IT'S NOT THE STUDENTS' FAULT:

A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON THE WAYS IN WHICH ACADEMIC CAPITALISM IMPACTS COLLEGE STUDENT FOOD INSECURITY

by

Bridgette Riebe

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

HIGHER EDUCATION

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2024

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by: *Bridgette Riebe*, titled: It's Not the Students Fault: A Qualitative Study On The Ways In Which Academic Capitalism Impacts College Student Food Insecurity

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Matt Mars Date: 12/12/2024

Gary Rhoades (Dec 12, 2024 15:37 MST)
Dr. Gary Rhoades Date: 12/12/2024

Dr. Robert Torres Date: 12/12/2024

Dr. Suzanna Martinez Date: 12/13/2024

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Matt Mars Date: 12/12/2024
Dissertation Committee Chair
College of Education

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES 6

ABSTRACT..... 7

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION..... 8

Food Insecurity 10
Research Questions..... 13
Summary..... 14

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW..... 16

Prioritizing Food as a Basic Need..... 18
Risk Factors for Food Insecurity..... 20
Food Insecurity and Social Demographics..... 23
Impacts of College Food Insecurity on Academics and Student Health..... 28
Stigma of College Food Insecurity..... 31
Organizational Structure of Higher Education..... 33
Academic Capitalism: The Foundation for Maintaining Structure..... 37
Structure of Higher Education, Academic Capitalism and Food Insecurity..... 42
Current Interventions: Campus Pantries and Government Assistance Programs..... 47
Food Pantries..... 48
Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Programs..... 51
Summary..... 54
Research Questions 55

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY 56

Research Design..... 56
Participants..... 57
Recruitment..... 58
Informed Consent..... 59
Interview Design..... 60
Data Collection..... 60
Data Analysis..... 63
Coding..... 65
Credibility and Transferability…….…….…… 67
Positionality Statement 68
Limitations 69
Summary..... 71

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS 72
Arrangement 72
Precarious Autonomy 73
Responsibility and Discretion of the University 75
Summary 79
Reality 80
Theatrical Support 80
University Foundation Support 84
Space 89
Assessment Support 95
Organization Communication 97
Communication Strategies and Commitment 98
Recognition and Acknowledgement of Resources 101
Content Analysis 105
Summary 107
Consequences of the Arrangement 108
Desire for Support 108
Lack of Knowledge of Resources 111
Reinforced Stigma 112
Summary 114
Chapter Summary 115

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS 116
Discussion of Findings and Contribution to Prior Literature 116
Academic Capitalism 116
Theatrical Actions and Strategies 119
Strategic Planning 122
Evaluation and Assessment 125
Precarious Autonomy and Theatrical Support 126
Foundation Support 127
Assessment 129
Staff Member Support and Recognition 130
Student Leaders: An example of True Commitment 131
Suggestions for Further Research 131
Structural Violence 132

Implications for Future Practice 133
Formalized Foundation Donation Campaigns and Funding Allocations 135
Permanent Funding for Staff Wages and Support Networks 136
Marketing Campaigns 138
Assessment of Campus Food Insecurity 139
Communication with Senior Leadership 140
Conclusion 141

APPENDIX A: 144

APPENDIX B: 145

APPENDIX C: 147

APPENDIX D: 149

REFRENCES: 152

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Rates of Basic Needs and Food Insecurity by Student Population 22
Table 3.1 Participating University Demographics: Funding & Average Usage 58
Table 3.2 Interview Participants 62
Table 4.1 Institution and Funding Information 81
Table 4.2 University Foundation Admin Service Fee Policies 87
Table 5.1 Theoretical Actions and Strategies 121
Table 5.2 Suggestions for Future Practice 134
Table 5.3 Suggested Reporting Structure for Campus Pantries 137

ABSTRACT

This research explores the vital role of campus pantries in decreasing food insecurity among college students, revealing significant systemic challenges rooted in academic capitalism. This dissertation is based on qualitative methods to interview thirteen employees at six higher education institutions to understand how systemic practices further perpetuate or mitigate food insecurity. Findings from this study highlight that the reliance on external funding creates instability and highlights a disparity between performative institutional support and the genuine commitment needed for sustainable operations.

Findings suggest that staff members expressed a desire for consistent funding, emphasizing the inadequacy of current practices that often disguise underlying issues. Employing the concept of organizational theater, the study illustrates how curated displays of support can obscure the urgent need for systemic change. Additionally, the research utilizes the framework of structural violence to uncover how institutional policies marginalize vulnerable populations, perpetuating food insecurity. By addressing the root causes, stakeholders can develop interventions that go beyond mere symptom management.

Recommendations for improving practice include enhancing communication between pantry staff and university leadership, establishing formalized funding strategies, and fostering direct engagement to better align resources with needs. Ultimately, the findings advocate for a multifaceted approach that balances external funding with genuine institutional commitment. By prioritizing authentic support for campus pantries, universities can create a more equitable

environment that empowers all students to thrive, reinforcing their mission to promote education and providing opportunities for every student to graduate.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Because of the campus pantry, I no longer have to worry if I have the money to eat the next day. This causes me to save money and worry for more important reasons, like my academics. It helps ease the burden on myself and parents." -Undergraduate Student, Spring 2022

The opening quote represents the general response answer students provide to the question: "How has the Campus Pantry supported you as a student?" Students often express their gratitude for providing a safety net, free from worry about where they will get money for groceries or their next meal. Students indicated that utilizing campus pantries allows them to realign their focus on meeting other basic needs and their academics and ultimately have enough of what they need (Daugherty et al., 2019). Food insecure students often have to decide between spending money on food, course materials, transportation, housing, health insurance, technology, and childcare costs.

According to Hacker (2006), economic insecurity has transitioned from a societal concern to an individual problem. Meaning that poverty is a result of structural (e.g., economic, societal, and political) barriers, and the wider societal structure is to blame for placing the blame on individuals and their actions. Prior to this shift, the societal structure carried a responsibility to support individuals who were experiencing economic insecurity by providing government-funded and community resources to individuals and families in need. Today, the burdens of economic insecurity are placed fully on individuals and the decisions that they have made. Blaming economic insecurity on individuals and families continues to perpetuate the notion that economic security is reflective of individual actions rather than of the societal inequalities that perpetuate wealth and success in America. This blaming of individuals for their own hardships has continued to perpetuate the economic gap that exists between historically

underserved populations, perpetuating barriers to economic development through many factors, including education (Hunt, 2007; Gilens, 1995; Kluegel & Bobo, 1993; Kluegal, 1990).

Higher education is one of the few ways that individuals can experience upward mobility and break the cycle of poverty (Price et al., 2014). College student food insecurity struggles often stem from challenges such as low family socioeconomic status, lack of financial aid, high tuition, and cost of living (Cady, 2016). Students who experience these concerns often pursue the goal of degree attainment, knowing that their lives and financial outlook will likely be improved upon by graduating. In 2011, the U.S. Department of Education stated that people who earn a bachelor's degree will earn roughly 33% more over their lifetime than those who do not complete a degree. In addition, their chances of being unemployed are nearly cut in half (Cady, 2016). However, if there are structural and institutional barriers to students attending institutions of higher education, students will not be able to reach their full potential and graduate with a degree.

Structural barriers include poverty, poor high school education, and lower parental education than their peers (Naylor & Mifsud, 2020). These factors can all impact college student success, mainly through unpreparedness and lack of support when learning to navigate higher education decisions and processes, such as completing financial aid paperwork, enrolling in courses, and gaining and exercising tips and strategies for success. Institutional barriers include the policies or behaviors within an institution intended to support the standard college student: often affluent, white students (Garcia, 2018). The current assumption that college students have all their basic needs met can rely on familial support neglects and disadvantages the students who do not have these privileges. These barriers combine to inhibit student access to higher education. Some institutions state through their values that they promote diversity and encourage students from low-income backgrounds to come to their colleges and universities. However,

Salazar et al. (2021) found that many low-income students are still being kept from attending a post-secondary institution. Many students attending a university for the first time, regardless of whether they come from a low-income background, struggle to find basic needs and resources that will help them survive, let alone meet their educational goals.

Food Insecurity

Food insecurity refers to the limited or uncertain availability of food due to a lack of finances or resources (time, cooking ability, cooking equipment, transportation, etc.) and consequently limited access to safe, nutritious, and adequate quantities of food (USDA, 2022; Bickel et al., 2002). Food insecurity is a growing problem in America and has lasting effects on children, students, and adults. In 2019, more than 35 million people were food insecure at some point in the year, with rates rising each year (Feeding America, 2021). Understanding how many individuals are struggling with food insecurity and how specific demographics are at an increased risk of food insecurity shows the severity of this concern and the need for a solution. In addition, the recent COVID-19 pandemic further elevated the levels of food insecurity among the college student population (Baker-Smith et al., 2020).

The most common way to measure food insecurity is from the six-item USDA food module, which assesses food security over the past 12 months by asking participants to indicate how often they ran out of food, did not eat full or balanced meals, or did not have enough money to purchase more food (USDA, 2012). Food security varies across households and can vary from highly food secure to highly food insecure. Those who are highly food secure do not experience times during the year when they skip meals or reduce their food intake or quality for financial reasons. Conversely, those who have very low food security constantly worry about where their next meal is coming from, skipping meals, or reducing food intake due to financial reasons

(Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016). Many Americans fall in between these two extremes (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2020), where they might experience food insecurity at some point in the year, but it is not a consistent problem. This is often seen by families struggling with unexpected expenses such as maintenance, health care, or increased education costs.

Food insecurity among college students is high, with rates often higher than those seen in the general population (Cady, 2014). For many, the issue of food insecurity can be hard to see because most people who experience poverty want to keep it hidden due to stigma and shame (Cady, 2014). Regardless of the visibility, the negative impacts on students are real. Negative impacts on mental and physical health can contribute to missed classes, negatively affecting students' academics and increasing the risk of them leaving college before degree completion (Van Woerden et al., 2019). Increasing research on college food insecurity that can address this issue is significant in ensuring that students have a fair chance of completing a college degree and, thus, the potential for upward mobility because a college degree is one of the most effective ways to reduce material hardship and future reliance on social benefits (Price et al., 2014).

To address the growing number of students experiencing food insecurity, campus food pantries have been created to provide students with supplemental food. According to the College and University Food Bank Alliance (2019), “food pantries have evolved due to the evolving student demographic, tuition costs, transportation concerns, meal plan costs, and the limited availability of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)” as quoted in Daugherty et al. (2019). In the United States, college food pantries have grown from one in 2007 to over 700 in 2019 (College and University Food Bank Alliance, 2019). These programs can provide not only food items but also support with connections to additional community and campus

resources for emergency funds, transportation, childcare, and insurance (Daugherty, et al., 2019).

Food insecurity is a symptom of a larger social concern, poverty, which needs to be addressed among the college student population. According to Cady (2016), "college campuses can perpetuate systemic barriers to students finding financial stability. It is important that universities look specifically at policies and practices to determine if changes need to be made in the students favor" (p. 30). Broton and Goldrick-Rab (2016) expand on these policies and practices and make several suggestions for supporting students such as creating interest-free, short-term loans for students who expect to receive financial aid but have delayed payments, interest-free book loans, relaxing the rules regarding late payments, shifting the due date for fees, and pushing back the date of which a student is dropped from courses due to non-payment. These changes would allow students to receive financial leniency during the beginning of the semester, which is often one of the most financially strenuous times of the year. In addition, some universities have encouraged on-campus food vendors and university-owned facilities to accept electronic benefit transactions (EBT), commonly known as food stamps. These policy changes help alleviate financial stress and ideally reduce the likelihood of students experiencing food insecurity. Policy changes are an effective solution and go beyond encouraging use of a band-aid solution such as food pantries, and instead potentially mitigate the experience of food insecurity in the first place. However, these band-aid solutions should be available for those who do not qualify for SNAP. These college leaders "reviewed and adapted policies and procedures to better serve students from low-income and poor families while maintaining the financial health and integrity of their institution" (Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016, p. 20).

Research among college food insecurity continues to grow, however only a few studies are specific to understanding the structural factors of the institution that are enrolling these students. The main intervention to support these students is through the opening of food pantries, yet little is known about the ways in which institutions support or prevent the success of these vital programs. Academic capitalism explains how universities embody market-like behaviors by prioritizing revenue generation through research, grants, donations, partnerships, investments, student tuitions and fees and other business-like activities (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). Academic capitalism is a theory used to explain how revenue generation is prioritized through programs and practices such as athletics (Sack, 2010), recruiting practices (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Taylor & Bicak, 2020), marketing materials (Hartley and Morphew, 2008; Saichaie & Morphew, 2014; Rhoades, 2016) and more. However, the theory has yet to critique the relationship that academic capitalism has on poverty and more specifically food insecurity. It is important to understand how the experience of food insecure students is influenced by institutional structures, attitudes, and behaviors that the university practices. Accordingly, this dissertation explores the following research questions:

- How have organizational factors and structure affected patterns of student food insecurity at four- year institutions?
- How do university strategic plans, values, and commitment statements acknowledge food insecurity and the programs that support food insecure students?
- How do universities use human and non-human resources to prioritize student food security?
- How do universities communicate their commitment to the creation and growth of campus food pantries?
- What are the most effective communication strategies that universities employ to recognize and normalize student food insecurity?
- How do college students and universities acknowledge the presence of campus pantries and food insecurity?

This research was a multiple-case study (Gustafsson, 2017) by exploring three, large, public four- year universities in the United States. Using narrative methodology to listen to

stories from each university's staff members, this research learned about the ways that university support, and barriers have contributed to the successes and limitations of campus food pantries. Interviews were conducted with three or more employees at each university that have some formal interaction with or responsibilities to their food pantry. To understand the ways in which institutional support exists, interviews were conducted with staff of varying levels (e.g., coordinators, directors, Dean of Students, Vice Presidents) at each institution. To be used as a comparison with the participant interviews, this research will use document analysis to assess each university's strategic plans, values, and both quantitative and qualitative data to assess the attitudes and behaviors towards the food pantries at each institution. Then, utilizing the experiences and perspectives of staff members, patterns and trends will be empirically identified and used to inform a deeper understanding of how the experience of food insecurity is influenced by university and senior leadership practices.

Summary

Research has established that students who experience food insecurity are more likely to struggle physically and academically in college, which greatly diminishes the likelihood of degree completion. Some colleges and universities have tried to solve food insecurity by opening food pantries which supply supplemental groceries. However, this is merely a temporary solution that does not consider the root causes of food insecurity, but rather provides items to meet an immediate need. Despite the growing number of students reporting food insecurity and utilizing campus food pantries, institutions themselves have taken little responsibility for further perpetuating food insecurity among students.

The organizational and policy structure of institutions, rooted in academic capitalism, prioritizes and benefits students from affluent families, leaving behind many marginalized at-risk

populations. Without thorough research on this topic, it appears that rather than addressing structural barriers that contribute to food insecurity, institutions use short-term solutions like campus pantries to "solve" this concern, so they can refocus their efforts on students who are more profitable to the institution. Little to no research has been conducted on how the structure of institutions affects the experience of food insecure students. Within this dissertation, this study will seek to understand the institutional structures, attitudes, behaviors and experiences that enhance the experiences of students facing food insecurity by interviewing middle managers and administrators at several large universities.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Prioritizing Food as a Basic Need

The earliest research on college food insecurity was conducted by Chaparro et al. in 2006 at the University of Hawaii at Manoa (Chaparro et al., 2009). These researchers found that 21% of students were currently food insecure, and an additional 24% were at risk of becoming food insecure (Chaparro et al., 2009). As college food insecurity research has continued, awareness is increasing and becoming more significant among college students (Cady, 2016; Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016). Students experiencing food insecurity must often make challenging choices between academics and basic needs such as food. For many students, deciding whether to purchase course materials or enough food is a weekly decision. For example, many students make tradeoffs between course materials and other basic necessities such as transportation, housing, insurance or healthcare costs. When students try to prioritize their academics, the quantity and quality of food is often diminished, which can have negative repercussions. As Patton-Lopez et al (2014). stated, "food insecurity, as a potential consequence of the increasing costs of higher education, and its likely impact on student health, learning, and social outcomes, should not be considered an accepted aspect of the impoverished student experience, but a major student health priority" (p. 209).

Until the past decade, college food insecurity was rarely discussed as an actual student concern and was not heavily researched as a data point (Chaparro et al., 2009). The prominence of food insecurity throughout history has been described as the "poor college student" or "the ramen noodle every night diet," but these notions were never taken as serious concerns that could be negatively affecting the health and the well-being of students across the country. Food insecurity was and is still often overlooked as a barrier to college persistence, but dedicated

researchers have brought awareness to this concern and have worked to ensure that resources are available on college campuses (Cady, 2016; Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016).

College Food Insecurity: A Growing Concern

Increasing tuition costs, rent, lack of transportation and high healthcare costs are all contributing to the increase of food insecurity in college students. Today, it is estimated that roughly one in three four- year college students, and over half of two- year college students, experience food insecurity at some point during their academic career (Goldrick-Rab, 2020). Additionally, rates of food insecurity among college students are up to three times higher (approximately 43.5%) than among the United States general population (13%; Nazmi et al., 2018). Several factors increase food insecurity among students: food deserts (Ghosh-Dastidaret al., 2014), transportation (Baugus, 2020), on campus food sold at inflated prices, and the prominence of less nutritious food (Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016; Dhillon et al., 2019). However, students are not the only ones on campus experiencing many of these barriers to food access. Many low-paid support employees (Townley et al., 2020) and adjunct faculty members (Pardo, n.d.) are affected equally by these same factors and experience food insecurity at higher rates than the general population (Goldrick-Rab, 2016).

The economic conditions and features that influence and perpetuate student food insecurity include the cost of living and college expenses, which are simultaneously increasing. According to the College Board, trends between 2009–2019 tuition and fees at public four- year universities have increased on average 3.1% per year since 2018–19 (Trends in College Pricing, 2018). In the Trends in College Pricing and Student Aid Summary (Ma et al., 2020), over the 30 years between 1990–91 and 2919–21, the average tuition and fees at public four- year institutions increased from $3,800 to $10,560. Additionally, Pell grants declined by 22% or ($7.9 Billion)

and the total federal loans to undergraduates fell by 38% over the past decade (Ma et al., 2020). For domestic students who receive financial aid, funding is often not enough to cover the cost of tuition and living expenses, particularly for four- year colleges. For low-income domestic college students, the Pell Grant is a major source of financial support, but it rarely covers the full cost of college attendance, particularly for students at four- year institutions. Students often rely on their financial aid funding for more tuition and living expenses, but as tuition costs are increasing and financial aid amounts are staying the same, there is an increasing gap in the findings. The 2018 GAO report highlights this concern, as students no longer have financial aid refunds to support them with non-tuition expenses: "Students used to use their financial aid refund (after tuition, fees, and other school charges are paid, which can be used to pay for other education and living expenses); however, students rarely receive a refund anymore" (GAO, 2018). This research suggests that a more precise estimate of the true cost of living and attendance for college students needs to be determined to help them understand the affordability of college and to create more sustainable financial aid programs.

Increased costs of attendance have negatively impacted low-income students and often leave them seeking additional funding from outside sources such as high-interest student loans or cutting back on academic and living expenses (e.g., textbooks, food on campus, mandatory meal plans, rent, or transportation costs; Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016). These changes have forced students to make challenging decisions to make ends meet, and oftentimes, the decision made is to cut back on food-related expenses by skipping meals or eating less nutritious rather than non-negotiable expenses like rent (Goldrick-Rab, 2018; Goldrick-Rab, Broton & Eisenberg, 2015). Henry (2017) found at the University of North Texas that the top coping strategies for students were eating cheap fast food, sharing food with roommates, suppressing hunger with

excess fluid intake, and downsizing meals. Additionally, students use other coping strategies such as short-term payday loans, donating plasma, eating similar meals repetitively, stealing, getting second jobs, and even intentionally not paying some bills to have money remaining for food. Larson et al. (2006) reported that many young adults believe they do not have adequate cooking skills, money to purchase groceries, or time to prepare food. Students who do not have these skills may purchase more costly convenience foods and ready meals more often. Research by Alaimo (2005) stated that college student food security status can be improved through self-reliant measures (e.g., optimization of food resources) and/or institutional support. Each of these factors sets students apart from their peers who are not experiencing food insecurity, and without addressing these concerns, students will not be able to persist until graduation or gain economic mobility.

The growing number of food-insecure college students indicates that there needs to be an investment in students' basic needs. This investment can positively affect students' overall well-being and persistence to graduation (Goldrick-Rab, 2018). Many universities still cater to affluent white students (Chang, 2002) despite the goal of increasing access for marginalized populations (Schudde & Goldrick-Rab, 2015). However, what many administrators do not acknowledge is that without the investment (e.g., space, food, financial support, staffing) in programs that will help students survive, food insecurity will continue to perpetuate and affect the next generation of college students. To ensure that all college students have an equal opportunity for success, administrators must understand that the barriers to accessing basic needs will continue to keep college inaccessible for a growing number of students. Helping students meet their basic needs should not only be a priority because it is the morally correct thing to do

but also because it has instrumental purposes by helping colleges and universities retain and graduate more students (Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016).

Risk Factors for Food Insecurity

Although childhood food insecurity is a prominent concern and is openly discussed, until the past two decades, there was little to no discussion of the impacts of college food insecurity (Chaparro et al., 2009). There are demographic disparities in basic needs insecurity that increase the likelihood that some individuals will face barriers at some point in their academic careers. For the general population, households headed by an African American, a Hispanic person, a never-married person, a divorced or separated person, a renter, a single parent, a young person, or a less educated individual are more likely to be food insecure (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2013). Within higher education, students of color, low-income students, women, former foster youth, students from the LGBTQ2+ community, first-generation, and students who are also parents are more likely to experience food insecurity (Goldrick-Rab, 2018). None of these demographic factors are the cause of food insecurity, however the structural and environmental inequalities that exist within our society keep these populations from being able to access food at the same rates as other populations. Discrimination against these populations inhibits access to higher education and employment at equal rates as white, cisgender, and straight counterparts, which creates detrimental economic consequences that contribute to higher rates of food insecurity among these populations (Williams & Collins, 2001).

Increased numbers of students from low-income backgrounds enrolling in higher education in the past decade could contribute to increased numbers of students experiencing basic needs insecurity, in addition to the rising costs of tuition, housing, transportation, parking, and school expenses. According to Freudenberg et al. (2011), students who support themselves

financially are 1.6 times more likely to report food insecurity, and students working more than 20 hours per week have a higher prevelence of food insecurity than those who do not. Although there is a wide range of risk factors for food insecurity for all students, it is important to disaggregate the populations with greater patterns of prominence, including graduate students, students of color, low-income students, community college students, and international students.

As the number of food-insecure students increases, critics like Gunderson (2020) have argued that these increased rates of food insecurity are not unique to college students but rather all individuals who are "college-aged" between 18 and 30. The motivation for this research was due to the large ranges of percentages of college food insecurity. As research expands from many universities and studies, numbers have significant ranges and inconclusive results. This perspective can be seen in Table 1 below, as the rates of food insecurity in undergraduate students range from 40–79% (Martinez et al., 2020). Gunderson (2020) posed the question: "Are college students more likely to be food insecure than those of similar ages who are not in college?" (p. 1477). When disaggregated by age, college students and non-college-attending adults between 18 and 30 have higher rates of food insecurity than the general population. His results demonstrate that full-time college students have lower rates of food insecurity than their non-student peers. Across all ages, the rate of food insecurity is greater among people who are disabled. In addition, non-students have even higher rates of food insecurity than the general population. Gunderson (2020) suggests that the twice-as-high rate of food insecurity is extremely alarming as college students are likely to earn more upon graduation, and this higher rate of food insecurity among non-students should be even more troubling for researchers.

Table 1.1: Rates of Basic Needs and Food Insecurity by Student Population

Student Population	Percent Experiencing Basic Needs Insecurity	Percent Experiencing Food Insecurity
Overall	58% [1]	36% [1]
four- year Institutions	53% [1]	29% [1]
Community College Students	54–61% [1]	39–50% [1]
Students of Color	65–71% [1]	77% [2]
White Students	54% [1]	24% [2]
Low- Income, Pell-Eligible	67% [1]	49% [3]
Undergraduate Students	45% [3]	40–79% [2]
Graduate/Professional	49% [3]	22–39% [2]
International Students	39% [4]	25%–39% [4]
LGBTQIA2+	65% [1]	75% [3]
Former Foster Youth	78% [1]	62%[3]

1. (The Hope Center, 2021)
2. (Martinez, Frongillo, Leung, & Ritchie, 2020).
3. (Baker et al., 2020)
4. (Soldavini, Andrew, & Berner, 2022)
5. (Nazmi et al., 2018)

Gunderson and Seligman (2017) confirm research by (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2013), who found that one of the greatest factors of food insecurity among college students is their young age. As college food insecurity research continues, it is important to note that age may be one of the greatest factors putting college students at risk. This research does not, however, minimize the physical, emotional, and academic risks that students who are food insecure experience and its impacts on their overall health, well-being, and academics.

Bruening et al. (2017) reviewed peer-reviewed and gray literature to assess the prevalence of food insecurity at post-secondary institutions, factors contributing to food insecurity, and promising practices to support food-insecure college students. Studies that were included in their research assessed food insecurity among vocations, undergraduate, graduate, and professional students. Fifty-nine articles were cited in their research. They determined that an average of 42% of college students experience food insecurity (Bruening et al., 2017). Their research remains consistent with previous research and states that among the 59 articles, students of color, younger students, students with children, and financially independent students were more likely to experience food insecurity. Additionally, their research compiled the most commonly suggested interventions, including financial coaching, campus pantries, system-level changes to increase financial aid, creating a basic living stipend, and allowing students to receive SNAP benefits (Bruening et al., 2017). Earlier research by Alaimo (2005) stated that effective financial management skills, such as budgeting and financial literacy, are expected to result in greater financial and food security. Credit card usage was high among college students. However, students who owned credit cards were less likely to be food insecure, suggesting that having a credit card offers an alternative form of paying for food during financially tight times (Alaimo, 2005). Having credit cards can prevent immediate food insecurity; however, if food insecurity is consistent, utilizing credit cards can delay the inevitable expenses or can quickly lead to unmanageable amounts of debt (Gaines et al., 2014).

Food Insecurity and Social Demographics

There is currently limited research on whether graduate students experience food insecurity more often than undergraduate students, but the risk factors and experiences that contribute to these students being food insecure are often quite different. Many undergraduate

students experience food insecurity because of limited access to transportation, as they are more likely to live on campus. However, graduate students often have greater financial responsibilities, less familial and financial assistance (Baum & Steele, 2018), spend more time working on coursework and volunteering (Wyatt & Oswalt, 2013), and are often at an increased risk of negative mental health outcomes (Dahlin et al., 2005; Eisenberg et al., 2007; Peluso et al., 2011). In addition to these factors, any household that has children is more likely to be food insecure (Gundersen & Seligman, 2017), which can create an additional barrier for graduate students, who are more likely to have children than undergraduate students and very often do not receive childcare support from universities (Goldrick-Rab, 2018).

Black, Indigenous and people of color (BIPOC) are more likely to experience food insecurity (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2016). The USDA has tracked and assessed food insecurity for the past 20 years, and one trend that has continued to persist over the past several decades is the gap in rates of food insecurity between people of color and whites (Odoms-Young & Marino, 2018). Rates of food insecurity correlate with economic disadvantages among people of color, as the Pew Research Center found that the wealth of white households was 13 times greater than the median wealth of black and 10 times greater than Hispanic households (Kochhar & Fry, 2014). This shows that the convergence of race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status play a factor in rates of food insecurity (Bartfiel & Dunifon, 2006). Williams & Collins (2001) found differential treatment and racial discrimination limit people of color's access to education and employment opportunities, which creates economic consequences that can contribute to food insecurity (Williams & Collins, 2001; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Structural racism is defined as "the ways in which society fosters racial discrimination via mutually reinforcing inequitable systems (housing, employment, earnings, benefits, credit, media, health care, criminal justice, etc."

(Bailey et al., 2017, p. 1453). Odoms-Young (2018) uses this definition of structural racism to explain how practices of discrimination that are deeply rooted in society create disparities in food security. These same practices exist for people of color enrolling and attending college, as they are systematically pushed out of the university. Students who do enroll are at risk of facing the same economic challenges that contribute to increased rates of food insecurity in these populations (Fike, 2008).

Community colleges were created to provide a more economically accessible way to continue one's education (Schudde & Goldrick-Rab, 2015). These institution types were created to better serve the full community, specifically targeting low-income and marginalized populations. Initially, community colleges were created to be a cheaper alternative to four- year institutions (Baum & Ma, 2008); however, as the number of students enrolling is rising, so is the cost of attendance. Community college attendance is growing as 43% of students who are attending four- year institutions have begun their postsecondary education at a two- year college (21st Century Commission on the Future of Community colleges, 2012). Community colleges have always been common destinations for students who receive the Pell Grant, which was created to cover the full cost of college from its inception in the 1970s. Today, the rising cost of college is barely covered by these Pell Grants as they declined by 22% or $7.9 Billion over the last 10 years (Trends in College Pricing, 2018), leaving a large gap in funding to be provided by the student (Goldrick-Rab, Broton & Eisenberg, 2015). Community colleges are historically cheaper than four- year institutions and attract students from low-income communities and historically underserved populations who are seeking post-secondary education (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2012b). Public two- year institutions serve 56% of all Hispanic undergraduates and 44% of all Black students (Ma & Baum, 2016). This greater accumulation of low-income students and

students of color is linked to the increased rates of food insecurity among community college students. The rates of students experiencing food insecurity from community colleges range from 39% to 56% but are significantly higher than at four- year institutions, which average around 33% (Goldrick-Rab, Broton & Eisenberg, 2015). These students, who have multiple converging identities, are at a higher risk of facing food insecurity in their academic career than their white, middle-class counterparts.

International students also experience food insecurity at higher rates than their peers. These students experience a greater risk due to increased costs of attendance, lack of transportation, and a lack of culturally nourishing foods (Moffat et al., 2017). Colleges and universities are increasing their revenue-building efforts to keep pace with increasing expenditures. Through this, they are cutting program budgets, increasing tuition costs, and enrolling more international students. These students come to America to seek better education opportunities but face high international tuition fees, insurance, and visa requirements. In addition to increased fees, students often have restrictions on their student visas that reduce employment opportunities and make them ineligible for many scholarships, loans, and governmental support programs (Hanbazaza et al., 2017). Hanbazaza et al. (2017) found that 96.2% of 58 international students studying in Canada experienced some form of food insecurity during the academic year.

Current research shows that traditional foods and ways of eating are a key aspect of one's ethnocultural identity (Moffat et al., 2017), and significant changes to diet can negatively impact not only their health but also cause a disconnect to their cultural identity while living abroad. The unfamiliar cultural environment challenges one’s traditional foodways and diminishes the ability to prepare, share and consume traditional foods which leads to cultural food insecurity (Wright et

al, 2021). Many students living abroad struggle to find transportation to further cultural markets, and the higher-cost items are often unattainable, forcing students into food insecurity. International students are at an additional risk of food insecurity due to these access barriers to important cultural foods, which have the potential to negatively impact their health and academic success.

Nazmi et al. (2018) found that the range of studies on college food insecurity being divided among disciplines (nutrition, dietetics, consumer studies, and higher education) makes it difficult to understand the extent of college food insecurity. These researchers conducted a systematic review to document and describe the number of studies and methodologies and synthesize available food security prevalence data from higher education settings. A total of eight studies met the inclusion criteria and were used in the primary analysis, and the results showed that food insecurity among students was at least three times higher than observed in nationally representative households (Nazmi et al., 2018). This systematic review demonstrated that college students are not protected from food insecurity, and they may be at a significantly elevated risk (Nazmi et al., 2018). Researchers suggest that further measures to assess the timing of food insecurity need to be developed. Including information on whether students experience food insecurity during the academic year, during winter/spring/summer breaks, or even at the end of the term when financial aid funds have been exhausted would better show how students experience food insecurity over an entire year.

In addition to the work by Nazmi et al. (2018), Nikolaus et al. (2019) expanded on this research and conducted a scoping review to produce a weighted estimate of the prevalence of food insecurity while also describing how study characteristics relate to the estimate. Fifty-one research samples were identified and used in this review, and the prevalence of food insecurity

ranged from 10%–75% to an average of 41% (Nikolaus et al., 2018). One highlight of the research shows that it is common for very low food security to be as prevalent as or more prevalent than low food security (Nikolaus et al., 2018). Through the research by Nikolaus et al. (2018) it is evident that there is not a clearly developed tool to assess food insecurity in the college student population. The current USDA short and long food security analysis both have flaws when addressing the college student population, such as requiring a recall of food security, categories of food insecurity changing throughout the academic year and breaks, or even the prevalence of children in the household. For accurate research to continue, developing tools directly for the college student population would be invaluable, as addressing food insecurity among college students is imperative to ensure the health and education of our current college students.

Impacts of College Food Insecurity on Academics and Student Health

Joyoti et al. (2005) found in elementary and secondary education that food insecurity was associated with poor mathematics scores, repetition of grades, absences, tardiness, anxiety, aggression, psychosocial dysfunction, and difficulty getting along with other children. These are common repercussions that continue when college students are food insecure since food insecurity has been known to affect development in students both physically and academically (Joyoti et al., 2005). The pipeline effect suggests that food insecurity as a K–12 student could predict that these same students would be more likely to experience food insecurity in college (Cole & Barber, 2003; Cady, 2014). Since we already know that students' academics in elementary and secondary education can be impacted, the pipeline effect could help researchers see how food insecurity would also have negative effects on academics in college.

Additionally, Farahbakhsh et al. (2016) found that college students who experience food insecurity have more challenges with learning and productivity, leading to negative academic impacts. This is consistent with research by Hagedorn and Oldert (2018), who studied college students at an Appalachian University. Their quantitative study used student assessments where they rated their progress with graduating on time, class attendance, attention span in class, and understanding concepts taught in class. Food insecure students had a greater chance of experiencing these academic problems and had a lower grade point average, representing poor academic success. They further suggested that students have increased behavioral problems and emotional burdens, which can affect their success in courses as well (Hagedorn & Oldert, 2018). Key research suggests that providing solutions to food insecurity in college students can thus increase students' academic performance and persistence until graduation.

Additionally, low-income students are more likely to work while attending college to cover high living and educational costs, and many students work over 20 hours a week (Orozco & Cauthen, 2009). While working between 10–15 hours a week can contribute to positive impacts on grades and engagement, students who work over 20 hours a week have lower GPAs than those who work fewer hours (King, 2006; Pike et al., 20 08). Low–income students who work longer hours in order to increase financial stability face an additional risk factor of potentially having lower GPAs. For students who are trying to manage their finances, jobs, and academics, it creates difficult tradeoffs that students must make between choosing to work more or choosing to have more time to focus on academics.

Specifically with regard to academic performance, food insecurity contributes to decreased rates of retention among college students (Cady, 2014; Silva et al., 2017). Students frequently make tradeoffs by purchasing cheaper food or eating fewer meals to afford to stay

enrolled in college. Research shows that students who experience basic needs insecurity and food insecurity are more likely to struggle academically and are more likely to have failed or withdrawn from courses or have failed to enroll in future semesters (Silva et al., 2017). The biggest challenge with fully understanding why students have left is that there is limited research that has significant numbers of students who have not been retained. A large amount of data comes from students who are at risk of not persisting and have considered leaving due to food insecurity but are ultimately still enrolled. Although this is important data, it can create a sampling bias in these studies, which may create a non-representative sample of the most at-risk students. Additional research on students who were unable to persist until graduation due to food insecurity would better demonstrate the true needs of the most at-risk students and evidence the ways in which students cope with basic needs insecurity.

Food insecurity presents prominent risks to students' acute and chronic health. Food insecurity in adults is associated with many different health risks, including decreased nutritional intake, increased rates of mental health problems, depression, diabetes, hypertension, hyperlipidemia, being in poor or fair health, and poor sleep conditions (Gundersen & Seligman, 2017; Gunderson & Ziliak, 2015). Ensuring a healthy dietary intake is extremely important in preventing and managing chronic diseases, which is important for college students because the more often they miss class for common illnesses, the more their grades can also suffer (Wyatt, 1992). In addition to physical health, students' mental health can also be negatively impacted by food insecurity and can affect students' academic outcomes (Broton & Goldrick-Rab, 2016). For many students, mental health is already a concern and can affect academic success, but food-insecure students are more likely to experience mental health issues than their peers (Farahbakhsh et al., 2015). Mental health outcomes associated with food insecurity among

college students include increased rates of depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation (Bruening et al., 2016). Mental health is of gravest concern for marginalized student populations (Arday, 2018). Arday (2018) found that Black and ethnic minority students at universities experience greater mental health challenges, caused by negotiating racial inequality, discrimination, and decreased access to mental health services. This is relevant because these same student populations that are historically more likely to experience food insecurity are also more likely to have mental health challenges, creating a negative cycle for these students.

Ultimately, experiences of food insecurity are associated with diminished physical and mental health for all people, including the college student population. Allowing food insecurity to persist in the United States compromises the quality of life and additionally widens the health disparities for millions of Americans (Nikolaus, 2019). College students are at even greater risk of disparities as other factors such as age, financial status, and employment opportunities are limited as these students are working to persist until graduation.

Stigma of College Food Insecurity

Stigma is defined as undesirable deviations from what is considered normal by societal standards (Goffman, 2009). To understand the normalcy of society, Goffman (2009) states that there must be a reference group, such as students who are food secure. Stigma can often be shaped by myths in the field, creating a false sense of normalcy. Daugherty et al. (2019) highlighted common misconceptions surrounding food-insecure students as people who have been financially or socially irresponsible, causing this by unwise spending, or choosing to have children before being able to take care of their own basic needs. This stigma prevents students from receiving needed assistance because they do not identify with the myths of who food insecure students are or why they are food insecure (Loftin, 2013). Henry (2017) found that both

food insecure and food secure student participants noted that food insecurity is “faceless, has no standard image and is often silent” (p. 9). Students also reported feelings of awkwardness, contributing to emotional burden and thoughts of negative self-worth. Among participants, there was an idea that the topic of hunger or food scarcity could embarrass food-insecure peers. Thus, the topic of food insecurity was avoided in conversation, reinforcing the silence about food insecurity among college students.

The negativity surrounding food insecurity not only prevents students from seeking much-needed resources but also causes apprehension, ongoing anxiety, and discrimination (Loftin, 2013). Henry (2017) also states that “the overwhelming feeling of shame from the inability to provide for themselves was a factor that stopped participants from seeking help from parents and other social services, such as SNAP benefits and housing subsidies” (p. 10). Other participants were quick to say that “other students were worse off than them, and they did not want to take away resources from them” (Henry, 2017, p. 10).

Loftin (2013), highlighting Daugherty et al.’s findings (2019), stated that at the University of Central Florida, “90 percent of students have never been to a pantry before or using the one provided on campus and almost twenty-five percent of students reported it was a difficult decision to use the resources provided because of feelings of shame, embarrassment, and pride” (p. 14). Connections can be made between Loftin's (2013) and Daugherty et al. 's (2019) assertions about academic capitalism through the ways in which higher education institutions hide these social concerns and the resources to support these students. Although it will be further defined in a later section, due to academic capitalism, colleges, and universities are designed to serve and privilege more affluent students because they are seen as more financially valuable to the institution. Institutions often deny or hide that college students are struggling to meet basic

needs because it would look worse for the institution. Universities often focus on the visibility of serving the more sought-after, affluent students and then hide or fail to acknowledge the programs that are supporting lower-income students, such as food pantries. These methods of hiding resources further contribute to the stigma of food insecurity and confirm that students should hide their unmet basic needs.

Organizational Structure in Higher Education

Social scientists generally identify structure based on how patterned relationships exist between individuals and institutions (Sewell, 1992). According to Parsons (1937), the term social structure applies to the arrangement of the institutions, agencies, and social patterns, as well as the statuses and roles that each person assumes in the group. All social structure units are invisible and intangible patterns, which makes understanding relevant phenomena a complicated and abstract task. Giddens (1976) suggests that structure embodies duality, where they are both the medium and the outcome of practice. Structures are reproduced because current structures influence and shape future practices and actions (Sewell, 1992).

Human agency implies that knowledgeable individuals can utilize their structurally formed abilities, beliefs, and capacities to work in creative, innovative, and, most importantly, self-determined ways (Sewell, 1992). Structure itself is created by knowledgeable human agents (i.e., people) who act by putting structured knowledge and patterns into practice. Social historians and critics of structure argue that agents' thoughts, motives, and interactions are constituted by the cultures and social institutions that they engage with. Structures are recreated and perpetuated by agents repeating the patterns that exist within cultures and societies. Individuals who are in positions of power and making decisions are influenced by their cultural interactions and institutions. This influence recreates the structure, as decisions are made that

will reinforce their experiences and known structures. However, in certain situations, Giddens suggests that agents can innovate how the structure exists and significantly reconfigure it (Giddens, 1976; Sewell, 1992).

Structure exists as both rules and resources that make up the foundation of society. These rules are seen by the "generalizable procedures applied in the enactment and reproduction of social life" (Giddens, 1984, p. 21). Sewell (1992) frequently emphasized that agents of structure must have knowledge of the rules of society to make them capable of action. The main takeaway of the societal rules that are the foundation of structure is that they must be generalizable. This means that the rules must extend or be transposed to other institutions, situations, and opportunities.

The other foundational component of structure is resources, which is described by Giddens (1979) as anything that can serve as a source of power in social interactions (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1992). Resources can then be divided into human and non-human resources. Overall, Giddens (1979) defines human resources as "physical strength, dexterity, knowledge, and emotional commitments that can be used to enhance or maintain power, including the knowledge of the means of gaining, retaining, controlling, and propagating either human or non-human resources" (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1992, p. 9). Non-human resources are considered objects that are either animate or inanimate, naturally occurring or manufactured, and can be used to enhance or maintain power (Giddens, 1979; Sewell, 1992).

The organizational structure of institutions of higher education operates with both horizontal and vertically oriented structures (Keeling et al., 2007). Keeling et al. (2007) stated, "there is a twofold reasoning for this organizational rationale: (1) to allow for creative thinking, and (2) to respect and encourage the autonomy of different disciplines" (p. 22). Student affairs

divisions (which primarily house support services such as campus pantries) are often in a difficult position, as they are developed as a response to institutional needs but are required to consistently document and demonstrate value (Keeling, 2004). Kuh (1996) stated that institutions of higher education operate in silos, where programs operate in parallel with one another by prioritizing their own goals rather than accomplishing broader institutional goals. Rather than central funding, many institutions base funding models on credit hours, which drives money into individual colleges based on student enrollment (Keeling et al., 2007). This separation of funds increases competition between colleges and puts more focus on promoting their own internal goals rather than accomplishing broader institutional purposes (Kuh, 1996).

In addition to the vertical organizational structure, there are essential horizontal forces that pull governance and control to the center of the institution (Keeling et al., 2007). These central administration offices can oversee high-level decisions such as resource allocation, financial management, and policies. Offices such as assessment, development, alumni relations, communications, marketing, enrollment management, or other core functions are performed by the institution as a whole. The tension between these two horizontal and vertical structures makes up the complexity of higher education institutions as a whole and creates complexities when trying to institutionalize change.

Changing the structures and practices of higher education institutions is difficult. Despite the notion that colleges and universities are supposed to be admitting more marginalized students, research by Rosinger et al. (2021) and others proves otherwise. Practices such as requiring standardized test scores, extracurricular involvement, interviews, and essays are all based on economic and social advantages that privilege more affluent students (Rosinger et al., 2021). Furthermore, admitting and retaining students are two different concepts, and despite

some rates of admittance changing, the students who are unable to complete degrees remain predominantly those from marginalized backgrounds (Thiem & Dasgupta, 2022).

There are several different types of higher education institutions in each state. Public Flagship Universities are typically the oldest institutions in the state and are charged with the responsibility for producing the future political, business, and civic leaders from each state. Although these institutions were created to support in-state students, more flagship institutions are becoming more selective and make up the most privileged of their state's students (Gerald & Haycock, 2006). Each year, more flagship universities are not spending money on low-income students' tuition assistance but rather on high-income students who will help increase their ratings. In 2003, flagship universities spent $257 million on financial aid for students who come from families that earn more than $100,000 per year, which is considerably more than the $171 million that was spent on families who earn less than $20,000 (Gerald & Haycock, 2006). The lack of funding and other resources has provided insufficient attention to marginalized student populations, which is reflected in the graduation numbers of these students. Across all the flagship universities in the research by Gerald & Haycock (2006), Black freshmen graduated at only 84%, Latino freshmen at 88%, and Native American freshmen at 61%, the rate of white students. As the wealth of the country continues to grow, the economic mobility of the country declines to the lowest point in decades. The report by Gerald & Haycock (2006) highlights that over the past decade, these institutions have turned away from their historic roles as engines of opportunity. This leaves an opportunity for university leaders to refocus on serving the populations that public institutions were intended to serve.

Academic Capitalism: The Foundation for Maintaining Structure

Academic capitalism theorizes how colleges and universities respond to neoliberal forces and begin treating higher education policies and practices as a subset of economic marketization (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). Academic capitalism explains how colleges and universities embody market-like behaviors by prioritizing revenue generation through research, grants, donations, partnerships, investments, student tuition and fees, and other business-like activities (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). These market behaviors increasingly occur as colleges and universities focus increasingly on money-making tactics (e.g., tuition and fees, external grants and contracts, endowments funds, university-industry partnerships, investments in professors' spin-off companies, funding innovation projects) rather than the traditional foci of research and instruction. Slaughter and Leslie (2001) theorized that the emergence of academic capitalism began as a response to the decreasing amount of state support for education. To meet the deficit of funds, colleges and universities had to prioritize ways to save and earn more money. Internal mechanisms, such as organizational restructuring, new products, or managerial rewards, and external mechanisms, such as increased competition and privatization, created opportunities to move closer to the market (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004).

Marketization includes colleges and universities increasingly promoting their educational offerings as products to be purchased by buyers (i.e., students and/or parents) (Hartley & Morphew, 2008; Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). The best buyers of education are those who can pay the full price of attendance for education, achieve academic success, persist through degree completion, and leave the college or university with a positive review or institutional donation. These students are traditionally students who come from wealthy families and do not rely on

financial aid or tuition discounting. A large part of academic capitalism is not only recruiting these ideal students but also retaining them. To compete and retain these students, universities' central administrations often structured or organized new units, such as enrollment management, to take advantage of new opportunities (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). These enrollment management offices began to sell higher education as a product and service to the students and parents who were perceived as customers. These offices developed strategies to encourage parent and student customers to "buy" a particular higher education "brand name" (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). Accordingly, Slaughter and Leslie (2001),

> The goal is to recruit enough wealthy students with minimally acceptable scores and who can pay full tuition and room and board prices to balance out the admission of higher scoring, usually middle or upper-middle-class students who pay moderately discounted prices, plus low-income and minority students who possess enough government aid to meet a share of the costs. (p. 158)

Prioritization of affluent students is visually seen through the physical appearance of the campus, dorms, recreation centers, and the abundance of campus life engagement opportunities (Mass, 2016; Hartley & Morphew, 2008). However, this prioritization is equally seen through inequitable methods of recruiting (Salazar, 2019), cooling-out, defined as systemically pushing low-income and students of color out of the academy (Clark, 1963), or increased costs of on-campus living. As food insecurity emerges in prominence among students, colleges and universities have been slow to respond to the growing need. Using an academic capitalism lens, this lack of (or slow) response could be a result of it impacting students who are not seen as a priority to retain and appease. It can be inferred from these examples that low-income students are generally less financially attractive to institutions and may be seen as not worth the investment of scarce (or perceived scarce) resources.

There are four main constructs that are the tenets of academic capitalism. Rhoades and Slaughter (1997, 2004) identify these four themes as increased managerial capacity, circuits of knowledge, interstitial organizations, and intermediary organizations. Each of these constructs is seen through university practices such as research, branding, and marketing.

First, as institutions become more involved in academic capitalism, they hire more managerial professional staff with the managerial capacity to run activities as businesses (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000). Through this change, colleges and universities increasingly pursue patents and licenses as entry points to external markets. This creates an increase in on-campus professionals who are committed to the expansion of commercial and resource-/revenue-generating opportunities. Likewise, development offices have expanded across campuses and into academic colleges to compete with each other for funds. As enrollment management increases, colleges and universities hire more staff to help with recruitment and 'sell their product.' More students on campus require more personnel to run student services such as campus recreation, retail stores, and dining. This move to the market has used managerial practices to change the role and power of faculty, with administration gaining more control over the management of academic work (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000). These managerial professionals have reduced the full-time faculty positions, demanded greater faculty productivity, increased course sizes, pushed faculty to teach lower division courses, and called for more economically relevant research (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000). According to Slaughter and Rhoades (2000), these changes reflect academic managers commodifying education while prioritizing revenue generation over other educational needs.

As universities have adapted to changing needs and financial gains, there is a greater focus on creating new circuits of knowledge. This is seen through federally sponsored research,

partnerships with corporations, and the refocusing of faculty positions from teaching to research. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) state that the concentration on research allows faculty to give more time and attention to work, which results in discoveries that can be patented and bring money into the university. Finally, Slaughter and Rhoades point out that "colleges and universities are either decreasing instructional expenditures or holding them constant, even as they are significantly increasing tuition" (p. 541). The new circuits of knowledge that help market colleges and universities to students and parents (i.e., high-end consumers) are comparable to the commercialization of products, goods, and services in the private sector. Furthermore, colleges and universities ultimately market their students as products to corporations and employers (Rhoades & Slaughter, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000, 2004).

The third construct of academic capitalism is interstitial organizations. According to Slaughter and Rhoades (2004), interstitial organizations were created to manage new efforts related to the generation of external revenue. Some of the main examples of interstitial organizations include technology leasing offices, trademark licensing offices, individual college and department fundraising officials, and educational profit centers. Colleges and universities have increased their involvement in patenting, but due to federal legislation, they are encouraged to have separate organizational structures that manage patenting, the hiring of research professionals, and technology transfer and intellectual property operations (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). As commercialized research is increasingly encouraged by managerial professionals, colleges and universities stand to benefit from partial ownership of intellectual properties, patents, and technologies that are developed. This is one example of how researchers, both faculty and students, are entrepreneurial inputs within the academy (Mars et al., 2008).

According to Slaughter and Rhoades (2004), the fourth construct of academic capitalism is intermediating organizations. Intermediating organizations play a significant role in the post-secondary community by allowing for interactions and collaborations among sectors (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Intermediating organizations allow research universities to work with large corporations and compete in global markets. According to Honig (2004), these organizations "operate between policymakers and policy implementers to enable changes in roles and practices for both parties" (p. 66). Intermediating organizations provide new resources, such as knowledge or political ties, which are necessary but cannot be carried out within the academy due to organizational constraints (Honig, 2004). Intermediating organizations bridge public and private services of wealth creation (Rhoades & Slaughter, 1997). Intermediating organizations are often utilized within higher education to interact in global markets without breaking any university constraints. For example, intermediating organizations enable universities to own patents for discoveries and technologies developed by faculty through federally sponsored research (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The Canadian Foundation for Innovation was created as an intermediate organization that was situated between government, industry, and academia. This organization has leveraged governments and industries to devote more resources to research in high-tech fields and the sciences (Metcalfe, 2010). The Canadian Foundation for Innovation has supported building infrastructure and mainly funds equipment, buildings, laboratories, and databases that support research rather than the research activities themselves.

Each of these four constructs prioritizes revenue and resource generation (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004). However, no research has been published on how the focus on revenue and resource generation has affected the experiences of students with food insecurity. Additionally, the hierarchical structure of leadership teams and middle management leads to a disconnect

between the understanding of the student experience. There is a disconnect regarding leadership's understanding of basic needs programs and the work that it takes to fund and operate these programs. A greater understanding of the challenges that full-time support staff experience operating basic needs programs, why these programs should be prioritized, and the experience of the students who have been retained at the university because of receiving support meeting their basic needs.

Structure of Higher Education, Academic Capitalism and Food Insecurity

Recent research and work in the human services field and public health "shifts the conceptualizing of health issues from individual responsibility to the failure of larger systems that are necessary to support the health and well-being of the population" (Rylko-Bauer & Farmer, 2016, p. 183). In the case of food access, focusing solely on the individual neglects the ecology of food access, including the availability of grocery stores, food deserts, adequate wages, and other barriers (Lane et al., 2008).

Peterson and Freidus (2023) used a structural violence lens to better understand student food insecurity and, in doing so, question whether university conditions contribute to a form of shared social suffering around student food insecurity. They argue that "understanding food insecurity as an individual experience both neglects how the larger institutional context contributes to this suffering and renders systemic student food insecurity difficult to see and address" (Peterson & Freidus, 2023, p. 183). By examining the changes in universities to focus more on individual efforts and success, Peterson and Freidus suggest that this may contribute to greater rates of food insecurity for students than the full general population.

The use of structural violence is not unique to understanding food insecurity and poverty of individuals, but the research by Peterson and Freidus (2023) is looking at how the structure of

higher education within academic capitalist practices contributes to the emergency of structural violence impacting rates of food insecurity (Peterson & Freidus, 2023). Structural violence looks broadly across populations to identify how patterns of suffering exist across groups such as members of the same ethnic group, gender identity, or geographic location (Singer & Erickson, 2015). The uniqueness of this theory is that violence is not created by one person harming another but is built into the structure and shows up in inequalities in power dynamics and opportunities (Galtung, 1969). Additionally, identifying how this shared suffering of certain groups highlights how specific economic, political, legal, religious, or cultural and social arrangements shape how people and groups experience the world, preventing some from living as full of life as they would under other circumstances (Peterson & Freidus, 2023).

Structural violence in food systems is an outcome of regular and normalized exclusions from food access for some groups. Lane (2008) highlights how the absence of supermarkets in some areas of cities, commonly referred to as food deserts, disproportionately affects poorer communities of color, leading to poorer health outcomes, which are traditionally blamed on an individual's nutritional decisions. These lived experiences and normalized forms of oppression are all structural, not individual. The set structure of these groups leads to greater health impacts and impairments of human needs and "marginalizes people and communities, constraining their capabilities and agency, assaulting their dignity and sustaining inequalities" (Rylko-Bauer & Farmer, 2016, p. 47).

Peterson & Freidus (2023) argue that college student food insecurity is a form of 'lived oppression' because of the expectations set by the university and lack of support, especially by those without parental financial support. The marketization of universities from academic capitalism has structured the university to engage students as consumers and individual agents

with individual goals, activities, outcomes, and failures (Slaughter & Rhoades, 1997, 2004). Two main themes emerged from Peterson and Freidus's research (2023): students were systematically struggling with food insecurity, which was linked to education expectations, and students saw food insecurity as their own fault, not a systemic issue. These scholars also argued that "the growing emphasis on individual responsibility and effort at universities has led to a focus on solutions like pantries, that students can choose to use, rather than systemic changes that would address deeper causes of food insecurity, including financial and time constraints" (p. 186).

The notion that college students have all their basic needs met or should be able to provide for themselves minimizes the structural violence that occurs within higher education. These actions stigmatize food insecurity by pushing students to feel that food insecurity is a result of their own actions and limitations (Peterson & Freidus, 2023). In addition, students within this study highlighted the contradictory messages about financial independence. In some messages, students felt pressured to support themselves solely financially and be independent. However, in other messages, assumptions were made about parental financial support and a solution to prevent students from experiencing food insecurity.

With the current structure of higher education and the rise of academic capitalism, students are expected to gain academic and professional skills while procuring food and meeting other basic needs. Colleges and universities have created resources, primarily with campus pantries, as temporary solutions, and they have taken an individualized approach to fix the superficial symptoms of deeper issues (Peterson & Freidus, 2023).The individualism and focus on self-responsibility make food insecurity on college campuses invisible as a systemic or structural issue to students, administrators, and others within the campus community. The current invisibility and temporary solutions create and reproduce suffering, which is highlighted in

research by Peterson and Freidus (2023): “The focus of academic capitalism on individual skills and self-responsibility leads students to see themselves as failing when they cannot meet expectations around coursework and food security” (p. 189). On many campuses, administrators push for individualized solutions, such as messaging students about how to eat better or budget more effectively, access food pantries or meal vouchers, and education about how to stretch student dollars (Henry, 2017). However, these approaches force students who are struggling to seek resources to address problems that they might think only affect themselves. Student food insecurity fits within the theory of structural violence as universities and institutions of higher education privilege and recreate systems that exacerbate issues for students. Within this structure, examining the powerful relationships of food systems that leave groups with less access to food than others, particularly those from historically underrepresented groups, are more likely to suffer due to the structural effects of the university and discrimination.

In framing food insecurity as a result of academic capitalism and structural violence, Peterson and Freidus (2023) suggested areas where food security could be more effectively addressed beyond the individual levels. Instead, a greater focus needs to be on the root causes of food insecurity, such as “systemic failures around employment, pay, workload, transportation, and housing” (p. 191). Some potential suggested solutions include “addressing financial inequalities by raising the campus minimum wage, forgiving student debt, finding ways to fund college for all, expanding Medicare, and addressing exponential and rising housing costs” (Whittle et al., 2015).

In understanding food insecurity through the lens of academic capitalism, colleges and universities are hypothetically less likely to support food-insecure students who are, based on previously stated demographics, more likely to be among marginalized populations, especially

low-income students of color (Garcia, 2018). This is because these students are already at risk of not graduating, bringing indirect money to the institution over time (Bastedo & Jaquette, 2011; Oliverez & Tierney, 2005). Business-driven initiatives are at the core of colleges and universities, and spending money to create resources for students who are not prioritized as a financial gain is not seen as worthwhile to the financial advancement of institutions.

Colleges and universities have not entirely abandoned their commitment to access and equity despite the influence of academic capitalism. Since the 1960s, access to post-secondary education has increased for many marginalized populations, such as women, people of color, and low-income families (Baker & Velez, 1996). Although the rates of enrollment do not compare closely with those of their more affluent and white peers, the number of historically marginaized students enrolling in institutions is increasing. However, many of these students who are admitted and enrolled do not persist until degree completion (Landry, 2002). Other changes at universities, such as the changing of admission requirements, have increased access for marginalized populations. The new test-optional admissions, if done correctly, could eliminate the racial bias between test scores and socioeconomic status (Pinto, 2021). These examples show a few ways that universities are still committed to access; however, as more diverse classes are admitted to the university, the priority of supporting these students until graduation needs to be at the forefront of university leadership's minds.

Consistent with the function of structure being to inhibit change and variability, colleges and universities have not adapted to the changing student demographic and increased needs. Combining the notion of structure and the theory of academic capitalism, there is a massive barrier to students accessing basic needs. The structure of the university, because of academic capitalism, continues to reinforce belongingness and support to the white, affluent students

attending the institution. Already marginalized students are further marginalized. Indeed, students who are experiencing basic needs insecurity, specifically food insecurity, experience institutional barriers in their everyday lives during their time seeking a post-secondary degree. To better understand and support these students and increase their academic success and graduation rates, research needs to understand what institutional structures, attitudes, and behaviors exist that impact, both negatively and positively, the experience of students facing food insecurity. Researchers can hypothesize that most of these current structures, attitudes, and behaviors are rooted in the structure of higher education and influenced by academic capitalist practices, which create barriers to students seeking postsecondary education. Despite critiques by researchers such as Peterseon and Freidus (2023), some progress has been made through the emergence of campus interventions such as campus pantries and government assistance programs, as the stigma of food insecurity and negative connotations of seeking support can be diminished, increasing access to resources and hopefully degree attainment.

Current Interventions: Campus Pantries and Government Assistance Programs

There are two main interventions currently available to support students who are experiencing food insecurity: campus pantries and government-funded assistance programs. As the demand for basic needs grows, support services can be improved to better reach students if there is more buy-in and investment from colleges and universities. With each of these interventions, there are barriers for some individuals who are trying to access resources based on academic, cultural, economic, psychological, and socio-cultural factors that can hinder interventions.

Food Pantries:

In 2012, the College and University Food Bank Alliance was founded, and currently, over 700 United States college and university campuses have a food bank. The creation of food pantries is a response to the increasing rates of students experiencing food insecurity, poverty, and hunger on college campuses. Although the process for many universities to start these pantries was challenging due to a lack of resources, ability to purchase food items, and available room for a physical pantry, these pantries have played a vital role in the success of college students who are experiencing food insecurity. These campus food banks provide eligible students with supplemental groceries at no cost to them. The types and amounts of food vary by each university. Additionally, the eligibility requirements, staffing, funding, and number of students served all greatly vary from institution to institution. Pantries are usually marketed to students through referrals, fliers, websites, tours, and social media, but research by Goldrick-Rab et al. (2018) found that the primary approach is through word of mouth from current students. This method of marketing can be hypothesized as a reason that students who are less socially connected may be less likely to know about a campus food pantry or other campus resources.

One of the most important roles of campus pantries is that they are an entry point to additional resources and counseling. Of the 217 College and University Food Bank Alliance 2018 members, 66% of pantries refer students to additional resources off-campus, 29% support students seeking to access SNAP (food stamp benefits), and 26% offer counseling (Goldrick-Rab et al., 2018.) Since there is a large amount of stigma surrounding food insecurity and asking for help, many students choose not to use any campus resources despite struggling. Some of the most common explanations from students are that they are “not food insecure enough” or “someone else needs the resource more.” Although these statements are not true, many students

have this perception inhibiting them from asking for support. This becomes a large psychological barrier that can inhibit pantries and students from being successful. If students who need the resources feel uncomfortable accessing the programs, they will continue to be at risk for physical and mental health concerns and of having lower grades or not graduating.

Food pantries are a positive way to get students immediate support for food insecurity. However, it is only a temporary solution to the problem. Since the root causes of food insecurity are embedded in our everyday lives, serious restructuring of the education system would need to take place to effectively eliminate food insecurity as a barrier to students. The assumption that students have access to food outside of their campus pantry visits is a common myth that minimizes the true needs of many students. Universities often operate on the assumption that students' basic needs like food, housing, healthcare, and clothing are met. However, this assumption is vastly incorrect. Students who attend universities often have limited resources in general, but many low-income students attending college are financially responsible for themselves (Cady, 2014; Daugherty et al., 2019). Additionally, it is a broad assumption that students have relationships with family members or guardians that can offer support, let alone monetary support, to provide access to basic needs.

Economically, campus food pantries are not a sustainable method of support for universities. As the number of students experiencing food insecurity continues to rise, more students will look to food pantries as a solution. Since most food pantries receive little university funding, they often look to unsustainable funding sources such as grants and donations. In 2018, the average campus pantry received just over $15,000 per year from their university (Goldrick-Rab et al., 2018). Some pantries are extremely successful at fundraising and collaborating with their university foundation, but as the number of students needing services

increases, more economic resources will be needed to operate the programs. In addition, relying on temporary solutions does not address the fact that students who are food insecure are at risk of not returning to the institution, which means a loss in revenue. Universities could benefit financially by investing in food insecurity programs, thus increasing their persistence until graduation.

Food pantries can be a cultural barrier for many students, especially the international student population. Since food pantries usually have limited items or funding and rely heavily on donations, they often do not have the selection of food items to ensure nourishment of different cultural identities. Looking directly at the experiences of immigrants using food banks and emergency food resources from a 2017 study, there were concerns that the items provided were not culturally appropriate for the individuals using the service (Moffat et al., 2017). In this study, many individuals were unable to find items that they needed or had less variety to choose from. An example from their research focused on immigrants who were trying to find fresh fish in their local grocery stores. These individuals were often limited to only a few options to choose from, and most were extremely high priced, adding to the accessibility of fresh, culturally nourishing foods. Next, these individuals often stated that the food was lower in quality and lacked the freshness they desired or were used to at home. Many people expressed their concerns about the chemicals that were used to grow the produce and disliked that they were unable to purchase items directly from the producers. They also found that some immigrants were unable to find a selection of dietary restricted items such as halal meat. If these items were found in stores, the price would be so high that they would be unaffordable for many, let alone college students. This research highlights just a few of the concerns that immigrant and international students could

face while relying on on-campus food banks. Students frequently make these challenging tradeoffs between items they are familiar with, comfortable eating and can afford.

Pantries can provide incredible physical support to students who are immediately in need of support or rarely experience food insecurity. However, the reliance on pantries as the sole method of support is problematic since they do not address any root causes that forced students into being food insecure in the first place. Relying solely on food banks as an intervention creates psychological, social, cultural and economic barriers to food access, food security and persistence to graduation. When these barriers come into play, students' academic success is at risk, which contributes to the partial success of food pantries as a solution.

Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Programs

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), commonly known as food stamps, provides monthly support to individuals who are experiencing food insecurity. These funds are provided via an electronic benefits card (EBT) that can be used at grocery stores and farmers' markets to purchase nutrient-rich food items. Many students and university staff members are unaware that college students could be eligible to receive SNAP benefits. The Government Accountability Office estimated that 57% of students who are food insecure would be eligible for SNAP and do not receive it (GAO, 2018). At the federal level, SNAP is a key governmental program designed to combat food insecurity in U.S. households, yet several restrictions keep college students excluded as SNAP beneficiaries (USDA-FNS, 2020). The Hope Center (2019) recommended universities invest in marketing this program to potentially eligible students by clarifying eligibility requirements, increasing application assistance, and applying to accept EBT funds for food purchased on campus. Many universities have not applied and are not able to accept EBT credits to purchase food on campus. However, the longer distance

and time to access grocery stores where EBT credits would be accepted creates additional barriers to students' access. Another way to increase SNAP support and eligibility for college students would be to decrease the number of work hours required for college students (currently 20 hours per week) or allow full-time college enrollment to count as the work requirement (Ellison et al., 2021). The current requirement forces college students to overextend themselves, causing their academics to suffer (Kuh et al., 2007).

Students who enroll in the SNAP program are required to work 20 hours per week (Student Eligibility for Nutrition Assistance, 2022). Research shows that students who work over 20 hours per week are more likely to have lower grades than those who do not work over 20 hours (Kuh et al., 2007). This suggests that students who receive SNAP funds and are working 20 hours or more to reach the hour requirement are more likely to struggle academically, even with the additional monetary resources.

Several of the same conditions and factors that inhibit campus pantry participation as an intervention also prohibit students from enrolling in governmental assistance programs such as SNAP. First, enrolling in governmental programs has a huge stigma for college students, making the psychosocial factor one of the main barriers to this intervention. The misinformation and limited marketing of these programs create a gap in understanding, causing many students to not even realize that they might be eligible for these programs (Ellison et al., 2021). In addition to not knowing eligibility, there is a major stereotype around these programs and who needs the programs the most. This parallels the same misconceptions and interpretations that “other people need the services more,” and they would be “taking away resources from others”(Loftin, 2013). Lastly, the applications for these programs are often extremely long, require a lot of documentation, and can be confusing to first-time users (The Hope Center, 2019).

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program also has cultural barriers to success for college student usage. To enroll, the programs require a large amount of documentation, much of which students do not have readily available. To get these documents from their parents or guardians, students often have to disclose why they are applying to these programs. This can create a cultural barrier for many students, as they do not want to admit to their families that they are struggling with food insecurity, especially when many families are trying their best to support their students. Other students might not have positive relationships with their family members, and acquiring documents can be difficult or emotionally taxing on the student. To mitigate these barriers, concerns, embarrassment or hurt they might face, some students choose to avoid the process all together.

Economically, SNAP is not always the most effective for students as funding is determined based on your financial status. Students do not qualify for any support if they are still living with their parents, have a meal plan, or are claimed as dependents (Student Eligibility for Nutrition Assistance, 2022). These students would be ineligible for any support from the SNAP program, regardless of whether they are struggling financially or not. For those who do receive funds, funding is determined based on need. Many students receive smaller amounts of funding than non-students in similar circumstances. Not only does this make students feel like the application process and quarterly updates are not worth it, but the money that they do receive is not enough to have SNAP as their only form of support. Students who are or have attempted to enroll in SNAP still face academic barriers. The long application and interview process takes up students' time, which they could be working or studying to complete application requirements. As previously stated, depending on the amount of funds received, students might still have to use another form of support and are still at a health and academic risk.

Following a systematic review by Nazmi et al. (2018), these researchers suggested upstream solutions to reduce and eliminate food insecurity. Their research highlighted example efforts such as the CalFresh Outreach Program, which works to increase participation in California's SNAP. The program was directed toward college students in 2016 with the goal of all the University of California and California State University participating by 2018 (Nazmi et al. (2018).

Until universities and the federal government invest more in college student food security, encouraging students to apply for SNAP as a sole solution is ineffective. Some students have found success in these programs, but more applications, more financial support, and better marketing of eligibility or work requirements can all create barriers for students looking to apply.

Summary

As tuition and living costs increase, more students are coping with financial stress by taking out more loans and making tradeoffs between academic expenses and food costs. More precise estimates on the cost of living and attendance can help find more suitable financial aid programs for students. Students who are experiencing food insecurity are more likely to have harmful health risks, lower academic success, and are at risk of not being retained.

The increasing rates of food insecurity highlight the need for expansion of research on the structure of universities and how academic capitalism practices impact rates of food insecurity among college students. Currently, much of the research that exists is focused on the demographics that contribute to increased rates of food insecurity among students, but little is known about how the structure of universities, rooted in academic capitalist practices, is creating

barriers for students. The understanding of how institutional structures, attitudes, and behaviors can impact students facing food insecurity is missing from the body of research.

As the number of food banks on college campuses increases along with more visibility of basic needs support services, there is a need for more research to understand how university priorities impact student support services, the stigma of food insecurity, and how the current structure of universities support or challenge the experiences of students facing food insecurity. The emergence of food pantries challenges the focus on affluent students and instead highlights a prominent barrier to degree completion among students of low socioeconomic status. Without a proper assessment of campus pantries as an intervention and how it is interpreted by the intended target of students, the full effectiveness cannot be determined.

Research Questions

The following elements inform the research questions: (a) the organizational factors and structure that impact college food insecurity and support resources such as a campus pantry (b) student usage of their university campus pantries, (c) University resource allocation to support students experiencing food insecurity (d) university's prioritization of food insecurity resources (e) communication regarding college food insecurity on campus. The research questions are:

- How have organizational factors and structure affected patterns of student food insecurity at four- year institutions?
- How have university strategies, values, and commitment statements acknowledged food insecurity and the programs that support food-insecure students?
- How do universities use human and non-human resources to prioritize student food security?
- How do Universities communicate their commitment to the creation and growth of campus food pantries?
- What are the most effective communication strategies that universities employ to recognize and normalize student food insecurity?
- How do college students and universities acknowledge the presence of campus pantries and food insecurity?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Research Design

There is currently little research on how the institutional structures of higher education impact rates of food insecurity, campus resources, and the normalization of basic needs on college campuses. Utilizing theoretical constructs of institutional structure, stigma, and academic capitalism, this study sought to understand the institutional structures, attitudes, behaviors, and experiences that enhance the experiences of students facing food insecurity. Data was collected primarily through semi-structured interviews with entry-level, middle managers, and administrators at six doctoral universities with high research activity (The Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2023). Since the institutional structure is rooted in academic capitalist practices (Slaughter & Rhoades, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), the emergence of food pantries challenges the focus on affluent students and highlights a prominent barrier to degree completion among low-socioeconomic status students. On the other hand, campus pantries can be beneficial to the university, as they are a highly sought-after fundraising opportunity. It is essential to understand where, why, and by whom food security resources are allocated.

Qualitative methods are used when a researcher is seeking to understand what people know, think, and feel through observations, interviews, and/or document analysis (Butina, 2015). A multiple case study design (Gustafsson, 2017; Adeoye‐Olatunde & Olenik, 2021) will be followed by recruiting and analyzing six university structures, leadership models, resource allocation schemes, and commitments to campus pantry support. I used six four- year universities in this study and interviewed two to three staff members from each university. Following the interviews, I conducted a document analysis using mission statements, values statements, and

social media posts. I chose a multiple case study design to increase the credibility and transferability of the data and the findings.

Participants

Interview inclusion criteria limited participants to student employees, full-time staff, and administrators at six public doctoral universities. All individuals who were interviewed had an organizational affiliation to their university campus pantry and had a role in decision-making, advocacy, and support of their program. Two groups of individuals were interviewed. One group was employees who directly work in/with their campus pantry (e.g., student employees, program coordinators, directors), and the second group was upper-level administrators (e.g., Assistant Dean of Students, Dean of Students, Assistant Vice Presidents) who oversee their food pantry.

As the COVID-19 pandemic has occurred, resources have been limited, and changes to remote learning have made students feel less supported (Cho et al., 2021). Based on research by Cho et al. (2021), I chose a staff population of employees who have worked at their institution for at least 2 years. This ensured that they had a broader experience within their pantries due to the closures and reopening of campus resources. Due to the varying ages of the pantries, I was not able to ensure that the entire group had the exact same opportunities for support or experience in advocating for additional funding.

Pseudonyms were assigned to participants to protect their identities per the human subject protection protocol approved by the University of Arizona Institutional Review Board. Participants were allowed to choose pseudonyms to increase their comfort and build rapport with the researcher (Allen & Wiles, 2016). The thought and care that naming provides for consideration of gender, culture, location, age, and ethnic backgrounds that are important to the participant.

Recruitment

Interview recruitment began by selecting six doctoral universities of similar size. The Carnegie Classifications define doctoral universities as institutions offering at least 20 research-based or scholarship-based doctoral degrees and spending at least $5 million annually on research annually (The Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2023). The institutions used for this study had to meet the following criteria: a doctoral university, a large institution (classified by the Carnegie Classification with full-time enrollment of at least 10,000 degree-seeking students), and a campus food pantry.

Upon selecting six institutions from the United States, I initiated participant recruitment by contacting the food pantry program coordinator at each university to request an interview. Following these interviews, snowball sampling (Naderifar et al., 2017) was conducted, where the first participants helped find middle managers and administrators who were department supervisors for these departments. Interested individuals completed a questionnaire that was emailed to participants, which included background information on the study, an assessment of the structure of their pantry, usage numbers, funding support, and participant demographics of the interviewee. Upon completing the questionnaire, I followed up with eligible participants to schedule an interview for approximately one hour. Before starting, participants were given informed consent paperwork and an overview of the upcoming narrative interview.

Table 3.1: Participating University Demographics- Funding & Average Usage

Institution	Funding Information	Space Allocation	Number of Unique Users Per Semester/ Annually
Institution 1- Northwest University	Receives: Student fee money for food, state funding for staffing. Additional donations and grants with the support of the University	Central location on campus Do not pay for space	Not tracked

	Foundation.		
Institution 2- Southern University	Receives: Institutional funding for staff and food costs. Additional donations and grants with the support of the University Foundation.	Space provided on campus, not a common location with maintenance issues and some ADA concerns Do not pay for the space	1800 Per Semester
Institution 3- Central University	Receives: Student fee funding for staff and food. Additional donations and grants with the support of the University Foundation.	Space provided on campus, but not in a central location Do not pay for space	500 Per Semester
Institution 4- Southwest University	Receives: Staff wages are paid by the Dean of Students Office. Food costs are paid for with individual donations. University is paying for a space remodel. Additional donations and grants with the support of the University Foundation.	University is paying for a space remodel for their new central location on campus. Do not pay for space.	2.040 Per Year
Institution 5- Mountain View University	Receives: Staff wages are paid for by the Office of Student Affairs. Food costs are paid for with individual donations.	Central location on campus for the main site. Various Pop-Up sites on campus. Do not pay for space.	1,000 Per Year
Institution 6- Midwest University	Receives: Staff wages are paid for by the Office of Student Affairs and Student Fees. Food costs are paid for with individual donations.	Central location on campus. Do not pay for space.	Unknown

Informed Consent

Individuals who replied to the recruitment email with interest in participating in the study were provided with an Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved consent form. The form provided information on the study and how their anonymity would be maintained throughout the interview and data storage process. Participant questions on the study and consent form were answered via email prior to the interview taking place. All individuals were required to verbally

consent to the document before beginning the interview. Individuals were provided with a digital copy of the consent form.

Interview Design

The interview protocol consisted of 19 main questions (see Appendix C). The interview questions were designed to develop an understanding of how factors related to structural violence and academic capitalism have impacted the experiences of employees working with their respective campus pantries. The same interview protocol was used for all interview participants, regardless of their position at the university and their role within the Campus Pantry. However, the follow-up and probing questions were altered to their specific roles to gain clarification and particular examples.

Data Collection

This multiple case study used open-ended, semi-structured questions (Adeoye‐Olatunde & Olenik, 2021) to explore the staff perspectives of their experiences operating a campus pantry, requesting funding, and the levels of support from university leadership. The interview protocol was designed to capture detailed information and the lived experiences of staff members to create a set of raw data that could be used to assess the values and behaviors pertaining to student food insecurity at six large universities. A narrative interview approach was used to learn through the stories of university staff members the ways in which institutional supports and barriers contribute to the successes and failures of university food pantries (Butina, 2015). Butina (2015) asserts a narrative approach is the most effective approach “when you have a problem or issue that you need to explore, when you need a better or more detailed understanding of an issue, and when you want to empower individuals being interviewed” (p. 191).

Depending on the purpose, several different approaches could be used to analyze the narrative(s) that emerged from the interview data (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Barone, 1992; Pain, 2012). For this study, I conducted a thematic analysis that involved inductively coding the content generated from the interviews into main themes and then further distilled the findings through multiple rounds of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Thematic analysis created a compilation of similar experiences from all interview participants and allowed for main themes to be developed and confirmed with participants through member-checking techniques (Motulsky, 2021).

The same semi-structured protocol was used to conduct interviews with all participants to ensure consistency and alignment with the theoretical framework constructs (Miles et al., 2014). Interview questions were open-ended and framed in everyday language to allow for maximum understanding. To increase the flow of the interview, several broad questions were followed by specific probing questions. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and was conducted individually. Interviews were conducted with 2–3 employees at each institution who had some interaction with their food pantry. To understand the ways in which institutional support exists, interviews were conducted with staff members of varying levels at each institution. I began recruitment by interviewing coordinators of campus pantries, then interviewed the department heads, and then the Dean of Students or Associate Deans, who were the connection to the senior administrators at each institution.

Table 3.2: Interview Participants

Pseudonym	Position Title	University Name
Farah	Program Coordinator	Northwest University
Elizabeth	Director of Basic Needs	Northwest University
Michael	Sr. Assoc, Vice Provost & Dean of Students	Northwest University
Violet	Assistant Director of Basic Needs	Southern University
Brooklyn	Executive Director for Student Wellbeing & Support	Southern University
Stephanie	Associate Dean of Students	Southern University
Wilson	Student Director	Central University
Lucas	Graduate Assistant	Central University
A.D.	Assistant Director	Central University
Sam	Program Coordinator	Southwest University
Jennifer	Associate Dean of Students	Southwest University
Kathryn	Program Assistant	Mountain View University
Matt	Program Coordinator	Midwest University

Each university is likely to have some unique features to how it approaches student food insecurity. Accordingly, I collected and used publicly available documents at each university to identify both common and distinct institutional attitudes and behaviors toward the food pantries. This content analysis used published letters, mission statements, values statements, and strategic plans to assess the institution's level of support. According to Krippendorff (2004), content analysis is a method of examining both text and images to identify messages and meaning. The process of content analysis involves describing what is said and systematically discerning the

intended meanings of messages (Holsti, 1969). The findings from the staff member interviews were triangulated (Flick, 2004; Gelo et al., 2008) with the insights collected through the content analysis. The themes developed through such triangulation were further analyzed and distilled into the final set of findings on how the experience of food insecurity has been influenced by university practices.

Data Analysis

Initial campus pantry demographics were collected through a questionnaire at the beginning of the reflective interview, including the number of monthly visits, the number of monthly and annual unique users, pounds distributed, and the distribution method. Currently, campus food pantries operate using three main models: pre-made food bags, personalized orders, and the client choice model (End Hunger in America, n.d.). Program demographics were utilized to ensure that the campus pantries are similar in size and operation. Questionnaires also collected minimal demographic information on the interview participants, including their title and the number of years in their positions at the university.

Narrative quotes, stories, and experiences from participants were systematically analyzed to generate coded themes that were then used for comparison to the university's public values, missions, and promotion of campus pantries. Prior to completing the interviews with participants, I piloted the protocol and analysis strategies with two individuals at one doctoral university, who were not included in the final data set. This piloting allowed for initial feedback on the research questions that were utilized in the final study. Utilizing the data collected from the pilot interviews, I was able to practice the analysis strategies to ensure that responses aim to answer the research questions.

Following the interviews with participants, data was transcribed and coded into main themes utilizing open and axial coding, and multiple rounds of both idiographic and nomothetic analysis. Coding is defined as a process of grouping evidence and labeling themes that reflect broader perspectives (Silverman, 2004). Through axial coding, I was looking for relationships and links between each round of coding. Idiographic coding entailed analyzing each transcript separately, revealing and interrogating emergent patterns and themes (Allport, 1937; Conner et al., 2009; Windleband, 1998). Following the first round of idiographic coding, I conducted a set of nomothetic coding (Gelo et al., 2008), where I identified initial codes across all the interviews, which together revealed an initial set of patterns and themes. I then conducted several more rounds of idiographic and nomothetic analysis to refine the patterns and themes into the final set of findings. These coding techniques analyzed both the interview transcripts and the documents collected from each university. The triangulation between the data involved separate data collection and analysis, but I then merged the results together into one overall set and interpreted the results together (Gelo et al., 2008). The triangulation between the types of data collected enhanced the trustworthiness of the findings (Flick, 2004).

The data interpretation for this study utilized both deductive and inductive reasoning. Detective reasoning is theory-driven, where specific theories are used as a reference and to provide reasoning to comprehend the results. Inductive reasoning is data-driven, where the results of the data create theoretical insights that can be used to contribute to the creation of theories (Hayes, 2010; Gelo et al., 2008). The analysis for this study relied on both forms of reasoning. I used a theoretical framework and was able to remain attentive to any themes relevant to the research questions but not otherwise revealed deductively (Gelo et al., 2008).

Coding

Using Dedoose, a qualitative coding software, I conducted several rounds of initial coding. Starting with the deductive coding process, I used academic capitalism and structural violence as a reference to create a preliminary set of codes to be used to analyze the interview transcripts. Over 70 initial codes were identified and refined down to 26 codes that were then grouped together into broader categories and subcategories. Some of the theory-driven codes were removed from the set as the data did not align with them. Following the initial deductive coding, I transitioned into inductive coding with the interview transcripts, mission statements, values statements, and published news articles. I created new codes utilizing the major themes that came from the interview transcripts and the document analysis. Using the patterns from the data, these new codes helped categorize the data that had emerged outside of the predetermined codes. Based on the deductive approach, the study's theoretical framework was used to analyze the interview transcripts and content analysis. The following codes were directly connected to at least one of the research questions.

RQ1: How have organizational factors and structure affected patterns of student food insecurity at four- year institutions?

The following codes were associated with Research Question One (RQ1), see below:

- Decentralized Support/ Silos
- Legislative Support
- Increased cost of attendance and housing

RQ2: How have university strategies, values, and commitment statements acknowledged food insecurity and the programs that support food-insecure students?

The following codes were associated with Research Question Two (RQ2), see below:

- Student well-being

- Retention
- Diversity
- Equity
- Responsibility of the institution

RQ3: How do Universities use human and non-human resources to prioritize student food security?

The following codes were associated with Research Question Three (RQ3), see below:

- Fundraising
- University Foundation support
- Assessment
- Funding/budget from the Institution
- Space allocation

RQ4: How do Universities communicate their commitment to the creation and growth of campus food pantries?

The following codes were associated with Research Question Four (RQ4), see below:

- Investing institutional funding into the programs
- Proactive responses
- Reactive responses
- Did not feel supported by their reporting line/ institution
- Short-term vs. long-term support

RQ5: What are the most effective communication strategies that Universities employ to recognize and normalize student food insecurity?

The following codes were associated with Research Question Five (RQ5), see below:

- Dignity of students
- Course syllabi
- Lack of knowledge of resources
- Individual programs had the autonomy to manage communications

RQ6: How do college students and universities acknowledge the presence of campus pantries and food insecurity?

The following codes were associated with Research Question Six (RQ6), see below:

- Stigma
- University communication/press releases
- Usage of services
- Student fees provide funding for the programs

Credibility and Transferability

The themes and notes were first sent via email to three participants in memo format to check and confirm the data's accuracy (Motulsky, 2021). Participants were asked to expand on any of their comments and thoughts, were able to ask questions about interpretations of notes and themes and were able to request that statements not be used in the analysis. Although not all themes generated could relate to all the programs and universities, participants were asked if they found themselves in some of the themes generated to check the credibility of the data. This member-checking technique (Birt et al., 2016) increased the likelihood of the data collected being trustworthy reflections of the participants' experiences and perspectives, and credibility to the population that is being studied. If participants see themselves and their programs within some of the themes collected, it will offer confirmability of the study and results (Motulsky, 2021).

I maintained a documentation trail of coded themes as another trustworthiness technique (i.e., audit trail; Koch, 1994; Bowen, 2009). This technique provided increased transparency on how themes were generated, increased transferability to other research studies, and identified themes that emerged but were not analyzed as opportunities for future research. In addition, key

quotes from staff were kept and used to highlight themes by providing real-life examples and evidence of how the coding process interpreted key themes.

To minimize bias within the research, I used researcher triangulation (Flick, 2004) with my dissertation advisor, who has research experience within the field. In addition to the researcher triangulation, I conducted data triangulation with multiple different sources of data to compare the themes from the interview transcripts, Instagram posts, values statements, strategic plans, university press releases, and university news websites. Comparing the interview transcripts to the data collected from multiple other sources further enhanced the credibility and trustworthiness of the analysis.

Positionality Statement

My positionality (Bourke, 2014) in this research is as a staff member of a university campus pantry who does not have their own experience of food insecurity. This identity and experience can influence the choices made during the study and can provide valuable insight into how campus food pantries operate. With this position, my own experience working with administrators while trying to solicit university support for food security support is likely to bias my perspective and influence my interpretation of interviewees' statements.

Through my current work, I have a broad understanding of where students first learn about campus pantries, the stigma surrounding asking for support, and the institutional barriers that confront pantry staff members. My experience has been beneficial for understanding the terminology and experiences of the campus pantry staff members. I also have a better understanding of where to look for university documents that state the institution's missions and values. Based on my own professional experiences and training, I understand the institutional structures that helped guide me in selecting which staff members were crucial to interview for

this study. However, as all university structures and staffing approaches are different, the study was designed to be universal enough to provide variability in the titles and reporting structures at the various institutions.

Limitations

I chose to conduct this research at a doctoral university mainly due to my own prior knowledge and experience. Since two-year institutions have a wider range of demographics that could further complicate data collection and analysis (funding, size, structure, staffing, etc.), I chose to narrow institution types to doctoral universities. A limitation of only focusing on four-year research universities is that the food insecurity conditions and interventions at other institution types are omitted from this study.

In addition, I chose to disaggregate my interviews into several levels of staff members as representatives of each institution. Rather than interviewing multiple people at the same level, I used snowball sampling (Naderifar et al., 2017) to work my way up and down the organizational hierarchy. This provided me with insights into how university strategic plans, values, commitments, and resource allocations are interpreted by various staff members, some of whom will have the ability to make resource allocation decisions and changes to their university structure. Another limitation of this approach is that the understanding of the campus culture of food insecurity differs immensely by organizational level. The level of student interaction between leadership team members and program coordinators directly influences proposed solutions to food insecurity. For example, some leadership team members might believe that mandatory meal plans for on-campus students are the answer to food insecurity. However, program coordinators who have frequent interactions with students have a greater knowledge of

the additional barriers that students face or the financial implications of these high-cost plans (White, 2015).

Although it is important to understand how all students experience food insecurity at institutions of different sizes, narrative interviews are not suitable for research that will be generalized to large populations (Anderson, 2010). Due to the extent that a researcher must learn about each participant's experience and the background of each university's values, conducting interviews with large numbers of staff would be extremely slow and could decrease the depth of all interviews. Choosing to only conduct research at six institutions while using narrative interviews was intentionally chosen to provide better depth, richness, and quality over the number of institutions. In addition, I recognize that I do not have lived experiences with food insecurity, and this can limit me in my assessment of results. Through the narrative interviews, I learned from participants' perspectives, and although they might differ from each other, they are all accurate interpretations of their realities. To ensure that I was contributing to the research in a reliable and reproducible manner, I chose three participants to review the coded themes developed from the interviews. This member-checking technique was used to identify prevalent experiences across all participants rather than unique individual experiences (Motulsky, 2021).

Lastly, a limitation of this research is the quantity of interviews that I was able to complete. It was a priority to ensure that interviews were high quality and had greater depth of analysis. In addition to a limited number of interviews with individuals who were on the ground working with their campus pantry, as well as mid-level professionals. I was only able to conduct one interview with a university administrator due to the lack of capacity of these staff members. To ensure credibility, I used content analysis with published documents to provide tangible examples of what the interviews found.

Summary

Using narrative interviews and content analysis, the research allowed for a broader assessment of how universities support and/or prohibit the growth and success of university campus pantries. The research questions helped provide guidance in understanding how organizational factors in a university structure impact college food insecurity. Significant attention was spent on finding content through social media, news articles, and press releases to provide examples of the themes developed within interviews and to use as a comparison tool. In total, 13 interviews were conducted, and content analysis was conducted at six universities. The findings from the research are outlined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to share the findings from the research outlined in Chapter 3 regarding the ways in which organizational factors and structure impact college food insecurity. The primary analysis utilized academic capitalism and structural violence as theories to understand the themes that emerged from the research. This chapter breaks down the findings by using quotes and media examples, providing answers to the guiding research questions.

The presentation of this chapter will be divided into three sections: arrangement, reality, and consequences of the arrangement. Each of the three sections will expand on the salient findings from the interviews and content analysis that was conducted. The four salient concepts that emerged from the research are labeled as (a) precarious autonomy, (b) responsibility and discretion of the university, (c) theatrical support, and (d) organizational communication.

Arrangement

This section of the findings highlights the structural arrangement of each of the universities and where their resources for food insecurity, such as a campus pantry, are organizationally located. The salient findings are categorized into two themes: (a) precarious autonomy and (b) responsibility and university discretion. Precarious autonomy is defined as the hazardous independence that is placed on the campus pantries. These programs are reliant on the policies and reporting lines that the university places upon them despite being almost solely dependent on external resources. The second finding is labeled “responsibility and discretion of the institution.” This theme is supported through the tangible ways in which the institution prioritizes or does not prioritize campus pantries and provides resources to support program offerings.

Precarious Autonomy

In my research and work to answer *RQ1: How have organizational factors and structure affected patterns of student food insecurity at four- year institutions?* I used questions from my interview protocol to understand the general leadership structure of each university and where resources for food insecurity, such as a campus pantry, were organizationally located. All six universities used in this study had resources for food insecurity, and their Campus Pantry was located in student affairs divisions. Three out of the six institutions were then specifically located in the Dean of Students Office, structurally located as a part of student affairs. The main theme from the three institutions that were structurally housed under the Dean of Students office was contentment with where they were located.

Farah from Northwest University stated that she was happy that she was located within a department that is focused on student care. She believed that the framework and focus of this office helped their work by sharing similar values. Farah stated,

> I'm really glad that my department is housed inside the Office of the Dean of Students and Student Care. I use it as sort of a framework because it lets our values shape our actions in ways that, if we had to have our program nested inside of a department that had to answer for profit targets, that we could not do. And that is the lens that your values create, which shapes your decision-making and can help or harm your strategy.

Violet from Southwestern University shared similar experiences:

> The Campus Pantry falls under the Office of the Dean of Students, and I report directly to our Executive Director for Student Wellbeing and Support. She oversees a few other areas like our student emergency services, our off campus student support, and legal services for students."

Violet had an appreciation that although there were organizational silos, the basic needs resources that she oversaw, including the Campus Pantry, were all centrally located in a department that was focused on student wellbeing.

The only food pantry staff that was not satisfied with how the pantry was organizationally positioned was at Central University, which was located under the Center for Community Engagement. Individuals who worked under the Dean of Students office primarily stated that they felt supported by their peers because of the similar nature of those who worked around them. Central University had differing opinions as they felt that support was decentralized around campus. Although the Campus Pantry was located in the Center for Community Engagement, the other programs on campus that supported Basic Needs Programs such as emergency funds, food swipe sharing programs and financial assistance, were not offered within the same office. Lucas stated,

> Ours is pretty decentralized. I'll be honest, so "we," the food pantry, is located under Student Affairs. But if someone is needing emergency assistance, like emergency funding, that goes through another program under our medical clinic, which is very separate from us. We do a meal swipes drive where students can donate their unused meal swipes and then other people can receive them; but that is co-run through our medical system and our Associated Student Government. And then, of course, the financial assistance programs are located in our financials office. So it is all pretty spread out.

This left the Central University Campus Pantry program feeling that resources were siloed on their campus and could be more effective if they were located in a space that students were already visiting. The main theme that emerged regarding the general structure of the university was that programs, communication, and funding were extremely siloed. Violet stated,

> Sometimes when I've got this new hope or dream of a collaboration with a different department, obviously being such a large institution it can be hard to push those through. I think that it's more because the university is so big and everyone is in their own silo that sometimes you can't get what you want right away, and you have to work a little bit for it. So generally, I feel that we're well supported in terms of things we need to operate but maybe not that next step.

The silos made communication and collaboration with other departments difficult. This inhibited the success of these programs because the information that the Campus Pantry staff members wanted to get out into the community was not always widely shared. Additionally, the lack of communication can spread misinformation, reinforce stigma, and ultimately lead to students not knowing about the resources that exist on campus.

Responsibility and Discretion of the University

Like all units on college campuses, the programs that support college students who experience food insecurity are at the discretion of the university regarding what support they receive. The institution chooses how the programs are prioritized, but only when they feel like it is their responsibility. If they do not feel like it is their responsibility, additional support is not given. This is seen by institutions not providing any financial resources annually and relying on outside sources of funding for the staff costs and operations of their programs. Additionally, at most of the institutions, the only internal funding comes from student fees that are allocated based on the recommendations of student committees.

To answer research question *RQ2: How have university strategies, values, and commitment statements acknowledged food insecurity and the programs that support food-insecure students?* It was important to understand the strategies, values, and commitments

of the universities from the perspectives of the interview participants first. I found that not all of the interview participants were able to share their current university values or strategic plans. The interview participants stated that they believed that the main university commitments were related to student well-being, sense of belonging, and retention.

Southwestern University, Southern University, and Central University stated that student well-being was a value of their institution. Violet stated, “There are definitely facets specifically within our Division of Student Affairs strategic plan that specifically touch on the wellbeing of students." Jennifer from Southern University stated, “Basic Needs have been solidly placed under the wellness umbrella. I think people recognize wellness as a value. I also think leadership and the Student Affairs Division recognize that Michael, an administrator from Northwest University, shared that it is important for institutions to use student voices to help understand the needs of their students. Without knowing the current experiences of students, institutions, and administrators, they cannot be truly or deeply committed to their well-being. Michael stated,

> The true expert of student experience is the student. So if we're not listening and understanding what those experiences are, then we really cannot be committed. We cannot really be geared toward their success, and we surely are not concerned about their well-being.

Further, Michael stated that there is no point in having the values and goals of the institution if the values are not seen within practice. He emphasized that these values need to be a part of a cultural shift within the actions of everyone at the university to make a difference for the students. Michael stated,

> In order for you to have a goal of an institution, it just can't sit on a wall or just can't be on a bookshelf by any means. So it has to be in the day to day, it has to be in the mindset,

> it has to be a paradigm shift, it has to be in our actions. And then it relates to how our students have experiences here at the university.

Stephanie from Southern University shared her opinion on how university leadership has been acting on their wellness value and has proven their commitment by allocating monetary resources that help ensure student wellness. Stephanie stated,

> So things that we have seen that demonstrate that leadership is committed to their plan, is really putting money where their mouth is, and focusing on some of the issues that have been raised. So, housing, for example, is incredibly expensive at {Southern University}. That cost has gone up quickly. That's a problem for our students, faculty, and staff. Just for trying to survive and be successful here in a city. So the university president has created a task force to look at ways to address that in the long term but also focused on creating things like scholarships, so the students that are under a certain financial threshold have basically free, or close to free, housing on campus and guaranteed housing so they're not having to go out into the city.

In addition to student wellness, retention was a common priority among the institutions. Although the language used varied from one to the next, each university stated, through their mission statements and strategic plans, that they have a commitment to making sure that every student graduates and that students from diverse backgrounds are given the same opportunities as their peers. Stephanie from Southern University highlights the responsibility that the university plays in recruiting and admitting students who are food insecure while attending the university. Stephanie states,

> We have a responsibility that if we invite a student to come and study here, that they have the ability to do that. And so thinking about, you know, do they have a place to live, do

> they have enough to eat, and do they have enough healthy foods to eat that they are taking care of body, mind, soul?

Similarly, Farah states, “Our new strategic plan includes a component that is: an institution where every student graduates.” Stephanie and Farah’s mindset was shared among the interviewed staff, as the participants could tie food insecurity to retention concerns. However, staff within the pantries felt that university leadership might not be making the same connection. Elizabeth highlights this with her experience of Northwest University prioritizing their commitment to retention. Elizabeth stated,

> So our campus right now is involved in a big push to try to retain students. They are not connecting that the reason why students aren't persisting is because of a lack of financial resources or basic needs and security, even though we have data that complexifies that story pretty significantly.

Southern University prioritizes research and is a leading research institution in the country, but Stephanie highlights that she believes that there needs to be more of an emphasis on student well-being values because that is what university success truly means. Stephanie stated, “Research is important, and grants are important. But at the end of the day, it still comes back to what our students experienced when they were here on this main campus.” She further elaborated that as a university, she believed that the university has a commitment to ensuring success for our students both in and outside of the classroom, and priority needs to lie within this well-being. As a student affairs professional, she feels that students need to be prioritized over research and applying for grant funding, but she has not always seen that same perspective from the Southern University leadership team.

Northwest University and Southern University were in the beginning stages of introducing strategic plans and were unable to provide specific examples of how these commitments have been seen. However, at the time of the interviews, despite student retention and well-being as priorities, the interviewees were not aware of any changes or incoming support for their programs because of the strategic plans.

Summary

Understanding the arrangement of the campus pantries from this research takes into consideration two main themes: precarious autonomy and the responsibility and discretion of the university. Defined as precarious autonomy in this research, this theme explains the independence that is placed on campus pantries for finding support for their program despite being a part of the reporting line of the institution. As seen in the quotes from the interview participants, each of the programs is "owned" by the university and must follow institutional policies and practices. These programs fall within the reporting lines of the institution and are bound by the wishes of senior leadership; however, they are not a line item in the institution's budget. The few institutions that did receive money from the institution were only for staff costs or were allocated from student fee money, which requires applying annually. The campus pantries that I interviewed with were almost completely reliant on external funding sources for programmatic support, such as student wages and food costs. This hazardous independence that is placed on the campus pantries shows the competing practice of autonomy and dependency. Campus pantries have both autonomy and dependency on the institution, which can create concerns over the longevity and existence of these programs: The times when the needs of students are increasing are often the same times that resources are decreasing. This precarious

autonomy is not an ideal structure for a program that provides crucial support to students on campus, especially when student well-being is one of the institution's most salient values.

The subsequent finding that defines the arrangement of food insecurity resources on college campuses is that the resources are the institution's responsibility; however, they are only at the institution's discretion. Well-being and retention are top values of the participating universities, so it would be expected that programs that highly support student well-being, such as campus pantries, would receive steady institutional funding and not be reliant on external support to exist. However, that is not the case currently. Instead, campus pantries relied on support and were only seen as a priority when the university said it was their responsibility. The staff members of the campus pantries did not believe their programs were prioritized by the institutions, which is further expanded on in the next section on the reality of institutions.

Reality

In this section of the data analysis, I explored the resource allocation universities provided to their campus pantries. The narrative highlighted in the previous section indicated that campus food pantries were university priorities, but their actions sometimes followed suit. The following section highlights the finding that institutions are practicing theatrical support, where they are providing support with misguided intentions. This section also presents the organizational narratives the institutions provide to the campus pantry programs, faculty and staff, and students.

Theatrical Support

This section uses *RQ3—How do universities use human and non-human resources to prioritize student food security?*—to understand what each institution is providing to their

Campus Pantry. The four main themes that emerged from the interviews were (a) funding, (b) university foundation resources, (c) space, and (d) assessment support.

Funding

Each of the four institutions had differing funding sources, including donations and grants, institutional funding, and student fees. Knowing where the money came from helped illuminate whether the universities were providing theatrical support or true support. None of the campus pantries were solely funded by their institution, which covered all operating costs, including full-time and student staff and food costs.

Table 4.1: Institution and Funding Information

Institution	Funding Information
Institution 1-Northwest University	Receives: Some student fee money for food and state funding for staffing. Additional donations and grants with the support of the University Foundation are used to cover the remaining food costs.
Institution 2-Southern University	Receives: Institutional funding for staff and some of the food costs. Additional donations and grants with the support of the University Foundation are used to cover the remaining food costs.
Institution 3-Central University	Receives: Student fee funding for staff and some food costs. Additional donations and grants with the support of the University Foundation are used to cover the remaining food costs.
Institution 4-Southwest University	Receives: Staff wages are paid by the Dean of Students office. Food costs are paid for only from individual donations. The university is paying for a space remodel. Additional donations and grants with the support of the University Foundation are used to cover the remaining food costs.

Institution 5-Mountain View University	Receives: Staff wages are paid for through their department budget. Food costs are only paid for via grants and individual donations through the University Foundation.
Institution 6-Midwest University	Receives: Student fee funding for some of the staff wages, and the other part of wages is covered by the Student Affairs department. All food costs are paid for with the University Foundation Accounts.

Two of the universities in this study received university funding to cover the cost of full-time staff members for the campus pantries but not for the other operational expenses, such as food. Southwest University was the only university in this study that had its staff wages paid solely by the institution, and Northwest University was the only university that had wages paid for by state funding for basic needs initiatives. The remaining two universities relied on annual grant applications or donations to secure wages for the full-time campus pantry staff. This finding highlights the need for more financial support coming from the institution to the campus pantries.

Three of the institutions received money from their student fees. These fees are paid by all students at the university and then allocated to student support programs. Many of these funds are assigned by a student board or government, not university administrators. Northwest University is one of the institutions that must request funds each year from their Student Bid Committee. Following the program overview presentation and funding needs, the student committee determines if the programs will get no, partial, or complete funding. Michael stated,

> Our Basic Needs Center is funded by student fees. Each year, our Basic Needs Center, along with the other student fee funded units, go before our student bid committee. We talk about our programs to the board and request first time funds or more funds, and then

> the board puts forth whatever the decision is. And in that realm, where the Basic Needs Center is, it is always highly regarded and highly, highly supported.

Midwest University also operates on the money provided by the student fees, including that needed to fund their full-time staff position, which is crucial to program operations. Matt stated,

> Part of my salary does come from our student activities fees and then the other part of it is paid from our student affairs department.

Funding is the most valuable non-human resource the institution can provide to its campus pantries, especially when it is used to pay for the full-time staff members who oversee program operations. The funding provided is actual support for basic needs programs, yet it does not come from the institutional budget but is paid for by the institution's students. All the campus pantry staff members desired to have more financial support from the university rather than relying solely on grants and donations, especially as costs are rising for housing and food, and numbers at the Campus Pantry are continuing to grow. Matt stated,

> {Midwest University} doesn't give us any money. So we rely 100% on private donations, and then we have a development team made up of students that they're going to talk to businesses and alums. We also have our folks at the Foundation who are raising money for the university and different programs and departments on campus. So that's been a, you know, positive, but I wish the university could just give us some money. That would be helpful. But thankfully, we've had a really good donor network, and we're just continuing to build on that, especially because we just are spending more money than we have in the past. And we just need to continue to fundraise.

The organizational structure was seen as a barrier for some institutions, as there were no clear pathways to where money could come from. Farah stated,

> I see our organization is very hierarchical and siloed. So it's a pretty disconnected sort of space in terms of funding for resources. We do not get any university allocated funds. We don't get funds from the budget office; instead we get little amounts of funding from several places.

Kathryn from Mountain View University also highlighted the need for more university funds. She shared how the only work to increase food security on their campus is provided by their pantry, and apart from the staff wages provided through their department budget under the Student Engagement Office, their university is not providing any monetary resources towards their programs. Kathryn stated,

> So we actually don't have university funds or anything. We are not supported by the university. We are solely run through grants and donations. I think our pantry and the resources we provide are the only thing that is sustaining these students and addressing food insecurity on our campus.

This lack of funding was shared among all the institutions included in this study. Stephanie stated, “I think that if we ran into issues and we suddenly didn't have funding, I feel comfortable and confident saying upper administration would step in and make sure that we could continue our operations.” Although the institution has not supported the operational costs for the campus pantry at Southern University, staff members did believe that if they were in a dire situation and were in need of additional funding to keep operating, their institution would provide financial support.

University Foundation Support

Each of the universities from this study received support from their University Foundation to help fund their programs. Support looked different at each institution and ranged

from grant writing, calling campaigns, donor stewardship, and account management. All of the interviewees stated that this support with fundraising was crucial to operating their campus pantries since the majority of funding comes through the university's foundation.

Violet, Brooklyn, and Stephanie from Southern University shared how they have consistently worked with their University Foundation to raise funds for their campus pantry. The monies collected from grants and individual donors fund the entire food cost of their program. These staff members felt that the university foundation fundraising on their behalf was one of the best institutional resources that the universities provide to them. Violet stated,

> I work very closely with our Vice President of Student Affairs and our development teams. They're the ones that are helping us with corporate sponsors, endowments, and working with those larger donors to the university. So that's a way that {Southern University} pushes for expanding {Campus Pantry name}.

Lucas from Central University shares a similar statement regarding the large amounts of funding that come to the Campus Pantry through their Foundation accounts. Lucases stated,

> We have a very healthy foundation account through the university, so that is filled up by private donors. Any big grants we get will go into that, and so that is what we use when we're placing orders for food.

The "Giving Days" hosted by the university foundations were brought up by interviewees at Southwest, Northwest, and Mountainview Universities. These giving days are heavily promoted and encourage university staff, faculty, parents, and alumni to provide financial gifts to the University. Both Southwest University and Northwest University shared that these giving days raised a significant amount of funds for their program from private donations. Sam stated,

> The {Campus Pantry Name} is donation-based, so it falls under the foundation. We do have a lot of high donors where, you know, they're really funding the pantry with their generous donations. We also participate in Giving Day which is like a donation based event where we promote our things that donors might be interested in contributing too.

Northwest University's Campus Pantry also receives a high number of donations on its annual giving day. Michael stated,

> Looking at our annual giving days of the university where we are raising funds and getting donations. The Basic Needs Center is a staple on that list, and we are always getting resources or donations up to the Basic Needs Center. So that tells me that there is a need and that folks are still wanting to contribute to that need as well.

The previous quote by Michael highlights a common trend from other universities: that donors are willing to fund the programs, so there is no current need for institutions to take financial responsibility. While the campus pantry is a highly valued program on each campus, there is no responsibility on the institution to provide funding when there are outside donors who are more than willing to step in and provide financial support. This creates a challenging narrative regarding responsibility; when program needs are already being met by outside donors, the institution does not have to provide resources to support them. Stephanie from Southern University shared that their campus pantry is one of the most supported funds from donors. Between large donations and smaller gifts from call campaigns, supporting the campus pantry has always been an easy sell for development teams. Stephanie stated, "The {Campus Pantry Name} is almost always one of the strongest developmental assets that they have." When donors are more than willing to support these programs, the University does not need to provide its own monetary resources but can provide human resources to solicit donations.

Many of the university foundations were taxed with an administrative service charge on donations and grants. The amounts varied by university foundation, but in summary, successful fundraising for the campus pantry brought financial support to the institution (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.2: University Foundation Admin Service Fee Policies

Institution Name	University Foundation Admin Service Fee Policy
Institution 1- Northwest University	{University Name} Foundation charges a 5% fee on gifts, up to $250,000 per gift, to support the Foundation's ongoing operations and future development activities.
Institution 2- Southern University	A rate of 5% will be assessed on all qualifying expenses of auxiliary and designated fund units.
Institution 3- Central University	None listed
Institution 4- Southwestern University	All gifts will be assessed a one-time five percent administrative fee for contributions up to $10,000,000.
Institution 5- Mountain View University	Upon receipt of a gift, the Foundation will deduct a one-time advancement fee of 5% from the amount gifted subject to a maximum fee of $250,000 on a single gift.
Institution 6- Midwest University	Endowments only: The Foundation's fee for investing and administrating the endowment is 1% of the market value of the Foundation's Consolidated Investment Fund (CIF).

One additional concern that arose from the interviews was how the University Foundation communicated the need for campus pantry support and which students utilize a campus pantry. Elizabeth from Northwest University highlighted how she felt that the University Foundation framed students in a deficit perspective in order to garner more support and donations. Elizabeth stated,

> I purposely try very hard not to frame the students who are supported here inside a deficit story or charity story, and it is hard. So we talk a lot about community and looking out for each other and that these students are leaders, they just need that support to get to their next thing. We talk about how everybody needs help sometimes.

This was upsetting to Elizabeth since she tried to be careful about the approach to communicating about the pantry. She stated that they often get to have some insight into the communication with donors, but there were instances where their focus on empowerment was not accurately portrayed in order to receive donations. Instead of coming from a positive lens, students were viewed with a deficit perspective and shared a narrative that staff felt reinforced a negative stigma.

Northwest University ensures that student voices are the ones interacting with the donors, which reinforces the peer-to-peer support model of the programs, and it highlights the student leaders who operate the Campus Pantry. For Northwest University, it is important that students who work with and use the Campus Pantry are not seen as being in deficit. Elizabeth stated,

> When donors come in and tour the place they pick up really quick, the leadership development our students are getting because our students are the ones leading the tours. They're answering conversations at very high levels of complexity, which are very different from how some other students on campus interact with donors. And that stands out to people.

The positive outcomes of having students interact with the donors go beyond the increase in gifts that come back to the program; it also includes the reframing of students as program leaders and shows firsthand how the Campus Pantry provides opportunities for students in addition to solely grocery items.

Space

All of the staff members from the campus pantries stated that their space on campus was the top resource that their university provided. The space sizes and locations varied among the institutions. However, not all the spaces met the demands and needs of the campus pantry programs. The spaces were often too small, had disability/accessibility concerns, were in old buildings that needed repairs, and/or were hard to find. Staff members at Northwest University and Southern University often talked about the need for support in acquiring new spaces.

Elizabeth from Northwest University stated that their space used to meet the need; however, the increased demand that their program has been experiencing has left the space falling short. The decision to reallocate space on campus comes from upper administrators, and there has not been progress in making this change due to the limited availability of spaces. The need for support in finding a new space was something that Elizabeth felt that their Campus Pantry could really benefit from but was currently not receiving. Elizabeth stated,

> Getting more complex support is difficult. I would benefit from leadership being willing to make hard decisions about space allocation, and it feels like they keep kicking that can down the road. So that's frustrating.

Michael, the Dean of Students from Northwest University, is the administrator who would help advocate and make decisions regarding the Campus Pantry moving to a larger space. He felt like the provided space was large enough for now and had already seen progress from years ago. Michael stated,

> Prior to my existence, it operated out of a closet, for lack of a better phrase. Now, it has its own building that they are operating out of. It's not the whole building geared specifically towards them, but they have, I think, four or five professional staff members

> that are working in that space. They have a number of student workers working in that space. The food pantry has grown, the level of programming and resources that they are now offering has grown. It's night and day from what it was when I first got here, and I think that is because of the need that we saw. That was what needed to be provided to our students. I think it was also because we noticed that there was a level of attention that was being sought, if you will, regarding this type of work. So it has absolutely grown beyond my wildest dreams, and it continues to grow, and it will continue to grow.

The disconnect between these two staff members at one institution highlights the misunderstanding of needs. Elizabeth has expressed to her supervisor, Michael, that they need to move into a larger space. However, Michael felt like the space that they had already moved into was enough for them to continue to operate.

Lucas from Central University shared similar feelings as Elizabeth, with a desire to expand their operations but not having the space capacity to do so. Lucas feels that being able to expand how they are serving their users could better support the needs on campus and further reduce the stigma of food insecurity. Currently, users are placing food bag orders that take several minutes to assemble but changing operations to allow students to shop on their own can dignify students who are experiencing food insecurity. Lucas stated,

> We've gotten really good support, but we would love to be more of a client choice model where clients come in and shop, but it's just a small space. We have granted we haven't done anything intentionally to like to really, really look into expansion. Like we've kind of thrown ideas out there. So, I think that would probably be the biggest hurdle and working with the University is if we wanted to have a bigger pantry, where would that go? Because they just feel very limited here already on campus.

Southern University also expressed concerns about the space that they received from their institution. The space that currently houses the Southern University Campus Pantry is located in an old building on campus that has several structural and accessibility flaws. The pantry building was originally going to be torn down on campus to be replaced with a larger building, but instead, it was given to the Division of Student Affairs to be used for the pantry. The space is central to campus but located off the main path of campus. The main concern that Violet, Brooklyn, and Stephanie all stated was that the space was in dire need of repairs and did not have a space that met the desired and required accessibility. Stephanie stated,

> We have space. It's, you know, the interior of the spaces is nice. I think what is not provided are the things that will take it to the next level. So the space itself is nice, but it is in a building that is fraught with challenges because it's an old building that at some point had been well on the list of buildings to tear down. It's one level up off the street level, and there is a lift that makes it technically accessible. But it can be a little bit temperamental, and the space is not always 100% accessible.

The space has been closed several times due to the need for immediate building maintenance. Without the maintenance, the building was not always considered safe for the Pantry to be operating out of this building. During this construction time, the Campus Pantry had to move to a smaller temporary location on campus. Violet stated,

> We actually had to be closed the last few months because there were some building maintenance issues because it is such an old building, and we actually were not in our space for five weeks, which in a semester is a long time. And then we opened like a pop up shop in a conference room in the Student Services Building for like three weeks and that really, I think that that showcased a major problem with the building that we're in.

The main concern at Southern University has been the broken lift, which has limited accessibility to users who cannot take the stairs. It has also increased the workload for the staff members of the pantry. Instead of being able to use the lift for grocery deliveries and large donations, the student volunteers and employees have to carry all of the items up a flight of stairs from the lobby. This has increased the workload as thousands of pounds of food are brought into the space monthly. While the lift was broken, staff could adapt by taking the stairs for groceries. However, users of the pantry who were unable to use the stairs did not have accommodations to get into the space. Instead, the staff had to alter operations to shop on behalf of the student or ask the students to come back to the Pantry at another time. This was a major barrier that the pantry faces, and staff members feel it needs to be addressed immediately. Violet stated,

> So we are on the second floor of a building and there is a lift in the building that meets ADA standards, technically. And so there is a lift to make it accessible. But it breaks all the time. So I mean, which then does not make it accessible, and we have issues with moving things, and it technically isn't for freight. It's for people, but how else am I supposed to get my food into the space?

According to Stephanie and Violet, initial conversations are being had about the relocation of their Campus Pantry, and administrators have heard their concerns with the current location. Violet stated,

> I think with our building having all these issues. Our new leadership has been like, Ooh, maybe the {Campus Pantry Name} shouldn’t be in that building. And it’s like, yes, you should probably just tear it down. And actually I have been made aware that our interim dean of students has been having conversations with other campus partners that do have

> spaces in the Student Services Building that are not necessarily student facing resources to see if we can bring the {Campus Pantry} into a new building.

The Southern University Campus Pantry has not been able to move to a new location on campus. However, the university student affairs division has paid for the costs associated with safety renovations, repairing the lift, and replacing a broken freezer.

The full-time staff member from Midwest University reflected on their experiences navigating space on campus since the inception of their campus pantry. They were previously in a space on the backside of a building at the edge of campus. In order to enter, students had to walk around the main residence halls, which was a secluded area. Although this could be stigma-inducing, there were some students who appreciated the privacy of where the Pantry was located, knowing that other people were not going to see them entering. Matt stated,

> When we were in our previous location, we were getting the pantry off the ground. It was difficult to get people through our doors because there is that stigma that while we were in our own location, we were kind of tucked away behind some of our dorms and by some of our Greek houses. It was kind of a secluded area away from the main campus, so you had to kind of go out of your way.

The building that they were previously in was on the list to be torn down, forcing the Campus Pantry to relocate. Staff members on campus knew that the Campus Pantry was searching for a new space and helped advocate for their relocation. Following the COVID-19 Pandemic, there was a space that was a previous food court area that had not reopened and was open. Staff members helped secure that location for the Campus Pantry. The move has been incredible for the Campus Pantry, as there is significantly more space, and they are no longer in a secluded location away from the main areas of campus.

A common theme across the universities is that the space was provided by the institution and was rent-free. However, the space that was provided was space that other departments and programs did not want. The spaces that housed the campus pantries were located in non-central locations, were old and needed remodeling, had needed repairs, or were not accessible. Using the information about space that was provided was a key example of theatrical support, where universities provide a resource but do not prioritize it into a space that more effectively fits the need.

Compared to the other five universities, Southwest University was very pleased with the space that they were allocated and was even undergoing University construction at the time of the interview. Jennifer stated,

> When the pantry first started, less than 12 years ago, it was in a closet and then it got bigger and went to the larger closet, then it came over to us at the Basic Needs Center. Now we have this shiny, bright room, viewable right from our offices. So I think that says a lot about {University Name}'s commitment to our program.

The construction that was taking place was to embed the Campus Pantry within their Basic Needs Center, so students who were seeking support were easily connected to full-time staff that was equipped to support them. The interview further explained that the construction costs that the University was funding were using the remaining government Higher Education Relief Funds (HERF) allocated during the COVID-19 pandemic. The remaining funding would either be lost or spent. Even though Southwestern University was not using its organizational funds for the project, the staff members felt that using the funds on their Campus Pantry proved their university's commitment to its programs.

Although the staff from Southwest University was pleased with the support they received with their construction and new space, this example reinforced the theatrical support of institutions. The space was already provided, but the renovation costs were paid for not by institutional funds but by outside funding that would have been lost if it had not been used. The limitations in how HERF funds could be used created barriers to their disbursement on campus. Southwest University prioritized the Campus Pantry over other ways to spend the funds. However, I question if construction would have been a priority for the institution if there was no outside funding that could cover the cost.

Assessment Support

Each institution commented on assessment as a resource that they need or receive from their institution. The majority of institutions have had support in assessing the needs of each campus through either basic needs surveys or campus climate surveys. Although the response rate has not always been high, the research that does exist on each campus provides a glimpse of what the need is on each campus. Staff members stated that they believed that the true number of college students who are food insecure can never be fully assessed. The main reason for this gap are students not understanding the definition of food insecurity and, as a result, students not identifying as food insecure. The lack of education on modern-day college food insecurity reinforces the stigma of food insecurity. Not having clearly defined examples or metrics indicating food insecurity leads to underreporting, a commonality among all the interview participants. Sam stated,

> I do think food insecurity is underreported. I think it's definitely heavily based on the fact that students don't really know what food insecurity is. I've talked with students and I'm like, “food insecurity can mean a wide variety of things. It's not just having enough

> money for food or having access to food in general. It's having access to healthy foods or choosing between buying groceries and paying for a textbook.

For those who have had assessment support on campus, some of the data is outdated, and new assessments have not been completed in years. At Central University, staff members stated that there has been a lack of assessment on their campus to understand what rates of food insecurity look like. Wilson stated, “The last time that we had an official survey done here was in 2015/2016. So it's been a while since we've had a thorough study at the university.” Additionally, they stated that they felt that in addition to the lack of university surveying, the misconception of what college food insecurity is contributes significantly to a low reporting of food insecurity. Wilson stated,

> There's also a really big misunderstanding of what food insecurity is. A lot of people think, “Oh, I eat ramen every day, but I'm eating every day.” That is still food insecurity. You're not getting the nutrients that you need. I'd say there's a really big difference than just asking someone “Are you food insecure?” versus asking someone: “Do you eat a balanced meal every day?”

Michael from Northwest University shared a similar viewpoint that the proper levels of food insecurity will never be accurately assessed because food insecurity is a systemic problem rather than just a student problem or university problem. He further explained that assessment, and the approach to a solution, must be holistic to address food insecurity effectively. Michael stated,

> It is indeed underreported because we still haven't gotten our hands wrapped around food insecurity regarding our approach at universities. We've done great work and made great strides. But food insecurity, it's not a . . . it's not just a student problem. It's a systemic

> problem that we have, and we will not be able to chip away at this by looking at it from student to student.

Matt from Midwest University stated that their campus had undergone a national assessment survey in 2022. The survey found alarming rates of food insecurity among their campus population. Matt stated,

> We had the National College Health Assessment Survey sent out to everyone on campus. This was like fall 2022. There was one question that talks specifically about food insecurity and from all the respondents that took that survey, 51% said that they face some sort of food insecurity which, you know, the national statistic is like 1 in 3 college students, but with this survey we had 1 in every two students. That was pretty alarming to see those results and know that we've got a lot of work to do, especially on our campus.

Matt felt like these high rates of college food insecurity highlighted the work they needed to do on their campus; however, they have not yet seen an increase in an organizational investment into these programs now that they had the data. This highlights that just having the data is not enough, but using the data to make informed insights and then using those insights to develop organizational changes is vital.

Organization Communication

The next portion of the interviews was designed to assess the communication strategies that the University employs regarding the campus pantry, rates of food insecurity, and resources that are and are not provided to the campus pantries. To begin, I used *RQ4—How do Universities communicate their commitment to creating and growing campus food pantries?*—and *RQ5—What are the most effective communication strategies that universities employ to recognize and normalize student food insecurity*—to understand what university leadership and media are

communicating about the campus pantry and resources that support students who are experiencing food insecurity. The main themes that emerged regarding the organizational narratives were the communication strategies and commitments, as well as the recognition and acknowledgment of the programs.

Communication Strategies and Commitment

In the interviews, I asked participants about how their institution as a whole discusses college food insecurity and their campus pantry. Participants stated that they did not see the full institution engaging in any communication regarding food insecurity. All the communication that they have seen has come from their student affairs division resource emails or through the campus pantry directly.

Michael from Northwest University states that his office within the Dean of Students provides a quarterly newsletter that often includes the campus pantry as a resource. Michael stated,

> We provide a newsletter each quarter to kind of give an update on what's going on within the Dean of Students department and I invite my colleagues within my department to provide information that speaks to particular services or work that is happening.

The email does not specifically define food insecurity or discuss how to refer students, but provides the open hours of the Campus Pantry. Michael stated that the Campus Pantry staff members have full autonomy to discuss the program usage numbers with other individuals on campus, but when working with news and public media, staff members must go through the University Relations and Marketing Division. However, these departments do not monitor individual program social media accounts. Michael stated,

> So, if we're talking about having a conversation with our daily newspaper or having a conversation with local news, we do work with our University Relations and Marketing Division here at the university. And that is to make sure that we are aligned appropriately and that we are representing the University the way that we would like it to be to be represented. Each area may have their own Instagram or social media accounts where they are posting information and we do not have to check those before they are posting it. They use those to post about their services, their programs and their resources. We absolutely give them full and free rein for those posts.

This quote from Michael highlights that universities want to know what information is being provided to the media and have some control over the narrative that is being publicly shared. Michael stated that working with the University Relations and Marketing Divisions is important to make sure that the Basic Needs Centers are aligned appropriately and are representing the University the way that they would like it to be represented. Michael stated that there were no concerns about sharing or hiding the numbers of users, but if problems arose, Northwest University would not want staff to talk with the media without permission.

The example at Northwest University suggests that the University is eager to support and share the positives of the programs, but when it comes to constructive criticism or feedback, the programs are not allowed to share this information. This example suggests that the institution does operate as a mechanism to control the narrative.

Upon asking participants how they would like to see food insecurity, or the campus pantries discussed, most participants stated that they would like to see an increase in discussing the number of students who are using the program. Not only would this help provide recognition of the work that is being completed, but it would also normalize food insecurity and assist in

reducing the stigma. As seen in the assessment section, not every institution has accurate numbers about how many students on their campus experience food insecurity or how many students utilize the campus pantry annually. Staff suggested that there needs to be a joint effort to increase campus and program assessment and then publicly share the numbers.

Elizabeth begins by sharing that she has full freedom to discuss the number of students who are using the Campus Pantry, and there is no pressure to hide the numbers or change the narrative. However, she felt that the university administrators understood the number of users who were using the pantry but did not understand the complexity that comes with college food insecurity. This includes the factors contributing to food insecurity, how food insecurity affects student development and stigma-reducing language. Elizabeth stated, “It can feel like a one-dimensional approach to supporting the students instead of a more robust and informed approach to student development. I talk a lot about how students are seen in a deficit frame or powerless.”

Jennifer had a different perspective from Southwest University, where she was happy with the level of transparency that existed around the number of students who were experiencing food insecurity. Jennifer stated,

> Well, I think there needs to be transparency around the number of students who are food insecure and then an acceptance of that. And I actually think {Southwestern University} does a good job at that. I don't think anybody's trying to sweep it under the rug or say, you know, don't talk about this issue. That is not the message that I'm getting from leadership. {Southwestern University} is providing space for the kinds of services that we need to provide students, providing adequate space for a pantry, and providing adequate funding for the professional staff to run the pantry.

Jennifer felt that there was no effort to hide any of the number of students experiencing food insecurity. Additionally, the university was showing its commitment by openly discussing the numbers and providing space, staffing, and support for the programs that address college food insecurity.

Recognition and Acknowledgement of Resources

For all of the interview participants, it was important to receive recognition from the University that these programs exist and serve a large number of students. The following stories and quotes from the interviews help to answer *RQ6: How do college students and universities acknowledge the presence of campus pantries and food insecurity?* In addition to answering this question, the interview responses were able to provide insights into how the public values and commitment are acknowledged and seen in relation to their programs.

When asked about the university leaders' commitment to the campus pantry programs, most institutions shared examples of how their leadership teams have toured or volunteered with the programs. Some of the staff members felt as if this highlighted their commitment, but other staff members critiqued that showing up once per year is not enough to be fully committed or knowledgeable about the programs.

Matt from Midwest University shared how the President of their University has toured their space on many occasions, and it was appreciated that the staff members were able to have a few minutes to share about the programs. Matt did share his concerns that he did not feel like they had enough time to fully share about their needs, or have the president see the program operate during a distribution day. He felt that it was a start to showing their commitment or support, but also not enough to understand the true need. Matt stated,

> We've had our president down to the pantry once in our old location and he's been here already in our new location, too. It's important to be able to have those conversations one on one with some of our leadership, even if it's just a five or 10 minute conversation. I appreciate it because I think when you see it, you get it. But, when our president came down, we weren't open that day. So a little different, but if he had been there on the day we were open, I think that would be another conversation and an eye-opening way to see us in action.

As an administrator, Michael stated that he took the time to volunteer within the food pantry when he first arrived at Northwest University. He stated that it was important for him to see for himself how the programs operate so he had more knowledge and experience on the programs. As someone who is in a role to advocate for these programs, Michael felt that he needed to know the true operations of the program, in order to most effectively lead and advocate for these programs. Michael stated,

> When I first got here to {Northwest University}, I was volunteering in the food pantry to kind of see it with my own two eyes, not just from the eyes of others' experiences or from students. I wanted to kind of see what it was, so that I have a little bit more but understanding and knowledge.

Michael took this experience and his responsibility to advocate for these programs further and used his position to bring the Campus Pantry into larger conversations, such as with the Board of Trustees. Michael stated,

> So when we talk about advocacy, sometimes it has to be beyond having those students come to our meeting or present on a program. Sometimes we have to bring the program to the boards and into their environment where they are. And I will say, ever since their

> touring, food insecurity and our resources here have remained on the agenda at our Trustees meetings.

This quote from Michael is a key example of how University Leaders can show their commitment to campus pantry programs, with little effort. This commitment was desired by other staff members, including Matt from Midwest University. First, Matt highlights that he believes that an organizational effort to acknowledge and address food insecurity would be fundamental in creating a positive narrative for the Campus Pantry. Matt stated, "you know, make it kind of a positive narrative about what we can do if we come together to support students with food insecurity." This was suggested because it seemed like there was only a one sided effort that was being made to address college food insecurity, and that was coming from the Campus Pantry itself. Matt even provided suggestions for what he thought could have a positive response to minimizing the negative stigma associated with college food insecurity and utilizing the Campus Pantry. Matt stated,

> It would also be pretty cool if we got like a video together of some of our VPs and President and maybe just told the story of what food insecurity looks like in {State Name}. I think that could be a fun thing and a partnership between us. When you hear the leaders up top talking about it, it adds a little bit more emphasis on the matter. So, I mean, in a perfect world, that would be great, more communication and push out the food pantries name a little bit more often.

The suggestions Matt provided did not seem extreme or require a large amount of resources but could have the potential for substation impact for not only students, but parents, alumni, and community members. The emphasis from the leadership team is able to inform more individuals than the social media posts that come directly from the Campus Pantry.

Another example of the reality that universities face is the frequent discussion of requiring a basic needs statement within course syllabi and institutions refusing to make this change. Within course syllabi, there are statements that are mandated by the institutions, such as disability accommodations, academic dishonesty, and/or campus safety. At several of the universities included in this research, there was a staff push to include a mandatory basic needs statement in syllabi. Lucas stated,

> I think if fighting food insecurity on college campuses is something that is going to be campus-wide, everyone has to play a role. I think simple stuff like getting information about the food pantry in class syllabi is something that feels almost like low-hanging fruit, right? It's as if you can reach students early and let them know, hey, there's a pantry on campus. It doesn't seem like {Central University} agrees.

The university stated that course syllabus statements can be provided to faculty members individually but will not be mandated campus wide. This is a key example of the organizational narratives that universities are communicating to their campus. Making these statements optional rather than mandatory shows that basic needs insecurity is not seen as a priority. Although universities may outwardly state that they support basic needs resources, in action, they deny a free solution to minimize the stigma of food insecurity and increase knowledge of resources.

One concern with the reality of the support from leadership that came out of the interviews was that there may be some theatrical support from leadership. When asked about the examples of how staff have seen upper leadership engage and support their campus pantry, the majority of examples came from celebrating large milestones rather than supporting financially, helping develop business plans, or helping create sustainable partnerships.

Southern University provided an example, where the university president had not previously toured the pantry space or assisted with advertising the up and coming program but was eager to attend the ribbon cutting ceremony that was promoted by the Office of Public Relations and Marketing Department. Violet stated, “The president of the university at the time was there and helped cut the big ribbon for it.” The examples provided by Violet highlight how there are times when the organization participates in theatrical support, when they do not support acquiring larger spaces or additional funding but are present for the media, and when the program is in the positive spotlight.

Content Analysis

Following the interviews with participants, I utilized content analysis to find tangible examples of how the Universities in this study have publicly communicated their strategic plans and values. First, I found all of the mission statements, values, and strategic plans of each university. Using the same codes as the interviews, I found four main themes that emerged from these statements: (a) diversity, (b) equity, (c) retention, and (d) wellness. The values from each university should highlight the institution's priorities, suggesting that resources, organizational narratives, and communication should be focused on the programs that embody these values in their work. I argue that all four of these themes are seen within the work of campus pantries.

First, the programs that participated in this study were open to students with diverse backgrounds, with only Northwest University having requirements to utilize the services. The lived experiences that these students face on a day-to-day basis differ for each individual, and being able to support, empower, and validate their diverse backgrounds is a priority for all campus pantries. Second, the theme of equity focused on the removal of barriers, the creation of opportunities, and accessibility to higher education. Campus pantries are crucial programs that

support equity. Although they only provide band-aid support, campus pantries help ensure equity by reducing barriers to attaining food and increasing educational access.

The next theme that emerged from the values statements was the prioritization of retention, and persistence until graduation. Retention and educational attainment are coupled with equity, where the institutions were prioritizing creating a space where every student graduates. As an educational institution, the goal of the university is to educate and support students until their graduation. If universities have students leaving due to food insecurity, they are not fulfilling their mission. Student wellbeing was the final value and made up components of economic, physical and mental health, and sense of belonging. Campus pantries support students in all of these components by helping students eat balanced meals, reduce their stress, and promote belongingness. Each of these institutions' values can be fulfilled by supporting the needs of campus pantry programs, but using the realities highlighted above, this is not happening at the universities in this study.

The second section of my content analysis looked into the press releases, news articles, and posts on social media that discuss food insecurity, or the Campus Pantry. I started by finding published press releases and news articles from the Universities. It was a challenge to find content for analysis, indicating that the six universities that participated in this study, do not frequently communicate publicly about their campus pantry. The documents that were available focused on development and donation seeking, advertising open hours, or highlighted successful fundraising initiatives. Screenshots outlining examples of the information found through the content analysis are highlighted in Appendix D. Interestingly, Southern University had no articles on their news page featuring anything in relation to the Campus Pantry. The only place to

find information about their campus pantry is on their individual social media page and highlights updates for student users.

The content analysis confirms the prioritization—or lack thereof—of campus pantries within the institutions. Similar to the allocation of resources, campus pantries receive little, if any, public media support from their institutions. The media that does exist primarily serves to attract donations from prospective and current donors. Additionally, media articles often frame the campus pantries in a positive light, highlighting the programs' successes and benefits to university students. However, interviews reveal a contrasting reality: there is a strong desire for more substantial support from the institutions. This discrepancy between the positive media portrayal and the actual need for increased institutional backing highlights a gap that needs addressing.

Summary

The reality of the campus pantries at these institutions reveals that the support provided is often theatrical. While the institutions may create an impression of engagement, the actual funding, support from University Foundations, space allocation, and assessment resources are minimal. This theatrical backing appears more designed to project a commitment to addressing food insecurity than to provide true assistance.

The reality of the relationship between the institution and the campus pantries is that there is little responsibility being taken by the institution. Despite the organizational values highlighted in the previous section, actual resources are scarce, and the support offered is largely performative, aimed at convincing students, parents, and other stakeholders that the issue of food insecurity is being addressed. The next section will delve deeper into the true state of these institutions' efforts and explore the consequences of their insufficient support on the campus

pantries. The next section will further examine the actual state of these institutions' efforts and the consequences of their insufficient support on campus pantries.

Consequences of the Arrangement

Consequences of the arrangement are outlined by the themes that emerged from interview participants about the repercussions of not providing proactive support to campus pantry programs. The main consequences of these responses were staff burnout, lack of knowledge of resources, and an increased stigma.

Desire for Support

Staff from multiple institutions stated that it would have been helpful for the institution to increase training and staff development. Elizabeth spent a significant amount of time in our interview sharing her desire for more organizational support and training to do basic needs work on their campus. She emphasized that although she came from a background of higher education, the institution did not provide the resources that she needed to be successful in her role. This started with a lack of training on how to advocate in her role, and she felt isolated in her work. Elizabeth stated, “Organizationally, the training that is available is terrible. There aren't good opportunities to build complex relationships with other people on campus.” She expressed at multiple times that she did not feel like she had people on campus who understood the work that she did and was not able to find someone to debrief her about this work. Especially within her reporting line, which she felt would have been extremely beneficial to herself in this role. Elizabeth had to take steps outside of the workplace to find her community; a group of people who also do this work and understand the complexity. Not only did these peers help her feel more secure within her own feelings, but they were essential for knowledge sharing on best practices, program development and by providing other perspectives. Elizabeth stated,

> The thing I need the most, and that was the most difficult, is not having a group of peers on campus that are on my team within my reporting line. I created that in a different context; where I could be complex, process and share what was hard about the work. With people who could accept my fullness and my complexity, help me work out those ideas, and help me consider additional perspectives. I think that operating in a silo and without access to thought partnership is terrible. And so, I struggled with a lot of isolation at work for a really long time. It wasn't until I finally really felt like I had a sense of community and staff members who believed in what I was doing and would have my back that I could start taking risks to change our program and I had to build that. That was not provided for me.

Elizabeth was not alone with these feelings of isolation and A.D. also stated that some of the previous staff turnover was due to the stress and burnout that individuals had in this role. She mentioned that a positive thing about Central University was that they have acknowledged the physical and emotional amount of work that staff in these positions endure daily. This commitment was seen by changing the job description and pay to reflect more accurately the demands of the job and needs of the program. This change is a large investment in Central University's commitment to their campus pantry by investing financial resources in the staff members who oversee the operations of the programs. A.D. stated,

> There has been lots of turnover in this position in the past few years. I think I am the 4th person in this role… There have been different reasons for turnover, some individuals moved for family reasons, but then others have left because of the difficulty of the job. One thing that I will add is that {Central University} and the leadership of our department has done a good job of changing the title and pay of this work which is

> appreciated. I think they finally realized the amount of physical and emotional work that goes into this role.

In all the interviews, there was a desire for more support by the institution that goes beyond recognition of the programs and into recognition of the staff members who do this work. Elizabeth stated.

> I think that when you support students that are presenting as high needs, there should be some amount of responsibility from the institution to meaningfully support staff in those functional areas with the necessary support, and I don't know that I got it. I think that is what is happening at the frontlines, our staff themselves are overwhelmed. They're doing too much and taking on too much, and then they're overwhelmed. We can get out of this, but we have to help each other and I am disappointed how often it feels like people, and our leadership, is missing that opportunity.

Interview participants did not want to intentionally talk poorly about their institution's leadership, however they stated that they would have desired leadership team members to make more of an effort to engage with the campus pantry programs and understand their operations. Matt stated,

> I don't want to take a dig at anybody up top. But sometimes, there's that disconnect with the folks on the ground. And that's been frustrating at times. It's like, I wish we could get some more leadership to really see what we're doing. I know they've got a lot on their day to day plate. I would love to see a little bit more and have them meet us on our level to see what's actually happening, so they can see the vision of what we're trying to do.

Many interview participants stated that there is a clear lack of understanding by their supervisors and university administrators, and additionally little effort has been made to increase the understanding of the programs. Although there are large numbers of different programs on each

campus, these staff members felt that since they were providing a strong service to all students at the institution there needs to be an attempt made to understand and acknowledge these programs. Especially when the campus pantry helps students be retained and thus brings money back into the university.

Lack of Knowledge of Resources

Another common theme that highlighted the consequences of the arrangement of campus pantries, is that not promoting the resources leads to a lack of knowledge that these resources exist, especially to populations who would find these programs beneficial. Stephanie highlights that the lack of advertisement about these programs hurts students who could benefit from this support. Additionally, as a reactive program to college food insecurity, many students have had to struggle before being able to get the support they needed from the beginning. Stephanie stated,

> I think there are probably more students that need the pantry and don't know it's there, or they figure it out late in the game. I think we do a pretty good job of getting the word out and letting others know. But if it's a reactive solution, by the time they figure it out, they've gone hungry, they have not been able to study, they have been worried, you know, all of these things.

Violet highlighted that not advertising these resources not only impacts students, but it also does not teach faculty and staff members how to make referrals to these programs. Violet stated,

> I think it's the responsibility of staff and faculty to know about the resource because they see students in spaces that I don't. If a faculty member knows that a student is struggling, they haven't been showing up to class or someone has been skipping lunch, I think it's on all of us to identify those things and provide the resource to students.

Without standard communication practices, misinformation can spread to campus staff and faculty members who are working on the front lines might not feel equipped to provide referrals to programs that could benefit students. Many staff members highlighted that there needs to be an effort to refer students and destigmatize food insecurity; however, the silos that exist and low prioritization by administrators create barriers to this happening.

Reinforced Stigma

Along with the lack of knowledge of resources, the lack of discussion on college food insecurity and campus pantries reinforces the stigma behind food insecurity. This stigma is prominent among all campuses, where students feel like they "might not be food insecure enough," or "someone needs the resources more than me." By not acknowledging that food insecurity affects over one third of college students, there are consequences on the students themselves as the stigma and shame associated with college food insecurity is reinforced. This was highlighted by every interview participant at every institution, and the main impact that this had was that students were not using the resource or did not know what real life food insecurity is. Wilson stated,

> There's obviously a really big stigma behind it, where people don't want to admit they are food insecure, even to themselves. There's also a really big misunderstanding of what food insecurity is. A lot of people think, "Oh, I just eat ramen every day, but I'm still eating every day." That is still food insecurity because you are not getting the nutrients that you need."

Further, Farah from Northwest University shares that she feels like the administration's lack of discussion around food insecurity and the Campus Pantry leads to misinformation being spread

about the service, especially when it comes to who uses the pantry and how student users are interacting with the space. Farah stated,

> I don't feel like the administration is in a plot to build stigma. But I think there's a vulnerability if you weren't having conversations with people like that. You might think that the Campus Pantry is a place where people come with their heads down and full of embarrassment. And it doesn't feel like that when you're there.

Farah highlighted that she feels like people on her campus view the Campus Pantry in a different light than students who use the pantry. If the administration had more engagement in the program, they would see that the program is trying to take steps to reduce the stigma by creating a fun atmosphere, and students feel welcomed and excited to be in the space. This example is key to showing that if the student users do not feel ashamed of using the program, the institution should not feel ashamed of advertising the program.

Brooklyn had a similar example, where she felt that there were still students who experienced stigma, despite the intentional ways that the Campus Pantry has tried to minimize the stigma that students experience when using their resource. Brooklyn stated,

> I can't say there's no stigma. But I think that was something that was very intentional in the way that it was set up, you know, making it a brighter space and kind of normalizing it. I think our students are very vocal about using the {Campus Pantry Name}. So we've had some students be very open and say like “yeah, that was like a lifesaver for me;” and so I think the stigma may be potentially lower than other places, but I think there's certainly still students that would feel very uncomfortable and feel embarrassed for using this resource.

The increase in the stigma of college food insecurity and the stigma of utilizing a campus pantry is a noticeably clear consequence of the current arrangement and the reality of campus pantries on college campuses. All of the programs interviewed use a peer to peer support model, which is a very crucial pillar of trauma-informed care. Student staff and users have also helped stop the spread of stigma by sharing about their own personal experiences on the ground. Unfortunately, this has not been enough to change the perception on campus, and the lack of advertising and program misconceptions from institutions and administrators have reinforced that college food insecurity is something to be ashamed of, causing an increase in stigma. Despite the intentional work that staff members have done to minimize stigma and normalize college food insecurity, the current arrangement and the reality has not supported this effort.

Summary

There are three main consequences to the current arrangement and the reality of campus pantries on college campuses. First, staff members who work within the program feel that they do not receive enough recognition, support and acknowledgment of their work, leading to staff burnout and turnover. Next, the lack of discussion and advertisement leads to a lack of knowledge about the resources that exist. This can be hurtful to students on campus who may be in need of these resources but do not know that they exist, or where to find the support. This lack of knowledge goes hand in hand with the final finding, as not discussing college food insecurity and campus pantries leads to increased stigma. Staff members at the pantries have worked tirelessly to minimize stigma and highlight their programs, and they have found success using peer-to-peer support models. However, when the institution as a whole does not advertise these programs or share in the same messaging, misinformation can spread.

Chapter Summary

This section analyzed the current structural arrangements, reality, and consequences of the arrangement of campus pantries within their institutions. Further, this chapter describes using interviewee quotes, the precarious autonomy of campus pantries, and the theatrical support, and the organizational communication that come from the institutions. Despite the value placed on student wellbeing, the actual practices of the institutions that participated in this study highlighted that other areas of the institution are prioritized over the campus pantry. Campus pantries are structurally located within the institution but receive hazardous independence, where they are forced to follow organizational policies, but are not funded or provided the same resources as other university programs. This response shows that the campus pantries are only seen as a responsibility at beneficial times and are at the discretion of the institutions as a whole.

The institutions participate in forms of theatrical support, where they tell the outside world that they support the campus pantries, but in reality, do not provide all of the support that is needed. This is done through the organizational narratives that are communicated by the institutions actions and contribute to the consequences of the arrangement of the campus pantries within their institutions. There is an overwhelming desire from the campus pantries to have more staff support and public communication about the campus pantries. Without this intentional focus, there is an increase in staff burnout, an increased lack of knowledge about the resources, and an increased stigma about college food insecurity and campus pantries.

The next chapter will further expand on the theoretical foundations that can be used to analyze the findings from this study.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Positionality

Despite my position as a staff member of a university campus pantry, the findings of this research are grounded in theoretical analysis rather than my personal experiences or the specific context of my institution. This approach enhances the likelihood that the findings are relevant and applicable beyond my individual perspective, allowing for a broader understanding of the issues at hand. By focusing on data and insights collected from various universities, the research aimed to capture a diverse range of experiences and viewpoints, ultimately enhancing its validity and reliability. This commitment to impartiality helped to create recommendations that can be beneficial to multiple campus environments, fostering a more comprehensive dialogue about the challenges of campus food insecurity and the needs of campus pantries in higher education.

Discussion of Findings and Contribution to Prior Literature

Four themes presented in the findings are: 1) precarious autonomy, 2) responsibility and discretion of the university, 3) organizational theater, and 4) organizational communication. In this chapter, I discuss each theme in the context of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001), structural violence (Peterson & Freidus, 2023), and organization as theater (Bolman & Deal, 2017).

Academic Capitalism

A key finding of this research is that the primary resource provided to campus pantries is fundraising support from university foundations. Staff members at these pantries expressed gratitude for the work of development officers, noting that their programs would not be sustainable at their current level without this support. However, further analysis revealed that university foundations benefit financially from securing donations, grant funds, and

endowments. The substantial support from community members and alumni helps cover the operational costs of campus pantry programs, reducing the need for direct university funding.

While staff members appreciate the ongoing support from donors, they express a desire for a more stable funding source. The variability in donation amounts poses challenges for long-term planning, as annual funding can fluctuate widely year to year. The universities in this study stated that their respective student affairs units would not fund the programs themselves but would assist with making connections for co-branding or cross-marketing, which could help provide sustainable funding for the campus pantry programs.

This discussion ties closely to the concept of academic capitalism, which emphasizes the need for universities to operate within market-oriented frameworks that prioritize resource generation and financial sustainability. Staff members' desire for stable funding reflects a broader trend in higher education, where reliance on inconsistent donations can undermine program effectiveness and long-term viability. This approach encourages institutions to seek external partnerships to secure funding and resources, rather than relying solely on traditional funding sources like government support or tuition.

Cross-campus collaboration with intermediating organizations—such as corporate foundations, local nonprofits, and community foundations—demonstrates a proactive strategy for resource generation that aligns with the principles of academic capitalism. By leveraging these partnerships, campus pantries can access diverse forms of support, including monetary donations, in-kind contributions, and volunteer efforts. This not only aids in immediate program needs but also fosters a culture of resourcefulness and sustainability. Ultimately, for campus pantry staff, effectively managing both human and non-human resources outside of the university reinforces the necessity of an entrepreneurial mindset in addressing food insecurity. This reflects

a broader academic capitalist framework, where institutions are encouraged to innovate and adapt in response to financial pressures, thereby ensuring they can better serve their communities. While it suggests that academic capitalism could benefit food pantries—particularly in attracting and stewarding outside donors—this approach also imposes significant demands. The pressure to meet program requirements and engage in constant fundraising is creating hardships for staff members, many of whom are already experiencing burnout.

More time needs to be dedicated by each university to effectively manage and leverage available resources, including personnel. The study found that it is more important to utilize the strengths and positions of team members and to prioritize relationships with people who can advocate for change on behalf of the campus pantry. Campus pantry staff often lack the chance to participate in decision-making processes for the university or even their programs. Gaining a seat at the decision-making table and having access to influential figures, such as those on the faculty senate or the university leadership team, is crucial for the growth and success of these programs. Over time, having people of power involved in advocating on behalf of the pantry and elevating the program's presence could help generate more resources and secure long-term sustainability for the programs. By leveraging institutional support and aligning with market-driven approaches, advocates and intermediating organizations can attract funding and resources, ultimately enhancing the pantry's ability to meet its needs. This approach highlights how academic capitalism can facilitate not just innovation but also the strategic advocacy necessary for program viability. Additionally, it's important to foster more collaborative relationships with foundation staff who are sharing the pantry's story with potential donors. Establishing formalized

processes for foundation staff to request tours, along with providing them with the most current information, can enhance the dissemination of our needs and strengthen our outreach efforts.

Additionally, integrating structural violence with academic capitalism requires a critical examination of how structure, systems of power, inequity, decision making and prioritization intersect with universities prioritizing profit-making over educational values. This research highlights how intertwined academic capitalism is with structural violence. The market and money driven practices due to academic capitalism results in the perpetuation of structural violence and reinforces social and economic inequalities in higher education. This results in the systematic marginalization of vulnerable groups such as low income students. To change this practice, it would be necessary to challenge the existing model that prioritizes profit over human needs and to reorient higher education to truly promote access.

Theatrical Actions and Strategies

Bolman and Deal (2017) suggest that some institutional structures operate as theaters, performing to the outside world and to other internal organization employees. Institutional activities and events can be expressive components of organizational theater that create (or at least signal) meaning and portray the university as legitimate organizations. Media that portrays the university in a positive light indicates that the institution is doing well and creates an image of a well-managed organization that is worthy of confidence and support. Positive stories and reports signal that all is well within the organization including positivity around decisions and plans, responses to emerging problems, evaluations and control systems that ensure accountability. The organizational theater is not only directed at outside audiences but can also be internal, serving to shape and manage perceptions within the organization itself. How resources are distributed among departments can signal what the organization truly values and

prioritizes. Similarly, the decisions made by leadership, from hiring practices to project approvals, reflect and reinforce the institutional narrative. Through these actions, the organization communicates its values, objectives, and commitments, shaping both internal perceptions and external reputations (see Table 5.1).

For the pantries in this study, they stated that the lack of decisions regarding funding or space allocations reinforces the narrative that their programs are not a priority. Additionally, staff members noted that their supervisors and university leadership have communicated that pantry employees and their programs are a priority and that they are valued by the institution. However, the actions taken do not reflect this commitment. In essence, the organizational theater acts as both an internal and external stage where actors play crucial roles in shaping the overall goals, priorities and success of the organization.

The role of theatrical structures and activities is to "reflect and convey prevailing social values and myths" (Bolman & Deal, 2017, p. 238). Universities project images that conform to how legitimate organizations "should" appear and function socially, economically, and politically. Bohman and Deal suggest that organizations will continue to adapt their structure to accommodate the changing landscape. Additionally, new audiences require revisions of actors, scripts, and settings. According to Bohman and Deal, organizations try to appear as legitimate and understand current needs. The need is real; however, the projection of understanding the current needs is often theatrical. This directly ties to this research regarding college food insecurity, which is a problem that currently affects a third of the American college student population. Although it can be argued that college food insecurity is not a contemporary issue and has existed for decades, there has not been a focus on this topic until the first research

emerged in 2006 (Chaparro et al., 2009). This leads institutions to make commitments to addressing food insecurity, signaling that their concerns are being handled.

Institutions that do not address modern issues invite criticism and inspection of the institution. Bolman and Deal (2017) suggest that for organizations, it is much easier to appoint one individual or program to act supportive rather than changing the practices that are embedded in the organizational culture or institutional system. This is seen in the creation of campus pantries at universities: Rather than changing the entire system, the universities have created one program designed to address the full need.

Table 5.1: Theoretical Actions and Strategies

Themes	Action	Recommendations
Strategic Planning	Staff should be cautious about relying on strategic plans	● Ensure that Campus Pantry staff members have seat a decision making table ● The Campus Pantry should be able to provide input to leadership meeting agendas ● Staff members should work with other channels such as Faculty Senate, or Student Government etc ● Pantries should consider developing their own strategic plan
Plans as Advertisements	Plans should demonstrate commitment to growth and stability	● Use intermediating organizations to bridge the gap
Evaluations and Assessment	If assessments are conducted, there must be actions taken to address the findings	● Include Campus Pantry staff members in decisions making strategies and review of the results ● Present results and create institutional action items for accountability
Precarious Autonomy	Address the conflict between autonomy and dependence	● Provide consistent funding to match the institutional value of wellbeing. ● Allow campus pantries to step outside of the preset “script”

Theatrical Support	No longer provide support with only misguided intentions	● Provide space in desired locations ● Make funding Campus Pantries a priority ● Conduct Assessment, and complete needed follow through on the findings

Strategic Planning

Bolman and Deal (2017) offered valuable insights into the role of strategic planning within organizations. Strategic planning is a legitimizing practice that reputable organizations conduct periodically. Bohman and Deal state that plans are a "badge of honor" that organizations wear with pride, and strategic plans carry high status. Cohen and March (1974) identify four roles that plans serve in universities and organizations: (a) plans are symbols, (b) plans become games, (c) plans become excuses for interaction, and (d) plans serve as advertisements. In the context of college food insecurity, the roles of plans as symbols and advertisements appear particularly relevant in explaining institutional behavior.

Plans as Symbols

Plans function as symbols because they signal that improvements are coming. Institutions who are failing or facing challenges can announce plans for revitalization, and it can immediately increase the perceived value of the institution. The activity of creating and announcing strategic plans is a prime example of expressive organizational theater, where the announcement of strategic plans conveys to the outside world that they are well-managed organizations and worthy of investment. In a business-oriented environment that prioritizes increasing enrollment and attracting students are priorities, maintaining a positive public image is crucial to the admissions process. This practice is evident across various universities, as demonstrated by the quotes and results presented in the previous chapter, which offer tangible

examples of how institutions utilize values and strategic planning to manage perceptions and bolster their image.

The findings from this study suggest that staff members should be cautious about relying on strategic plans. While strategic plans can serve as a framework for future direction, they often create a distraction from making immediate changes. Developing and implementing these plans can take several years and require substantial financial investment, yet they can be (and often are) quickly dismissed by changes in administration. To ensure meaningful progress, strategic plans must include tangible, measurable, and time-sensitive goals otherwise they operate as expressive organizational theater. One major challenge is that those who make decisions about the university's agenda often do not include staff members from the campus pantry. To address this, it is crucial to find ways to influence the administrative agenda beyond traditional reporting lines.

This could be achieved by engaging with alternative channels such as faculty senate or student government, allocating a seat to pantry staff on decision making committees or collaborating with intermediating organizations. A recommendation to ensure progress could be to transition from a strategic plan into work plans and program logic models. This shift would provide clear, measurable objectives and outline specific steps for implementation, allowing for more effective tracking of progress and accountability. Breaking down overarching goals into manageable components and assigning roles to specific departments could increase the follow through and impact of the initiatives.

It is worth considering that pantries develop their own program work plans that they control and can implement on their own terms. When pantries create unit-level plans that are genuinely actionable, they avoid the pitfalls of organizational theater—where plans exist merely

as a formality without real impact. By crafting strategies tailored to their specific needs and contexts, pantries can ensure that their efforts are meaningful and aligned with their goals. This autonomy not only empowers pantry staff but also enhances their ability to respond effectively to the unique challenges they face, ultimately leading to more sustainable and impactful operations.

Plans as Advertisements

Plans also function as advertisements, attracting both private and public donors. Potential investors want assurance that their contributions will support the university's long-term viability and success. By showcasing strategic plans, or alternatives that demonstrate activity, impact and need, institutions can demonstrate their commitment to future growth and stability. A strategic plan should aim to engage key stakeholders and secure their buy-in by showing how the plan will address their concerns and align with their interests.

Leveraging advertisements and co-branding with intermediating organizations can draw significant attention to both the university and the campus pantry, bridging the gap and facilitating collaborations. Examples of intermediating organizations that the campus pantry could benefit from partnering with could include corporate foundations, retailers and restaurants, local nonprofits, community foundations, and student government offices. This approach not only promotes the partnership but also showcases the participating organizations' commitment to philanthropic efforts. Such visibility can yield positive outcomes for the university, the campus pantry, and the partnering organization by enhancing their public image and demonstrating their shared dedication to community support.

Partnering with academic departments that have direct access to students through classes and other channels can be a strategic way to address food insecurity on campus. These partnerships can facilitate outreach and raise awareness among students about available pantry

resources. Additionally, donors often feel a strong emotional connection to their college and may be motivated to give back to ensure that future students do not struggle with access to proper food and nutrition. By highlighting the impact of their contributions on students' well-being, we can cultivate a compelling narrative that resonates with alumni and encourages their support for our initiatives. This collaboration not only strengthens our financial resources but also fosters a sense of community and shared responsibility for student success.

Evaluation and Assessment

This study revealed a recurring issue: Institutions have conducted self-assessments without implementing additional support based on the findings. Despite national data stating that over a third of students experience food insecurity (The Hope Center, 2021), these universities have not made meaningful changes to address this issue or to provide long-term support for campus pantry programs. The study showed that without buy-in from campus administration and key stakeholders, the results of these assessments remain unaddressed. This underscores the necessity of including campus pantry staff in decision-making processes to share updates, influence financial support decisions, and hold administration accountable for addressing the growing numbers of food-insecure students.

Evaluations and assessments can be both time-consuming and costly, depending on the scale of the project. The institutions involved in this research have a clear need for more comprehensive assessments of basic needs insecurity among their students. However, even when assessments are conducted, the insights often do not lead to significant changes – i.e., more organizational theater (Bolman & Deal, 2017). While evaluations and assessments signal that organizations are serious about their goals and committed to improvement, like their approach to strategic planning, the recommendations and insights frequently remain unimplemented.

Unfortunately, the results of these evaluations often fade from the university's priorities and remain unaddressed. However, if the pantries were in control of their own program work plan, they could prioritize and implement changes based on the findings, ensuring that their needs and those of the students are effectively met. This autonomy would allow them to advocate for necessary resources, develop tailored programs, and continuously assess their impact, ultimately leading to more sustainable solutions for addressing food insecurity on campus.

Precarious Autonomy and Organizational Theater

Precarious autonomy explains the contradictory independence placed on campus pantries in securing financial support for their programs, despite being a part of the university's reporting structure. Campus pantries are governed by university leadership and must follow institutional policies and practices. However, programs are not adequately supported by the institution and thus must rely on external funding. This precariousness highlights a conflict between autonomy and dependency.

Campus pantries experience both autonomy from and dependency on the institution, creating instability among programs that provide crucial support to students. This paradox highlights the tension between having the freedom to operate independently and the need for institutional support to secure resources and ensure sustainability. Without a balanced approach, the pantries risk being undermined by competing university priorities, ultimately impacting their ability to serve the student community effectively. Given that all the universities that participated in this study named student well-being as a core institutional value, one would expect that programs like campus pantries would receive consistent institutional funding. However, the reality is that these pantries are often forced to rely heavily on external support.

The allocation of human and non-human resources by universities to their campus pantries suggests that institutions are engaging in "theatrical support"—providing some level of assistance, but with misguided intentions. The various aspects of resource allocation, including funding, space allocation, assessment support, and other forms of institutional backing further signal organizational theater. The amount of resources allocated often falls short of addressing the actual (and/or full) needs of the programs, reflecting a superficial commitment rather than a legitimate effort to support and sustain campus pantries. Additionally, practitioners working within campus pantries are not responsible for writing or producing the script. Rather, they are the actors required to follow the script established for them. The staff members who are doing the work are often not included in higher level strategic discussions and decision making but are instead solely responsible for following the directions provided to them.

Foundation Support

The results reveal that while these universities provide some support to campus pantries, it is often limited and inadequately distributed. Specifically, the universities allocate institutional funds for full-time staff positions but neglect other critical aspects of the programs, such as student wage increases and food costs. Additionally, institutional funding for these programs is frequently sourced from student fees, with allocations determined by a student-led committee. While these internal grants are vital, they are not permanent, which forces campus pantry staff to spend considerable time seeking external funding. Further, all the institutions are providing funding through student fees, where a student-led committee votes on which programs receive funding, rather than as a line item in a budget.

The universities that participated in this study had several student affairs programs that were reliant on the same soft funding, not just the campus pantries. Student affairs units, such as

student assistance teams, peer mentoring programs, and cultural centers all rely on temporary funding to operate their programs. This soft funding is a continuous pressure for staff members. Full-time staff members of the pantry, or their supervisors, need to have stronger relationships with the university development teams. Rather than having campus pantry staff members who are providing direct services solicit funding, it would be more proactive to create relationships and empower development officers who already have the skills and bandwidth to find additional monies. However, because all of these units rely on soft funding, it is important that the programs come together to support each other. There are significant opportunities to collaborate with student assistance teams, peer mentoring programs, and cultural centers to provide not only physical support but also holistic resources that address students' diverse needs. Such collaborations can foster a more comprehensive approach to student well-being, enhancing academic success and community engagement while creating a supportive network that empowers students. Some opportunities include collaborating on fundraising campaigns, sharing best practices and creating a safe support space for staff who feel burnout from this work.

Although institutions provide space for their campus pantries, these locations are often situated off-campus, in basements, or in older buildings lacking essential features like elevators. As a result, these spaces are less accessible and tend to be undesired by other programs on campus and reinforce the stigma of food insecurity. This discrepancy highlights a gap between the institutions' stated (and mostly theatrical) support for their campus pantries and the realities of how they meet the programs' needs. The support appears more performative and fails to fully address the actual requirements of the campus pantries.

All participating institutions collaborate with their university foundations for fundraising efforts, which provide substantial financial support for these programs, particularly for food

costs. This support can be perceived as "theatrical," where the intention of helping may not align with the actual outcomes, especially when considering the fees that university foundations charge on the funds raised. This raises concerns about the potential motives behind the fundraising activities. The funds generated not only help development officers meet their fundraising targets but also contribute to expanding university endowments, which can impact college rankings, and provide revenue from service charge fees. Staff members have noted that campus pantries are an asset for development efforts, often proving to be relatively easy to fundraise for due to the high level of public support.

Additionally, development officers are sometimes more focused on overall fundraising goals rather than addressing the specific needs of individual programs. This broader approach can lead to a disconnect between the funds raised and the actual needs of programs like campus pantries. While securing financial support is crucial, it's important that these funds are directed toward initiatives that directly benefit students and address their pressing needs. By advocating for targeted funding, such as money for groceries, pantry staff can ensure that resources are allocated effectively, allowing programs to thrive and better serve the community. Engaging in open dialogue with development officers about the unique challenges faced by specific programs can help bridge this gap and create a more tailored approach to fundraising.

Assessment

The concept of organizational theater is also evident in assessment practices. Campus pantry staff members have expressed a desire for their universities to expand assessments to gain a more comprehensive understanding of food insecurity on campus and to evaluate pantry operations. Institutions that have conducted assessments report that these efforts have improved their understanding of the campus's needs and highlighted gaps contributing to food insecurity.

However, concerns persist about the accuracy of the stated rate of food insecurity on each campus. Staff members believe that while the institutions are not intentionally obscuring the number of food-insecure students, they are not assessing food insecurity enough to have accurate numbers. Additionally, more qualitative research would likely bring depth and nuance to the understanding of students' experiences and the associated effects of food insecurity on their academic performance and degree completion rates. This lack of reseach can lead to underreporting and an incomplete picture of actual campus needs. Increases in understanding, even if not perfectly accurate, would still be beneficial for addressing food insecurity more effectively.

Staff Member Support and Recognition

A notable finding from the research is that staff members seek more than just financial support; they also crave certainty, acknowledgment, and validation. Staff consistently expressed a need for recognition and appreciation beyond monetary compensation. When staff members feel unacknowledged or undervalued, it creates a sense of instability that detracts from their focus and the effectiveness in their work. Additionally, staff reported feeling unsupported due to the unique challenges of their work. They expressed a clear need for more comprehensive professional development and mentorship opportunities than what is currently provided by the university. The specialized nature of their roles means that they require targeted support to enhance their skills and address the specific demands of their positions.

To foster the longevity and success of campus pantry staff, administrators must prioritize their support and well-being. This involves not only addressing financial needs but also investing in professional development programs, providing meaningful recognition, and creating a supportive work environment. By doing so, administrators can help staff members feel valued

and empowered, which will contribute to their effectiveness and the overall success of the campus pantry programs.

Student Leaders: An Example of True Commitment

Half of the institutions included in this study received some funding from their student fee boards. These boards are made up of student leaders responsible for allocating money collected from mandatory student fees. The staff members who were interviewed stated that without fail, these committees fund significant portions of their campus pantries each year. Unlike the organizational theater exhibited by university administrations, these student leaders demonstrate genuine commitment to addressing student food insecurity.

These student leaders are making true commitments to addressing student food insecurity and not operating theatrically for an audience. The three institutions that receive fee money have tangibly shown their commitment by approving grants for the maximum amount of money allowed to their campus pantry programs each year. These boards have seen the need on campus, seen how students have been (or not been) supported, and consequently have decided to allocate money directly to these programs. This commitment and support from student leaders highlight the kind of commitment and resource allocation desired from university leadership teams, who have a greater capacity to address food insecurity on a broader scale.

Suggestions for Further Research

Food insecurity stands in the way of many college students reaching graduation. Food insecurity can obstruct this path, presenting significant financial and health barriers that make it difficult for many students to complete their studies. Future research should focus on exploring the experiences of students who have left universities because of food insecurity. Assessment via exit surveys could be designed by enrollment management offices and help to understand the

reasoning for why students have left the university. Data that comes directly from these students would be the most accurate, as the students themselves would be able to share their experiences through survey questions or written statements. Understanding their challenges and circumstances could provide valuable insights into how food insecurity impacts student retention and success and inform strategies to better support students in overcoming these barriers.

The embeddedness of pantries within university structures leads to a precarious autonomy that is vulnerable to the discretions of university leadership. The findings inform theoretical propositions that should be further explored. To my knowledge, this research is the first to examine campus pantries within the context of university organizational structures. The insights generated raise questions about the impacts that organizational structures have on campus pantries. Formalized resources from national food bank networks, the Department of Economic Security (DES) or the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) could support campus pantry staff and university administrators by providing guidance on operating, funding, and assessing the effectiveness and support for these crucial programs. Many of these resources already exist for community food resources but could be tailored directly towards colleges and universities who serve a unique population.

Moreover, interview participants frequently discussed organizational structures. Given the limited sample size of this research, further studies should be conducted to examine the reporting structures across a broader range of universities. This could provide valuable insights into their effectiveness in securing resources, supporting full time employees and fostering strategic growth.

Structural Violence

Peterson and Freidus (2023) applied a structural violence lens to analyze student food insecurity, exploring whether university conditions exacerbate a shared social suffering among students. They argue that the shift in universities towards emphasizing individual efforts—such as securing scholarships, grants, or loans—might contribute to a tendency to blame students for their financial difficulties. Instead of addressing how rising academic and living costs have contributed to greater rates of food insecurity for all students, the universities defer accountability to the students for failing to acquire enough funding to cover all their expenses.

The ways in which colleges and universities have allocated resources and developed programs, primarily with campus pantries, have been temporary solutions and take an individualized approach to fix the superficial symptoms of deeper issues (Peterson & Freidus, 2023). The individualism and focus on self-responsibility make food insecurity on college campuses invisible. The current invisibility and temporary solutions, such as campus pantries, create and reproduce suffering.

Implications for Future Practice

Several recommendations and implications for future practice have emerged that could benefit both campus pantry staff members and university administrators. There is a compelling need for enhanced communication and transparency beyond traditional reporting lines. The recommendations provided below use the experiences from the staff members from the six universities to initiate more proactive approaches to college food insecurity (see Table 5.2). Staff members consistently expressed a desire for stability for their programs, highlighting a theme of instability and a lack of support for the current model. Addressing these issues through improved communication and transparency can help create a more effective and sustainable approach to combating food insecurity on campus.

Table 5.2 Suggestions for Future Practice

Suggestion for Future Practice	For Whom	Potential Outcomes
Formalized Donation Campaigns and Funding	*Campus Pantry Staff Members:* ● Ensure that the Foundations have up to date information on current needs and usage data *Administrators:* ● Develop a contingency plan to address potential shortfalls in funding if the university foundation is unable to raise enough money to meet the annual needs	● Ensuring that the bulk of financial support comes from external sources while providing a safety net, the university can help stabilize the program and reinforce their institutional commitment to supporting all students.
Permanent Funding for Staff Wages and Support Networks	*Administrators:* ● Allocate adequate financial support for full time and student staff wages ● Arrange Campus Pantries within a student affairs unit that can provide adequate physical and emotional support from managers.	● This would offer essential stability for the programs and the staff members managing them
Marketing Campaigns	*Administrators:* ● Increase institutional support in university-wide marketing efforts to raise awareness about food insecurity resources such as the campus pantry	● Ensure that all students are aware of the resources available to them ● Educate faculty and staff about the reality of college food insecurity ● Encourage or require a basic needs statement in course syllabi
Assessment of Food Insecurity	*Administrators:* ● Conduct comprehensive, campus-wide evaluations of food insecurity	● Data can help programs adapt to meet the current demands ● Predict the growth in usage and thus associated costs
Communication with Senior Leadership	*Administrators:* ● Set up bi-annual meetings between campus pantry staff members and senior leaders such as the Dean of Students or University President ● Campus pantry staff members should	● Enhance senior leaders' understanding of the programs ● Aid in the development of strategies for long-term sustainability such as

	set a concise agenda, have clear deliverables and be used to hold senior leaders accountable	relocation of space, additional funding and an increased understanding of the programs and their needs

Formalized Foundation Donation Campaigns and Funding Allocations

Campus Pantry Staff Members

All of the universities in this study relied on their university foundations to handle fundraising on behalf of the campus pantries. The relationship between the staff members of the pantries and the foundation were sometimes disconnected and current monetary needs were not always communicated in a timely manner. Capacity limits by pantry staff, quickly changing usage numbers and infrequent assessment and reporting all contribute to the disconnect. I recommend establishing formalized donation campaigns and fundraising goals between the campus pantry and foundation staff. Ensuring that all parties have access to up-to-date information and priorities will enhance coordination and effectiveness, ultimately benefiting the success of fundraising efforts and the support provided to the campus pantries. This would allow the campus pantry staff members to provide insights on what funding is needed, but the bulk of the fundraising work would be handled by the foundation staff members. Since the pantry staff members are already at capacity with their current responsibilities, this division of labor would enable them to focus on their primary tasks while leveraging the foundation's expertise in fundraising to secure the necessary resources.

Administrators

An important aspect of this partnership is developing a contingency plan to address potential shortfalls in funding if the university foundation is unable to raise enough money to meet the pantry’s annual financial needs. Staff members have expressed ongoing concern about

the possibility of insufficient funding, which could lead to reduced services or decreases in the numbers of items available to students. To address this, I recommend creating a formalized memorandum of understanding (MOU) between campus pantries and their respective universities. The institutional commitment should outline that, while the donations will be the primary funding source, the institution commits to providing additional financial support if the grants and donations secured by the foundation fall short of the required benchmark. This MOU would offer a much-needed contingency plan for the staff members, allowing them to focus on the operations of their campus pantries with less concern over funding instability. Ensuring that the bulk of financial support comes from external sources while providing a safety net, the university can help stabilize the program and reinforce their institutional commitment to supporting all students.

Permanent Funding for Staff Wages and Support Networks

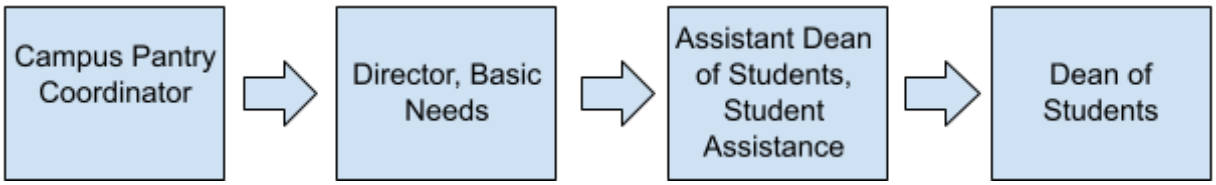
Administrators

All participating campus pantry staff members expressed a desire for institutional commitment through permanent funding for their campus pantries. However, interviews with the senior leaders revealed that there was a lack of financial capacity to fully support the monetary needs of the programs. Campus pantry staff members indicated a pressing need to prioritize funding for operational expenses, specifically for full-time staff salaries and student staff wages. While campus pantry staff members acknowledged that universities may struggle to keep pace with rising food costs, they emphasized that providing funding for full-time staff wages is crucial for ensuring program stability. Administrative leaders should allocate adequate financial support for staff wages, which would offer essential stability for both the programs and the staff members managing them. Additionally, it is crucial for universities to provide livable hourly wages for the

campus pantry student employees. Not all universities justify this expense, and staff members feel that failing to offer appropriate wages for student workers perpetuates the same system of food insecurity and structural violence. Ensuring fair compensation for student employees is essential for both supporting the program's effectiveness and breaking the cycle of food insecurity among students. Administrators providing financial support to cover the costs of staff wages would highlight institutional commitments to minimizing student food insecurity.

Additionally, arranging the campus pantries within a unit that has a strong understanding of trauma informed care, secondary trauma and the emotional and physical aspects of this work will help provide support for the campus pantry staff members. The findings in this small sample were consistent enough to infer that being structured directly under the Dean of Students was the most effective for providing support to employees. This alternative organizational structure and support model follows what is working on other campuses and should be explored further with a larger sample size. (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Suggested Reporting Structure for Campus Pantries



Management should provide both physical and emotional support to staff by having a strong understanding of program operations, and the fatigue that goes with this work. The emotional burden associated with this work can be significant. Staff may experience feelings of compassion fatigue, stress, or burnout due to the demands of supporting individuals in need. This includes creating a safe and comfortable work environment, offering resources for mental health and well-being, and fostering open communication. Such support not only enhances job

satisfaction but also contributes to a more engaged and productive team. Such support not only enhances job satisfaction but also contributes to a more engaged and productive team and without this support, there can be quick employee turnover.

Marketing Campaigns

Administration

Staff members indicated that they need increased institutional support for university-wide marketing efforts to raise awareness about food insecurity resources, including campus pantries. A proactive marketing approach would ensure that all students are informed about the resources available to them. Additionally, it would educate faculty and staff about the reality of college food insecurity and the on- and off-campus resources available to students. For this approach to be effective, it should be developed in partnership with campus pantry staff to ensure that students' dignity is preserved, and appropriate language is used in communications.

Universities can further enhance their communication strategies by encouraging or requiring the inclusion of a basic needs statement in course syllabi. Despite this being a free communication strategy, none of the institutions in this study had mandatory basic needs statements. Making statements mandatory would require universities to propose changes to their state boards, which could be time-consuming but would significantly help in normalizing food insecurity and informing students about available resources. It is important to recognize that expanding marketing efforts will likely increase the number of campus pantry users. Therefore, this recommendation would be in addition to increasing the financial stability of the campus pantry.

Campus Pantry Staff Members

Engaging with and partnering with faculty governance units, such as the Faculty Senate and student government, is essential for advocating the inclusion of a mandatory basic needs statement. By collaborating with these bodies, pantry staff can amplify the message, ensure broader support, and create a unified approach to addressing basic needs within our institution. This partnership can help raise awareness, foster dialogue, and ultimately lead to policy changes that prioritize the well-being of all students. Since staff members do not have the same level of job security as tenured faculty, there is significant value in engaging tenured faculty as allies. Tenured faculty members enjoy academic freedom, which allows them to critically analyze and publicly critique institutional responses to campus food insecurity and to advocate for change. Moreover, tenured faculty have the autonomy to conduct independent research on food insecurity at their institution, statewide or nationwide and share their findings widely. Full-time pantry staff may not have the same freedom to do so without facing potential risks to their employment, suggesting that leaning on tenured faculty can create opportunities for advocacy and research that might otherwise be unavailable. By collaborating with tenured faculty, pantry staff can leverage their academic freedom to address food insecurity more effectively, ensuring that critical issues are raised and investigated without compromising job security.

Assessment of Campus Food Insecurity

Administrators

All participating institutions acknowledged the potential benefits of increased assessment regarding campus food insecurity rates. Based on the findings of this study, it is crucial for university assessment teams to conduct comprehensive, campus-wide evaluations of food insecurity. Accurate and updated data on food insecurity not only provides a clear picture of

current needs but also creates an opportunity for campus pantry staff to change their programs to meet both current and future demands. Additional data would help predict the growth in pantry usage and associated costs, thus allowing for better planning and resource allocation. Proactively anticipating the need for additional funding, food items, and space to accommodate pantries growing to meet the need will support the campus pantry and its staff effectively. By implementing these assessments, universities can make informed decisions and better support their campus pantries in addressing food insecurity.

Communication with Senior Leadership

Administrators

It would be beneficial for campus pantries to have the opportunity to meet with senior leadership team members, such as the dean of students, provosts, and presidents on a biannual basis. These meetings would serve multiple purposes: enhancing senior leaders' understanding of the programs and aiding in the development of strategies for long-term sustainability. To be most effective, these meetings should include discussions on long-term funding strategies and an assessment of the current space allocations for the pantries. Additionally, it is crucial for senior leaders to observe the campus pantries in full operation prior to these meetings. Seeing the flow of users and the daily operations firsthand would provide them with a comprehensive understanding of the programs' needs and challenges, facilitating more informed decision-making and support. It is important to be cautious with these meetings, as they risk reinforcing the existing organizational theater. To mitigate this, meetings should have concise agendas, clear deliverables, and be used to hold senior leaders accountable. This ensures that discussions remain focused and productive, rather than becoming part of a performative cycle that detracts from meaningful progress.

Positive outcomes from these biannual meetings could include the relocation of space, additional funding, and an increased understanding of the programs and their needs. Such meetings also offer an opportunity to better support the staff members working with the campus pantries. A recurring theme from this research was the feeling among staff that they were not adequately supported by their supervisors. By having supervisors and senior leaders observe staff in action and engage with their ideas for enhancing support, the meetings could help address this gap and foster a more supportive environment for those running the programs. This approach could positively impact the longevity of the campus pantries by potentially reducing staff turnover, a concern highlighted by Central University. Improved support and increased engagement from senior leadership may enhance job satisfaction and retention among staff members, contributing to the stability and effectiveness of the programs.

Conclusion

This research has not only highlighted the critical role of campus pantries in addressing food insecurity among college students, but also revealed the systemic challenges they face within the framework of academic capitalism. The findings underscore a reliance on external funding, primarily through university foundations, which, although beneficial, introduces instability and uncertainty into the operation of these vital resources. Staff members have voiced a clear desire for more consistent and permanent funding, indicating that current practices often reinforce a narrative of performative support rather than genuine institutional commitment.

These practices are a key example of how organizational theater manifests within institutions. The carefully curated interactions and displays of support often mask underlying challenges and tensions, creating an illusion of engagement and effectiveness. While they may serve to project a positive image of the institution, these performances can distract from the need

for genuine systemic change and meaningful action in addressing college food insecurity. Ultimately, recognizing and addressing the gap between appearance and reality is crucial for fostering authentic relationships and support for both students and employees within the institution.

Additionally, using structural violence as a lens has helped identify the ongoing systemic challenges that perpetuate college food insecurity among students. This perspective reveals how institutional policies contribute to the marginalization of vulnerable populations. By understanding these root causes, stakeholders can develop more effective interventions that address not just the symptoms of food insecurity but also the underlying structures that sustain it. This approach emphasizes the need for systemic change in order to create a more equitable and supportive educational environment for all students.

The implications for future practice are substantial. By fostering better communication between pantry staff and university administrators and implementing formalized funding strategies, institutions can move toward a more sustainable model that prioritizes student well-being. Recommendations such as establishing contingency funding, enhancing marketing efforts, and conducting comprehensive assessments of food insecurity will be pivotal in addressing the complexities of this issue. Furthermore, creating avenues for pantry staff to engage directly with senior leadership can promote a deeper understanding of the programs' needs and challenges, ultimately leading to better support and resource allocation. This collaborative approach not only empowers pantry staff, but also aligns institutional values with the realities faced by students.

Addressing food insecurity in higher education requires a multifaceted strategy that balances external funding with internal commitment. By implementing these recommendations,

universities can better support campus pantries, reduce food insecurity, and foster an environment where all students have access to the resources they need to succeed. As institutions adapt to the evolving landscape of higher education, prioritizing genuine support for campus pantries will not only enhance student well-being but also affirm the university's role of promoting education, social justice, and serving the community.

Appendix A: Email Script (Recruitment Tool)

Subject Line: Invitation to Participate in Dissertation study on Student Campus Pantries

Hello,
I hope this email finds you well. My name is Bridgette Riebe, and I am a doctoral candidate working on my dissertation and studying the ways academic capitalism impacts college student food insecurity. I am reaching out to you as an employee of (University Name) and as someone who works in a support role with the (Name of Pantry). Your insights and experiences would be incredibly valuable in enhancing the understanding of the institutional role in college food insecurity.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete a short demographic survey about your university's Campus Pantry, and complete one 90- minute interview over zoom sometime over the next month. Following this interview, I will be reaching out to additional student employees and other university leaders at (University Name). I will be interviewing employees from different staff levels to analyze how the University prioritizes food insecurity on your campus. All data collected will be kept confidential, and your individual and university identity will remain anonymous in the final dissertation.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any stage or decline to answer any specific questions during the interview. Your unique perspective and expertise would greatly contribute to the success of this research endeavor. Your input will be instrumental in shaping the outcomes of my dissertation and, potentially, impacting future practices in the field.

In order to participate you must be:

- Over 18 years of age
- Have worked at your university for a minimum of 2 years
- Be in a decision-making role for your University's Campus Pantry/Food Bank

An Institutional Review Board responsible for human subjects and research at the University of Arizona reviewed this research project and found it to be acceptable, according to applicable state and federal regulations and University policies designed to protect the rights and welfare of participants in research.

If you are willing to participate or have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me at bnobbe@arizona.edu or 920-257-9339. Your involvement will be deeply appreciated.
Thank you for your consideration,
Bridgette

Appendix B: Consent Form to Participate in Research Interviews

University of Arizona
Consent to Participate in Research

Study Title: It's not the Students Fault: A Qualitative Study on the Ways in Which Academic Capitalism Impacts College Student Food Insecurity

Principal Investigator: Bridgette Riebe

Consent Version: 01/09/2024

You are being asked to participate in a research study. Your participation in this research study is voluntary and you do not have to participate. This document contains important information about this study and what to expect if you decide to participate. Please consider the information carefully. Feel free to ask questions before making your decision whether to participate.

The purpose of this research is to understand how the experiences of food insecure students are influenced by institutional structures, attitudes and behaviors that the university practices. The following elements inform the research questions: (1) the organizational factors and structure that impact college food insecurity and support resources such as a campus pantry, (2) student usage of their university campus pantries, (3) university resource allocation to support students experiencing food insecurity, (4) the university's prioritization of food insecurity resources, (5) communication regarding college food insecurity on campus.

Interview inclusion criteria will limit participants to student employees, full-time staff, and administrators at three, public, doctoral universities. All individuals who are interviewed will have a structural connection to their university campus pantry and have a role in decision making, advocacy, and support of their program. Two groups of individuals will be interviewed. One group will be employees who directly work in/with their campus pantry (e.g., student employees, program coordinators, directors) and the other group will be middle managers and administrators (e.g., Dean of Students, Assistant Vice Presidents) who oversee their food pantry. All individuals who will participate must have worked at their institution for a minimum of two years.

Interested individuals will complete a questionnaire at the beginning of each interview which includes background information on the study, an assessment of the structure of their pantry, usage numbers, and funding support, in addition to participant demographics on the interviewee. Upon completion of the questionnaire, the researcher will follow up with eligible participants to schedule an interview for approximately one hour and will not exceed 90 minutes. Prior to starting, participants will be provided with informed consent paperwork and an overview of the upcoming narrative interview. There are no expected risks to you because of participating in this study. You will not benefit directly from participating in this study.

With your permission, I would like to record this interview so that I can make an accurate

transcript. Once I have made the transcript, I will erase the recordings. Your name will not be in the transcript or my notes. Because of the nature of the data, it may be possible to deduce your identity; however, there will be no attempt to do so, and your data will be reported in a way that will not identify you. Your information may be used for future research by only myself for future research studies without additional consent.

The information that you provide in the study will be handled confidentially. However, there may be circumstances where this information must be released or shared as required by law. The University of Arizona Institutional Review Board may review the research records for monitoring purposes.

For questions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you may contact *Bridgette Riebe at bnobbe@arizona.edu*

For questions about your rights as a participant in this study, or to discuss other study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact the Human Subjects Protection Program Director at 520-626-8630 or online at https://research.arizona.edu/compliance/human-subjects-protection-program.

Signing the consent form
By taking part in this interview, you are allowing your responses to be used for research purposes.

Appendix C: Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol

1. Can you tell me about your position at the university?
    a. Do you supervise any staff/departments?
    b. Who do you report to at your institution?
    c. What areas do you have influence over?
2. Can you tell me about your professional and educational experience, and how you came to work at a higher education institution?
3. How many students on your campus do you think experience food insecurity?
    a. Do you think this number might be underreported?
    b. How many students do you think utilize your campus pantry program annually?
4. Can you tell me about the general leadership structure of your University and where resources for food insecurity, such as a campus pantry, is located within your organizational structure as it relates to basic needs?
5. Can you tell me about your university's strategies, values and commitments to students' learning and wellbeing?
    a. Probe: Can you share about your University leadership team's commitment to these values?
6. Can you share a few examples of how these plans/values/commitments are seen on campus, specific to food insecurity?
7. Can you tell me about your knowledge of college food insecurity?
8. What do you think are some of the main factors that contribute to college food insecurity on your campus?
    a. Probe: How do you think stigma affects food insecurity on your campus?
9. How do you personally engage with programs that support students who are experiencing food insecurity?
10. How do you advocate for resources for your Campus Food Pantry?
11. To you, what does an institution that "sufficiently supports students with food insecurity" look like?
12. What does your institution do to support students with food insecurity?
13. Do you think these programs are proactive or reactive? Why?
    a. Probe: how is that informed by the university strategies?
    b. Probe: What consequences do you think come from being proactive/reactive?
    c. Probe: Who do you think should be accountable for this being proactive/reactive?
14. Please describe what your experience has been like working at your institution within programs that support students who experience food insecurity.
15. As someone in the reporting line, can you tell me about the resources that the University does and does not provide to you, and programs that support students who are experiencing food insecurity?
    a. Probe: Who do you think should be accountable for providing these resources?
16. How do you think your institution prioritizes the growth of your Campus Pantry?
    a. Probe: Who do you think should be accountable for the growth?

17. Can you tell me about how your University discusses college food insecurity and your Campus Pantry?
    a. Prompt: How do they discuss stigma or work to destigmatize this issue.
    b. How is this being perceived and discussed
    c. Do you think your institution tries to control the perception
    d. Do you think your institution tries to control the narrative?
18. What are you allowed to speak on in relation to your campus Pantry?
    a. What are the consequences of you speaking out or advocating?
19. Can you tell me about how your university engages in communication strategies to minimize the stigma around college food insecurity?
    a. Do you think this is well received by students?
    b. What do you think could be more effective?
20. Is there anything else you would like to tell me that we have not spoken about today?

Appendix D: Content Analysis Example

Development, Donation and Volunteer Seeking

1. Southwestern University advertises a weeklong food drive.
   Associated Codes: Fundraising, Staff/Faculty Support

This holiday season, give thanks and give food!

Posted on November 29, 2023 by [redacted]

This week, [redacted] campus food pantry, is holding a weeklong food drive. This initiative aims to engage students and faculty in a thankful and giving spirit for the remainder of the semester, by donating food to the on-campus food bank. All donations will be taken to the [redacted] attached to...

2. Northwest University highlights the first endowment for the Campus Pantry and encourages others to support the newly established fund.
   Associated Codes: Fundraising, Alumni Giving, Endowments

[redacted] alumnus makes gift for student basic needs, challenges community to join him

February 12, 2020

[redacted] – A university-wide effort to address food and housing insecurity among students attending [redacted] has received a major boost from a donation by [redacted] alumnus and volunteer leader [redacted].

[redacted] commitment of $1 million establishes the university's first endowed fund devoted to addressing students' basic needs such as food insecurity and emergency housing.

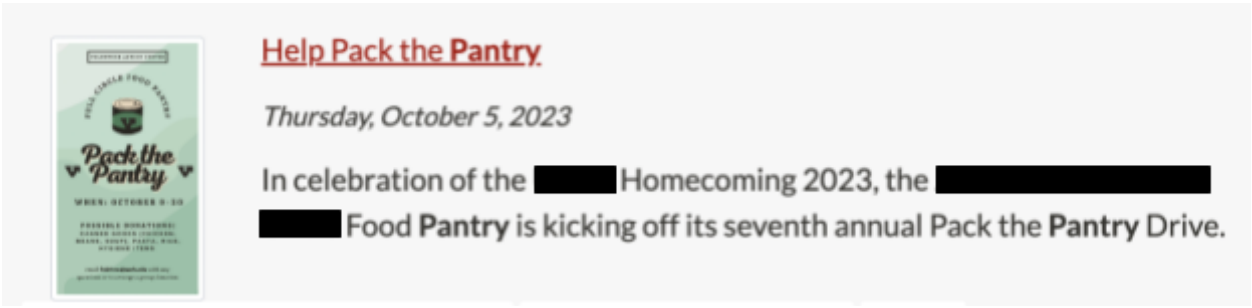
3. Central University advertises open volunteer slots for faculty and staff during finals week.
   Associated Codes: Fundraising, Volunteering, Staff/Faculty Support

Spring Staff Week at [redacted] Food Pantry

Monday, April 15, 2024

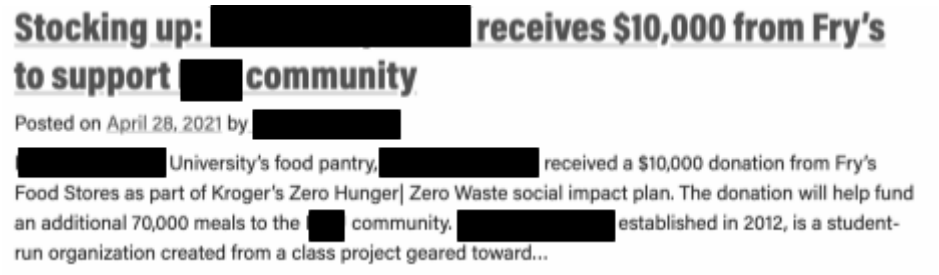
[redacted] Food **Pantry** is looking for extra help from staff and faculty during the week of May 6, when student volunteers will be studying for finals. Fill orders, greet clients and help out the food **pantry**.

4. Central University adversities a Homecoming food drive benefiting the Campus Pantry.
   Associated Codes: Fundraising, Staff/Faculty Support

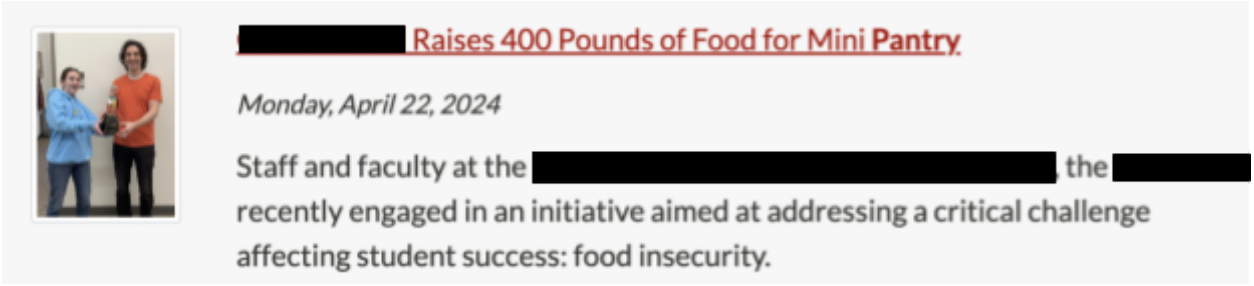


Successful Fundraising Initiatives

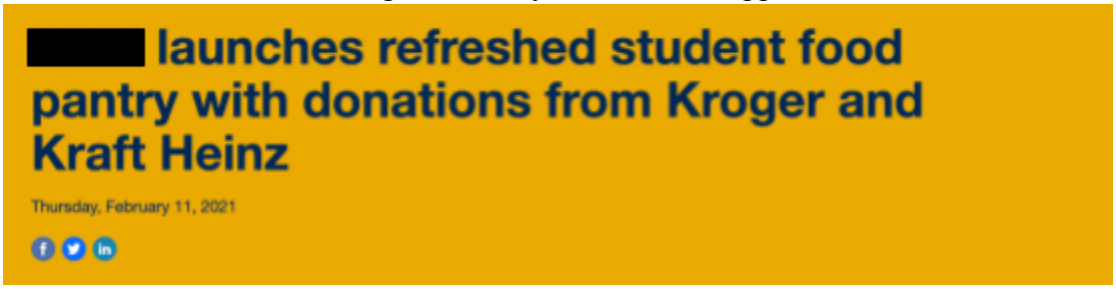
5. Southwestern University publicly shares a large gift given to the Campus Pantry.
   Associated Codes: Fundraising, University Foundation Support



6. Central University highlights a recent food drive that was hosted by staff and faculty.
   Associated Codes: Fundraising, University Foundation Support

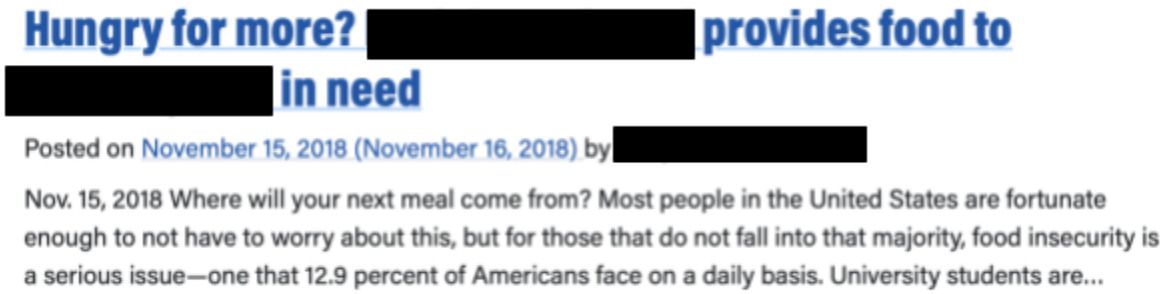


7. Mountain View University advertises a large in-kind gift from Kroger and Kraft Heinz.
   Associated Codes: Fundraising, University Foundation Support



Advertising Open Hours and the Services

1. Southwestern University advertises the Campus Pantry.
   Associated Codes: Individual programs had the autonomy to manage communications, Lack of knowledge of resources, Student well-being



Hungry for more? [redacted] provides food to [redacted] in need

Posted on November 15, 2018 (November 16, 2018) by [redacted]

Nov. 15, 2018 Where will your next meal come from? Most people in the United States are fortunate enough to not have to worry about this, but for those that do not fall into that majority, food insecurity is a serious issue—one that 12.9 percent of Americans face on a daily basis. University students are...

2. Mountain View University advertises the expansion of their Campus Pantry.
   Associated Codes: Lack of knowledge of resources, Student well-being, Reactive responses, short-term support

[redacted] works to address food insecurity among students with expansion of 'essential' pantry services

Monday, February 26, 2024

References

Adeoye‐Olatunde, O. A., & Olenik, N. L. (2021). Research and scholarly methods: Semi‐structured interviews. *Journal of the American College of Clinical Pharmacy*, *4*(10), 1358–1367.

Alaimo, K., Olsen, C.M. & Frongillo, E.A. (2001). Food insufficiency and American school-aged children's cognitive, academic, and psychosocial development. *Pediatrics,* 108, 44–53.

Allen, R. & Wiles, J. (2016). A rose by any other name: participants choosing research pseudonyms. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 13*(2), 149–165. doi: 10.1080/14780887.2015.1133746

Allport, G. W. (1937). *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*. New York, NY: Henry Holt.

Anderson, C. (2010). Presenting and evaluating qualitative research. *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education*, *74*(8).

Arday, J. (2018). Understanding Race and Educational Leadership in Higher Education: Exploring the Black and Ethnic Minority (BME) Experience. *Management in Education*, *32*(4), 192–200. https://doi.org/10.1177/0892020618791002

Bailey, Z., Krieger, N., Agenor, M., Graves, J., Linos, N., & Bassett, M. (2017). Structural racism and health inequities in the USA: evidence and interventions. *Lancet. 2017*(389), 1453–63.

Baker-Smith, C., Coca, V., Goldrick-Rab., S., Looker, E., Richardson, B., & Williams, T. (2020). #RealCollege 2020: Five Years of Evidence on Campus Basic Needs Insecurity. Retrieved from https://d1y8sb8igg2f8e.cloudfront.net/2019_RealCollege_Survey_Report.pdf

Baker, T. L., & Velez, W. (1996). Access to and opportunity in postsecondary education in the United States: A review. *Sociology of Education*, 82–101.

Barone, Thomas. (1992) Beyond theory and method: A case of critical storytelling. *Theory Into Practice*, *31*(2), 142–146, doi:10.1080/00405849209543535

Bartfeld, J., & Dunifon, R. (2006) State-level predictors of food insecurity among households with children. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management. 2006*(25), 921–42.

Bastedo, M. N., & Jaquette, O. (2011). Running in place: Low-income students and the dynamics of higher education stratification. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *33*(3), 318–339.

Baugus, K. E. (2020). Food insecurity, inadequate childcare, & transportation disadvantage: student retention and persistence of community college students. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, *44*(8), 608–622.

Baum, S., & Ma, J. (2008). Trends in college pricing. Washington, DC: College Board.

Baum, S., & Steele, P. (2018). Graduate and professional school debt: how much students borrow. *AccessLex Institute Research*, *18*(2).

Bickel, G. W., Nord, M., Price, C., Hamilton, W., & Cook, J. (2002). Guide to Measuring Household Food Insecurity in the United States. *United States Department of Agriculture.* Retrieved from https://fns-prod.azureedge.net/sites/default/files/FSGuide.pdf

Birt, L., Scott, S., Cavers, D., Campbell, C., & Walter, F. (2016). Member checking: a tool to enhance trustworthiness or merely a nod to validation? *Qualitative health research*, *26*(13), 1802–1811.

Bobo, L., & Kluegel, J. R. (1993). Opposition to race-targeting: self-interest, stratification ideology, or racial attitudes?. *American Sociological Review*, 443–464.

Bolman, L. & Deal, T. (2017). Organization as Theater. *Reframing Organizations: Artistry, Choice and Leadership, 6th Edition.* https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119281856.ch14

Bourke, B. (2014). Positionality: Reflecting on the research process. *The qualitative report*, *19*(33), 1–9.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Supporting a grounded theory with an audit trail: An illustration. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *12*(4), 305–316.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). *Thematic analysis. American Psychological Association.*

Broton, K. & Goldrick-Rab, S. (2016). The Dark Side of College (Un)Affordability: Food and Housing Insecurity in Higher Education. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning, 48* (1), 16–25. doi: 10.1080/00091383.2016.1121081

Bruening, M., Brennhofer, S., Van Woerden, I., Todd, M., & Laska, M. (2016). Factors Related to the High Rates of Food Insecurity among Diverse, Urban College Freshmen. *Journal of the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics*, *116*(9), 1450–1457. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jand.2016.04.004

Cady, C. (2014). Food Insecurity as a Student Issue. *Journal of College and Character. 15(*10), 265–270. Retrieved from doi: 10.1515/jcc-2014-0031

Cady, Clare. (2016). Starving for Knowledge: Why Campuses Need to Address Student Food Insecurity. *About Campus, May-June 2016.* doi: 10.1002/abc.21238

Chaparro, M. P., Zaghloul, S. S., Holck, P., & Dobbs, J. (2009). Food insecurity prevalence among college students at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. *Public Health Nutrition*, *12*(11), 2097–2103.

Chang, M. J. (2002). Racial dynamics on campus: What student organizations can tell us. *About Campus*, *March*, 2–8.

Cho, J. Y., Wilkie Tomasik, I., Yang, H., & Kizilcec, R. F. (2021). Student perceptions of social support in the transition to emergency remote instruction. In *Proceedings of the Eighth ACM Conference on Learning@ Scale*, *June*. 279–282.

Clark, B. R. (1963). The "Cooling-Out" Function in Higher Education.

Cohen, M. D., & March, J. G. (1974). Leadership and ambiguity: The American college president. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Cole, S., & Barber, E. (2003). Increasing faculty diversity: The occupational choices of high-achieving minority students. *Harvard University Press.*

Coleman-Jensen, A., Gregory, C., & Singh, A. (2013). Household food security in the United States in 2013. *Washington (DC): Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service.* Retrieved from: http:// www.ers.usda.gov/media/1565415/ err173.pdf

Coleman-Jensen, A., Rabbitt, M., Gregory, C., & Singh, A. (2016). Household Food Security in the United States in 2015. *U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service.* Washington, DC.

Coleman-Jensen, A., Nord, M., Andrews, M., & Carlson, S. (2012b). Household food security in the United States in 2011. *U.S. Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service.* Washington, DC.

Coleman-Jensen, A., Rabbitt, M.P., Gregory, C.A., & Singh, A. (2020). Household food insecurity in the United States in 2019. *U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service.* Washington, DC.

College and University Food Bank Alliance. (2019). *Our Members.* Retrieved from https://cufba.org/about-us/

Collier, D., Fitzpatrick, D., & Nichols, A. (2021). Experimental evidence on which academic outcomes nudging can shift for first-year college students from high-FRL schools.

Conner, T. S., Tennen, H., Fleeson, W., & Barrett, L. F. (2009). Experience sampling methods: A modern idiographic approach to personality research. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *3*(3), 292–313.

Dahlin, M., Joneborg, N., & Runeson, B. (2005). Stress and depression among medical students: a cross-sectional study. *Med Education, 39,* 594–604.

Daugherty, J., Birnbaum, M., and Clark, A. (2019). "Having Enough": Students' Understanding of Food Insecurity and Campus Pantry Use. *Journal of Poverty, 23(*7), 600–620. doi: 10.1080/10875549.2019.1652721

Dhillon, J., Diaz Rios, L. K., Aldaz, K. J., De La Cruz, N., Vu, E., Asad Asghar, S., ... & Ortiz, R. M. (2019). We don't have a lot of healthy options: Food environment perceptions of first-year, minority college students attending a food desert campus. *Nutrients*, *11*(4), 816.

Eisenberg, D., Gollust, S. E., Golberstein, E., & Hefner, J. L. (2007). Prevalence and correlates of depression, anxiety, and suicidality among university students. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *77*(4), 534–542.

Ellison, B., Bruening, M., Hruschka, D., Nikolaus, C., Van Woerden, I., Rabbit, M., & Nickols-Richardson, M. (2021). Viewpoint: Food insecurity among college students: A case for consistent and comparable measurement. *Food Policy.* https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2021.102031

End hunger in america programs and models that can do the job. End Hunger in America. (n.d.). https://www.endhungerinamerica.org/getting-started/client-choice-food-pantries/

Farahbakhsh, J., Ball, G. D., Farmer, A. P., Maximova, K., Nanbazaza, M., Willows, N. D. (2015). How Do Student Clients of a University-Based Food Bank Cope with Food Insecurity? *Canadian Journal of Dietetic Practice and Research, 76*(4), 200–203. doi: 10.3148/cjdpr-2015-020

Farahbakhsh, J., Hanbazaza, M., Ball GD, et al. (2016). Food insecure student clients of a university-based food bank have compromised health, dietary intake and academic quality. *Nutr Diet. 2016.* http://dx.doi. org/10.1111/1747-0080.12307.24.

Feeding America (2021). Facts About Hunger in America. *Feeding America.* Retrieved from https://www.feedingamerica.org/hunger-in-america

Fike, D.S. (2008). Predictors of First-Year Student Retention in the Community College. *Community College Review.* Doi: 10.1177/0091552108320222

Flick, U. (2004). Triangulation in qualitative research. *A companion to qualitative research*, *3*, 178–183.

Freudenberg, N., Manzo, L., Jones, H., Kwan, A., Tsui, E., & Gagnon, M. (2011). Food Insecurity at CUNY: Results from a survey of CUNY Undergraduate Students. Retrieved from http://www.gc.cuny.edu/CUNY_GC/media/CUNY-Graduate-Center/PDF/Centers/Center%20for%20Human%20Environments/cunyfoodinsecurity.pdf

Gaines, A., Robb, A., Knol, L., & Sickler, S. (2014). Examining the role of financial factors, resources and skills in predicting food security status among college students. *International Journal of Consumer Studies, (38)*4, 374–384.

Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research, 6*(3), 167–91. https://doi. org/10.1177/002234336900600301

GAO. (2018). Food Insecurity: Better Information Could Help Eligible College Students Access Federal Food Assistance Benefits. *Government Accountability Office.* Retrieved from https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-19-95

Garcia, S. (2018). Gaps in college spending shortchange students of color. *Center for American Progress.*

Gelo, O., Braakmann, D., & Benetka, G. (2008). Quantitative and qualitative research: Beyond the debate. *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, *42*, 266–290.

Gerald, D. & Haycock, K. (2006). Engines of Inequity: Diminishing Equity in the Nation's Premier Public Universities. *The Education Trust.*

Ghosh-Dastidar, B., Cohen, D., Hunter, G., Zenk, S. N., Huang, C., Beckman, R., & Dubowitz, T. (2014). Distance to store, food prices, and obesity in urban food deserts. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, *47*(5), 587–595.

Gilens, M. (1995). Racial attitudes and opposition to welfare. *The Journal of Politics*, *57*(4), 994–1014.

Giddens, A. (1976). Classical social theory and the origins of modern sociology. *American Journal of Sociology, 81*(4), 703–729.

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure, and contradiction in social analysis.* University of California Pres*s, 241*

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration, Berkeley and Los Angeles.* University of California Press.

Goffman, E. (2009). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Simon and Schuster.

Goldrick-Rab, S. (2018). Too Hungry to Stay in School. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://link.galegroup.com.ezproxy1.library.arizona.edu/apps/doc/A523028704/AONE?u=uarizona_main&sid=AONE&xid=7b09b0a4

Goldrick-Rab, S. (2020). Food Insecurity on Campus: Action and Intervention.

Goldrick-Rab, S., Broton, K., & Eisenberg, D. (2015). *Hungry to learn: Addressing food and housing insecurity among undergraduates.* Wisconsin HOPE Lab. Retrieved from https://hope4college.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Wisconsin_HOPE_Lab_Hungry_To_Learn.pdf

Goldrick-Rab, S., Cady, C., & Coca, V. (2018). Campus Food Pantries: Insights from a National Survey. *The Hope Center.* Retrieved from https://hope4college.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/2018-CUFBA-Report-web-1.pdf

Gundersen, C. (2021). Are college students more likely to be food insecure than nonstudents of similar ages? *Applied Economic Perspectives and Policy*, *43*(4), 1476–1486.

Gunderson, C. & Seligman, H. (2017). Food Insecurity and Health Outcomes. *The Economists' Voice.* doi: 10.1515/ev-2017-0004

Gunderson, C. & Ziliak, J. (2015). Food Insecurity and Health Outcomes. *Health Affairs*, *34*(11). doi: 10.1377/hlthaff.2015.0645

Gustafsson, J. (2017). Single case studies vs. multiple case studies: A comparative study.

Hacker, J. S. (2006). The great risk shift: The assault on American jobs, families, health care, and retirement and how you can fight back.

Hagedorn, R. L., & Olfert, M. D. (2018). Food Insecurity and Behavioral Characteristics for Academic Success in Young Adults Attending an Appalachian University. *Nutrients, 10*(3), 361. https://doi.org/10.3390/nu10030361

Hanbazaza, M., Ball, G. D., Farmer, A. P., Maximova, K., Farahbakhsh, J., & Willows, N.D. (2017). A Comparison of Characteristics and Food Insecurity Coping strategies between International and Domestic Postsecondary Students Using a Food Bank Located on a University Campus. *Canadian Journal of Dietetic Practice and Research, 78*(4) 201–211. Doi: 10.2148/cjdpr-2017-012

Hartley, M., & Morphew, C. C. (2008). What's being sold and to what end? A content analysis of college viewbooks. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *79*(6), 671–691.

Hayes, B. K., Heit, E., & Swendsen, H. (2010). Inductive reasoning. *Wiley interdisciplinary reviews: Cognitive science*, *1*(2), 278–292.

Henry, L. (2017). Understanding food insecurity among college students: Experience, motivation, and local solutions. *Annals of Anthropological Practice*, *41*(1), 6–19.

Holsti, O. R. (1969). *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Honig, M. I. (2004). The new middle management: Intermediary organizations in education policy implementation. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *26*(1), 65–87.

Hunt, L. (2007). *Inventing human rights: A history*. W.W. Norton & Company.

Jyoti, D. F., Frongillo, E. A., & Jones, S. J. (2005). Food insecurity affects school children's academic performance, weight gain, and social skills. *The Journal of nutrition*, *135*(12), 2831–2839. https://doi.org/10.1093/jn/135.12.2831

Keeling, R. P. (2004). *Learning Reconsidered: A Campus-Wide Focus on the Student Experience.* Washington, D.C.: National Association of Student Personnel Administrators.

Keeling, R. P., Underhile, R., & Wall, A. F. (2007). Horizontal and vertical structures: The dynamics of organization in higher education. *Liberal Education*, *93*(4), 22–31.

King, J., (2006). Working their way through college: Student employment and its impact on the college experience. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

Kluegel, J. R. (1990). Trends in Whites' explanations of the Black-White gap in socioeconomic status, 1977–1989. *American Sociological Review*, 512–525.

Koch, T. (1994). Establishing rigor in qualitative research: The decision trail. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *19*, 976–986.

Kochhar, R., & Fry, R. (2014). Wealth inequality has widened along racial, ethnic lines since the end of the Great Recession. *Pew Research Center. 2014*(12), 1–15.

Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (Second ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Kuh, G. D. 1996. Guiding principles of creating seamless learning environments for undergraduates. *Journal of College Student Development*, *37*(2), 135–48.

Kuh, G. D., Kinzie, J., Cruce, T., Shoup, R., & Gonyea, R. M. (2007). *Connecting the dots: Multi-faceted analyses of the relationships between student engagement results from the NSSE, and the institutional practices and conditions that foster student success*. Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research.

Larson, N.I., Perry, C.L., Story, M. & Sztainer, D. (2006). Food preparation by young adults is associated with better diet quality. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, *106*, 2001–2007.

Landry, C. C. (2002). Retention of women and people of color: Unique challenges and institutional responses. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory & Practice*, *4*(1), 1–13.

Lane, S. D., Keefe, R. H., Rubinstein, R., Levandowski, B. A., Webster, N., Cibula, D. A., ... & Brill, J. (2008). Structural violence, urban retail food markets, and low birth weight. *Health & place*, *14*(3), 415–423.

Loftin, J. (2013). Getting Help with Needed: Food insecurity among college students and the impact of food pantry availability. Retrieved from University of Central Florida STARS website http://www.stars.library.ucf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2425&context=honorstheses 1990–2015

Ma, J., & Baum, S. (2016). Trends in community colleges: Enrollment, prices, student debt, and completion. *College Board Research Brief*, *4*, 1–23.

Ma, J., Baum, S., Pender, M., & Libassi, C.J. (2020), Trends in College Pricing 2020. College Board.

Mars, M. M., Slaughter, S., & Rhoades, G. (2008). The state-sponsored student entrepreneur. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *79*(6), 638–670.

Martinez, S., Frongillo, E., Leung, C., & Ritchie, L. (2020). No food for thought: Food insecurity is related to poor mental health and lower academic performance among students in California's public university system. *Journal of Health Psychology, 25*(12), 1930–1939. doi:10.1177/1359105318783028

Mass, K. (2016). Lazy rivers and learning commons: Observations on what really matters during the initial college visit. *Planning for Higher Education, 44*(4), 52–57. Retrieved from https://ezproxy.library.arizona.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/lazy-rivers-learning-commons-observations-on-what/docview/1838982156/se-2

Metcalfe, A. S. (2010). Revisiting academic capitalism in Canada: No longer the exception. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *81*(4), 489–514.

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook. *SAGE*, *3*.

Moffat, T., Mohammed, C., & Newbold, B. (2017). Cultural Dimensions of Food Insecurity Among Immigrants and Refugees. *Human Organization*, *76*(1), 15–25. doi: 0018-7259/17/010015-13S1.80/1

Motulsky, S. L. (2021). Is member checking the gold standard of quality in qualitative research? *Qualitative Psychology*, *8*(3), 389.

Naderifar, M., Goli, H., & Ghaljaie, F. (2017). Snowball Sampling: A Purposeful Method of Sampling in Qualitative Research. *Strides in Development of Medical Education*, *14*(3). doi: 10.5812/sdme.67670

Naylor R., & Mifsud N. (2020). Towards a structural inequality framework for student retention and success. *Higher Education Research & Development. 39*(2), 259–272.

Nazmi, A., Martinez, S., Byrd, A., Robinson, D., Bianco, S., Maguire, J., ... & Ritchie, L. (2018). A systematic review of food insecurity among US students in higher education. *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition*, *14*(5), 725–740.

Nikolaus, C., An, R., Ellison, B., & Nickols-Richardson, S. (2019). Food Insecurity among College Students in the United States: A Scoping Review. Adv Nutr. 2020 Mar 1;11(2): 327–348. doi: 10.1093/advances/nmz111

Odoms-Young, A., Marino, B. (2018). Examining the Impact of Structural Racism on Food Insecurity: Implications for Addressing Racial/Ethnic Disparities. *Family & Community Health, 41. doi:10.1097/FCH.0000000000000183*

Oliverez, P. M., & Tierney, W. G. (2005). Show Us the Money: Low-Income Students, Families, and Financial Aid. *Center for Higher Education Policy Analysis, University of Southern California*.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Teddlie, C. (2003). A framework for analyzing data in mixed methods research. *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research*, *2*(1), 397–430.

Orozco, V. & Cauthen, N. (2009). Work Less, Study More & Succeed. *Demos: Post Secondary Success.* Retrieved from http://www.careerladdersproject.org/docs/studymore_web.pdf

Pain, H. (2012). A literature review to evaluate the choice and use of visual methods. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *11*(4), 303–319.

Pardo, A. Food Insecurity Among Adjunct Professors at UNC Charlotte.

Parsons, T. (1937). The structure of. *Social Action*, *491*.

Patton-López, M. M., López-Cevallos, D. F., Cancel-Tirado, D. I., & Vazquez, L. (2014). Prevalence and correlates of food insecurity among students attending a midsize rural university in Oregon. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior*, *46*(3), 209–214.

Peluso, D. L., Carleton, R. N., & Asmundson, G. J. (2011). Depression symptoms in Canadian psychology graduate students: Do research productivity, funding, and the academic advisory relationship play a role?. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, *43*(2), 119.

Peterson, N. D., & Freidus, A. (2023). University Student Food Insecurity as a Form of Structural Violence. *Human Organization*, *82*(2), 182–194.

Pike, G. R., Kuh, G. D., & Massa-McKinley, R. (2008). First year student's employment, engagement, and academic achievement: Untangling the relationships between work and grades. *NASPA Journal*, *5*(4), 560–582.

Pinto, C. (2021, August 22). *Equity, not equality, should be the goal of college admissions (opinion)*. Inside Higher Ed | Higher Education News, Events and Jobs. https://www.insidehighered.com/admissions/views/2021/08/23/equity-not-equality-should-be-goal-college-admissions-opinion

Price, D. V., & Tovar, E. (2014). Student engagement and institutional graduation rates: Identifying high-impact educational practices for community colleges. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, *38*(9), 766–782.

Rhoades, G. (1987). Higher education in a consumer society. *The Journal of Higher Education, 58*(1), 1–24.

Rhoades, G. & Slaughter, S. (1997). Academic capitalism, managed professionals, and supply-side higher education. *Social Text*, (51), 9–38.

Rosinger, K. O., Sarita Ford, K., & Choi, J. (2021). The role of selective college admissions criteria in interrupting or reproducing racial and economic inequities. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *92*(1), 31–55.

Rylko-Bauer, B., & Farmer, P. (2016). Structural violence, poverty, and social suffering. *The Oxford handbook of the social science of poverty*, 47d74.

Sack, A. L. (2010). *Counterfeit amateurs: An athlete's journey through the sixties to the age of academic capitalism*. Penn State Press.

Saichaie, K., & Morphew, C. C. (2014). What college and university websites reveal about the purposes of higher education. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *85*(4), 499d530.

Salazar, K. G. (2019). The Wealth and Color of Off-Campus Recruiting by Public Research Universities.

Salazar, K. G., Jaquette, O., & Han, C. (2021). Coming soon to a neighborhood near you? Off-campus recruiting by public research universities. *American Educational Research Journal*, *58*(6), 1270d1314.

Schudde, L., & Goldrick-Rab, S. (2015). On second chances and stratification: How sociologists think about community colleges. *Community College Review*, *43*(1), 27d45.

Sewell, W. (1992). A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency and Transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, *98*(1), 1d29. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/2781191

Silva, M., Kleinert, W., Sheppard, V., Cantrell, V., Freeman-Coppadge, D., Tsoy, E., Roberts, T., & Pearrow, M. (2017). The Relationship Between Food Security, Housing Stability, and School Performance Among College Students in an Urban University. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory & Practice, 19*(3), 284d299. doi: 10.1177/1521025115621918

Silverman, D. (2004). Research and social theory. *Researching Society and Culture*, *2*, 47d58.

Singer, M., & Erickson, P. I. (2015). *A companion to medical anthropology*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Slaughter, S., & Leslie, L. L. (1997). Academic capitalism: Politics, policies, and the entrepreneurial university.

Slaughter, S., & Leslie, L. (2001). Expanding and elaborating the concept of academic capitalism. *Organization.*154d161.

Slaughter, S. & Rhoades, G. (2000). The Neo-liberal University. *New Labor Forum,* April 23–42.

Slaughter, S., & Rhoades, G. (2004). *Academic capitalism and the new economy: Markets, state, and higher education*. JHU press.

Soldavini, J., Andrew, H., & Berner, M. (2022). Campus-Based Food Insecurity: The Case of International Students at a Southeastern University. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice. 59*(3), 338d351. doi:10.1080/19496591.2021.1997755

Student Eligibility for Nutrition Assistance. (2022). *Arizona Department of Economic Security.*

Taylor, Z. W., & Bicak, I. (2020). Buying search, buying students: how elite US institutions employ paid search to practice academic capitalism online. *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education*, *30*(2), 271d296.

The Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education (n.d.) *Classification descriptions.* Retrieved from: https://carnegieclassifications.acenet.edu/carnegie-classification/classification-methodology/basic-classification/

Thiem, K. C., & Dasgupta, N. (2022). From pre-college to career: Barriers facing historically marginalized students and evidence‐based solutions. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, *16*(1), 212d251.

The Hope Center. (2021). The Hope Center Survey 2021: Basic Needs Insecurity During the Ongoing Pandemic. March 31, 2021. Retrieved from https://hope.temple.edu/sites/hope/files/media/document/HopeSurveyReport2021.pdf

The Hope Center: Mazon: A Jewish Response to Hunger: (2019). Beyond the Food Pantry: Supporting Students with Access to SNAP. Retrieved from https://cufba.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/HopeCenterBrief_1.pdf

Townley, G., Stewart, K., Greene, J., & Pettini, M. (2020). Housing and food insecurity at Portland State University.

Trends in College Pricing. (2018). *College Board.* Retrieved from https://research.collegeboard.org/pdf/trends-college-pricing-2018-full-report.pdf

United States Department of Agriculture. (2012). US Adult Food Security Survey Module: Three-Stage Design, With Screeners. *Economic Research Service, USDA.*

United States Department of Agriculture. (2022). Definitions of Food Security. *Economic Research Service, USDA.*

United States Department of Agriculture-Food and Nutrition Service (USDA-FNS). (2020). Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP): Students. Retrieved from https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/students.

University of California Legislative Report. (2022). *Basic Needs, 2021d22, Legislative Report. Office of the President. March 2022.* Retrieved from https://www.ucop.edu/operating-budget/_files/legreports/2021-22/uc_basic_needs_legrpt_21-22.pdf

University of California. (2022). Treatment of Direct Student Services and Basic Needs Supports in Financial Aid. *UCOP Graduate, Undergraduate and Equity Affairs-Student Financial Support.* Retrieved from https://www.ucop.edu/enrollment-services//policies/universitywide-program-policies-and-guidelines/treatment-of-basic-needs-support-in-financial-aid-november-2019.pdf#:~:text=University%20of%20California%E2%80%99s%20budget%20includes%20%2418.5%20million%20in,students%2C%20and%20carceral%20system%20-%20impacted%20student%20services.

University of California. (n.d.) Basic Needs Initiative. *The Regents of the University of California System.* Retrieved from https://basicneeds.ucop.edu/about/history.html

Van Woerden, I., Hruschka, D., & Bruening, M. (2019). Food insecurity negatively impacts academic performance. *Journal of Public Affairs*, *19*(3), e1864.

Williams, D., & Collins, C. (2001). Racial residential segregation: A fundamental cause of racial disparities in health. *Public health reports. 116*, 404–16.

Williams, D., & Mohammed, S.A. (2009). Discrimination and racial disparities in health: evidence and needed research. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *32,* 20–47.

Windelband, W. (1998). History and natural science. *Theory & Psychology*, *8*(1), 5d22.

White, M. C. (2015). School meal plans are convenient, costly and sometimes required. *NBCNews.com.* https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/freshman-year/school-meal-plans-convenient-costly-sometimes-required-n415676

Whittle, H. J., Palar, K., Hufstedler, L. L. Seligman, H. K., Frongillo, E. A. & Weiser., S. D. (2015). Food insecurity, chronic illness, and gentrification in the San Francisco Bay area: An example of structural violence in United States public policy. *Social Science & Medicine, 143*(October), 154d161. https://doi.org/10.1016/j. socscimed.2015.08.027

Wright, K., Lucero, J., Ferguson, J., Granner, M., Devereau, P., Pearson, J. & Crosbie, E. (2021). The Impact That Cultural Food Security Has on Identity and Well-Being in the Second Generation U.S. American Minority College Students. *Food Security. 13*, 701d715. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12571-020-01140-w

Wyatt, G. (1992). Skipping Class: An Analysis of Absenteeism among First-Year College Students. *Teaching Sociology*, *20*(3). 201d207. Retrieved from https://www.jstor/org/stable/1319061

Wyatt, T. & Oswalt, S. B. (2013) Comparing mental health issues among undergraduate and graduate students. *Am J Health Educ*, *44*, 96–107.

21st Century Commission on the Future of Community colleges. (2012). Reclaiming the American Dream: Community Colleges and the Nation's Future. *American Association of Community Colleges.* Retrieved from https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED535906.pdf