# The Politics of Clean: Representing Food Salvage and Dumpster Diners

**Rachel Vaughn**

> Ryan Owens, *ABC News:* What do you say to people who say, "There you are on the street digging through trash, this is gross, this is disgusting?"
>
> Madeleine: Well, I'd say what's gross and disgusting is the fact that this food is being thrown out in the first place.[1]
>
> To have privacy is to exist in the eyes of the state, and this is the starting point for making claims for basic public services. The capacity to make a public self, to manage one's waste in a way that produces subjectivity rather than shame . . . is a fundamental process of distinction that anyone living with a bathroom takes as given. It inaugurates a public personhood.[2]
>
> Gay Hawkins

Trash is incredibly powerful stuff. It is the material resonance of transnational dialectics of food, labor, and resources—a resonance of who's producing and who's consuming. Trash, scrap, and the waste sector represent a steadily booming billion-dollar global industry. Although the annual generation of garbage in the United States is staggering at 388 billion tons produced, 64.1% of which is landfilled, this article is focused on food salvage, food excess, and

0026-3079/2018//5701/2-029$2.50/0 American Studies, 57:1/2 (2018): 29–56

food waste in the United States—estimated by University of Arizona anthropologist Timothy Jones at somewhere between 40% and 50% of "overall food system" loss.[3] Jones's study shows that "an average American family of four throws out $600 worth of good food every year, and that 14% of that is food that hasn't expired or even been packaged."[4]

In sharp juxtaposition to the waste levels noted in these findings, U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) statistics suggest that in 2014–15, 14% of U.S. households, or more than "48 million people, including over 15 million children," were food insecure, which means that individuals of a household experience "limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways."[5] The USDA's definition of food security excludes "resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, or other coping strategies"; this is because the human right to food access in a dignified means is central to the USDA's definition.[6] In the pages that follow, I center my attention on these actions. Dumpster stories from varied socioeconomic perspectives, from the material edges and legal confines, are placed comparatively in dialogue with popular representations of divers and scavengers to draw out a breadth of multivocality, ingenuity, and complexity concerning the use of the dumpster as a food resource. Through the use of primary oral histories, critical reflection of 52 surveys conducted in 2010, and popular representations of food waste reuse and salvage, this article situates cultural tensions that surface surrounding reuse by underscoring what scholar Gay Hawkins calls "our most quotidian relations with waste," or how we grapple with the waste that we all make in our day-to-day lives.[7]

More specifically, drawing upon interviews with self-identifying dumpster divers from a modest 18-interviewee collection conducted Spring 2008–Summer 2010, this article critically examines the space of the dumpster and the act of diving in relation to how interviewees explain their actions. Use of the interviews permits stronger understanding of how diving fits lived experiences of waste, paying particular attention to food recovery. As the two opening quotes contend, waste may be used as a means of constructing subjectivity when it has been erased, denied or overlooked. This article juxtaposes interviewee testimonies with popular media representations of dumpster dining and reuse from comedy skits, late-night shows, music and television series to underscore common cultural anxieties from comedy skits, late-night shows, music, and television series to underscore common anxieties specifically about food recovery, thereby revealing what I refer to as the normative "politics of clean," or popularly constructed idealization of cleanliness. I am interested in how such popularly reflected anxieties may work on interviewees in different ways.[8] The oral history interviews provide insight into diver sociopolitical positionalities. They also expose the ways in which their material deviance—removing or coming close to matter that is considered dirty—works upon them from day to day. I do not suggest these modest oral histories represent an accurate account of reuse

and food waste data, nor do I use the narratives in this article as means of resolving the crisis of large-scale food waste in the United States.[9]

In framing these diverse narrative sources, I argue that dumpster dining reflects a range of food access experiences. In this narrative comparison, I locate a distinct tension between popular waste discourses and the visceral, lived experiences of waste proximity and bodily ingestion of what is presumed waste. This form of consumption taps into what hoarding scholar Scott Herring calls an "object conduct," i.e., a manner of engaging with material culture that "do[es] not conform to normative standards."[10] To build this contention, I am especially dependent upon Hawkins's and Arjun Appadurai's critical framing of "shitting in public," or the ways in which waste, the abject, and the refused are highly political. This article centers on the making of public selves through waste by focusing on material acts that attempt to "manage one's waste in a way that produces subjectivity rather than shame."[11] Hawkins underscores events in a different global context, with different stakes concerning environmental mobilization around indoor plumbing—centering attention on the role waste plays in constructing (or denying) the right to privacy and dignified distance from waste. However, I am particularly curious about the ways in which dumpster dining may invert Hawkins claims, but to a similar effect. In other words, I suggest food salvage requires a re-approximation to waste; a revisitation of matter that is intentionally already erased, privatized or intended as "away" because "dirty." This act of reapproximation can either construct and deny one's social status according to ideal notions of proper citizenship as consumer-centric.

In placing primary oral history research in conversation with popular representations of dumpster dining, I suggest that people take from this resource for varied reasons. Diving is neither solely indicative of poverty nor solely the stuff of counterculturists fighting "the System." The more I have listened to the stories of dumpster divers, trashers, pickers, salvagers, and recyclers, the more I realize the sociopolitical complexities of diving generally and as a food source specifically. Finally, divers' socioeconomic circumstances vary, and even some with cultural capital and economic privilege discuss social and legal taboo at the margins of a dumpster. Much like Herring's suggestion that actions like hoarding represent a "materiality [that] queers individuals," the placement of this work at the intersections of food, discard, and material culture studies permits me to engage Herring's argumentation concerning "material deviance," or "how object pathology and deviant object conduct . . . can upset normative social boundaries."[12] However, I do not argue that experiences of socially applied deviance are the same or static across diver identity politics. Rather, the spectrums of narrative experience reveal the extent to which cultural taboos about dirt and cleanliness—what I term the politics of clean—are intersectionally experienced. Within this crossroads, factors like race, class, gender, sexuality, citizenship, housing status, and health and ability collide. They plow into one another over the legal controls over trash and trash spaces. Perhaps more importantly, they run head-on into the tightly wound constrictions of ideal

citizen consumerism within a late capitalist society. As waste scholar Michelle Yates has suggested, there is investment in both disposability and capital accumulation.[13] Though the popular representations of dumpster dining analyzed here tend to highlight the socioeconomic privilege that some divers live with or move within, there are also key assumptions conveyed that need be disrupted. Namely, dumpster diner representations rooted solely in presumed desperation fail to see the diversity of participants. Those rooted solely in assumed positions of privilege 1) dislocate the voices of people from whom these tactics may be learned, influenced, or acquired; 2) make fun of these resources as absurd, deviant, and socially inappropriate; and/or 3) can be culturally confusing, because they defy how the American imaginary frequently represents salvage—exemplified, for instance, through the common Depression-era narrative, often retold with great pride, that "Granny saved everything and knew the value of a dollar."

## Literature on the Dumpster

Dumpster diving is addressed in multiple ways by scholars, and work has steadily evolved over the last decade. Criminologist Jeff Ferrell, for instance, uses an autoethnographic approach to document and analyze his own diving experiences.[14] Urban and environmental management scholars Ferne Edwards and David Mercer's article "Gleaning from Gluttony" situates diving in relation to ethical stances on waste within Australian subcultural communities, such as the Food Not Bombs movement.[15] Likewise, anthropologist Dylan Clark's article "The Raw and the Rotten" explores the punk cuisine ideologies of Seattle's Black Cat Café. American studies and food studies scholar Warren Belasco explores digger histories of U.S. counterculture cuisines. Finally, David Boarder Giles's work on "abject capital" and revalue through ethnographic work with the "subcultural denizens of dumpster diving urban scavengers" has been especially insightful.[16] Eikenberry and Smith's important article on diving in low-income neighborhoods in Minnesota anchors my argument. As they suggest, "Information on the ways in which low-income people procure supplemental food, especially when such ways are socially unacceptable, is sparse."[17] Scavenging, then, for my purposes is a method of accessing alternative food resources, even though it encompasses a broader range of found materials. I center on food and discuss Rachel Black's anthropological work on food waste scavenging in France and Italy among elderly pensioners; Alex Barnard's ethnographic work with freegans and dumpster divers; sociologist Teresa Gowan's work on homelessness and scavenging in San Francisco; and David Evans's ethnographic scholarship on food waste in quotidian life.[18] I do not attempt to convince readers of the notion that food from the dumpster will solve food insecurity in the United States or abroad. Rather, I convey the complexity of disgust and ambiguity that garbage in general and food waste in particular generates. As Barnard notes, "Making sense of dumpster diving—and, more broadly, the long-term significance of seemingly marginal movements like freeganism—

requires attention to both the expressive and strategic functions of such nontraditional behavior."[19] However, rather than a social movement or counterculture focus, I am interested in the ways in which interviewees' individualized, lived experiences of waste collide with popular representations. I convey the intersectional identity politics and social hierarchies of discomfort that trash proximity so often raises via the tensions surfacing from my combined analysis of oral history interviews and popular culture representations.

## Situating the Dumpster: On Social Ambiguity and Criminalization

You think it's trash, granny, but it's not.[20]
The White Stripes

In *Anatomy of Disgust,* William Ian Miller argues, "Darwin is right about the etymology of disgust. It means unpleasant to the taste. [But, disgust] is a moral and social sentiment. . . . It ranks people and things in a kind of cosmic ordering."[21] This moral sentiment Miller writes of captures the ways in which the biopower of the technological and the moral function together to perpetuate ideas about cleanliness and dirt. Hawkins suggests that dealing with shit, much like dealing with garbage, is "the result of techniques of invisibility, a technological and aesthetic commitment to disappearance."[22] Given the cultural stigma most commonly associated with reuse, the notion that the material of trash is desirable, sought after, and even pretty is hard for many to imagine. The idea that one could conceivably engage in the intimate act of eating from the bin is even more tentative for many. Although not food waste specific, consider for a moment another example of intimate reuse, that of thrift store clothing. I draw attention to these examples because they are popularly acclaimed illustrations of salvage glorification that perhaps on the surface fly in the face of the suggestion that reuse conjures disgust or social stigma.

In their 2012 award-winning song "Thrift Shop," Macklemore and Ryan Lewis glorify the assumed money-saving quirk and zany, hipster irony of "popping tags" or thrift shopping. However, the song and music video bring an awareness, bravado even, to thrift store clothes shopping, which has long held specific socioeconomic connotations in the U.S. imagination. The song takes a contrary stance to consumer-driven culture: "Fifty dollars for a T-shirt—that's just some ignorant shit/I call that getting swindled and pimped/I call that getting tricked by a business." Mick Jenkins's 2011 song "Value Village" takes up a similar thrift store shopping topic but features a different perspective. The ironic representation portrayed by Macklemore and Lewis depicts consumption of used objects not as a need but rather as a vibrant, colorful, playful desire; a one-upping of "the Man" out to swindle. Jenkins's song, in contrast, takes its name from a well-known national thrift store chain. There is nothing lavish about the way this video has been shot. Its muted visual tones capture the essence of the

musical message: "fuck the mall" and "don't listen, save money . . . I get fly without them labels."[23] Yet the muted tones also convey the monotony of pressures to spend, to have more, and to consume continuously, further signified by the repetition and tone of the lyrics. Even though both songs use humor and sarcasm to critique what they take to be the illogic of capitalism, Jenkins's work underscores thrift and the freedom of not buying into the consumer culture represented by the mall. Whereas Macklemore embraces a playful consumerism in love with the frivolity of one-of-a-kind buys, Jenkins centers on young black men playfully yet assertively arguing thrift as means of economic freedom; and unabashedly suggesting not buying into the mousetrap of consumerism.

These two musical depictions of reuse exude pride, specifically in reuse of intimate objects: clothing worn on the body like shoes, hats, and coats. In general, however, reuse occupies a more sordid position in the American popular imagination. Salvage and reuse are most often understood in terms of socioeconomic desperation, idealized out of necessity, for instance, during the modernist war efforts, or solidifying in the American imagination in terms of the common narrative surrounding one's elders having survived the Great Depression and knowing the value of a dollar. On the classed dimensions of the work of reuse, historian Susan Strasser notes, "As always and everywhere, poor people sell and reuse what they can, while a broad movement to protect and restore the environment has encouraged some who do have money to adopt ways of life that acknowledge the effects of trash on the global ecosystem."[24] In such instances, reuse and thrift more broadly act as an example of American exceptionalism, of the enduring human spirit faced with so-called less than ideal circumstances outside of the idealized consumer mechanism of capital accumulation.

Contemporary American popular depictions of dumpster dining reflect and actively construct a politics of disgust and social ambivalence, commonly conveyed through three central themes: 1) dumpster dining operates in a binary—absolute desperation or zealous privileged environmentalism; 2) this practice is odd and made fun of, as many examples analyzed here will reveal; and/or 3) it is stigmatized to use for televised shock value in much the same way that Herring suggests popular representations of hoarding "mark a material deviance on its subjects even as it strives to box them into ordinary object life by the sixty-minute mark."[25] For instance, dumpster dining has frequently been the brunt of comedic routines, as in this performance from the *Colbert Report:*

> There is a bold new breed of dumpster diver out there [audience laughter]. Perfectly healthy young people who are "living off consumer waste in an effort to minimize their support of corporations and their impact on the planet." [Audience laughter] Way to stick it to the man, freegans [flashes peace symbol to audience laughter] . . . Look, I'm all for finishing a half-eaten falafel you find in an old tire [audience laughter],

> as long as you pay for it! But these trash-eating hippies are freeloading everything from paintings, to laundry-detergent.[26]

The distinct tension in Colbert's comedic commentary is thus that the new generation of dumpster dining is done by privileged consumers performing actions associated with social taboo or economic uncertainty. The routine suggests that these consumers, perhaps as a result of their privilege, need not fear the indignity of this form of consumption. Colbert's routine takes a different perspective of reuse, contrary to, for instance, the messages conveyed in the aforementioned music videos by Macklemore and Jenkins depicting, even exalting, thrift.

As Herring suggests in *Material Deviance,* "Personhood, we know all too well[,] can be non-normative in ways both ravaging and sustaining; hoarding is but one cultural arena in which objecthood does likewise."[27] Everyone I interviewed used the dumpster as a site rich in resources. Though not all narratives convey the goal of "stopping the waste stream," as interviewee "York" put it, some divers use the dumpster as a potential site for food, reusable or refurbishable objects, resale materials, barter materials, or scrap exchange.[28] Use of the dumpster fringes can lay bare an environmental imperative toward reuse and espouse a commons ethic to keep objects for redistribution accessible. Sometimes it acts as a critique of consumption, particularly surplus subsidized production and waste, as in Barnard's ethnographic work. It both feeds and defies presumptions that human interactions with trash are automatically a threat to health and safety and to the distinct lines of differentiation between cleanliness and dirtiness, even as it may conjure an emotional grappling with what feminist housework scholar Mandara Vishwanath (and Julia Kristeva before her) refers to as the "abjection manifested [by] inner materials of the body—grime, dust, mould, dirt and bodily fluids—that are associated with the private realm." When asked, "Why do you think people are so hesitant to be open about [the fact that they dumpster dive]?" one of my interviewees grappled with common stereotypes of consuming the rotten: "I think, you know, the stigma that dumpsters are slimy and full of rats. The shame that's supposed to go along with being poor in this society, like, if you're poor you're not supposed to talk about it or tell people. So if you're not poor you certainly wouldn't want people to think you're poor."[29]

Anthropologist Mary Douglas famously suggests, "dirt offends against order. Eliminating it is not a negative moment, but a positive effort to organize the environment." Using food as a more specific framing for Douglas's idea of "dirt as disorder" or "matter out of place" opens a discussion entwined with systemic food production, consumption, and disposal.[30] Douglas's argument helps to reveal the paradoxes of these intersections between food and waste in the United States. Salvaging food in the United States with regularity often exposes large quantities of edible yet cosmetically less ideal and/or surplus fare. Furthermore, as Evans's UK-centered ethnography of food waste in everyday life suggests,

for many households, that "things become surplus in ways that are more closely connected to the routinized nature of food provisioning than to the conscious evaluation of individual foodstuffs."[31] Thus, such perceptions of dirt as applied to food waste, especially surplus, raise pertinent questions about the systems of order and purification that control current food sources. We must further inquire: What is the rationale for throwing these now-"dirty" items away as "matter out of place"? What does it mean to throw them away, and what does it mean to salvage them? Why lock down the waste sites after disposal? Within capitalist contexts, making a profit on the materials, whether they are of sale value to producers or distributors or not, must remain central for the system to be in good working order. "York" discussed food waste streams in the United States as follows:

> Grocery stores throw out lots of food because it's cosmetically damaged, or there's a few left in the lot . . . [so] there's still a tremendous amount of food that's thrown out. Although grocery stores have increasingly moved to grinders and such because they don't want the waste stream to be something someone would eat. . . . A liability issue is part of it, but more they don't want a bunch of people back there grabbing food and maybe it'd cut into their sales.[32]

Waste scholar Yates argues that "many scholars study waste and the process of excretion as an isolated process, somehow separate from the unity of the capitalist mode of production."[33] In instances of surplus food waste, this form of excretion is a normalized part of the production–consumption cycle and necessary to maintain idealized aesthetic appearances of foods consumed, as my interviewee suggests. The visceral tension of this act of object deviance by way of retrieval from the dumpster, reveals the space as a resource rather than a waste source alone. This disrupts sociocultural assumptions about the boundaries of dirt and cleanliness, as well as the material culture demarcations of what to do with waste and how it is contended with in society. In the same way that this interviewee theorizes compactors and food waste, Yates argues that by "relocating waste as necessary to capitalist production itself, more complex questions about both the nature of capitalist production and what is constituted as waste become necessary."[34] We may observe this in the comedic tensions surfacing in Colbert's routine, among other examples analyzed here. Shamed by Colbert through dramatic interpretation as absurd, overly zealous, and disgusting, the possibility of food salvage solidifies both Herring's and Yates's arguments of material deviance and the central role of waste in capitalist production.

American popular culture representations reinforce stereotypes that salvage and trash reuse in general is something visionary (read eccentric or extreme), self-identified environmentalists do.[35] The award-winning documentary *Garbage Warrior* is about self-proclaimed "renegade architect Michael Reyn-

olds," who uses and reuses trash and food waste materials like beer cans, car tires, and water bottles as "tools of choice for producing thermal mass and energy-independent housing," which Reynolds and his team dub earthship designs. Throughout the documentary, Reynolds experiences legal backlash in developing test sites for his sustainable designs, and for a time, his architectural license is revoked, until he is invited to conduct building demonstrations after natural disasters devastate communities in the Andaman Islands and Mexico—both of which are successful. Bringing this more specifically into the realm of edibles, an episode of the comedy series *Portlandia,* starring Fred Armisen and Carrie Brownstein, conveys comic relief rather than environmental education. In the skit, Brownstein's character locates a raw, unpackaged slice of watermelon and ridiculously declares, "This is a perfectly good watermelon. There's a hair on it but . . . [takes a bite standing in the dumpster]."[36] Likewise, an episode of Fox Network's forensic series *Bones* opens with two disheveled dumpster diving freegans on a dumpster date: [Male freegan] "Best-before-dates are just marketing tools to increase profits and make more garbage to feed the corporate monster. Oh look, eggs and some apples! [Camera pans above—one apple is unsightly, another bitten into. Male freegan grabs for the latter and hands it to his date]. Just eat around the bruised part" [Companion takes a bite as she sits in the dumpster].[37] The scene ends with the discovery of a decomposing human skull accompanied by dramatic horror movie music with clashing cymbals. Known for their humor and over-the-top theatrics, these examples depict divers as youthful, overzealous hipster environmentalists who are unhygienic in their approach to the spaces and materials of the dumpster. However, this differs greatly from what oral history interviewees relayed and from what I have observed over years of formal and informal trash-scape encounters.

## Stigma and Hygiene: When Dirt Is in Place

> Disgust must be accompanied by ideas of a particular kind of danger, the danger inherent in pollution and contamination, the danger of defilement.[38]
>
> William Ian Miller

In my primary oral history interviews, divers who discussed dumpster hygiene during their interviews had different sensibilities about the subject, which the following interview commentary highlights:

> Vaughn: People who shop in the supermarket tend to go by an expiration date in terms of what's good and what's rotten, right? . . . So how would you say a dumpster diver goes about what's good or what's rotten?

> M.: Well, the first thing you do, right, is you pick up the yogurt, and you look at the sell by, eat by, use by whatever date, and then, you laugh [chuckles sarcastically]. Then, you open it, and then you smell it. And, if it smells disgusting then you probably shouldn't eat it [chuckles]. . . . You can trust yourself to judge food. . . . It's common sense.[39]

"York" similarly emphasized trusting in one's own senses with regard to dumpstered food: "I'm not very squeamish about food and I have a very good eye for what's safe or less safe, spoiled or not spoiled. . . . I'm just pretty discerning and from my perspective I don't take a lot of risk, but if you talk to most people [they'll say] 'you're getting food out of dumpsters!' . . . I think it's more of understanding food and food spoilage."[40]

Many divers distinctly resist the hygiene-centered social taboo of reclaiming food from the waste bin. They do so on the basis of relying on their senses and on pushing the boundaries of taboo, which many felt was out of touch with the material realities of what was most frequently found in the space of the dumpster, such as surplus rather than, say, half-eaten or technically spoiled products. As geographers Edwards and Mercer argue on the subject, "Rather than relying on use-by dates to tell them what food is edible and safe, freegans use their innate senses of touch, taste and smell. This attitude marks a conscious shift away from corporate control enabling the diver to reclaim a connection to their senses and to the natural world."[41] I further suggest that beyond corporate control, many divers argue the practicality of this form of food reclamation on the basis of need. Despite popular representations that often center on disgust, on the filth conjured by foodstuffs salvaged from the dumpster, many interviewees indicated they grappled more with the social stigma surrounding the space and the act than with confirmed material filth or inherent danger of the foods consumed. For instance, when asked, "What do you think it takes to be a diver?" interviewee "Laura" stated, "I think it takes not caring what people think. Like not being concerned that people are gonna think it's gross or that there's something wrong with you for doing it. And sometimes, I kind of struggle with that."[42]

For divers using this form of food reclamation to supplement limited income or other material resources, the added stigma, the fear, or the social (even legal) concerns may be additional barriers. Some actively attempted to dispel or resist the stigma. Over the course of two interviews, "Laura" divulged that depending on need, divers come into contact with differing dumpsters and varying degrees of so-called filth, "[Before they put a compactor on the Goodwill dumpster] there was never any, you know, rotting meat, or rotting vegetables or anything. . . . It was very dry and very clean. You had to be careful not to step on any broken glass, but it wasn't gross, like I think that a lot of people, when they think about dumpsters and dumpster diving, they think, you know, slimy."[43] Similarly, during a special report for the *Oprah Winfrey Show,* freegan Madeline opened the New York City (NYC) freegan trash tour with a strong hy-

giene warning against eating while on the tour. Such tours are offered monthly in the city to expose people to the sheer quantities of food waste in New York.[44]

Ethnographer Jennifer Ayres notes in her analysis of the role of diggers in large Goodwill outlets, "Dirt is in its place in this store. Scavenger culture is already inherently filthy because it traffics in what society deems trash. Yet scavengers perform a vital ecological role reusing and recycling what would otherwise be thrown in the landfill."[45] Although not all of the divers I interviewed were in agreement about taking food products from the dumpster—some advised against it, others accepted the idea, and still others had limits on meat products or dairy—all divers followed routine hygiene practices such as choice of dress, use of tools to better facilitate the dive, gloves, and washing habits. In this way, the dumpster becomes a practical resource, and diving may be viewed as work or short-term hustle, depending upon socioeconomic needs and circumstances. Persistent stereotypes, social stigma, and even criminalization of divers, scavengers, and/or trash spaces, a point I return to momentarily, misrepresent the use of these fringe, sometimes privatized, spaces and materials, perhaps inadvertently pushing a politics of respectability via cleanliness and idealized citizenship via consumerism.

However, I give pause here, because there is a rising pop culture trend in celebrity chef exposure of food waste that offers further room for analysis on this particular question of stigma and salvager positionality. For instance, celebrity chefs on the hit television series *Chopped* or *The Big Waste* often reference, make direct culinary competitive use of, or make offers of charitable support for food waste organizations such as City Harvest or other food banks in NYC. During the 2016 Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, Refettorio Gastromotiva chefs Massimo Bottura and David Hertz, along with journalist Ale Forbes, launched their restaurant school and food waste project in Brazil. The project is dedicated to food salvage, culinary education, and reversing social exclusion among Brazil's homeless population by offering free dinner. Paid lunches open to the public begin in October 2016, according to their website. As with many other great causes, celebrity lends potential weight and exposure to an event or organization. The new faces of food salvage are celebrity, even Michelin-starred, chefs like Gordon Ramsey, Alex Guernascheli, Michael Symon, Mark Murphy, and Massimo Bottura. What does this mean, by contrast, in the face of what many divers report concerning their experiences of stigma? Celebrity is a unique and economically privileged position that serves as an aid to the problem or barrier of stigma. The harnessing of celebrity here is being used in much the same way Barnard draws upon new social movement theory to explore how "freegans are fully aware of the stigma attached to [dumpster diving for food]" but use it as a tool for "gaining new recruits and media attention."[46] The Refettorio Gastromotiva project accomplishes several goals in a single act of cooking, and it does so in a unified location, rather than through thousands, even millions, of individual acts of food product salvage. Alternatively, reuse can become socially and culturally condonable in a unilateral directionality of

restaurant-quality fare, celebrity-influenced or celebrity-imposed destigmatization, and charitable donation toward homelessness or poverty writ large. Yet these socioeconomic conditions are not individual actions but rather products of systemic, institutionalized exclusions. In this way, food salvage is made more palatable in the short term. Although it is not my goal to critique this culinary organization's motives, because Refettorio Gastromotiva seems an attempt at positive community engagement and accessible culinary training, I reference it as a point of continued analysis of contemporary popular representations of dumpster dining. When and if salvage becomes palatable, how is it achieved? Who does it benefit? In what contexts does it become normalized? What does that normalization mean for waste pickers? These are questions that we must carry forward, and discussion of them continues in my broader manuscript on the topic.[47]

Other popular media representations of dumpster divers impose and/or expose stigma through the use of sensational shock value, such as *Oprah*'s 2007 coverage of New York freeganism, featuring journalist Lisa Ling. Just as Lynn Ubell, home cook and hostess of *What's for Freegan Dinner?,* conveys her secret of "sneaking out in the dark of night to dumpster dive for her groceries" to viewers, *Oprah* conveys an air of unearthing unseemly secrets about the individuals portrayed, outlined by the show title "How Far Would You Go?" and reinforced by the second half of the show, dedicated to discovering the secret life of a stripper-mom.[48] Though audience members and viewers of *Oprah* get a swift education about why some people scavenge for food, as well as opinions about the politics of food waste in the United States, such media portrayals perpetuate viewer discomfort with marginalized foods. Whereas individual film footage of the NYC trash tours encourages using what attendees find along the tour and considering systemic reasons for why people become freegans, Oprah Winfrey opened her discussion of freeganism by immediately framing that most people would not take action specifically because of questions about respectability: "Obviously, I know you're not going to go on a trash tour after this show, but I do want you to start thinking about . . . how much you consume. I mean like, every time you throw away a paper towel. Every time you are wasteful with food in your house."[49] In much the same way that celebrity food waste attention emphasizes immediate food salvage, Oprah's dialogue highlights trends in the importance placed upon individual lifestyle changes as opposed to systemic analysis or resistance.

Ubell asks viewers to get over their preconceived notions about trash and recognize the potential of food waste: "You know some people just see the food, but I see the ingredients. Some people just see overly ripe bananas [and] they throw them away. I see banana bread."[50] Ayres suggests that "outlets, thrift stores, flea markets, and dumpsters . . . draw people that view discarded goods in a way that allows for possibilities: they see resources where others see refuse and trash."[51] Ubell's series does not question systemic U.S. food production and consumption concerns; rather, it exposes the possibilities of wasted food reuse

for households in a safe, healthy, and often elegantly prepared manner—the latter being a key means of combating stigma and hygiene concerns through middle-class respectability aesthetics. In contrast, the NYC freegan trash tours focus on systemic problems of food waste in the United States, and the website and calendar note, "If you are mainly interested in dumpster diving in NYC, consider going on your own or in small groups rather than on our 'trash tours,' which are oriented more for learning than for acquisition."[52] In her work on "toxic tourism," environmental scholar Phaedra Pezzullo engages the dynamics of "non-commercial expeditions into areas that are polluted by toxins" as potential sites of grassroots activism and counterhegemonic environmental intervention.[53] Though trash tours for food do not generally occur in areas of life-threatening toxicity, like those described in Pezzullo's research, they often encourage critical assessment and action among attendees on a grassroots level.

Using the dumpster serves an immediate purpose for many divers of varying backgrounds and ages, whether that purpose is a broader range of ingredients, economic savings permitting purchasing power elsewhere, supplemental incomes, quenching hunger in the short term, or redistribution of goods that would otherwise rot or be disposed of. However, dumpstering as a politicized response to systemic food concerns is restricted to individualized action in many cases, rather than an intended systemic solution to U.S. surplus production and waste. As environmental activist Derrick Jensen states, "Consumer culture and [capitalism teach] us to substitute acts of personal consumption (or enlightenment) for organized political resistance."[54] As "Laura" argued during our interview, "Do I think dumpster diving is the revolution, or dumpster diving is gonna cause the collapse of civilization? I don't, because I think that we are able to dumpster dive *because* capitalism exists. . . . I definitely don't think I'm bringing about the revolution."[55] This interviewee's suggestions both underscore the "not buying it" messaging conveyed in Macklemore and Jenkins's music and push against the comedic assumptions put forth in the *Colbert Report* routine of being out to fight the system. Likewise, individual interviewees in Jennifer Hamer's work on hustling, informal economies, and supplemental incomes in East St. Louis categorized their hustles as either "clean or dirty," including supplementing their household wares with reused and found objects and participating in recycling economies in aluminum and glass for cash.[56] In outlining the social and hygienic ambiguities so often surfacing in popular media representations of dumpster dining, I want to suggest that they reflect and actively construct a visceral disgust and sociocultural cognitive dissonance about waste materials using shame and humor as means of questioning intimate, bodily proximity to reused and salvaged materials. When food salvage is lauded in the public eye, it is often in the context of celebrity awareness campaigns or charitable endeavors. Individual divers, in contrast, even if grappling with sentiments of shame at their socioeconomic precarity, tend to take a needs-based and/or no-nonsense approach to what they do. In some cases, they actively resist the stigma placed upon them by onlookers or the legal tensions that may arise.

## Legal Ambiguities

The constitutional dynamics of trash are as ambiguous as the socially loaded politics of popular representation and are often contingent upon diver positionality. The 1988 California Supreme Court case *California v. Greenwood* ruled, "The Fourth Amendment does not prohibit the warrantless search and seizure of garbage left for collection outside the curtilage of a home [ . . . and the law] turns upon the understanding of society as a whole that certain areas deserve the most scrupulous protection from government invasion. There is no such understanding with respect to garbage left for collection at the side of a public street." This ruling grants police use of trash as a resource in criminal pursuit, in this case, for purposes of pinpointing narcotics trafficking, without obtaining a warrant.[57] The history of U.S. sanitation policy, as well as current domestic trash policy and practice, suggests that beyond a legal constitutional outline of trash use, the United States has never taken a unified approach to trash and sanitation measures. Martin Melosi notes that the nineteenth-century methods constructed to deal with the seas of trash in the age of sanitation brought about by the massive jump in consumer products and waste generated during the Industrial Revolution was handled on a highly localized, state-by-state, even city-by-city basis. The U.S. history of garbage in general and garbage disposal in particular does not comprise unified experiences brought about by sweeping federal mandates but instead is parceled out according to differing politicized municipal desires and needs in highly diverse geographic contexts.[58] Internationally, U.S. waste policy is highly self-regulatory in the interest of private sector and military needs, and the United States in general remains "the largest producer of hazardous waste" that to date continues to refuse to act in accordance with the international dumping policy outlined by the Basel Convention. Exemplary is a city ordinance where I live in Lawrence, Kansas, citing that "It is unlawful and dangerous to remove any item from the trash."[59] Although constitutional law upholds that trash is inherently public once it reaches the dumpster or the curb, local laws may censor garbage use under the auspices of public health, personal safety, or property law and trespass.

Interviewees discuss this point of potential for criminalization and social stigma as well. Some interviewees never experienced legal backlash and suggested legal backlash was related to poor decisions

> K.: The police . . . just tell ya to move on. It wasn't [pause] they asked for identification, they didn't decide to press charges for whatever reason. And so, that was that.
>
> Vaughn: Was that when you were younger?
>
> K.: Yeah, when I was still learning the rules, [and] that after dark, and the reason I think the police pull you over is because they're thinking that you're breaking in.

K. conveys encounters with police, or lack thereof later in life, in terms of a greater sense of expertise in reading dumpstered landscapes. This indicates a sense of knowing what to do and when to do it to avoid confrontation.[60]

Not all divers will be treated equally, and interviewees relayed different experiences. One interviewee was arrested, charged with burglary, paid hundreds of dollars in fines, and completed community service hours. "Laura's" legal experiences are intertwined with class, queer identity dynamics and visibility politics, expressed in informal self-references as "queer and working-class poor" and as someone who is "living in a trailer."[61] Other interviewees requested complete anonymity even from me during the interview process. One anonymous participant noted, "there are legal as well as emotional ramifications to consider with this project. This has to do with more than dumpster diving. It has to do with poverty and with the law."[62] A July 2010 National Public Radio (NPR) news story reported that a man from Queens found his aunt's car impounded and received fines totaling $4,000 for organized theft after he took an air conditioner confirmed by the original owner as having been set out for garbage. In this instance, the NYC sanitation department can claim private property protections over all garbage set out on the curb.[63] In contrast, activist and environmentalist Rob Greenfield, founder of *The Food Waste Fiasco,* wishes to draw attention to large-scale food dumping in the United States and has attempted to dispel fears of dumpstering by going so far as offering to pay participant fines if they experience legal difficulties: "If you get arrested or ticketed for dumpster diving for food I promise to pay the ticket(s), get media coverage to the issue, and make sure that you are in safe hands. I will even travel to your town to be there in person if it will add to the positive impact of the event."[64] Here, taking food from the bin becomes an event, something of political and social import to destigmatize should legal questions arise. That said, Greenfield is careful to provide tips and suggestions for avoiding rare instances of legal suspect; he notes that the act of diving is less frequently the problem and, as mentioned earlier, the tendency is to experience penalty related to trespass, theft, or breaking and entering. Here again, Greenfield's highly visible celebrity and clearly articulated class status are bound to affect experiences of criminalization in and around the dumpster. It permits him to occupy the status of food activist, rather than that of public health concern, problematic citizen, or noncitizen to which many waste pickers and homeless populations are relegated.

In addition to potential legal concerns, responses to my survey question, "What common stereotypes exist about dumpsters, dumpster diving and/or dumpster divers?" suggested that dumpsters and divers are clouded with taboo and social anxieties. Divers were stereotyped as "poor" "homeless" "lazy transients," or the "unmotivated unemployed," and dumpsters were most commonly considered "dirty," "unsafe," and "germ-ridden."[65] The dumpster is a contested, legally and socially ambiguous space. Although one could easily argue that trash was or is always private, there are varying degrees of this privatization of trash according to who retrieves it or takes it to the landfill, and there is a disconnect

in the minds of many citizens as to whether something is private once it has been thrown away. Exemplary of this legal confusion, of the 52 surveys completed at the Free Market, 22 participants argued that diving is illegal, with many clarifying that illegality is at least specific to particular locations, such as Lawrence. Another 11 participants argued that diving is not illegal, and 19 survey participants did not know or were unsure whether the specific act of diving was illegal or accompanying acts were the problem, such as trespass, theft, and other suggested charges. As one participant noted, "Not actually, but the perception that it is [illegal] exists widely." Another participant wrote, "I'm not sure [about legality] but certain places go to great lengths to try and stop it."[66] Even accepting these inconsistencies as mere confusion over municipal policy, and accepting that police or local authorities may choose to actively ignore dumpster divers, the act of retrieving something from a dumpster indicates contested acts in contested space, whether legally or socially, by way of the disgust or ambiguity it triggers.

Diving occupies a strange role within the capitalistic public versus private binary. To be found in, perhaps even near or remotely interested in, the dumpster or to witness a person in a dumpster is a codified threat to the most profound levels of the intimate and to the emotion of disgust—to what has become privatized, to what could potentially be purchased, and to what is already paradoxically owned. Diving is a direct result of extreme inefficiencies, or perhaps efficiencies, of a globalized, multinational capitalistic system that encourages surplus. Farmer and food scholar Wendell Berry argues, "Our economy's most voluminous product is waste—valuable materials irrecoverably misplaced, or randomly discharged as poisons."[67] Thus, diving reaches beyond the notion of mere personal action or identity and into the realm of public discourse—albeit legally stigmatized and, at times, necessarily clandestine.

## "You Begin with the Possibilities of the Material": Food Salvage within a Politics of Clean

> I've always been attracted to familiar or ordinary things because I find them a lot more mysterious.[68]
>
> Robert Rauschenberg

Pop artist Robert Rauschenberg was infamous for his material blends and use of found objects in his work. As the Rauschenberg-inspired title and quote for this section suggests, how is this concept reconciled with food salvage specifically? Trashy. White trash. Piece of trash. Looks like trash. Trailer trash. These epithets are all applied to people and places that are stereotyped as less than desirable or acceptable and are linked to the shaming of poverty through material abjection. This link between disposability and embodiment has long been a driving force in capital production (and excretion). For instance, in *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism,* scholar Melissa Wright

argues that the construction of the myth of human disposability is produced by global capitalism, resulting in a paradox given the valuable things the figure produces with her assumed disposable labor. Yates took this concept further in her analysis of *The Human-as-Waste,* in which she argues for a stronger, necessary link between production and waste as a defining, "historically specific [aspect of] waste in capitalism."[69]

Common presumptions about using the dumpster often revolve around a hierarchy of understanding trash materials and spaces through a lens of social respectability that shames poverty. Just as Miller argues, the language used conveys hierarchies of disgust; as he notes, "emotions, even the most visceral, are richly social, cultural and linguistic phenomena."[70] Trash is supposed to be gross, right? It's stinky, grimy, dingy, goopy, insect-enticing, bacteria-laden matter; there are so many spine-tingling negative descriptors to captivate the imagination. If trash is always and already dirty matter, as the popular culture and sociolegal complexities convey, then how in the world does one "begin with the possibilities of the material," as the title of this section suggests? How does one reconcile that social construction of dirt with the sheer intimacy of useful resources—with things to put in the house, to wear, or worse yet, to cook with and ingest as a food resource? Popular representations often depict trash reuse within contexts of extreme environmental eccentricity, hipster fanaticism, or assumptions of precarity and, more generally, as a public-health threat, such as in instances of hoarding. In an exemplary episode of the television series *Hoarders,* a formerly homeless hoarder becomes "at risk of eviction from his government subsidized housing" as a direct result of his hoarding tendencies related to his dumpster diving practices.[71] In this episode, the dumpster becomes a site of pathological tension and a direct source for rehabilitation as his hoarding is labeled a health threat to himself and others in the building.

A juxtaposition of assumed extremes emerges: the diver solely in contexts of privilege or poverty. Yet there are many more lived experiences associated with the dumpster. The interviews in some cases affirm these two extremes and at other times reject the binary. In doing so, these acts and positionalities reveal a theoretical complexity worth unraveling about the ways in which we come to talk about, think about, and engage and ignore waste according to sociocultural hierarchies. Interviewees often resist the pathologization of trash picking as a dangerous public health nuisance. As K. put it, the generation of trash may be the public health nuisance: "You know what there's a social aspect to your trash. . . . Just because you've thrown it out doesn't mean you are not responsible for that trash. It has to go somewhere and so there's this disconnect [of] 'I throw it away, I don't have to worry about it, and I don't want anyone else messing with it.' . . . I see [trashing] as an ecologically responsible thing to do."[72] The popular representations analyzed here suggest that diving is largely comical, problematic, or misguided, reflecting and perpetuating a well-known stigma. This works as a means of shaming or criticizing would-be waste recovery into a presumed civilized respectability. Attempts to destigmatize food sal-

vage through the use of celebrity exposure and celebrity proximity depend upon the same boundaries of respectability. Celebrity exposure may draw attention to the moral dilemmas so frequently conjured by looking at the material culture of waste up close, but the outcomes of reuse here underscore the whimsy of celebrity trends (as in the Macklemore or Food Network examples) while maintaining the continuation of delegating marginalized materials for marginalized populations. This stigma of waste proximity is not new. U.S. histories of scavenging and urban sanitary reforms expose that multiple economies were heavily dependent, upon the gathering of waste materials and foodstuff for industries and for personal consumption, such as, "Cities too were once systems that incorporated rag-pickers and scavengers to process the detritus of others." However, scavenging history also reveals hierarchies of cleanliness lie at the heart of U.S. citizenship norms, shifting at various historical moments in legal and culturally normative ways.[73]

It would be inaccurate to suggest that all divers experience stigma in the same ways. Diver identity plays a crucial role in the sociolegal dynamics of dumpstered spaces and resources. For some, the stigma experienced at sites of disposal becomes an extension of socioeconomic stigma; for others, such stigma, if present, is an anomaly experienced only in contexts of waste recovery. Aluminum scavenger interviewee Ron, who experienced homelessness, noted, "[Dumpstering] wasn't a glory thing, I was making money. I was getting my living out of it. . . . It's not a proud moment in your life, I don't care who you are. . . . Maybe some of the young kids will say that it's uh, a point of pride, or part of their lifestyle that they're really happy with. I mean, when you're actually digging in the trash. You got your hands down into a bunch of crap, that's not the high point of your day. I mean you're earning it. It's a real job."[74] For this interviewee, diving was a means to a specific end, rather than an environmental answer or political statement. The stigma of poverty in the United States plays a critical role in patterns of social distancing and legal anxiety associated with waste reuse, and such discrediting proves another layered extension of other socioeconomic stigma. Ron further noted, "The biggest thing about homelessness in my mind is un-employability. You don't have a phone number for call back . . . piecemeal jobs [aren't] gonna get you an apartment. . . . You don't [even] have a laundry to go home to every night."[75] Still other divers feel strongly that their daily habits and actions should reflect personal political beliefs, as with M.'s comment, "I'm not down with exchange economies," while some interviewees make diving work within their current economic needs.[76] Daniel argued, "There's *always* gonna be people goin' and gettin' [trash] and more and more so as things are getting harder and harder."[77]

The politic of clean at work here is not simply a message of cultural stigma or disgust. It is also intimately bound to a spectrum of diver privilege and identity politics, exposing dynamics between presumed cleanliness and social status. Each of the people I interviewed described the dumpster as a resource rich in possibilities, a resource that many felt they had the foresight to use even

when others did not or would not. Whether by force of dignity, necessity, or political ideals, most interviewees also discussed a transnational understanding of the material culture of garbage as something that 1) can and should be used when possible, despite taboo social norms, and 2) is reflexive of dizzying global environmental justice concerns, such as K.'s emphasis on the social responsibilities attached to trash. This suggests an invaluable understanding of the abject as politically and socially complex beyond the object and despite its assumed materially deviance or grossness. This understanding emphasizes the role of salvage and encroaching waste proximities as never away but rather near, emplaced and embodied.

## Concluding Remarks

Actions of food recovery and dumpster dining are often understood as examples of a "material deviance," yet these are a form of creative grappling with large-scale food waste and/or food insecurities as lived, embodied experiences.[78] As self-described working-poor interviewee "Laura" divulged, "Definitely as an adult [diving] is something that I've done everywhere that I've lived. I remember one time . . . pulling a huge restaurant size sack of onions out of this coffee shop trash pile. And some of them were bad but most of them were good. And now it's my standard if I go to the supermarket and the produce is kind of iffy, I'm just like 'I've pulled better stuff out of the trash I'm not paying for this.'"[79] When it comes to trash, having to handle it in any capacity—looking at it, carrying it or loading it, ingesting it, in essence dealing with it intimately—not just generating it, is too unpleasant for some. Herein lies the paradox of dirt in capitalist contexts: capitalism permits some people to avoid dirt or proximity to dirt (especially their own), yet at its highest functioning, capitalism depends upon the production of dirt—of waste and surplus—to achieve its goals of supply and demand. The intersectional identity politics of which bodies are reusing, salvaging, and dumpster dining works upon salvagers in diverse ways.

In using oral histories with dumpster divers, scavengers, and recyclers, paired with an analysis of popular representations of food salvage, I do not suggest the oral histories represent the only, or even a more accurate, truth. I argue that distinct and striking tensions emerge concerning the ways in which dumpster dining is represented in the popular imagination and how it is embodied and experienced according to diver and scavenger positionalities. Although dumpster diner representations frequently paint an extreme binary of privileged environmental fanaticism or socioeconomic precarity, the oral narratives suggest an even broader range of complex understandings about food waste as a potential reusable resource. Popular representations convey the complex and ambiguous ways in which reuse and socioeconomic precarity are frequently constructed and often fail to center the voices of the people with reliant, lived experiences of salvage. They tend to make light of salvage, reinforcing a distinct unease about reuse. Yet the dumpster provides a glimpse into material possibilities that

persistently prove to be a resource for many, even as the act might be legally and socially shunned. In a moment of anxiety over food systems, high U.S. food insecurity levels, high systemic surplus food waste and simultaneously growing celebrity attention to said waste and reuse, record U.S. reliance on SNAP benefits (one in eight Americans, or roughly 38 million people, 6 million of whom report no other income), and a record number of so-called criminal food stamp sales, dumpster dining is hardly an answer to the landscape of U.S. food security or precarity.[80] Nonetheless, the possibilities and politics of clean found at the margins of a dumpster strike me as relevant critical sites for pushing the boundaries of how waste (and socioeconomic precarity) is attended to or erased. Many diver interviewees don't see what they are doing as a revolution. Yet directly grappling with dirt on a large scale in visible, visceral ways is what Hawkins and Appadurai dubbed "shitting in public" as a means of constructing subjectivity rather than shame. In their example, the act of shitting in public signified invisibility in the eyes of the state and was used with the intention of transitioning from the public to the right to privacy.

For our purposes, the phrase "shitting in public" takes on a different use and the stake of rendering visible what has been made invisible by being "away." Furthermore, as Yates suggests, making visible the distinct and significant role that waste always and already has in capitalism helps to reveal distinct socioeconomic differences affecting those who dumpster or salvage and centers on the need for "fundamental changes at the level of [waste] production."[81] Thus, the takeaway from understanding the range of rationales people may have for food salvage and dumpster dining in relation to the fraught ways popular culture talks about, thinks about, resists, or accepts it is that looking at these together permits us to visualize how privilege functions materially using waste as a vehicle. It reveals how precarity is shamed; and makes space for the possibility to revalue or even reapproximate ourselves to food waste as a resource. However, this entails what ethnographer Keta Miranda refers to as "the publicization of the private," which is complex, without finding ways to first dismantle the discomfort, disgust, and embedded social hierarchies that come with the territory.[82]

## Notes

Thanks to Dr. Michelle Yates for her thoughtful editorial feedback on earlier drafts of this piece. With special gratitude to the UCLA Center for the Study of Women and Gender Studies Department for the Postdoctoral Fellowship opportunity that permitted time for final revisions of this article and the broader book project. Immense gratitude to Dr. Sherrie Tucker for her mentorship on the dissertation project from which this work stems. Thanks to my amazing colleague Dr. Randal Jelks, as well as the editorial staff at AMSJ for their editorial guidance. Finally, profound thanks to the anonymous reviewers whose thoughtful insights helped me to shape and refine this work.

1. Ryan Owens and Suzanne Yeo, "One Man's Trash, Another Man's Dinner: Freegans Go Dumpster Diving for Unspoiled Food," *ABC News,* 16 December 2007, accessed 1 April 2009.

2. Gay Hawkins, "Shit," in *The Ethics of Waste: How We Relate to Rubbish* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 67.

3. "The State of Garbage in America," *Biocycle: Journal of Composting & Organics Recycling* 47, no. 4 (April 2006), accessed 1 April 2009.

4. Timothy W. Jones, "Using Contemporary Archaeology and Applied Anthropology to Understand Food Loss in the American Food System," accessed 1 April 2009, http://www.ce.cmu.edu.

5. Alesha Coleman-Jensen et al., *Household Food Security in the United States in 2014.* See also U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Food Security in the United States: Key Statistics and Graphics," *Food Security in the US,* September 2015, accessed 28 September 2015, http://www.ers.usda.gov/Briefing/FoodSecurity/stats_graphs.htm.

6. United Nations, "The Right to Food," *Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights,* 20 April 2001, accessed March 26, 2009. See United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights,* Article 25, accessed April 14, 2009, http://www.ohchr.org. See also the Urban Institute's 2000 report on U.S. homelessness, which notes a need for adjustments to the nation's homeless numbers: "Since not all people experiencing homelessness utilize service providers, the actual numbers . . . are likely higher than those found in the [survey of service providers]" (National Coalition for the Homeless). These numbers relate to food insecurity, because homeless populations are not included.

7. Hawkins, 3. I cite first names for interviewees who approved such use. First name pseudonyms have been documented in quotations for those interviewees who requested I not use their real names. I cite made-up initials for interviewees who remained anonymous throughout the formal and informal interview process. Interviewees vary in economic, gender, sexual, and ethnic identities, ranging in age from 18 to 64 years. Of 18 formal interviewees (including three return sessions), 52 survey participants, and dozens of informal conversations in multiple geographic locations, 5 formal interviewees self-identified as female and/or gender-queer, 10 self-identified male, 1 expressly identified as biracial, 2 self-identified as Asian, and 1 self-identified as Jewish. Some interviewees were financially secure; others experienced limited incomes, such as disability payments, housing assistance, or homelessness. Some were local Lawrencians, others were local to Kansas, and still others hailed from Colorado, New York, New Orleans, and North Carolina, among other places. I do not suggest all humans or nation-states produce the exact same amounts of waste.

8. I use the terms dumpster dining and food salvage to discuss this topic. They are not intended to imply literal eating while physically in a dumpster but to distinguish taking expressly edibles from other materials; and also to critically underscore the tensions raised by certain media representations depicting eating while in the dumpster. I use the terms trash, garbage, and waste to address an array of materials and resources salvaged by interviewees. Interviewees most often used the terms dumpster diving, recycling, salvage, scavenging, or trashing, depending upon age and materials sought. Especially male interviewees ranging in age from late fifties to early sixties often referred to this act as trashing. For distinctions in the terminology, see Wiliam Rathje and Cullen Murphy, *Rubbish: The Archaeology of Garbage* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001). For discussion of a range of historical waste materials, see David Naguib Pellow, *Garbage Wars: The Struggle for Environmental Justice in Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).

9. See Jonathan Bloom, *American Wasteland: How America Throws Away Nearly Half of Its Food and What We Can Do about It* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo, 2010); Tristram Stuart, *Waste: Uncovering the Global Food Scandal* (New York: Norton, 2009); or Robert Thurow and Scott Kilman, *Enough: Why the World's Poorest Starve in an Age of Plenty* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009).

10. Scott Herring, "Material Deviance: Theorizing Queer Objecthood," *Postmodern Culture* 21, no. 2 (January 2011), accessed 2 June 2016.

11. Hawkins, 67

12. Herring, 3.

13. I rely on Kimberle Crenshaw's 1989 definition of intersectionality. See Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241. See also Michelle Yates, "The Human-as-Waste, the Labor Theory of Value and Disposability in Contemporary Capitalism," *Antipode* 43, no. 5 (2011): 1691.

14. Jeff Ferrell, *Empire of Scrounge: Inside the Urban Underground of Dumpster Diving, Trash Picking, and Street Scavenging* (New York: NYU Press, 2006).

15. Ferne Edwards and David Mercer, "Gleaning from Gluttony: An Australian Youth Subculture Confronts the Ethics of Waste," *Australian Geographer* 38, no. 3 (November 2007): 279–96.

16. Dylan Clark, "The Raw and the Rotten: Punk Cuisine," *Ethnology* 43, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 19–31, accessed 15 March 2008; Warren Belasco, *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007); and David Boarder Giles, "The Anatomy of a Dumpster: Abject Capital and the Looking Glass of Value," *Social Text* 32, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 118. See also Pritchett, Laura (ed.), *Going Green: True Tales from Gleaners, Scavengers, and Dumpster Divers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

17. Nicole Eikenberry and Chery Smith, "Attitudes, Beliefs, and Prevalence of Dumpster Diving as a Means to Obtain Food by Midwestern, Low-Income, Urban Dwellers," *Agriculture and Human Values* 22, no. 187–202 (2005): 198, accessed 31 March 2008.

18. Rachel Black, "Eating Garbage: Socially Marginal Food Provision Practices," in *Consuming the Inedible: Neglected Dimensions of Food Choice,* ed. Jeremy MacClancy, Jeya Henry,

and Helen Macbeth (New York: Berghan Books, 2007), 141–50; Alex Barnard, "'Waving the Banana' at Capitalism: Political Theater and Social Movement Strategy among New York's 'freegan' Dumpster Divers," *Ethnography* 12, no. 4 (2011): 419–44; Teresa Gowan, *Hobos, Hustlers, and Backsliders: Homeless in San Francisco* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); and David Evans, *Food Waste: Home Consumption, Material Culture and Everyday Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014). See also Robin Nagle, *Picking Up: On the Streets and Behind the Trucks with the Sanitation Workers of New York City* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), and Alex Barnard, *Freegans: Diving into the Wealth of Food Waste in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016).

19. Alex Barnard, "Waving the Banana," 421.
20. The White Stripes, "Rag and Bone." *Get Behind Me Satan,* Vol. 2, 2005, compact disc.
21. William Ian Miller, *Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 2.
22. Hawkins, 56.
23. Macklemore and Ryan Lewis, "Thrift Shop," *The Heist,* Alternative Distribution Alliance, 2012, compact disc, and Mick Jenkins, "Value Village," *The Mickstape,* Free Thought Music Group, 2011.
24. On wartime rationing, gardening, and canning, see Amy Bentley, *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 114, and Susan Strasser, *Waste & Want: A Social History of Trash* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999), 250. On class and nation-based dynamics of waste picking, see Moreno-Sanchez Rocio del Pilar and Jorge Maldonado's "Surviving from Garbage: The Role of Informal Waste Pickers in a Dynamic Model of Solid Waste Management in Developing Countries," *Environment and Development Economics* 11 (2006): 371–91, and Yujiro Hayami et al., "Waste Pickers and Collectors in Delhi: Poverty and Environment in an Urban Informal Sector," *Journal of Development Studies* 42, no. 1 (January 2006): 41–69.
25. Herring, 9.
26. Stephen Colbert, "The Freegans," *The Colbert Report,* television, 25 June 2007, accessed 1 February 2010. Colbert is referencing Steven Kurutz's *New York Times* piece "Not Buying It," *The New York Times,* 21 June 2007, accessed 15 March 2008, http://www.nytimes.com.
27. Herring, 14.
28. "York," conversation with the author, 2 May 2008, Kansas.
29. Mandara Vishwanath, "The Politics of Housework in Contemporary," *Blind Field: A Journal of Cultural Inquiry,* 8 September 2016, accessed September 8, 2016, http://www.blindfieldjournal.com. C., conversation with the author, 31 March 2008, Kansas.
30. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 2 and 44.
31. Evans, 33.
32. "York."
33. Yates, 1682.
34. Ibid, 1681.
35. This applies to the art world as well: countless artists use trash as subject and material across the globe. See the work of Vik Muniz, Tim Noble and Sue Webster, Robbie Rowlands, Dr. Evermore, and other outsider artists too numerous to name.
36. *Portlandia,* "Dumpster Divers," Season 1, Episode 3, Independent Film Channel, television, 4 February 2011, accessed 6 February 2011.
37. Dwight H. Little, dir., *Bones,* "The Body and the Bounty," Season 6, Episode 4, Fox Network, television, 14 October 2010, accessed 16 October 2010.
38. Miller, 8.
39. M., conversation with the author, 7 August 2010, New York.
40. "York."
41. Edwards and Mercer, 290. On the stigma of food recovery, see also Barnard, 426.
42. "Laura," conversation with the author, 31 March 2008, Kansas.
43. Ibid.
44. Lisa Ling, "Special Report: 'How Far Would you Go?—Living on the Edge,'" *The Oprah Winfrey Show,* 27 February 2008, accessed 29 February 2008.
45. Jennifer Ayres, "Goodwill Bins, Diggers, and the Role of Dirt in Establishing Authenticity," paper delivered at Dirt: New York Metro American Studies Association annual meeting, 5 December 2010, and email with the author.
46. Barnard, 427.
47. Refettorio Gastromotiva, main page, accessed August 2016. For chef interviews on the project, see "These World-Renowned Chefs Are Feeding Rio's Poor," *Huffington Post,* accessed 12 August 2016. See also Rachel Vaughn's forthcoming manuscript, under contract with University of Nebraska Press: *Talking Food, Talking Trash: Oral Histories of Food In/Security from the Margins of a Dumpster.* Thanks to Dr. Rachel Lee, director of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Center for the Study of Women, for bringing the NPR news coverage on Rio to my attention.

48. Ling. See also Lynn Ubell, *Freegan Dinner Channel,* 2 April 2010, accessed 1 February 2011, http://www.youtube.com, and Lynn Ubell, "Reality TV Pitch," *What's for Freegan Dinner?* 2 April 2010, accessed 1 February 2011, http://www.youtube.com.
49. Quoted in Ling.
50. Ubell.
51. Ayres, email with the author.
52. NYC Freegan Meet-Up. "Sustainable Living Beyond Capitalism," accessed 14 February 2011.
53. Phaedra C. Pezzullo, "Introduction," in *Toxic Tourism: Rhetorics of Pollution, Travel, and Environmental Justice* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 5.
54. Derrick Jensen, "Forget Shorter Showers: Why Personal Change Does Not Equal Political Change," *Orion Magazine,* July/August 2009, accessed 1 February 2011.
55. "Laura," conversation with the author, 13 March 2008, Kansas.
56. Jennifer Hamer, "Hustling Clean and Dirty," in *Abandoned in the Heartland: Work, Family and Living in East St. Louis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 98–124.
57. *California v. Greenwood* (no. 86-684), Vol. 486, Legal Information Institute, Cornell University Law School, 1988, accessed 1 August 2010.
58. Martin V. Melosi, *Garbage in the Cities: Refuse, Reform, and the Environment* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 9.
59. Jennifer Clapp, "Seeping through the Regulatory Cracks," *SAIS Review* XXII (Winter–Spring 2002): 145, accessed 20 July 2010. See also Basel Convention, "Ratifications"; Basel Convention, "US Communication Statement," 1989 convention, accessed 15 March 2009; and Lawrence Court, *Good Neighbor Ordinance Flyer,* accessed 21 April 2008.
60. K., conversation with the author, 18 April 2008, Kansas.
61. "Laura," 13 March 2008.
62. R.S., conversation with the author, 1 April 2008, Kansas. I also conducted an entirely anonymous interview and follow-up email contact: O.H., conversation with the author, 29 April 2008, and O.H., email with the author, 18 March 2008.
63. Jacob Goldstein, "Man Fined $2,000 for Taking Garbage from Sidewalk," *Planet Money,* 15 July 2010, accessed 17 July 2010, http://www.npr.org.
64. Rob Greenfield, "Arrested for Dumpster Diving for Food? I've Got You Covered," *RobGreenfield.TV,* 13 January 2015, accessed February 2015.
65. Rachel Vaughn, *Chuck That!: Oral Histories of Freegans and Other Dumpster Divers,* Lawrence Annual Really Really Free Market, 8 May 2010, survey, 52 participants. This is an annual rummage event at which materials are freely exchanged without use of currency or barter.
66. Ibid, Question #3, "Is dumpster diving illegal?" Some participants clearly disagreed but nonetheless expressed knowledge of the stereotypes.
67. On disgust as an emotion constructed through socialization, see Miller, 8. Wendell Berry, "The Agrarian Standard," in *The Essential Agrarian Reader: The Future of Culture, Community and the Land,* ed. Norman Wirzba (Washington, D.C.: Shoemaker & Hoard Publishing, 2004), 27.
68. Robert Rauschenberg, quoted in *Rauschenberg at Gemini,* pamphlet from a special exhibit, Philbrook Museum of Art, 12 June–11 September 2011, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
69. Melissa W. Wright, *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 2. Yates, 1684–85.
70. Miller, 8.
71. *Hoarders,* "Episode 00: Linda/Steven," A&E Networks, television, 26 March 2013. Quotation taken from the episode guide for Season 1.
72. K. The term *trashing* refers to diving and was a common term among diver interviewees who began diving in the late 1960s to early 1970s.
73. Strasser, 15. See also Nayan Shah's *Contagious Divides,* Natalia Molina's *Fit to Be Citizens,* Carl Zimring's *Cash for Your Trash,* David Naguib Pellow's *Garbage Wars,* or Melosi's *Garbage in the Cities.*
74. Ron, conversation with the author, 10 April 2008, Kansas.
75. Ibid.
76. M.
77. Daniel, conversation with the author, 27 March 2008, Kansas. Emphasis in the original.
78. Herring, 3.
79. "Laura," 13 March 2008.
80. Kim Severson, "Some Good News on Food Prices," *The New York Times* 2 April 2008, accessed 3 May 2009, http://wwww.nytimes.com. See also Seth Freed Wessler, "Selling Food Stamps for Kids' Shoes," supported by the Investigative Fund at the Nation Institute, reported by Daisy Hernandez, *COLORLINES,* 17 February 2010, accessed 25 November 2010.
81. Yates, 1684 and 1687.
82. Marie "Keta" Miranda, *Homegirls in the Public Sphere* (Austin: UT Press, 2003), 5.

## Works Cited

Associated Press. "US Wastes Half Its Food." *FoodNavigator-USA.com,* accessed 26 March 2013.

Ayres, Jennifer. "Goodwill Bins, Diggers, and the Role of Dirt in Establishing Authenticity." Paper delivered at Dirt: New York Metro American Studies Association annual meeting. 5 December 2010.

———. Email with the author.

Barnard, Alex. *Freegans: Diving into the Wealth of Food Waste in America.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.

Barnard, Alex. "'Waving the Banana' at Capitalism: Political Theater and Social Movement Strategy among New York's 'Freegan' Dumpster Divers." *Ethnography* 12, no. 4 (2011): 419–44.

Basel Convention. "Ratifications," accessed 15 March 2009.

Basel Convention. "US Communication Statement." 1989 convention, accessed 15 March 2009.

Belasco, Warren. *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry.* New York: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Bentley, Amy. *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

Berry, Wendell. "The Agrarian Standard," in *The Essential Agrarian Reader: The Future of Culture, Community and the Land.* Edited by Norman Wirzba. Washington, D.C.: Shoemaker & Hoard Publishing, 2004, 23–33.

Black, Rachel. "Eating Garbage: Socially Marginal Food Provision Practices," in *Consuming the Inedible: Neglected Dimensions of Food Choice.* Edited by Jeremy MacClancy, Jeya Henry, and Helen Macbeth. New York: Berghan Books, 2007, 141–50.

Bloom, Jonathan. *American Wasteland: How America Throws Away Nearly Half of Its Food and What We Can Do about It.* Cambridge, MA: Da Capo, 2010.

Bolida, Linda B. *The Quest for Zero Garbage in the Philippines.* World Resources Institute. May 2003, accessed 4 May 2009.

Brown, Bob. "Dumpster Diving for Food: 'Freegans' Feed Off of City's Waste to Make a Point." *ABC News,* accessed 15 April 2009.

*California v. Greenwood* (no. 86-684), Vol. 486. Legal Information Institute. Cornell University Law School. 1988, accessed 1 August 2010.

Candlin, Fiona, and Raiford Guins. *The Object Reader.* New York: Routledge, 2009.

Clapp, Jennifer. "Seeping through the Regulatory Cracks." *SAIS Review* XXII (Winter–Spring 2002): 141–55, accessed 20 July 2010.

Clark, Dylan. "The Raw and the Rotten: Punk Cuisine." *Ethnology* 43, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 19–31, accessed 15 March 2008.

Colbert, Stephen. "The Freegans." *The Colbert Report.* Television. June 25, 2007, accessed 1 February 2010.

"Composting, Renewable Energy & Sustainability." *BioCycle.* Biocycle.net, accessed 26 March 2013.

"Could You Live with Less?" *Oprah.com,* accessed 26 March 2013.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241.

Daniel. Conversation with the author. 27 March 2008. Kansas.

Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger.* New York: Routledge, 2002.

Edwards, Ferne, and David Mercer. "Gleaning from Gluttony: An Australian Youth Subculture Confronts the Ethics of Waste." *Australian Geographer* 38 (3 November 2007): 279–96.

Eikenberry, Nicole, and Smith, Chery. "Attitudes, Beliefs, and Prevalence of Dumpster Diving as a Means to Obtain Food by Midwestern, Low-Income, Urban Dwellers." *Agriculture and Human Values* 22 (2005): 187–202.

Evans, David. *Food Waste: Home Consumption, Material Culture and Everyday Life.* London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Ferrell, Jeff. *Empire of Scrounge: Inside the Urban Underground of Dumpster Diving, Trash Picking, and Street Scavenging.* New York: NYU Press, 2006.

*Food Navigator.* "US Wastes Half Its Food." 26 November 2004, accessed 1 April 2009.

Funari, Vicky, and Sergio De La Torre, prod. *Maquilapolis (City of Factories).* Creative Capital, 2006. Film.

Goldstein, Jacob. "Man Fined $2,000 for Taking Garbage from Sidewalk." *Planet Money.* July 15, 2010, accessed 17 July 2010. http://www.npr.org.

Gowan, Teresa. *Hobos, Hustlers, and Backsliders: Homeless in San Francisco.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Greenfield, Rob. "Arrested for Dumpster Diving for Food? I've Got You Covered." *RobGreenfield.TV.* January 13, 2015, accessed February 2015.

Hamer, Jennifer. "Hustling Clean and Dirty," in *Abandoned in the Heartland: Work, Family and Living in East St. Louis.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011, 98–124.

Hawkins, Gay. "Shit," in *The Ethics of Waste: How We Relate to Rubbish.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006.

Hayami, Yujiro, et al. "Waste Pickers and Collectors in Delhi: Poverty and Environment in an Urban Informal Sector." *Journal of Development Studies* 42, no. 1 (January 2006): 41–69.

Herring, Scott. "Material Deviance: Theorizing Queer Objecthood." *Postmodern Culture* 21, no. 2 (January 2011).

Hess, Charlotte, and Elinor Ostrom. "Introduction," in *Understanding Knowledge as a Commons: From Theory to Practice.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007, 3–26.

*Hoarders.* "Episode 00: Linda/Steven." A&E Networks. 26 March 2013. Television.

Hodge, Oliver, dir. *Garbage Warrior.* Morningstar Entertainment. 2007. Film.
Jenkins, Mick. "Value Village." *The Mickstape.* Free Thought Music Group, 2011.
Jensen, Derrick. "Forget Shorter Showers: Why Personal Change Does Not Equal Political Change." *Orion Magazine.* July/August 2009, accessed 1 February 2011.
Jones, Timothy W. "Using Contemporary Archaeology and Applied Anthropology to Understand Food Loss in the American Food System," accessed 1 April 2009.
K. Conversation with the author. 18 April 2008. Kansas.
Kennedy, Scott Hamilton, dir. *The Garden.* Oscilloscope Laboratories. 2009. Film.
Kurutz, Steven. "Not Buying It." *The New York Times* 21 June 2007, accessed, 15 March 2008. http://www.nytimes.com.
"Laura." Conversation with the author. 13 March 2008. Kansas.
"Laura." Conversation with the author. 31 March 2008. Kansas.
Lawrence Court. *Good Neighbor Ordinance Flyer,* accessed 21 April 2008.
Lepselter, Susan. "The Disorder of Things: Hoarding Narratives in Popular Media." *Anthropological Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (2011): 919–47.
Ling, Lisa. "Special Report: 'How Far Would You Go?—Living on the Edge.'" *The Oprah Winfrey Show.* February 27, 2008, accessed 29 February 2008.
Little, Dwight H., dir. *Bones.* "The Body and the Bounty." Season 6: Episode 4. Fox Network. Television. 14 October 2010, accessed 16 October 2010.
M. Conversation with the author. 7 August 2010. New York.
Macklemore and Ryan Lewis. "Thrift Shop." *The Heist.* Alternative Distribution Alliance, 2012, compact disc.
"Man Fined $2,000 for Taking Garbage from Sidewalk." 26 March 2013. http://www.npr.org.
Medina, Martin. *The World's Scavengers: Salvaging for Sustainable Production and Consumption.* Plymouth, UK: AltaMira Press, 2007.
Melosi, Martin V. *Garbage in the Cities: Refuse, Reform, and the Environment.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.
Miller, William Ian. *Anatomy of Disgust.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
Miranda, Marie "Keta." *Homegirls in the Public Sphere.* Austin: UT Press, 2003.
Molina, Natalia. *Fit to Be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879–1939.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
Nagle, Robin. *Picking Up: On the Streets and Behind the Trucks with the Sanitation Workers of New York City.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013.
National Coalition for the Homeless. "National Estimates of Homelessness." *How Many People Experience Homelessness?* June 2008, accessed 31 March 2009.

NYC Freegan Meet-Up, "Sustainable Living Beyond Capitalism," accessed 14 February 2011.
O.H. Conversation with the author. 29 April 2008.
O.H. Email with the author. 18 March 2008.
Owens, Ryan. "Garbage Goes Gourmet." *ABC News,* 16 December 2007, accessed 1 April 2009.
Owens, Ryan, and Suzanne Yeo. "One Man's Trash, Another Man's Dinner: Freegans Go Dumpster Diving for Unspoiled Food." *ABC News,* 16 December 2007, accessed 1 April 2009.
Pellow, David Naguib. *Garbage Wars: The Struggle for Environmental Justice in Chicago.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004.
Pezzullo, Phaedra C. "Introduction," in *Toxic Tourism: Rhetorics of Pollution, Travel, and Environmental Justice.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007.
*Portlandia.* "Dumpster Divers." Season 1, Episode 3. Independent Film Channel. Television. 4 February 2011, accessed 6 February 2011.
Pritchett, Laura, ed. *Going Green: True Tales from Gleaners, Scavengers, and Dumpster Divers.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009.
Rathje, Wiliam, and Cullen Murphy. *Rubbish: The Archaeology of Garbage.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001.
Rauschenberg, Robert. *Rauschenberg at Gemini.* Pamphlet from special exhibit. Philbrook Museum of Art. 12 June–11 September 2011. Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Refettorio Gastromotiva. Main page, accessed August 2016. http://www.gastromotiva.org.
Rocio del Pilar, Moreno-Sanchez, and Maldonado, Jorge. "Surviving from Garbage: The Role of Informal Waste Pickers in a Dynamic Model of Solid Waste Management in Developing Countries." *Environment and Development Economics* 11 (2006): 371–91.
Ron. Conversation with the author. 10 April 2008. Kansas.
R.S. Conversation with the author. 1 April 2008. Kansas.
Sawyer, Drew. "Crisco: How to Do Queer Theory with Things." *Thing Theory.* Blog. 11 October 2007, accessed July 2016.
Severson, Kim. "Some Good News on Food Prices." *The New York Times* 2 April 2008, accessed 3 May 2009. http://www.nytimes.com.
Shah, Nayan. *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
"The State of Garbage in America." *Biocycle: Journal of Composting & Organics Recycling.* 47, no. 4 (April 2006), accessed 1 April 2009.
Strasser, Susan. *Waste & Want: A Social History of Trash.* New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999.
Stuart, Tristram. *Waste: Uncovering the Global Food Scandal.* New York: Norton, 2009.
Thurow, Robert, and Scott Kilman. *Enough: Why the World's Poorest Starve in an Age of Plenty.* New York: Public Affairs, 2009.

Ubell, Lynn. *Freegan Dinner Channel.* April 2, 2010, accessed 1 February 2011. http://www.youtube.com.

Ubell, Lynn. "Reality TV Pitch." *What's for Freegan Dinner?* 2 April 2010, accessed 1 February 2011. http://www.youtube.com.

United Nations. "The Right to Food." *Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.* 20 April 2001, accessed March 26, 2009. http://www.ohchr.org.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. "Food Security in the United States: Measuring Household Food Security." *Diet, Health, and Safety,* accessed 31 March 2009.

U.S. Department of Agriculture, USDA Economic Research Service. "Food Security in the U.S.: Food Insecurity by Household Type." *Diet, Health, and Safety.* November 2010, accessed 28 November 2010.

U.S. Department of Agriculture, USDA Economic Research Service. "Food Security in the U.S.: Key Statistics and Graphics." *Diet, Health, and Safety.* 2009 annual report. November 2010, accessed 28 November 2010.

Vaughn, Rachel. *Chuck That!: Oral Histories of Freegans and Other Dumpster Divers.* Lawrence Really Really Free Market. Saturday, May 8, 2010. Survey.

Vishwanath, Mandara. "The Politics of Housework in Contemporary." *Blind Field: A Journal of Cultural Inquiry.* 8 September 2016, accessed 8 September 2016. http://www.blindfieldjournal.com.

Walker, Lucy, dir. *Wasteland.* Almega Projects and 02 Films. 2010.

"Welcome to the South Central Farmers." South Central Farmers main page, accessed 15 March 2009.

Wessler, Seth Freed. "Selling Food Stamps for Kids' Shoes." Supported by the Investigative Fund at the Nation Institute. Reported by Daisy Hernandez. *COLORLINES.* 17 February 2010, accessed 25 November 2010.

The White Stripes. "Rag and Bone." *Get Behind Me Satan.* Vol. 2, 2005, compact disc.

Wright, Melissa W. *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism.* New York: Routledge, 2006.

Yates, Michelle. "The Human-as-Waste, the Labor Theory of Value and Disposability in Contemporary Capitalism." *Antipode* 43, no. 5 (2011): 1691.

"York." Conversation with the author. 2 May 2008. Kansas.

Zimring, Carl A. *Cash for Your Trash: Scrap Recycling in America.* New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005.