of people and access to retail grocery stores that provided fresh foods. While the study had been conducted in the United Kingdom, the results revealed several conclusions: One, the location of the retail grocer adjusted its food products on the income levels of the area; two, people had a lack of mass transportation to get to the retail grocer; three, both elderly and mentally or physically ill people had even more less access to fresh products and food outlets; and four, people had a lack of training to handle food products (Shaw 2006: 235-241). Although the focus of the study was based on geographical location and people, Shaw revealed the psychological affects due to lack of access to fresh food products.

Thus, the Food Pantry leader is the voice for the community in order to control the ebbs and flows of food resources. When I initially interviewed Alice, the December Holiday season had just finished. I had asked her how she engages organizations to receive more product. She simply replied, "Everyone thinks that (*italicized for emphasis*) is the time to do it. So my job is to educate them, you know,

food is year round problem. Hunger is year round problem." In other words, Alice faces the challenge by reaching out to the community for need. Echoing Alice, Carrie's pantry is only open once a month; but food for the needy is always available with emergency grocery bags composed of dry products only. She stated that "I am connecting with the community because there is a need for people to be involved and someone needs to manage that desire to work with the poor, help the poor." Therefore, the Food Pantry implies the need for resources through the interactions of community awareness.

In addition, Food Pantries have numerous amounts of volunteers that help support the Pantry. Without hesitation, each of the leaders discussed the importance of these men and women because they were so crucial to the organization in which I will later discuss this factor. In fact, some of the volunteers become extension of information for the Food Pantry Leader. When I brought up the subject of her volunteers, Alice graciously spoke about them:

I feel like all my volunteers are ambassadors, outreach ambassadors, for the pantry. They believe in the mission, they work you know...within close connections with those in need. So they can tell the story...So [one of her volunteers] approach this new bakery and said what do you do with your leftover bread or day old bread that you do not use. They are like we throw it out. So she said we got a place where you can donate that to.

In her case, the volunteers are extensions of the organization's mission and community outreach is further enhanced. For Brian, who operates a larger pantry, the volunteers at his location were crucial to running for and being with the clients. In fact, his core group of volunteers gives tours to outside corporations or schools in order for these groups to hear the message and cause from their perspectives. In

either case, the message about hunger and food insecurity becomes a transcending meaning for the whole of the organization.

While the leader maintains and operates the location, he or she strives to bring the community together in order to combat a serious issue. In my interviews, these men and women keep reinstating the cause for the hungry and the church, while at the same time, they attempt to bring awareness to the outside about the increasing issue. In effect, without the legions of volunteers willing to offer their time, the Food Pantry could not exist to help the poor. Therefore, the might of the pantry depends solely on the Food Pantry Leader: This organizer to combat a serious social issue.

The Backbone of the Operation

The Food Pantry Leader could not begin to express the value of their volunteers because they become an important aspect to the organization. Whether it would be bagging up groceries, picking up closed to expired fresh foods from a local grocery store, sorting through a food drive or greeting and assisting the clients directly, these particular men and women embody the concept of philanthropic interest while they become part of the Not-For-Profit Organizational member. In this section, I will explain how the volunteers play an essential role within these Not-For-Profit organizations through the use of scheduling, their capabilities and the challenges of having an entirely volunteer staff. Thus, no matter the size of the operation, volunteers, much like employees in any For Profit Organization, have a functional quality to maintain that organization.

Essentially, I had asked the leaders who comprised the volunteer group. All of them claimed that they were active members in the church. A larger percentage of volunteers consisted of retired members who have a lot of time to spare, and willing to help out for a certain cause. Carrie, Ruby, Alice and Ellen shared the same type of retiree members, who were willing to assist the leader. A smaller group of volunteers consisted of the youth who offered their services for school activities. Brian and Mary expressed how young volunteers helped with many back of scenes work such as stocking pantries and cleaning up the pantry. Even more, a rising number of volunteers had been those who were underemployed or even unemployed. Sarah spoke how her volunteer group rose due to this: She claimed that these people did not want to waste time at home searching for a job and wanted to do something more meaningful.

On a side note, the amount of the volunteers depends on the size of the operation. In small pantries, due to the lack of space, volunteers range from three people towards 25 people. In Nancy's case, she claimed that her operation had four people, including herself, to maintain the location. In fact, when I interviewed Ruby, I caught her group at the end of their service. Ruby's location had a total of seven people not including Ruby, who were packing up the remaining products, straightening tables, cleaning off tables, restocking the small storage room of food and sweeping. In medium pantries, the range of volunteers can range from 50 to 250 volunteers. Alice's location has close to 150 volunteers, in which they do various functions. In Carrie's location, because the food pantry is open only once a

month, Carrie has a group of volunteers of 120 volunteers. For Ellen, the volunteer group heads towards 250 active volunteers. Ellen only works her volunteers for two hours a week the minimum as they begin in their operation, then they progress up in hours. In large pantries, volunteer groups begin at 400 to operate these locations. Brian's location has 450 active members "giving back to the community." Because her location serves close to 1,500 families a month, Mary's location has close to 600 volunteer members. More so, Irene's location has close to 900 volunteers because her operation is open six days a week. Nonetheless, the volunteer group in the location is vital to the operation.

Attempting to utilize the volunteer staff becomes part of the leader's main responsibilities. In fact, where they place volunteers can be a careful process. In small and medium pantries, the leaders interview the potential candidates to determine where they should be best placed in the operation. In larger locations, the operation typically has a Volunteer Organizer, like Daniel, who handles the amount of staff and screens them before entering the operation. Even more, the volunteer usually asks where he or she wants to be located. For example, Carrie pointed out that some of her potential volunteers only wanted to bag up groceries for the clients. Thus, the Food Pantry Leader controls with the functional aspect of their position as they schedule and train these men and women for the operation.

Scheduling volunteers became an intricate, arduous process. For Alice, she stated that scheduling fluctuates often. She sometimes receives phone calls from volunteers who are explaining that "they have doctor's appointments or whatever"

and need the shift off spontaneously: Thus, she has to find someone to replace them for that given shift. Fortunately, for Ruby, having had the same seven people for the last five years, who are timely and know their jobs, she is content with the status quo. If one of Ruby's volunteers is absent, the others cover their positions and pick up times, explaining that she had a solid group. For Irene, she stated that the volunteer coordinator at her location, who was also a volunteer as well, did all the scheduling for the entire place and in each department. No matter the size of the location, the presence of volunteers maintains the location.

In addition, locations utilize the volunteer to the best of her or his capabilities. Because they offer a lot of services for their clients, Sarah attempts to find the best function for the volunteer, whether sorting clothes, training clients on job postings or just stocking shelves in the food pantry. She concluded that they help make her location run smoothly so the clients can get the best service. In these particular larger locations, the volunteers were part of the operation even during closed periods. I observed men and women hustling about at Irene's location, sorting crates of fruits and vegetables for the next day's opening. At Brian's location as we toured, I noticed how two volunteers were unloading skids of product from a truck and storing it in the front of the warehouse. In any case, the leaders make sure volunteers are placed in the role to help serve the needy.

Interestingly, each of these locations trains their volunteers in the operation. In fact, Carrie shared with me various documents how she trained the volunteers. One section discussed how the blind food drops operate throughout her church:

On weekends, as the bins and area around them fill up with donations, volunteers and/or usher carry them to the Rectory basement, where the food pantry is located. During the week, maintenance men, the Director, and volunteers check bins and bring groceries to the rectory basement/food pantry.

The volunteers at her location must become a necessary function and accept the role given for them. Thus by picking up these products to the pantry, the volunteers indirectly support the services provided for this organization. Also, volunteer hours are being logged in order for pantries to receive the necessary resources from large distribution wholesalers. As we toured his location, Brian pointed out a computer where volunteers "punched in and out" so their location could track the amount of hours during shifts. In effect, he suggests for the volunteer not to work more than three hours on a given shift because he only wants him or her to enjoy their experience. Even more, Ellen alluded how her next step in her position had been to calculate volunteer hours so she could apply for different grants that requested the total volunteer labor hours. Finally, core volunteer members train the new volunteers. Irene explained to me that the volunteer coordinator sets up core members with a group of new members to conduct proper training procedures, whether sorting produce, putting away stock or filing information on the clients. Echoing a typical business environment, training volunteers are key to the Not-For-Profit Organization's success.

While these leaders appreciate the value of their volunteer staffs, they admit two unique challenges that face them on daily basis. One, leaders must keep the interest for the cause of the organization alive for the volunteers. As Felicia stated:

To keep them activate, to be involved, to be concerned. I would love to have all 450 help at one time. I don't have that many jobs. My big challenge, now that Peter [who would take over running the operation] is coming on board, I will have more time to investigate how to best use our volunteers.

Felicia's statement clearly demonstrates how much supply she has in her volunteers while she does not currently have the demand for them. Because of this, her operation has a plethora of capable people waiting to be used. Two, leaders find themselves having too many people for their spaces. While in small accounts, the leaders like Ruby and Nancy do not have any wiggle room for themselves much less their volunteers, and decidedly to limit volunteers due to the lack of physical space. While she fed 70 to 80 people of daily basis, Ellen explained how she limits the number of volunteers in her operation. Her location consisted of a large room about 30 by 20 which had been formed into a small grocery store. Encouraging her clients to "shop" the pantry, Ellen could only allow perhaps three to four volunteers stand in certain locations to assist the client. When she toured me, the cramped area had little room (about three feet of space) between the metal racks and wall, while taking a small cart through it. As essential the volunteer can be, he or she becomes an obstacle for the leader due the lack of physical space. Therefore, the extreme amount of volunteers at any location can be an issue because leaders attempt to continuously engage them in the cause of the organization and the lack of physical space can lead to overcrowding.

Volunteers in the Not-For-Profit Organizations are the backbone of the operation. They perform the necessary tasks in order for the operation to run. In fact, the leaders asses these men and women in order to establish what function

would be best. Also, training these individuals is important in order to ensure proper services are met for their clients. Volunteers maintain the operational organization of the food pantry such as stocking shelves, sorting product, picking up product, training new volunteers and doing some administrative work for the leader. However, volunteers pose an interesting challenge. Unlike the employee in a business, the volunteer offers his or her services for the Not-For-Profit organization in which the leader wholeheartedly accepts. Thus, the leader must determine how best this individual can serve the pantry. As a result, the leader must cultivate and maintain the volunteer's interest in the cause. More times than ever, physical space becomes an issue. Even as I toured these locations, while volunteers were present, I could feel the cramped conditions when the location was serving the clients. As such, the size of the location not only dictates the amount of product but determines the amount of volunteers during time of operation.

CHAPTER FOUR

OBTAINING FOOD SUPPLIES

Indeed, the largest obstacle for any Not-For-Profit organization is obtaining the necessary resources. For Food Pantries, the amount of food supplies equates to the size of the operation. As I have described earlier, the amount of resources truly depends on the physical space allotted for holding product. Even more, the Food Pantry leaders reach out to the community in order to obtain these resources. Yet as I will explain, the resources can come through a multitude of avenues in which the food pantry leader must decide which is the best direction to follow.

However, the leader develops and maintains certain rules for the clients who enter their location. While assuming that distributing food to the needy would be an easy process, the clients do have obstacles to overcome. I will explain how the Food Pantry Leaders create various procedures for the clients to undertake in order to obtain food and other services.

Allocating Food Resources

When entering each of the locations, I marveled how the Food Pantry leaders stored their products, organized their shelves and made the food available for their clients. Depending on the size of the Pantry, it showed how much that place could feed those in need. Understandably, the process for the Food Pantry leaders to allocate the food resources for their particular location comes from a varied prong

approach. Thus, Food Pantry leaders do have say in their location from where and how much food resources can be obtained. In this section, I will describe how donations either private or corporate, government funding, grants, localized distribution centers and food rescues impact the location's supplies to meet the demand of the needy.

Private Donations

The majority of the Food Pantries in this study were either located or associated with a religious institution. Interestingly, about half of their food resources stems from parishioners who either overtly or covertly leave off their products. In small pantries, like Carrie and Ruby, their donations come to drop off points located in their churches. While her pantry is only one day of the month, Carrie explained how her written requests in the weekly Church bulletin inform the congregation about the need of food throughout the year. In turn, Ruby, who operates her pantry once a week, will receive bags of canned goods and dry products left near her store room through anonymous donators. In medium sized pantries, donations are driven through monthly Church drives. Alice explained to me how she organized with elementary school attached to the Church about an End of Year school drive in order to stock her pantry for summer. Ellen described how her pantry received food from 12 different churches in the area. Because of this, she continuously had food stocked on her shelves. While larger pantries are separated physically from the founding church, the parishioners of those churches still donate product. Serving over 1,400 families on a monthly basis, Brian explained how he

has strong support from local churches and their food resources make up a third of his food products for the month. Thus, private donations of food products support the demand for Food Pantry where their locations can feed the poor.

As I conducted these interviews, the seasonal shift of private donations affects the level of food supply. For all the leaders, this had been the greatest challenge for them to overcome. Alice stated that it was her duty to "get the word out...and talk about this." As I interviewed Carrie in January, I had noted how much in donations were outside of her small storage area. Carrie described that would be enough to get them through two months, but her supplies would shrink for summer. Noted earlier, Ellen did have a good support of monthly supplies, yet she would make the point of explaining to the churches what exactly they needed throughout the year whether it would be canned soup, canned vegetables, pre-packaged side options or even soap. By early April, the conversation shifted slightly when I interviewed Katherine. While she operated a large pantry, the private donations were already going down so she making a point to approach local churches about the needs of her facility. While on one hand, Food Pantries rely on private donations, the leaders have to reach out to the churches for continuous support throughout the year. Alice stated simply that "hunger is year round problem" not just during the holidays because it is that time of the year for community to "start thinking about it."

Corporate Donations

Another significant chunk of food resources comes from private businesses and corporations. The Food Pantries either receive the donations in two forms: monetary or actual product. Because these organizations do have a significant contribution factor, the sponsorship of that given Food Pantry becomes the focal point. More so, the Food Pantries in this study are well established Not-For-Profits in the community. Yet, the leaders attempt to monitor the amount of donations and timing of the contribution.

In small and medium pantries, the leaders are approached by corporations to donate product. When I asked Alice if she goes out to solicit products from business, she had replied that her volunteers go out to reach local businesses about the pantry. In fact, she described how a chiropractor contacted Alice "to do something" for the pantry because one of her volunteers had mentioned during a recent visit. Alice's stated to the doctor that "Christmas season we are kinda good on food right now" and check with them later in the year. A few days later, Alice received a check for \$500 to purchase food from that particular office. While the food leader keeps the interest of the location to a year round situation, private businesses donate at their leisure.

In large pantries, the leaders find receiving donations from businesses a challenge. Brian discussed how the decline of private donations paralleled the recent economic downturn. In fact, he stated, "Well individual donations have been up. Corporate donations are down. It's difficult. Yeah, when like fiscal cliffs and all

this stuff going on, people are worried." Echoing Brian's sentiments, Katherine, who also runs a fairly large facility in the southern part of Cook County, described how corporate donations have been low over the past years. Indeed, Irene and Mary also expressed their concerns in the soft economy. Yet, when private businesses donate product, this is a surprise for the leader. For instance, Ellen did have some support from a local dentist office which donated toothpaste and toothbrushes to her sight. Thus, large food pantries feel the pressure of corporations conforming to the new economy: Indeed, corporate donations today become a luxury and no longer an expectation.

Food Distribution Centers

Unanimously, each of the Food Pantry leaders purchase food from two big sources in the Chicago area: one, the Greater Chicago Food Depository (GCFD) supports the Cook County pantries; and two, The Northern Illinois Food Bank (NFIB) serves the Du Page County pantries. In both cases, the pantry pays for food from either of these locations. GCFD charges seven cents a pound for food products, while NFIB charges different prices for each item at low rates. As Brian pointed out, gallons of milk purchased at his location have been locked in at two dollars a gallon. Also, it is their discretion to choose what they would like. In fact, the interviewed leaders all get the free items as much as possible. Finally, both distribution centers offer delivery of products to the larger pantries, but the small and medium pantries must go and pick up their products. In one exception, Nancy, who runs an extremely small pantry and has very little community support, purchases close to 80% of her

products from NIFB. For her location, NIFB does offer to drop product because she purchases only in bulk. Simply, for other locations, the food is not broken off the pallet and delivered in that manner. Thus, the leaders find ordering product, the staple items, important from these centers as they cannot rely on the private donations on a consistent basis. Even more, especially in summer months, when summer donations decline, ordering from either GCFD or NIFB becomes an essential piece during times in order to keep the pantries stocked.

Federal Funding and Grants

Of the 11 pantries, only four of the sites had some involvement with federal funding. Lamenting over his last employment at a Not-For-Profit which had a greater percentage of federal funding, Brian's pantry only receives 10% of federal funding; this drew him to his current position. Irene and Katherine have a larger percentage of federal money which means their pantries are open to everyone in their respected county. In that regard, they cannot turn away any person who comes through their door. Also, their pantries are required to track the amount of people coming to receive product on a monthly basis. Because of this, all of these particular leaders have full time positions in order to generate the correct information for their organization and to supply to the government.

In addition, these particular leaders do have grants supporting their pantries as well. In fact, Katherine explained to me how their sight has a full time grant writer who is vital to obtain necessary funding. For Irene, the director of the NFPO takes the responsibility of writing and applying for grants. While not as large as

Irene, Katherine or Brian's facilities, Ellen has been procuring grants recently. In her case, one of her volunteers used to be a grant writer in her "past life": She approached the woman to write them for the site. Naturally, her volunteer gladly accepted the job. Thus, the process of applying for grants can be a time consuming effort and large sites have the capabilities to accomplish this.

For these reasons, smaller and medium sized pantries do not involve themselves with federal funding or grants. As a result, they become more reliant on surrounding community's efforts.

'Food Rescues'

When interviewing these men and women, an interesting concept began to emerge from their discussions. These pantries have connections with local grocery stores, quick service establishments and local businesses. Typically, volunteers go out to a local business, such as a grocery store, bakery or coffee shop, to pick up close to expired dairy meat or frozen items, produce on the verge of spoiling and day old bread and pastries. At this point, they load up a van or truck and then return the items back to the pantry. Finally, the products are then unloaded, sorted and made ready for the needy on the day of operation. This process is called a food rescue. These are essential to the pantry because it provides fresh food for their clients.

How did these relationships form with these sites? With my interviews, I can provide a synopsis in this process, in which interestingly, it occurs in two ways. One, because these are well established organizations in the community, the store

approaches the leader, where the business agrees to the policy of giving product over to the pantry. Two, a volunteer approaches the store or business and ask them to donate product to the site. In the latter case, the leader then speaks with the manager or owner to make the arrangements. Yet, these relationships have been forged for a long period of time, typically before the leader has been in their current position.

Notably, the size of the location is critical to the food rescue amounts. In smaller pantries, food rescues are intrical planning process. For Carrie's location, a local caterer purchases the pantry's fresh produce to be donated for their service time every third of the month, in which one of core volunteers picks it that week. For Alice's location, the local grocery store and nearby bakery, supply product to her location the day before she opens her pantry. Typically, her volunteers run to these locations, take the items and stock the pantry. In fact, Alice's volunteers round up these products on a weekly basis. For Ruby, the store manager of a large grocery chain will call her on Fridays for product pickup which she picks up herself and brings it to the location. In these cases, food rescues become an essential piece for their clients because the offering of fresh produce, dairy and even meat products allows more choice than only non-perishable items like canned vegetables, fruits and stews.

In larger locations, the Food Pantry Leaders have a legion of volunteers who go out on daily basis and return product to the main location. While on the tour of Irene's location in the western suburbs of Chicago, I witnessed a truck being

unloaded by volunteers from a food rescue. Irene pointed out that their location has many local grocery stores in which product is picked up six days a week. While it had not been open at the time for clients, Brian had told me that volunteers were out and about picking various rescues throughout the immediate area. In fact, when they receive product, his volunteers log how much product had been brought in and where they received the product. At the very end of my tour with Mary, volunteers had been unloading a food rescue of fresh produce consisting of fruits and vegetables for the next day's service. The larger locations had the facility to store the fresh products because there were walk-in freezers, coolers and large storerooms to hold the product. In addition, these locations had more operating hours serving their clients anywhere from four to six times during that week. Because these locations were open at least five days a week, the quick turnover of fresh product for the clients becomes a staple item for distribution.

An important question I had brought up interviewing these men and women had been food rescues from local restaurants. Overall, the leaders stated that their operations were not equipped to hold that type of food. Irene believed that their location was providing food for the clients to take home and they did not want to give out any risky products. In fact, if a restaurant had called recently to donate food, she passed on homeless shelters where the food could be reheated properly and served immediately. In addition, some of the leaders did not have the available time to pick up their product. When I asked Alice, she explained that they would love to offer this service, but being called in middle of the night for pickups, trying to

schedule volunteers to pick up product at night and interrupting her life did not seem practical.

Yet, Felicia's operation does offer restaurant items to her clients. Operating a dinner program for the homeless, underemployed and the needy, she offers meals to 120 people one day week. When she began the meals, she had spoken to a local downtown restaurant owner for food. It accelerated at the point. Today, many downtown locations, including hotels, offer to serve her location and the clients. In fact, she shared with me a comment that one client wrote to her, which she read to me. "One guy said," she stated, "that 'we can't go into these restaurants, but you bring them to us.'" Because of her demand, she offers bagged dinners for up to 65 people who cannot sit during the meal itself. Thus, restaurants do offer food products to the needy; however food pantries cannot accept this due to food borne illnesses and state law requirements.

Food Pantries allocate resources from various factors. In one aspect, private donations become a significant proportion of the contribution. In fact, it is a vital piece to feed the poor; while corporate donations and other funding depends on the size of the location and the involvement of the leader. More so, food rescues become the most interesting piece as local grocery stores, coffee houses and bakeries donate close to expired produce, vegetables and even meat products. In all these cases, the clients appreciate the fresh products the most. Although the clients do receive a good amount of canned non-perishable items such as peanut butter, rice and even

canned soups, the fresh products become a significant factor as those who cannot afford food can have what everyone else can have.

Rules for the Clients

During the course of my interviews, a significant emergent pattern began to take shape. How do the clients obtain their food products? While the Food Pantry Leaders had an intrinsic desire to help the needy, each location had a set of rules for the clients in order to receive food and other services. Indeed, the needy cannot simply obtain necessary food resources at any time of the day at any of these locations. Thus, the Food Pantries developed various procedures for the clients. In this section, I will discuss how the clients fill out necessary forms, provide proof of residency and adhere to the hours of operation in order to obtain food resources.

Primarily, clients must fill out a registration form when entering the location. Depending on the size of the location, this simple form can be an obstacle for most people in need. On the whole, the leaders have informed me that information on the card is rather simple. One, the client must give their address and a corresponding piece of mail, i.e., utility bill, as a form of proof. Two, the client can share their family size in order to receive the adequate amount of food supplies. Yet, the leaders do not press for any income level information as it was an invasion of their privacy. Thus, the size of the pantry determines how this information is handled.

In smaller pantries, registration cards are a simple form for the needy. In Ruby's case, she has a filing cabinet for register forms. As she explained that many of her clients are repeat customers, each person needs to sign in into a log book then

it is checked against a master list: One of her volunteers sits at the front table to accomplish this. If the person is not registered, or perhaps new, he or she must fill out a form. Adversely, Nancy requires her clients to fill out an Illinois State Emergency form, in which the people must fill the same information. In fact, she sends these copies to the NIFB and then the forms are sent to THE state capitol. In addition, Nancy's clientele is mainly Hispanic; the form is also in Spanish and they can fill out the form.

In medium pantries, the same paper system still applies yet at a stricter level. Alice explained to me that one of her volunteers goes through the registration cards for her in order to check for duplicates, check for new people entering the pantry and log the amount of people the location serves. At the time of the interview, Alice was having her existing and new clients fill out new cards for the upcoming year. In fact, she gives the clientele a three strike policy: If a client has not filled out a card by the third visit, then the person cannot come until the card is filled out. Explaining why this occurs, Alice stated that "the registration card is not a requirement from the [Greater Chicago] Depository. You just make up things as you go along." In her experience as a leader, clients can easily take advantage of her location. Thus, the registration card takes on a form of checks and balances for the clients to pass through.

In large pantries, computerized entry systems are in place. In Irene's location, the large reception area had been filled with 75 chairs; where to the left three working stations with partial partitions for privacy were set up. Irene

indicated that these stations were for all clients to enter the pantry, so they could log in their person in their database. In Brian's location, the clients enter a small sitting area where they are greeted one by one and their names entered into their computer system. His clients cannot receive any food until they are processed. Even more, Sarah's location has an entire room dedicated as an 'in take' area where volunteers greet the clients, whether existing or new, into a small petitioned area and get their information on a personal basis. Large locations create a streamlined bureaucratic system in order for the client to receive product.

As such, the registration card becomes an intricate piece. Depending on the size of the location, the card is still its paper form or developed in a computerized system. On a side note, Ellen's next goal in her position was to apply for a grant which would update her archaic computer system so the clients would have an easier transition to receive services. Yet for the people in need, the basic requirement is to show a proof of home residency and information about the family size.

Thus in Food Pantries, proof of home residency is the second rule for the clients in order to be allowed access to that pantry. In fact, the pantries have certain zip codes in which people in need within that given area can be assured a source of food products. As stated earlier, pantries that receive government supplemental funding, whether food products or financial, must be open to the entire county. Thus, the size and location of these pantries to serve the needy dictate how much food they can distribute.

The dynamics of distributing food to the needy is determined on the parameters of their location. In smaller and medium sized pantries, the locations serve two to three zip codes within the immediate area in that county. In Ruby's, Alice's and Carrie's locations, the small storeroom of the pantry showed the limited amount of food that could be distributed. In any of these pantries, the storerooms were the size of 200 square feet or so, including the shelving, refrigeration units and filing systems. In addition, the serving area for the clients was limited to small open areas of the church. Thus, the physical restrictions equated the amount of food to be distributed. Yet large pantries must serve the entire county according to the federal guidelines when receiving government funding. Reasonably, Irene spoke about the magnitude of feeding such a large base of clients; she did confess that much of her clients are regulars and live within the nearby zip codes. While Brian professed that his location provides food for the county, many nearby smaller pantries are supplemental resources for clients. Thus, large facilities may be open to the entire county; they do limit their area of outreach in order not to run out of products.

Thirdly, clients must adhere to the hours of operation in these pantry locations as noted in Appendix A. For small and medium sized pantries, the leaders are part time employees. Thus, the leader's limited hours reflect the service times for the needy. In Alice's case, she has her pantry open three days of week to serve the needy. While she wished she could have more hours for the pantry, she explained if she was moved to a full time status, then she would offer more hours. On the other hand, Carrie had recently cut back her hours from full time to part time

in order to spend more time with retired husband. Since Carrie's location was only open one day a month, including 20 to 30 bags of emergency food a week, she was only a "one man show" and did not want to do more to compromise the operation. Even more, Nancy who ran the smallest pantry dedicated a total of 20 hours a week to the shelter; In fact, her location was open once a week and she was not present during those two hours. Because she had taken a pay cut due to the shrinking membership of her church, she does majority of her work at her home and then helps with unloading and organizing product.

Adversely, large locations have more hours and offer more services. As alluded to before, Irene has to feed the entire county, but she has a large volunteer staff of 500 who offer their services beyond food pantry such as preparing tax forms. Brian boasted about increasing the hours of his operation, adding another late afternoon shift to the scheduling process. In fact, his location offers different services (GED courses, Food Stamp forms, rental assistance) for the clients while they wait their turn for the pantry. Sarah's operation had been the largest and offered the most services beyond the food pantry, which included free clothing, computer repair assistance, job placement and even continuing educational courses. Sarah stated that her operational hours have changed to meet the demand in which they are open six days a week from nine in the morning to three in the afternoon. Interestingly, Katherine's location was extremely large at the end of a shopping mall, where the pantry encompassed a half a city block, a resale shop was attached to the location and the intake office (where all clients must enter), had social workers, who

helped rental assistance and other social services. In all these locations, the leaders were full time employees of the organizations; thus, their dedication for the needy blends into their said salary.

Finally and most importantly, clients adhere to the pantries' visitation rules. In smaller and medium locations, like Ruby, Nancy, Carrie and Alice, the leaders insisted on helping the needy yet their locations could not be manipulated. As Alice pointed, her volunteers check in the clients: They can come every other week if they so desire but not three times in a row. Having similar rules, Ruby only wanted to make sure enough people were fed on a weekly basis and it is was only fair to implement that condition. Yet, because she never attends the hours of the pantry, Nancy can view the repeats each week on the forms that the clients have to fill out. Typically, about 10 families out of 70 regularly come for food resources. For Nancy, those families do not have to go hungry and she did not mind. Thus, these locations have a greater impact on their communities and serve a regular clientele.

In larger locations, the clients can only come once a month. Because these locations serve a minimum of 1,400 families a month, the once a month rule applies to most of these locations. Sarah's location allows clients to come once a month to fill up a grocery cart of product which lasts typically at least a week and half. Irene's location allows clients to come once a month and obtain enough products for a week as well. Both of these leaders claim their locations to be a supplemental resource for the weeks that clients run out of food stamps. However, some locations have their clients come every other month, or six times a year. Mary explained that her

location was there to feed the many hungry people out there, and spread that food as such. Since he was new in position, Brain simply stated that was how his operation wanted to run as it did prior to him. Even more, Katherine's location was slightly different. While she insisted in the well-being of their clientele, her organization was only a "temporary relief" for the needy. In many cases, her clients can come at most four times through the year than after that they would have to find alternative resources. Her organization was a "stepping stone" to get out of their current situation. Therefore, while these larger locations are feeding numerous amounts of people, the fact remains that the issue of hunger becomes larger as they are not continually feeding the same people on a monthly basis.

As I described earlier, I did have to ask these leaders if they ever denied products to the clients. Reputably, these women and men replied that they would never refuse anyone food products. In addition, I had asked who had created the rules for the pantry. They surmised that these rules were implemented before their tenure, and yet they still enforce these rules. However, some do bend the rules. Ellen explained that her volunteers made sure no repeat clients go to her because she will always give them food on the way out. Alice said that she did see a couple of families repeatedly come in through her doorway, but she still snuck them a bag of groceries. Ruby, who had been in her position for 10 years, did have some clients that come each week: She still offered them food because she knew that those families were desperate. Yet in larger locations, the leaders tend to bend the regulations as well. While Mary may see a repeat family or client, typically an

elderly one, she would hand them a bag of products, and kindly re-explains the rules to the individual to them. Brian too was a soft-hearted. As he explained to me, while giving his tour of the facility, that he could not let anyone go hungry.

As an alternative to bending the rules of these locations, all of the sites had a Resource Book. It was a directory comprised of local state emergency relief numbers, WICA hot line, rental assistance agencies, homeless shelters and other food pantries in the local area. Having asked the leaders if they would serve someone not in their zip code or county, the leaders typically handed the family food products and then used their Resource Book to help them find resources in their area, or rather zip code or county. These referral books were created and developed initially through the leader then maintained by the volunteers. In most cases, these books were a major impact on the operation for they could direct the client into the right direction. Therefore, the leaders never turned away at their doors: They would help them find the proper help.

The Food Pantry Leader creates and maintains rules and regulations for their clients. One, the client has to fill out a registration card and provide a proof of a mailing address for residency. Two, their residency reflects whether or not they can serve that client because the pantries have certain geographical areas to serve communities. Three, the clients must be aware of the hours of operation and visitation restrictions in order to obtain food resources. Due to these factors, the leaders have formed a bureaucratic process for those in need to receive necessary food products. While many alluded that these rules preceded their position, the

Food Pantry Leaders still enforce and restrict the needy at the same. Ironically, the Food Pantry does not become a simple place to get free food but another place in which the person in need must prove their desperation.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FOOD PANTRY REVEALS THE ISSUE OF SUBURBAN POVERTY

In the previous chapters, the Food Pantry leader has been an active participant in the surrounding community. Thus, it is important to note how the leader's responsibilities of managing the pantry in the training of volunteers, the allocation of food products and the distribution of resources to the needy. Moreover, the leader has a stipend salary based employee for the Not-For-Profit Organization in which his or her hours in operating the sites reflects the amount of contribution for the poor. Thus, as I interviewed these leaders, their roles have larger implications upon the issue of hunger within the given community. In addition, their dedication to the cause reflects the endless commitment of the volunteers within that cite. As such, the Food Pantry is a Not-For-Profit Organization that attempts to address a growing social issue.

As I have shown, these leaders do negotiate their roles beyond their environments. For example, they will go out to the community, to a business or even a local grocery store in order to seek the necessary resources to feed the poor. In any of the cases, the other organizations were willing to help and promote the cause for these leaders. Also, the communication of the Food Pantries becomes a subtle and effective form. The leaders develop and implement various regulations for the poor in order to obtain the necessary products. It is a safe guard for these

organization in order to maintain the product levels and feed as many people as possible given the physical space of their cite. Because of these factors, the leaders do represent a modern social organizer who try are trying to alleviate a serious issue within the communities.

Discussion

In order to show the effectiveness of the Food Pantry leader within the community, I have shown how these men and women reinstate the cause of the organizations. In each of these cases, the leaders are hired or brought on in an existing location that has a long history in the community. Early, I had noted that these pantries are set within religious organizations, or local religious affiliations that have strong support for the pantries. In the case of this study, the leader's strong philanthropic interests combined with their own religious beliefs become the essential factor to help the needy. Despite the size of the location, the leader has an intrinsic desire to assist the poor within their communities as they reach out to local businesses and grocery outlets in order to obtain necessary products and services.

However, the leader also manages the Food Pantry: He or she maintains and operates the organization in the same manner as a business. The leaders take on administrative roles as they budget their given donated money and products for the location, take on volunteers who are willing to help the poor and maintain the given procedures of the organization. Even more, the contribution of services depends on the size of the location. Having interviewed leaders in suburban locations, the pantry has strict hours of operation in which the needy need to understand. As a

result, services for the poor trifle through bureaucratic red tape in order to receive any benefits.

Because of these contradictory elements, I have shown the Food Pantry leader's role and responsibilities within the organization and the community. As a result, the organization's volunteers play essential role within the location as they are 'ambassadors' to the community: they are trained on proper procedures to distribute services for the poor. In addition, I have shown how pantries allocate resources from a multipronged approach, i.e., private donations, Chicago Food Depository or Federal Funding. Finally, as I interviewed these men and women, I had proven how the poor have barriers to go through in order to obtain the necessary food resources. Thus, I would like to discuss several implications of these results, which explores the relationship of the Food Pantry and the poor within the given community.

Primarily, I had noticed a beckoning issue about the leaders within the organization. While all of them were either part time or full time stipend employees, the position itself had a contradicting element. These leaders attempt to bring about the issue of hunger and their organization to solve this serious problem; yet at the same time, they adhere and perform administrative rules and regulations. In essence, these not-for-profit organizers rally for a certain cause as they also must contend to daily organizational procedures. Thus, these leaders attempt to be the voice of the poor while they operate and manage the organization on a daily basis.

Most interestingly, their given hours of employment reflects the amount of service within the organization.

In one aspect, these leaders found themselves to speak for the poor where the need to speak about their pantries had been crucial in order to allocate necessary resources. In smaller pantries, the leader and the volunteers combined efforts to reach out in the community. Ruby, Nancy and Carrie and their volunteers would go out to the church, the community and local businesses to obtain resources for the poor. In medium locations, the leader would allow particular members of the volunteer staff to reach of the community. Ellen did not want her volunteers to reach out to the community because she wanted to speak to these local businesses personally about the pantry. In larger pantries, public relation was typically held in a different position, either volunteer or stipend employee. When I spoke with Katherine, not only did she run the pantry, but she was the public relation contact. With her background in journalism, she writes articles in local papers, contacts various organizations and speaks publicly about her location. Thus, the leaders address the issue of need for their pantries in order to bring awareness of hunger.

In another aspect, these leaders also develop and maintain certain regulations in order for the food pantry to run successfully. First, rules and regulations are maintained ad hoc where the leaders follow the existing rules and/or develop new ones in order to develop a better system. As I had noted earlier, Alice explained how she created procedures as she began her position in order to make her pantry more successful. Two, training guides for volunteers were posted

and visible in any of these locations. At Irene's location, lead volunteers would train new volunteers in their given roles to ensure that the operation ran smoothly. In Mary's location, volunteers would be trained in their roles; in fact, her assistant, Ted, had been updating these procedures. Three, allocating resources were documented in these locations. In smaller locations, Ruby and Alice filed their forms from NIFB and GFD and took time to enter the amounts into their computers. In medium and large accounts, like Ellen, Brian and Sarah, volunteers would be responsible for entering the amount of pound in weight into their computer systems. Essentially, this information was used for grants, federal funding and operating procedures. Thus, the Food Pantry leader has to fulfill bureaucratic obligations within their roles.

While the leader of the Food Pantry attempts to find social change, he or she becomes hindered on various organizational duties. The Charismatic leader conveys a certain captivating emotion and becomes a necessary component to that group; this type of leader essentially forms the group for a certain cause (Weber 1978: 241-5). Yet, this leader can last only so long as the organization or institution takes over the essence of the leader's message. As a result, the transformation of the leader into the office or administration becomes injected into key sub members and results into a systematic control over the organizations; Once instilled, the regulations for the group are then adhered (Weber 1978: 249-51). In the interviews, the leaders expressed how much more time is spent in performing administrative tasks than being with their 'clients'. Therefore, the leader of the Food Pantry has

become more or less a Bureaucratic leader as he or she continues the message of the organization while focusing more on administrative issues at hand.

Secondly, the Food Pantry leaders began to reveal the nature of hunger and the poor: Services within these organizations went beyond food resources. Initially, as I began the interview process, I grounded my questions around the Food Pantry. Yet another subtle and quite relevant pattern emerged. Not only did these pantries offer food resources, but they offered more services in order to assist the poor. As I discussed earlier, the Resource Book at these locations were a vital linkage for the poor and other resources. Depending on the size of the location, the leader would often help the incoming family beyond the food resources. Thus, the poor enter these locations not only for food but more services.

Services include a myriad of possibilities, ranging from rental assistance, utility assistance, tax information, day care, job opening and clothing. Thus, food was the first and foremost need as a family walked into these locations. While her location is small and had limited hours, Carrie told me, "When people come in here, they are not just looking for food...there are other issues at hand." Her organization has an Outreach Program in the ministry offices which they offer for the poor ranging from rent assistance to food stamp programs. Alice described how she has a SNAP (the Illinois state program for food stamps) come to her site at least once a month for those who may qualify for assistance. Needless to say, the issue of hunger stems from other needs as well. Even more, Ruby offers a list of numbers for her clients. In her case, if one of her clients has needs beyond food, she will help them

and pull them aside with the list and make phone calls for that person. Even more, Pam's location was unique: She offered strictly paper and cleaning products, finding that clients need these products, and served close to 150 people a month. In these smaller locations, the leaders give more than food to the needy as they witness the greater issues of poverty at hand.

In large location, the use of volunteer staffs drives the amounts of services to be offered. On my tour, Irene described that her location offers free legal advice, where couple of her volunteers who were also lawyers offered both pro bono legal assistance. For Brian and Mary, their locations offered services in separated parts of their locations, where the clients could have semi privacy in discussing other needs such as rental assistance. Katherine's cite was the most particular. Her location offered services for a limited amount of time. The organization's mission statement, as she described on her tour, was to help the poor but their site was only a temporary relief, offering services only for a limited time. Thus, the services in larger locations assisted the poor in a direct way, where the volunteer staffs took on the responsibilities of helping the clients.

Thus, the poor becomes a critical part in society as they do have a voice but are repressed through the service of others. Simmel (1971) demonstrated that the poor does indeed rely of the resources of others (162). As such, the need can come from two factors in society either the state or philanthropic interest. In the first case, the government's interest for the poor basically stems from the rudimentary need for its citizens; in the second case, philanthropic interest can be seen as a

natural "obligation" to give to the poor (Simmel 1971: 164-6). In other words, the poor relies on the need of small community organizations for survival while the government parses out the basic necessity as seen fit. In fact, the interviewed leaders can see how much their clients appreciate their services as the government assistance gets systemically cut. As these people walk into the locations have a difficult time, these families have larger issues at stake. Thus, Food Pantries become a major resource for the poor.

Finally, Food Pantries exemplify the growing inequality between the rich and the poor. While the coordinators have had some experience in their roles, the economic downturn in '08 increased the need. All of the leaders agreed how much they were affected as the need increased to all social groups. When I asked the leaders to describe their clients, all of them stated that the person who walks into the door could like themselves. The need in the couple of years has increased to a paramount situation where the level has not tapered off, as they reported that their numbers are still increasing. As I explained earlier, while corporate donations may be going down, private donations are still maintaining the resources of these sites. Thus, the increased need in Food Pantries has created a shift in the communities across these suburban landscapes.

All the pantries in this report have explained the demand of food and increase of people standing in the doorways, and see new faces on a regular basis. Irene, Brian, Carrie and Daniel stated how the need for food shifted from not just the atypical group but the steady amount of senior citizens, unemployed workers,

seasonal workers and larger families, describing the face of their clients into four main categories. Mary discussed how her clients changed from a younger group to an elderly group, who has severe medical conditions and problems. In addition, the economic downturn displaced many individuals from the work force. In fact, Sarah described how many of her volunteers were actually unemployed people who needed to get out and doing something in their communities. Consequently, the leaders describe the states of their clients as they walk into their doors. While Alice's pantry is located in a more affluent area, she explained to me how the need increased. Her 'clients' evolved into families who had earned big six figure salaries downtown then became suddenly unemployed, but she did not see these people immediately as this group would "tap out other sources like 401ks" to survive until they walked through her door. Needless to say, the economic shift in the last few years has increased the demand for food pantries to provide services.

As a result, Marx distinctly described the constant separation of rich and poor. According to Marx, the accumulation of property for the hands of the few would increase more and more while the masses would less and less and further be suppressed in producing and purchasing products (Tucker 1978: 422-30). Even more, the hands of a few would have the decisive measure to control the whole. In fact, "we had an expropriation of the mass of people by a few usurpers...and we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people" (Tucker 1978: 438). In other words, the wealthy controls the economic factors in all aspects of social life while the rest of society must adhere to the few. As seen in the Food Pantries, the

increase of need had spiked during the recent few years where the leaders had to adjust their schedules and allocation of resources in order to help out their 'clients'. Therefore, the increasing of inequality can be easily seen in those who stand in the food pantry line.

From the resulting interviews with these leaders, emergent patterns began to take shape as a result. One, the contradictory role of the leader as he or she attempts to be the voice of the poor while at the same time becomes chained to the administrative desk. Two, the relationship of the poor and the pantry reveals the larger issues at hand as the poor's first inclination for food is their priority; yet this is not the only item that they are desperate for. Three, the growing inequality between the rich and the poor, where the recent economic downturn has churned out a new typological aspect of poverty: Suburban poverty. Thus, the Food Pantry represents a unique Not-For-Profit Organization as it becomes a myriad of services beyond the needed food resource.

Food Pantries have been overlooked as a key piece in sociological literature. In fact, the issue of hunger brings forward a layering effect of the social issues at hand. One cannot just examine the role of the coordinator, nor just the people who are receiving the food and not the current social situation: It is necessary to view all these aspects at once because each has an effect onto each other. While these leaders attempt to find solution to a large issue, the increasing demand never leaves. Yet, these men and women are making change in their own unique ways in their communities despite the uphill battle ahead of them.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

When entering the Food Pantries, I had always walked into a different situation. In any case, the pantry size determined the amount of commitment for the needy in that given community. Each of these leaders had a system of taking in existing and new clients into facility. In that sense, the clients were invited to receive the necessary food products for that given week. The location of these pantries welcomed the needy and suggested a glimmer of hope within that particular day. While I interviewed these leaders during non-operating hours, they would guide me through the process for the client to receive food.

In smaller locations, the leader would make do with the given area and space allotted from the Church. In Ruby's location, a blue door on the north side of the church indicated the Food Pantry entrance. The lower half of the church's basement, which was a communal area, had various eight foot banquet tables lined against the walls through the middle, forming a mock grocery store. The volunteers would then set out already pre-bagged staple items onto the far corner. Yet, on the first two or three tables, fresh bread, produce and sometimes meat were showcased for the clients and where volunteers on the opposite side would help them to select products. Yet, this amount would depend on the generosity of the available donated products. Even though the clients had an already assembled bag of dry goods, Ruby

wanted them to have some free choice in fresh products. While there was some set up and tear down to the pantry, Ruby enjoyed her job of helping the needy.

In medium sized locations, space was still a premium but services were extended and hours of operation longer. As noted earlier, Ellen ran her operation with appointment only schedule unlike a straight two or three hour period, stating that her organization wanted a more personalized approach to help the needy. Her dedicated space consisted of area about 1,000 square feet and set up much like a permanent grocery store. In fact, her clients could use grocery carts to move along the store in order to select the items. While it had been cramped, the volunteers would stand at critical points such as the freezer for meat items and bread area to help out the clients choose the right items. In Ellen's case, she wanted her clients to feel as if they could decide on the products instead of pre-deciding the amounts for them. Thus, Ellen's grocery store front often quelled the anxiety levels of her clients, especially the new families who enter through her door.

In larger locations, churning out numerous amounts of families on monthly basis, the free standing buildings were ominous and somewhat intimidating, yet the leaders attempted to create a relaxed atmosphere. In Irene's location, while the starkness of the waiting room's white walls and bright lights and the above television monitors calling off selected numbers for services, a small area in the far corner had been set aside for the children, where coloring books lay, a television monitor showed a movie and a box of toys sat neatly put together. In Brian's location, the large noisy warehouse had thirty foot high shelving units, which had

pallets of food all the way to the top, large reach in refrigerators and freezers, and posted signs for the clients to indicate how many items they could select: The client had the option of selecting any item through their "shopping experience." During my tour, he pointed out a large 20 by 20 table, where he explained how clients could swap items with other clients such as beans, soups or even sundries. While the clients may not have all the choices they may want, the table had been there for clients to receive products that would be able to use in their own households. Thus, despite the overwhelming space of these locations, the leaders inject a sense of humanity within a desperate situation.

Because of this, these pantries were all unique in their own designs, structures and services. However, they each had a common thread: The need to help the poor. Despite the location, these leaders attempt to educate the community about the growing problem of hunger in their areas. Even located in well-established organizations, the leaders reinforced the church's philosophy of helping the poor. As such, the volunteers of these locations came from these religious locations. For the leader, the volunteers still needed to be trained and instructed what to do on a daily basis. Yet, they would go out and become ambassadors to the Food Pantry, which increase the amount of donations for that location. Thus, the role of the Food Pantry leader can represent the modern social organizer who attempts to combat a certain issue, and in this case poverty and hunger, and bring to light to the community the necessary change.

In addition, the Food Pantry must be supplied with products in order to distribute to the poor. Interestingly, the leaders have several avenues where they can receive donations. While corporate donations are slowly waning due to profit driven organizations, private donations coming from the parishioners and civil organizations make up over half of their supplies. Even more, large wholesale distribution centers (i.e., The Greater Chicago Food Depository) offer food exclusively for these pantries. Yet pantries pay for most of these items at a lower rate and allocate free products as well. Most interestingly, food rescues become an intricate piece to the makeup of the pantry. While I sat on interviews, time and time again leaders would tell me about how their volunteers were out picking up product from local grocery outlets, coffee shops and bakeries. Thus, the leaders did not have to reach out to community, typically people, other organizations and volunteers would approach them about donating product.

While Ruby, Ellen, Irene and Brian had created an atmosphere of displaying and distributing food in a humane way, the clients had to go through procedures to receive the product. Although the leaders would never deny any person food, they would have the client fill out and prove residency in order to get product. Therefore, the pantries offer services for a restricted amount of people in order not to deplete food supplies. Also, the pantries allotted only so much product based on the size of the location and the hours of operation. In that regard, these leaders' dedication to the pantries reflected in their employment status either part-time or

full time. In other words, the leader's interest to help the needy depended on much time they were willing to act for the cause.

As I interviewed my leaders, the research led me mainly to suburban locations in the Chicago area. While many scholars have studied urban poor (Neumann 1999; Lee and Grief 2008; Small 2006; Wilson 2007), very little research has been spent on the rise of suburban poverty. The food pantries in this research represent a new growing problem of poverty. The effects of the recent economic downturn have proved its devastating effects in every part of the city. Being situated in a rather affluent area, Alice stated that "if you could lift a veil in our area, there would be two different worlds." More research should be on suburban poverty which is an increasing social problem. In fact, my research has only looked a small section of this rising concern. Also, more research should be the nature of hunger in suburban areas. Echoing an urban program, Brian's location just began a Back Pack program for the nearby town in the Southwest suburb of Chicago. The back pack consisted of enough food for a weekend; then it would be returned on that Monday. Brian's concern had been not about the school year, but the summer months when the child is out of school. Thus, hunger is no longer a poor urban issue: It has spread throughout the entire area of the city.

My research had focused on the nature of a Not-For-Profit organization: The Food Pantry. In many aspects, it could represent the same manners of a regular business. It needs a leader who will drive the mission statement, must have enough staff to complete it, acquire necessary products for the need and then distribute it to

society. Yet unlike a profit organization, Food Pantries can represent how NFP are struggling against the rising tide of need as government assistance programs are being cut off. In the wake of a devastating economic downturn, Not-For-Profits face daily challenges as they attempt to help the needy in return.

APPENDIX A
HOURS OF OPERATION OF PANTRIES

| Name | Hours of Operation | Families Served* |
|------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| Felicia** | Every Wednesday | 200 |
| Daniel** | Every Monday | 250 |
| Carrie | Every Third Thursday of Month | 250 |
| Ruby | Every Monday | 280 |
| Nancy | Wednesday Evenings | 280 |
| Alice | Three Days | 440 |
| Ellen | By Appointment*** | 900 |
| Brian | Five Days a Week | 1600 |
| Irene | Five Days a Week | 1800 |
| Sarah | Six Days a Week | 2600 |
| Mary & Ted | Five Days a Week | 1400 |
| Katherine | Six Days a Week | 1900 |
| Pam & Mark | Every Third Monday of Month | 150 |

*Approximate numbers given in interviews

**Ran Homeless Shelters

***Had the only location to use appointments for clients to receive products.

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