



AgEcon SEARCH

RESEARCH IN AGRICULTURAL & APPLIED ECONOMICS

The World's Largest Open Access Agricultural & Applied Economics Digital Library

This document is discoverable and free to researchers across the globe due to the work of AgEcon Search.

Help ensure our sustainability.

Give to AgEcon Search

AgEcon Search

<http://ageconsearch.umn.edu>

aesearch@umn.edu

*Papers downloaded from **AgEcon Search** may be used for non-commercial purposes and personal study only. No other use, including posting to another Internet site, is permitted without permission from the copyright owner (not AgEcon Search), or as allowed under the provisions of Fair Use, U.S. Copyright Act, Title 17 U.S.C.*

No endorsement of AgEcon Search or its fundraising activities by the author(s) of the following work or their employer(s) is intended or implied.

Special Section:
 Justice and Equity Approaches to College and University Student Food (In)Security

SPECIAL SECTION SPONSORED BY



INFAS

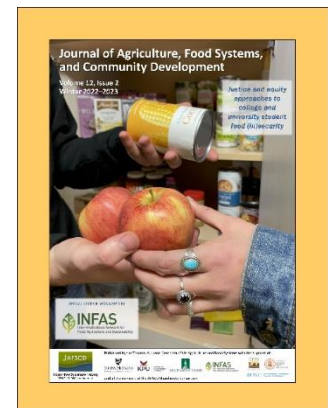
Inter-institutional Network for
 Food, Agriculture, and Sustainability

Justice and equity approaches to college and university student food (in)security: Introduction to the special section

Rachael Budowle ^{a *}
 Virginia Tech

Christine M. Porter ^b
 University of Wyoming

Caitlin McLennan ^c
 Utah State University



Submitted February 17, 2023 / Published online March 16, 2023

Citation: Budowle, R., Porter, C. M., & McLennan, C. (2023). Justice and equity approaches to college and university student food (in)security: Introduction to the special section. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 12(2), 3–9. <https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2023.122.013>

Copyright © 2023 by the Authors. Published by the Lyson Center for Civic Agriculture and Food Systems. Open access under CC-BY license.

According to myriad studies, college and university student food insecurity is a pervasive and systemic problem. Most show that nearly half of college and university students experience food insecurity (Breuning et al., 2017; Broton, 2020; Nazmi, 2019). As defined by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), food insecurity is the “limited or uncertain availability of

nutritionally adequate and safe foods, or limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways” (USDA Economic Research Service, 2022, para. 3). The experience of food insecurity, however, manifests in various ways for students, including the actuality of being hungry, not having enough food, consuming poor-quality food, rationing, embarrassment and stigma, and consistent worry and fear about accessing their next meal (Henry, 2020).

Beyond the moral imperative that students as human beings should have a right to food—which

^{a *} Corresponding author: Rachael Budowle, Collegiate Assistant Professor, Honors College, Virginia Tech; 385 West Campus Drive; Blacksburg, VA 24061 USA; rbudowle@vt.edu

^b Christine M. Porter, Wyoming Excellence Chair and Professor of Community and Public Health, Division of Kinesiology and Health, University of Wyoming; Christine.Porter@uwyo.edu

^c Caitlin McLennan, MS Environmental Policy and Planning Candidate at Tufts University, and Sustainability Coordinator at Utah State University; caitlin.mclennan@usu.edu

Acknowledgments

The leadership and collaboration of numerous University of Wyoming Food Security Taskforce members, including staff, faculty, and administrators—but most notably, students—inspired this special section and continues to ensure that every Poke is nourished.

is what drives our and many efforts to investigate and address this problem (Broton, 2020)—students who experience food insecurity also experience interrelated wellbeing challenges that impede their ability to succeed and thrive in higher education and beyond. They are more likely to experience anxiety and depression, poorer physical health, low grades, attrition, and housing insecurity and homelessness than their food-secure peers (Dubick et al., 2016; Hattangadi et al., 2021; Maroto et al., 2015; Payne-Sturges et al., 2018; Silva et al., 2017). Moreover, research increasingly shows that historically marginalized and underrepresented populations of college and university students are inequitably at greater risk for experiencing food insecurity. Recent studies focus on whether students of color, first-generation students, students who are parents, international students, military-connected students, and LGBTQIA+ students disproportionately experience food insecurity (Goldrick-Rab et al., 2018; Henry, 2020; Savoie-Roskos et al., 2022; Schinkel et al., 2023; Wilcox et al., 2022). The COVID-19 pandemic has only exacerbated these challenges (Hagedorn et al., 2022).

Colleges and universities have responded by implementing strategies to address student food insecurity, many of which take the form of emergency or temporary support. Strategies include food pantries, meal swipe sharing, growing food on campus, recovering good food from events and dining centers, subsidized or at-cost grocery stores, and resources for accessing existing community and federal support (Anabel's Grocery, 2023; Cady, 2020; Crawford & Hindes, 2020; Duke-Benfield & Chu, 2020; Heffernan, 2018; Novak & Johnson, 2017; Oonorasak et al., 2022; U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2018). Student organizing has often played a key role in these strategies, both through individual campus-level and large-scale ef-

forts, such as Swipe Out Hunger and the National Student Campaign Against Hunger and Homelessness (Broton, 2020; Oonorasak et al., 2022; Sumekh, 2020).

The research exploring broader prevalence of student food insecurity, related outcomes, and ameliorating strategies within and across higher education institutions has surged in recent years (Broton & Cady, 2020; Hagedorn-Hatfield et al., 2022; Henry, 2020). During our own action research surrounding student food (in)security, however, we found that, while burgeoning in the literature, studies of the inequities described above and strategies to address them have received relatively less attention. Student-led strategies that would lend themselves to justice—those most affected by food insecurity having pivotal voice and agency over those strategies (Bradley & Herrera, 2015)—are similarly less explored. Other than studies and efforts focused on leveraging access to federal support programs for students, scholarship on non-emergency, systemic, and more radically transformative student food security strategies is, to our knowledge, nearly nonexistent.¹ Overall, student food (in)security has largely lacked the overt equity- and justice-based lenses more frequently applied to broader food security and systems scholarship and approaches (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015; Gotlieb & Joshi, 2011).

In this special section, we call for an explicit justice and equity approach to student food (in)security research and practice to better understand who is experiencing food insecurity and position those students' needs, priorities, and voices at the heart of strategies to address it. As the *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development's* inaugural special section sponsored by the Inter-institutional Network for Food, Agriculture and Sustainability (INFAS),² we drew inspiration di-

¹ The California State University Basic Needs Initiative and its engagement of students as stakeholders in research and action is a notable exception, as a recently documented systemwide effort striving toward more transformative, scalable, and sustainable change (Maguire & Crutchfield, 2020; Woods-Bevly & Sanders, 2020).

² Hosted by the University of California, Davis, but spanning institutions, INFAS “connects food system scholars, educators, and action-researcher activists across the United States...to catalyze frontier work in food systems research, higher education, extension, and institutional change that we can achieve much better together than by working alone; increase our capacity to help build U.S. food system resilience, sustainability, and equity; raise visibility of research-based insights into food system problems and solutions, including increasing racial equity; diversify who is doing food systems work in academia and in action-focused research, education and extension” (INFAS, 2023, para. 1).

rectly from both JAFSCD's and INFAS's equity agendas and statements. These acknowledge and aim to equitably transform practices in privileged and powerful higher education institutions and enhance academics' capacity for food system justice and equity research and action around race, class, and gender oppression. Perhaps nowhere is it more in our purview—our responsibility, even—as academics to do this work than at home at our own colleges and universities, where we can ally with students and collaborate with other partners to make equity and justice “non-negotiable” principles of student food security (INFAS, 2022, para. 1; Porter et al., 2019).

Beyond these commitments, our own shared experience with student food (in)security action, research, and teaching through the University of Wyoming (UW) Student Food Security Taskforce most deeply inspired this special section. Formed and led by students in 2019, the taskforce includes students, staff, faculty, and, later, administrators, who have collaborated to uncover and address food insecurity at UW amid little previous institutional support for students experiencing food insecurity. As faculty members, both Rachael and Christine (who serve on JAFSCD's editorial board and in INFAS) supported the initial formation of the taskforce and its ongoing work through their sustainability and food justice project-based, experiential courses and their work mentoring student research and leadership. Caitlin was a founding taskforce student co-leader. Her lived experience with poverty and food insecurity has infused a justice stance throughout her leadership and has been integral to our taskforce work and the spirit of this special section. Together with numerous other members, we maintain a commitment to dignified, open access food sharing for all students (and staff members) while also exploring which groups of students disproportionately experience food insecurity and how to more equitably support them. Key to our work is that since its start, it has been *led by students*, from the bottom up.

With these statements and experiences in mind, we sought empirical and practical contributions on a range of equity and justice topics:

- expanding the literature on underlying factors contributing to student food insecurity and which groups of students disproportionately experience it;
- approaches for addressing student food insecurity that are explicitly equity-based for and with historically marginalized and underrepresented student populations; and
- student-led and other approaches that contribute to justice (e.g., novel, radical, and systemic, seeking to move beyond emergency support; dignity-based, sharing, and stigma-reducing).

Together, the six peer-reviewed articles and three edited practice briefs or essays featured in this section—and others that may be published after its initial launch—answer nearly every aspect of our call³ to more explicitly center equity and justice in student food security in research and practice.

Several contributions add to the growing literature on which students disproportionately experience food insecurity according to demographic categories and identities. One study finds that food insecurity at the private Loyola University in Chicago surged during the COVID-19 pandemic and is significantly associated with socio-economic conditions, race and ethnicity, first-generation status, and sexual orientation (Rafferty et al., 2023). Another surveyed a representative sample of students at University of California, Davis to study the relationship between student food insecurity, resource use, and demographics. Findings show that transfer, first-generation, fourth-year, and Latino(a)/Chicano(a)/Hispanic students are more likely to experience food insecurity but do not uniformly access campus resources (Tanner et al., 2023). Both articles recommend targeted outreach and support strategies based on students' diverse

³ Only our request for contributions around community-university partnerships for addressing student food insecurity remained unanswered. We urge greater action and research in this area, as universities have an obligation to serve their own students and often have greater resources to do so than community partners—not to mention that such partnerships frequently present their own inequities around academic supremacy in research, teaching, and practice (Budowle et al., 2021; Porter & Wechsler, 2018).


identities and unique needs. Henry and student co-authors (2023) conducted an ethnographic inquiry into LGBTQIA+ students' experiences with food insecurity at the University of North Texas. Uncertain family support and stigma and discrimination around both food insecurity and their identities complicate their experiences of food insecurity and ability to access food relative to non-LGBTQIA+ students' experiences, requiring different and more inclusive support approaches.

Other pieces in this section provide insight into engaging students in identifying food security needs and implementing related strategies. Researchers at North Carolina State University engaged the campus community, including students, in participatory asset-mapping to identify and address underlying causes of food insecurity, including systemic inequalities, and center diverse voices for targeted approaches (Shisler et al., 2023). Brand (2023) describes engaging students through a course at the University of San Francisco in participatory action research as a justice-based methodology. Drawing on their experience and knowledge inspired students toward collective action and innovative approaches. Two practice briefs by DePorter et al. (2023) and Porter et al. (2023) detail concrete justice and equity strategies. The former describes a student-led Community Food Shed at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, which collects farm and grocery contributions in centralized refrigerators for stocking and distributing food to students, along with recommendations around barriers and strategies for doing so. In the latter brief, students in a project-based course in partnership with the UW Food Security Taskforce deliberately infused an equity approach into addressing student food insecurity. They formed a working group and held listening sessions with organizations and support units that serve LGBTQIA+, Native American, and international students who disproportionately experience food insecurity at UW to identify their priorities and targeted strategies and then share broader lessons learned.

In response to the novel and systems-level aspects of the section call, Evans & Roggio (2023) draw parallels between crises and inequities in the broader food system and the college campus in a

reflective essay. They suggest that by profoundly restructuring college spending and retention practices; nutrition, food, and health education; and waste reduction and food sharing strategies, college campuses can serve as living laboratories to directly address these issues and inform broader food policy changes. Finally, drawing on research at Western Washington University, Darby et al. (2023) sharply distinguish between the general experience of college student food insecurity and its inequitable intersection with particular identities amid the neoliberalization of higher education. They reflect on their experiences with food security efforts on their campus, delineating between food access, justice, and sovereignty approaches. Sovereignty approaches may help resolve the unsustainability and inadequacy of traditional food access approaches by building and amplifying communities of support to better serve students who disproportionately experience food insecurity in relation to their identities.

These pieces join a nascent body of scholarship on equity and justice approaches to student food insecurity across the range of topics we put forth. When advertising this open call, however, we were struck by how many submissions conflated student food insecurity, generally—which is undoubtedly important to recognize and, again, morally imperative to address—with justice and equity, specifically. We commend the authors who corresponded with us, both those whose work appears and even some whose work does not ultimately appear in the special section, for grappling with and/or honing a justice and equity focus in their papers. The fact that practitioners and experts in this field initially found that focus to be somewhat elusive further demonstrates to us the pressing need to name, measure, and tackle the inequities and injustices in student food insecurity that manifest around class, gender, race, sexual orientation, and other demographic categories and gaps in centering students' voices. We hope this section advances such a research agenda and coalesces a community of practice around equitable, just, systemic, and transformative approaches to understanding and addressing student food (in)security.



References

- Anabel's Grocery (2023). *About us*. Center for Transformative Action, Cornell University.
<https://www.anabelsgrocery.org/about-us>
- Breuning, M., Argo, K., Payne-Sturges, D., & Laska, M. N. (2017). The struggle is real: A systematic review of food insecurity on postsecondary education campuses. *Journal of the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics*, 117(11), 1767–1791.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jand.2017.05.022>
- Bradley, K., & Herrera, H. (2015). Decolonizing food justice: Naming, resisting, and researching colonizing forces in the movement. *Antipode*, 48(1), 97–114. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12165>
- Brand, R. (2023). Students as co-researchers: Using participatory action research to address college food insecurity. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 12(2), 47–62.
<https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2023.122.017>
- Broton, K. M. (2020). Food insecurity in higher education. In K. M. Broton & C. L. Cady (Eds.), *Food insecurity on campus: Action and intervention* (pp. 12–32), Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Budowle, R., Krszizaniek, E., & Taylor, C. (2021). Students as change agents for community–university sustainability transition partnerships. *Sustainability*, 13(11), Article 6036. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13116036>
- Cadieux, K. V., & Slocum, R. (2015). What does it mean to do food justice? *Journal of Political Ecology*, 22(1), 1–26.
<https://doi.org/10.2458/v22i1.21076>
- Cady, C. L. (2020). If not us, who? Building national capacity to address student food insecurity through CUFBA. In K. M. Broton & C. L. Cady (Eds.), *Food insecurity on campus: Action and intervention* (pp. 33–53), Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Crawford, S., & Hinds, N. (2020). The trampoline of public benefits: Using existing resources to fight food insecurity. In K. M. Broton & C. L. Cady (Eds.), *Food insecurity on campus: Action and intervention* (pp. 138–166). Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Darby, K. J., Hemmer, L., Holt, R., Kempton, T., del Rosario, M., Stubblefield, J., & Webster, G. (2023). From food access to food sovereignty: Striving to meet university student needs. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 12(2), 97–117. <https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2023.122.020>
- DePorter, H., Moss, S., Puc, G. A., Ayalasomayajula, K., & Goldman, I. L. (2023). Campus Food Shed: Student-led efforts at UW-Madison to support food-insecure peers. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 12(2), 25–35. <https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2023.122.015>
- Evans, J. R., & Roggio, A. M. (2023). The college campus as a living laboratory for meaningful food system transformation. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 12(2), 11–23.
<https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2023.122.014>
- Dubick, J., Matthews, B., & Cady, C. (2016). *Hunger on campus: The challenge of student food insecurity for college students*. College and University Food Bank Alliance, National Student Campaign Against Hunger and Homelessness, Student Government Resource Center, Student Public Interest Research Groups. http://studentsagainsthunger.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Hunger_On_Campus.pdf
- Duke-Benfield, A. E., & Chu, S. (2020). Addressing student hunger through policy change: Leveraging federal food benefits to support college completion. In K. M. Broton & C. L. Cady (Eds.), *Food insecurity on campus: Action and intervention* (pp. 240–264). Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Goldrick-Rab, S., Richardson, J., Schneider, J., Hernandez, A., & Cady, C. (2018). *Still hungry and homeless in college*. Hope Center for College, Community, and Justice, Temple University.
<https://github.com/resource/still-hungry-and-homeless-college>
- Hagedorn-Hatfield, R. L., Hood, L. B., & Hege A. (2022). A decade of college student hunger: What we know and where we need to go. *Frontiers in Public Health*, 10, Article 837724. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2022.837724>
- Hagedorn, R. L., Walker, A. E., Wattick, R. A., & Olfert, M. D. (2022). Newly food-insecure college students in Appalachia during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior*, 54(3), 202–210.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jneb.2021.08.010>

- Hattangadi, N., Vogel, E., Carroll, L. J., & Côté, P. (2021). Is food insecurity associated with psychological distress in undergraduate university students? A cross sectional study. *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition*, 16(1), 133–148. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19320248.2019.1658679>
- Heffernan, M. (2018, December 8). University of Arizona rooftop greenhouse helps feed students, staff in need. *Arizona Daily Star*. https://tucson.com/news/university-of-arizona-rooftop-greenhouse-helps-feed-students-staff-in/article_8c46c1a5-8ef2-5a21-b357-0f1c1286c69a.html
- Henry, L. (2020). *Experiences of hunger and food insecurity in college*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Henry, L., Ellis, D., Ellis, S., Fleck, M. J., Migdol, S., Rodriguez, N., Delgado, V., Esmonde, S., Islam, M. I., Kazaoka, K., Sun, W., & Tajallipour, P. (2023). Experiences of food insecurity among LGBTQIA+ college students in North Texas: Meaning, experiences, and recommendations for inclusive solutions. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 12(2), 119–134. <https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2023.122.021>
- Inter-institutional Network for Food, Agriculture, and Sustainability [INFAS]. (2022). *INFAS statement on equity in the food system*. Agricultural Sustainability Institute, University of California at Davis. <https://asi.ucdavis.edu/programs/infas/about/infas-statement-on-equity-in-the-food-system>
- Inter-institutional Network for Food, Agriculture and Sustainability [INFAS]. (2023). *Inter-institutional Network for Food, Agriculture, and Sustainability (INFAS)*. <https://asi.ucdavis.edu/programs/infas>
- Maguire, J. J., & Crutchfield, R. M. (2020). Research as a catalyst for positive systemic change. In K. M. Broton & C. L. Cady (Eds.), *Food insecurity on campus: Action and intervention* (pp. 191–221). Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Maroto, M. E., Snelling, A., & Linck, H. (2015). Food insecurity among community college students: Prevalence and association with grade point average. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 39(6), 515–526. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10668926.2013.850758>
- Nazmi, A., Martinez, S., Byrd, A., Robinson, D., Bianco, S., Maguire, J., Crutchfield, R. M., Condrón, K., & Ritchie, L. (2019). A systematic review of food insecurity among US students in higher education. *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition*, 14(5), 725–740. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19320248.2018.1484316>
- Novak, H., & Johnson, J. (2017). Students against hunger: An approach to food insecurity at a large public land grant university. *Journal of Student Affairs*, 26, 99–110. <https://sahe.colostate.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/10/2017/04/csu304611-SAHE-journal-2017-www.pdf>
- Oonorasak, K., Barr, M., Pennell, M., Hinton, J., Garner, J., Kerber, C., Ritter, C., Dixon, L., Rohde, C., & Stephenson, T. J. (2022). Evaluation of a sustainable student-led initiative on a college campus addressing food waste and food insecurity. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 11(4), 223–237. <https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2022.114.014>
- Payne-Sturges, D. C., Tjaden, A., Caldeira, K. M., Vincent, K. B., & Arria, A. M. (2018). Student hunger on campus: Food insecurity among college students and implications for academic institutions. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 32(2), 349–354. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0890117117719620>
- Porter, C. M., Grimm, K., & Budowle, R. (2023). Narrowing the equity gap in student food security: A student-led approach at the University of Wyoming. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 12(2), 37–45. <https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2023.122.016>
- Porter, C., Lunford, L., Williams, K., Pothukuchi, K., Farmer, J., Christian, A., & Hilchey, D. (2019). Equity agenda. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development* website, Thomas A. Lyson Center for Civic Agriculture and Food Systems. <https://www.foodsystemsjournal.org/index.php/fsj/equity-agenda>
- Porter, C. M., & Wechsler, A. (2018). Follow the money: Resource allocation and academic supremacy among community and university partners in Food Dignity. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 8(Suppl. 1), 63–82. <https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2018.08A.006>
- Rafferty, F., Schusler, T., & Valencia Mestre, M. C. (2023). College student food security during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 12(2), 79–96. <https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2023.122.019>

- Savoie-Roskos, M. R., Hood, L. B., Hagedorn-Hatfield, R. L., Landry, M. J., Patton-López, M. M., Richards, R., Vogelzang, J. L., Qamar, Z., OonNorasak, K., & Mann, G. (2023). Creating a culture that supports food security and health equity at higher education institutions. *Public Health Nutrition*, 26(3), 503–509. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1368980022002294>
- Schinkel, K. R., Budowle, R., Porter, C. M., Dai, B., Gifford, C., & Keith, J. F. (2023). Service, scholarship, and sacrifice: A qualitative analysis of food security barriers and strategies among military-connected students. *Journal of the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics*, 123(3), 454–465. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jand.2022.07.002>
- Shisler, R., Cordero Ocegüera, E., Hardison-Moody, A., & Bowen, S. (2023). Addressing and preventing food and housing insecurity among college students: An asset-based approach. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 12(2), 135–153. <https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2023.122.022>
- Silva, M. R., Kleinert, W. L., Sheppard, A. V., Cantrell, K. A., Freeman-Coppadge, D. J., 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), 284–299. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1521025115621918>
- Sumekh, R. (2020). Student action and nonprofit partnership: The Swipe Out Hunger story. In K. M. Broton & C. L. Cady (Eds.), *Food insecurity on campus: Action and intervention* (pp. 115–137), Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Tanner, Z. R., Loofbourrow, B. M., Chodur, G. M., Kemp, L., & Scherr, R. E. (2023). Food insecurity and utilization of campus food resources differ by demographic and academic group. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 12(2), 63–78. <https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2023.122.018>
- U.S. Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service [USDA ERS]. (2022). *Food security in the U.S.: Measurement*. <https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/food-nutrition-assistance/food-security-in-the-us/measurement>
- U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2018). *Food insecurity: Better information could help eligible college students access federal food assistance benefits* (GAO-19-95). <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-19-95>
- Wilcox, M., Baker, C., Burish, E., Arnold, R., Cherry, M., & Moss, T. (2022). Inequitable hunger: Scope, effects, and perceptions of college student food insecurity. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, 59(4), 385–400. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19496591.2021.1960851>
- Woods-Bevly, D., & Sanders, S. (2020). Transformational change for student success: The California State University Basic Needs Initiative. In K. M. Broton & C. L. Cady (Eds.), *Food insecurity on campus: Action and intervention* (pp. 167–190), Johns Hopkins University Press.