

FOOD INSECURITY ON TRENT'S PETERBOROUGH CAMPUS



A REPORT PREPARED BY THE MA IN SUSTAINABILITY STUDIES 2025 1ST YEAR COHORT, WITH SUPPORT FROM DRS. STEPHANIE RUTHERFORD AND ASAF ZOHAR

ABOUT THE PROJECT

This project emerged from a collective project-based learning exercise as part of the course work in SUST 5000Y 2024-2025. As a group, we undertook an appreciative inquiry process where we asked “What is Trent when its at its best”? We developed the following touchstones:

- Trent is a caring community that is rooted in respectful dialogue and authentic and personal relationships.
- Trent strives for strong connections to our campus stakeholders, to the Peterborough community, and to our host Indigenous Nations.
- Trent values engagement with each other and the building of safer spaces where peoples’ needs are being met.
- Trent is committed to action-based research to make change.

These principles guided the development our research process.



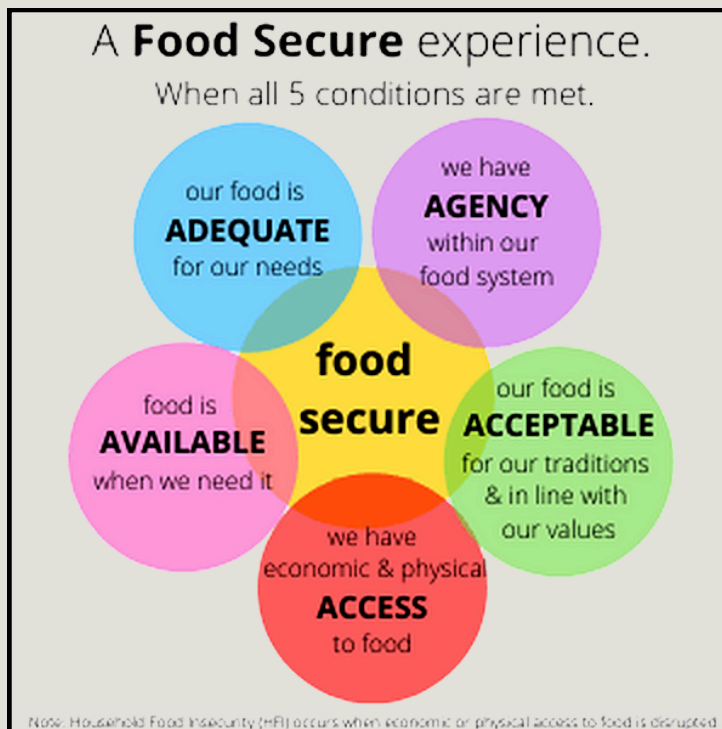
Figure source: Sharp, C., Dewar, B. & Barrie, K. (2016). “Forming new futures through appreciative inquiry.” [Forming new futures through appreciative inquiry](#).

DEFINING FOOD INSECURITY

The Government of Canada (2020) defines food insecurity as “the inability to acquire or consume an adequate diet quality or sufficient quantity of food in socially acceptable ways, or the uncertainty that one will be able to do so.”

There are three ways used to describe the experiences of food insecurity in the Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS):

- **Marginal food insecurity:** “At times during the previous year these households had indications of worry about running out of food and/or limited food selection due to a lack of money for food”
- **Moderate food insecurity:** “At times during the previous year these households had indications of compromise in quality and/or quantity of food consumed.”
- **Severe food insecurity:** “At times during the previous year these households had indications of reduced food intake and disrupted eating patterns.”



To be food secure involves five key dimensions:

Availability: That there is sufficient food for all people at all times.

Accessibility: That people have both the physical and economic resources they need to access food.

Adequacy: That people can access food which is nutritious and safe, produced in environmentally sustainable ways.

Acceptability: That people can access food which is culturally or religiously acceptable, produced and obtained in socially sustainable ways.

Agency: That there are processes and policies in place that enable food security and involve all stakeholders in their development.

Figure source: Food Matters Manitoba (n.d.).
“What is Food Security.” [What is Food Security?](#)

CAMPUS FOOD INSECURITY

Recent research has revealed concerning patterns of food insecurity among college students, prompting increased scholarly attention and institutional responses (Baker-Smith et al., 2020). While food insecurity affects approximately 12% of the general adult population, college students face significantly higher rates, with studies documenting **prevalence between 25% and 60%** (Peterson & Freidus, 2020). This challenge disproportionately impacts historically marginalized populations, including Black, Latino/a/x, Indigenous, and LGBTQ+ students, as well as those attending part-time or living with disabilities (Baker-Smith et al., 2020; Goldrick-Rab et al., 2019).

The financial burden of modern higher education, including rising costs of housing and transportation, often forces students to prioritize other expenses over food (Goldrick-Rab, 2016; Goldrick-Rab et al., 2018). These economic pressures contribute to the high prevalence of food insecurity on college/university campuses and highlight the systemic nature of the issue beyond individual circumstances.

The impacts of food insecurity extend beyond nutritional deficits, **affecting academic performance through lower grades and reduced graduation rates** (Maroto, Snelling, & Linck, 2015; Wolfson et al., 2021). In the U.S., Wolfson et al. (2021) found that food insecurity during college/university affects both the likelihood of graduation and the type of degree attained, suggesting long-term consequences for career trajectories and economic mobility.

Students experiencing food insecurity report **significant physical and psychological challenges**, including elevated rates of depression and anxiety (Bruening et al., 2016; Hagedorn, Olfert, & MacNell, 2021). Hagedorn et al. (2021) documented the association between food insecurity and compromised sleep quality, mental health, and physical well-being in a multi-campus study, highlighting the multidimensional impacts of this phenomenon.

These findings underscore the significance of food insecurity as not merely a nutritional concern but a complex challenge that **affects multiple dimensions of student development and academic success**.

In light of these significant impacts on academic performance and student retention, food insecurity is rapidly emerging as a major challenge to academic institutions requiring proactive policies and coordinated institutional practices.



OUR RESEARCH: THE SURVEY AND FOCUS GROUPS

We crafted a survey that was answered by 326 undergraduate students about their experience of food insecurity in the last year.

Our survey was based both on the work of Sylvie Dasné and Dr. Chris Furgal (2017), who surveyed 331 first year students about their experience of food insecurity at Trent, and on a recent survey of 13 campuses performed by the non-profit organization Meal Exchange (2021).

Both previous surveys found significant rates of food insecurity. Dasné and Furgal found that 48% of first year Trent students were food insecure; Meal Exchange found that by 2021, that number had risen to 56.8%.

We measured food insecurity by the number of affirmative responses to core questions to a variety of scenarios around the 5As of food security. We coded them using the following approach:

Food Security Status	8-item Core Questions
Food Secure	No affirmative responses
Marginally Food Secure	No more than 1 affirmative response
Moderately Food Insecure	2 to 4 affirmative responses
Severely Food Insecure	5 or more affirmative responses

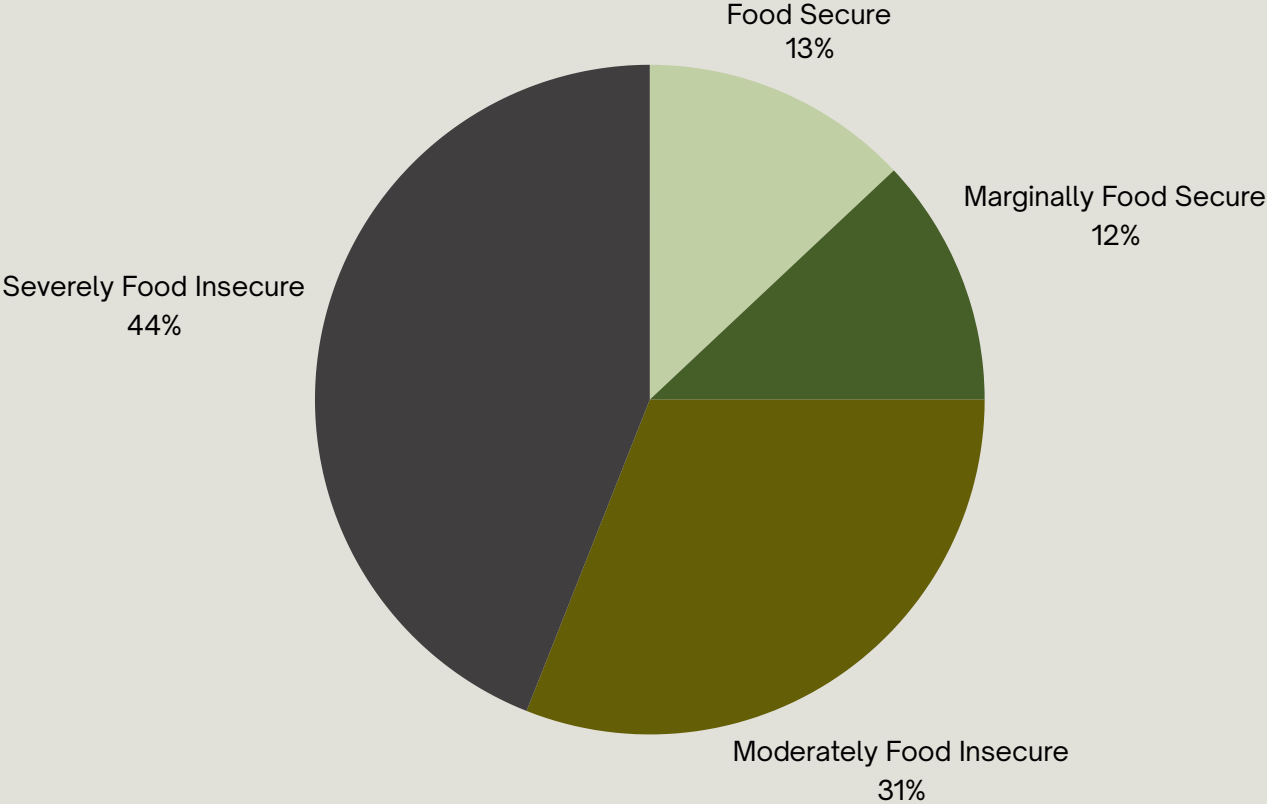
We also held three focus groups and one interview with the following campus stakeholders:

- **Focus Groups:**
 - **Campus Unions (Student and Food Worker)**
 - **Students**
 - **Campus Organizations**
- **Interview**
 - **Campus Food Worker**



TRENT STUDENTS BY INSECURITY STATUS

When we broke this down across kinds of food insecurity, we found the following characterized the Trent student population:



This means that 87% of our respondents experienced some form of food insecurity.

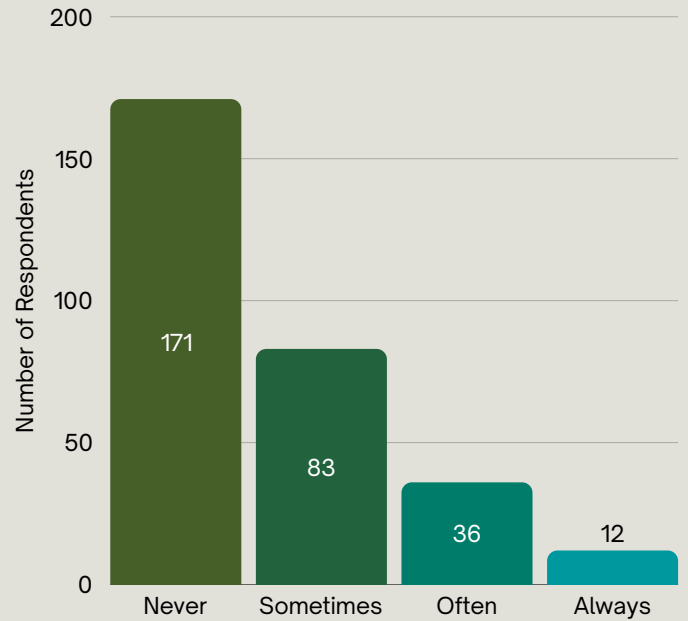
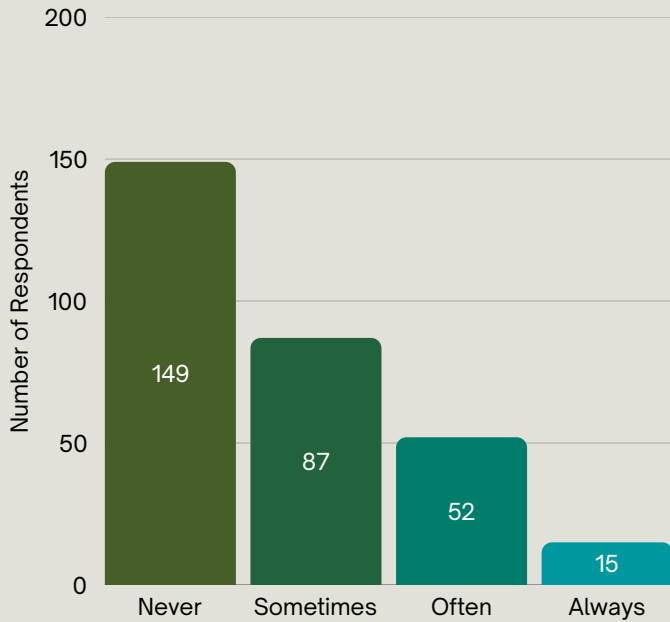
Only 24% of students indicated they were NOT worse off compared to last year.

CHALLENGES AROUND ACCESSIBILITY

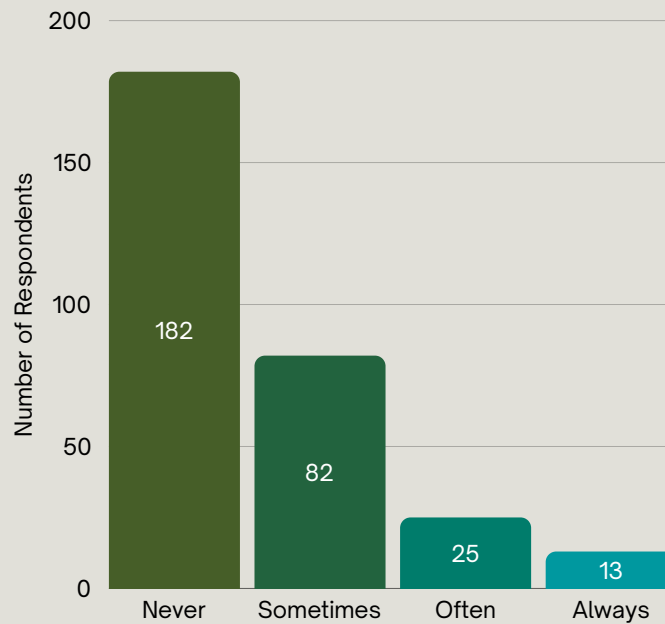


Question 10: I worried my food would run out before I could buy more.

Question 11: The food I bought just didn't last, and I didn't have money to buy more.



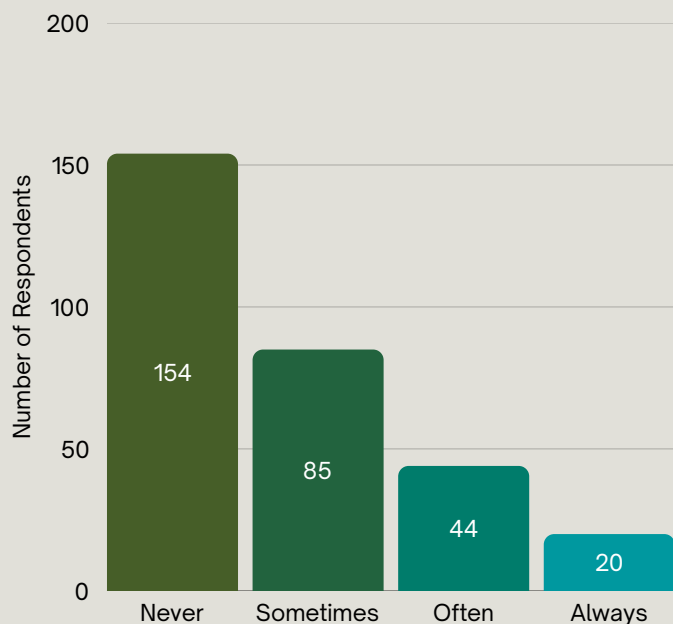
Question 17: I lost weight because I didn't have enough money for food.



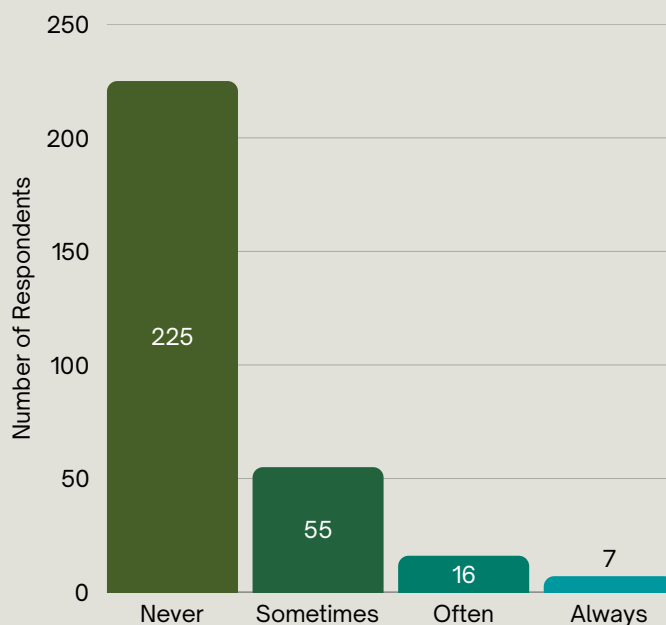
CHALLENGES AROUND ACCESSIBILITY

We also found that students exercised compromised agency because of this lack of accessibility.

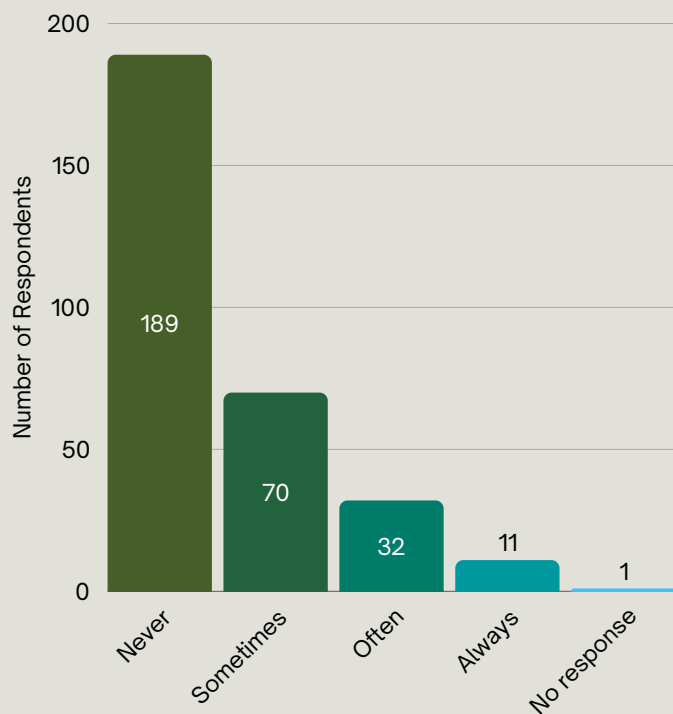
Question 14: I skipped meals because I didn't have enough money for food.



Question 15: I did not eat for an entire day because I did not have money for food.



Question 16 I had to sacrifice buying food in order to pay for essential expenses (i.e. tuition, rent).

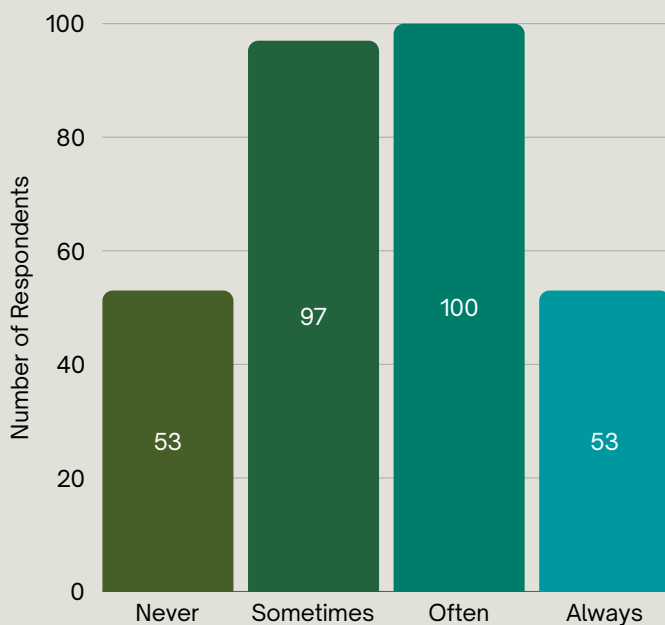


A focus group participant noted, "Students end up turning to like, disordered eating in a sense, or they're forced to turn to disordered eating because they're like, well, I have to unintentionally fast for the entire day and then I can eat my one meal at this time that I can afford to get."

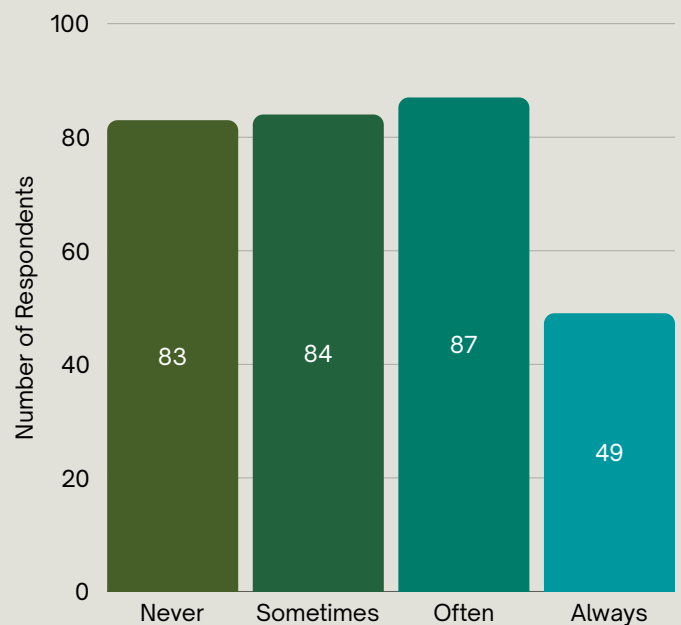
CHALLENGES AROUND ADEQUACY

The cost of food also present challenges for students - the foods they relied on were inadequate for their nutritional or cultural needs.

Question 12: The cost of food prevented me from eating balanced or nutritious meals.



Question 12: I regularly relied on low cost foods in order to avoid running out of money to buy more food.



A focus group participant told us, "With the Punch-a-Lunch program, I could not afford to eat at Trent's Seasoned Spoon which has more food choices of my preference, so the card was only used once. e.g. I could go to Subway and get something similar there for less than the price of a healthy bowl of soup at Trent even with the \$5 discount."

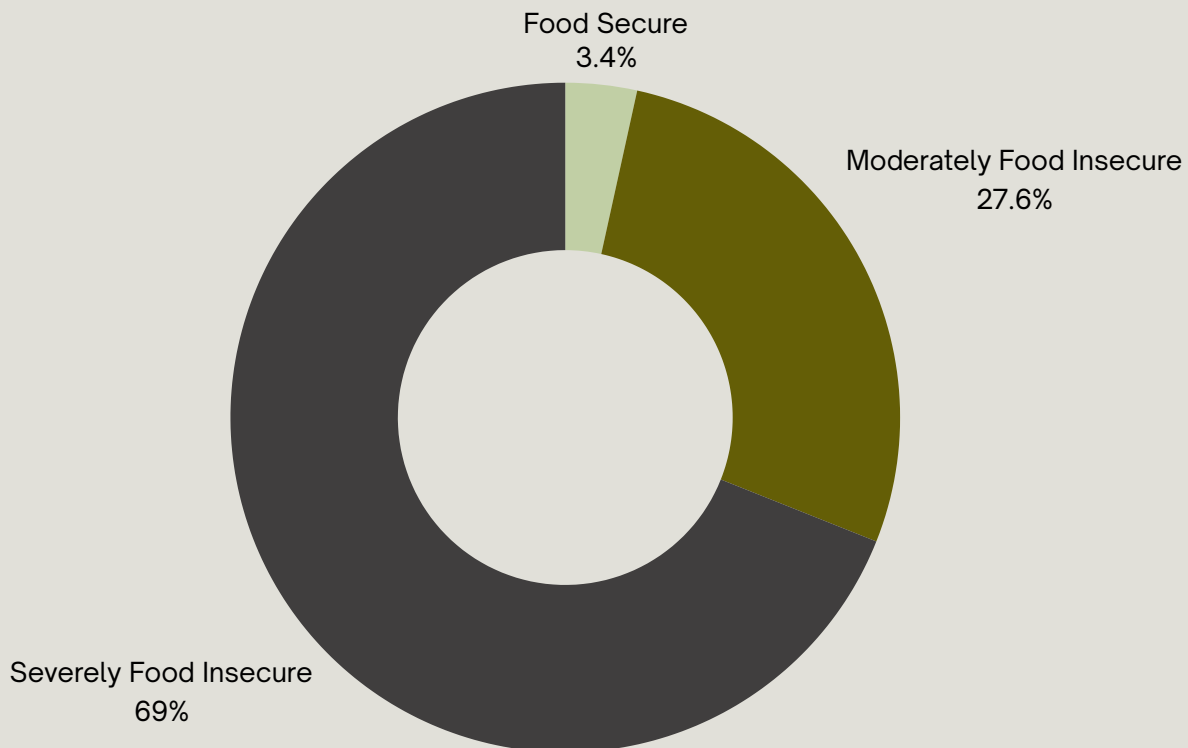
Another participant pointed out, "Most students are also not able to access their cultural foods on campus."

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS ARE PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE

In the focus groups, we heard that international students are are strongly at risk of experiencing food insecurity:

"90% of all the students who participate at the pantry are international... which means that they're using it at a disproportionate rate. They only account for about 10% of the population or 11% of the population."

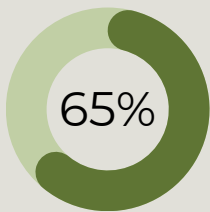
This was also borne out in our survey results, where **28 of 29** international student respondents identified as moderately or severely food insecure.



IMPACTS ON STUDENT WELL-BEING



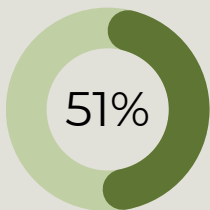
The survey showed that students experience mental health and academic achievement impacts associated with food insecurity.



of respondents reported that they **had trouble focusing** because they were hungry.



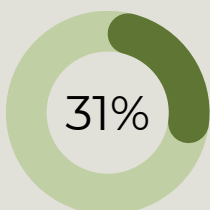
of respondents reported that they **had trouble studying** because they were hungry.



of respondents reported that their mental health had been either extremely or somewhat **negatively affected** by their access to food.



of respondents reported that they **felt stressed** due to a lack of food.



of respondents reported that they **had trouble maintaining motivation** due to hunger or worry about access to food.





THE EFFECT OF STIGMA

Research consistently demonstrates that experiencing food insecurity carries a heavy social stigma in society (Power et al., 2014; Rosa et al., 2018). Those facing food insecurity often encounter negative stereotypes and assumptions about their personal failings, such as lack of education, motivation, or interest in healthy living (Thompson et al., 2018; Purdam et al., 2016). Studies have shown that this experience takes a **significant emotional toll**.

The higher education context presents unique challenges for understanding and addressing food insecurity and its associated stigma. Many students view their inability to maintain food security as a personal failure, given their choice to pursue higher education (Henry, 2020). This perspective, combined with cultural values emphasizing individualism and self-reliance, often deters students from accessing available resources (Poppendieck, 1999; Witt & Hardin-Fanning, 2021). Moreover, the myth of the 'starving student' normalizes food insecurity on campus (Crutchfield et. al, 2020).

The intersection of multiple stigmatized identities can intensify these challenges, particularly regarding race, socioeconomic status, and health status (Brewis & Wutich, 2019). Students who belong to systematically marginalized groups may experience compounded stigma when facing food insecurity, creating additional barriers to accessing campus supports.

A focus group participant told us, "As a **student with disabilities**, and who does not qualify for OSAP loans, grants or bursaries, **completing my degree has been very challenging**...I was **embarrassed** a few times in OC, asking to top it up with a response that they can only give the measured amount as determined by their employer."

MONEY MATTERS

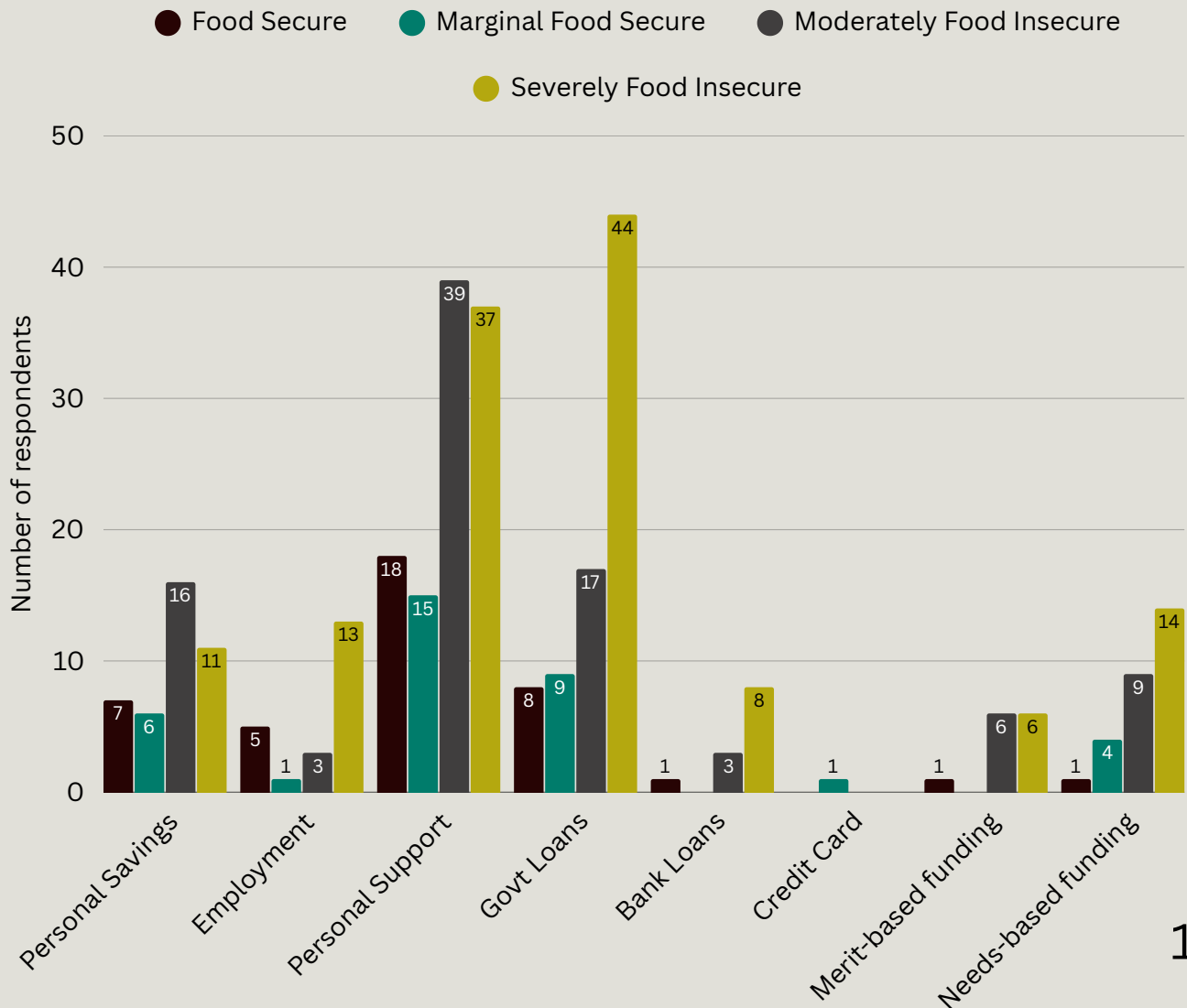
Surprisingly, we found that many of students who worked full- or part-time still experienced high rates of food insecurity.

- Part-Time: **70%** food insecure
- Full-Time: **46.7%** food insecure
- Actively Seeking Work: **85.9%** food insecure

We also found that living at home didn't always guarantee food security, nor did living in residence:

- With roommates: **78.1%** food insecure
- Student residence: **75%** food insecure
- With family: **54%** food insecure

And the ways that student's funded their education impacted their food security status:



BEST PRACTICES ON CANADIAN CAMPUSES

Our Literature Review team performed a scan of Canadian universities to determine what programs were used across the sector to prevent food insecurity. The initiatives they found can be grouped into four categories:

Price Controls: Initiatives seeking to maintain reasonable or "at-cost" food services in university dining facilities/services, incorporating food vouchers, gift cards, and reduced cost meal programs.

Food Banks: Initiatives aimed at providing free or at-cost meals in the form of traditional banks, open fridge programs, free kitchens/cafes, as well as digital versions of these programs.

Community Gardens: Initiatives for growing food directly and/or collaborating with local farmers and farmers' markets, including plant cutting libraries and food-growing education.

Use of Commercial Charities: Initiatives that promote charity from participating grocery and food providers. These will take the form of donations, gift cards, and discounts from existing commercial providers in a community.

The values and approaches that informed progress on this issue include:

- There is no "one-size-fits-all"; solutions are campus and community specific.
- Communication and collaboration between services and the at-risk populations are the single most significant marker for success when fighting food insecurity.
- "Means testing" services or any other form of barrier to access regularly hinders attempts to address food insecurity.
- Approaches that do not incorporate support from the university's governing institutions, faculty, and the student body are less successful than those that function with and across the entire university population.

WHAT SOLUTIONS DO STUDENTS WANT?

Two survey questions asked students to identify what they thought were the best solutions to the problem of food insecurity. The focus group participants also amplified these responses:

Students strongly emphasized that their preferred solutions included:

- **More affordable, quality meals on campus**
 - On the survey students indicated they would be willing to have a \$10-20 levy per term to cover a free daily meal, raising between \$109,670 and \$219,340 per term for such an initiative.

- **More financial support**
 - On the survey and in the focus groups, increased bursaries and other economic/tuition supports were seen as vital.
 - “Subsidizing tuition in such a way that it also pays for adequate food. And there needs to be an inherent cultural change so that academia functions well. There should be a way where students can walk into a cafeteria and order groceries the same way they would order from an a la carte menu and just take what you need. Another option is providing secure housing to students.” Focus group participant

- **A living wage for on campus work**
 - Survey participants indicated having a living wage for campus work would help them meet their needs. The living wage in Peterborough is calculated at \$21.65 by the Ontario Living Wage Network.

- **More campus initiatives to deal with food insecurity**
 - Survey respondents and focus group participants wanted more access to free meals, reduced cost meals, grocery gift cards, and the food pantry.
 - “There does seem to be a gap in people wanting to work together. For example, every single college office has approached [the TCSA] and asked [them] for advice on how to start a food bank... I don't think having five or six campus food banks is really the solution here, especially when you get into how much it actually takes to man. The costs, food safety protocols, there's provincial laws, there's federal laws that you have to follow. It's not just we're going to put cans on a shelf.” Focus group participant

WHAT ARE THE KEY TAKEAWAYS FROM THIS RESEARCH?

Food insecurity on campus is **worse** than we thought and **intensifying**.

International students are particularly at risk of being food insecure.

Food insecurity is **not due to laziness**. Most students are either working or actively seeking work.

The current campus food system **doesn't fully meet students' diverse needs** – whether they are cultural, religious, dietary, or financial needs.

Social stigma can prevent students from seeking support.

Campus partners must **collaborate on solutions** and **make information accessible**.

Food security improves every aspect of student life including mental and physical health, academic performance, and overall wellbeing.

Food insecurity is rapidly emerging as a major challenge to academic institutions due to its demonstrated impact on student well being, academic performance, and retention. **Successfully addressing this issue** through proactive policies and coordinated institutional practices **represents a major opportunity for institutional differentiation** and competitive advantage in higher education.

Food access programs are not enough to solve the issue alone or address the **root causes**. We need a system-wide change looking at the **entire ecosystem of student life** – tuition, housing, health, and wellness, etc.

The university should be **proactive in addressing systemic barriers** and advocate for their removal.

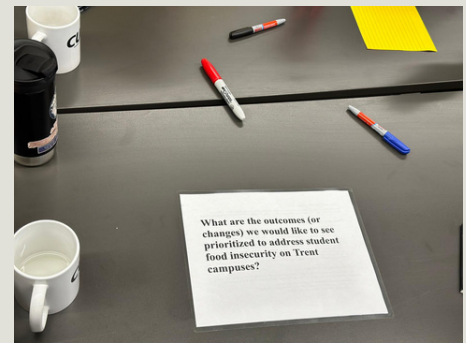
RESULTS FROM THE RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM

We called together key Trent stakeholders for a half-day meeting to explore these results, talk about challenges, and explore mechanisms for change.

Representatives from across student organizations, Student Affairs, Food Services, the Colleges, First People's House of Learning, Student Wellness, Trent International, and campus food growers and providers shared their experience and insight with us about how we might build out food programming which responds to and is embedded in students' needs.

They worked collaboratively to answer six questions:

1. How can Trent University's administration work with students to increase collaboration to address food insecurity on campus and provide a platform for student voices?
2. How can we reduce the stigma around food insecurity at Trent University and encourage students to access support when needed?
3. How can we better support international students and other at-risk groups in addressing food insecurity and help them access culturally appropriate foods?
4. What are the outcomes (or changes) we would like to see prioritized to address student food insecurity on Trent campuses?
5. What steps should be taken to continue the conversation around food security at Trent University?
6. What does Trent University look like when it is at its best in terms of addressing food insecurity?



ANSWERS TO WORKSHOP QUESTIONS





A MADE AT TRENT SOLUTION

So what does a “made at Trent” solution to food insecurity look like? How can we leverage our mission, vision, and values to challenge to tackle this issue in a way that positions Trent as the leader in **education of and care for the whole student**, including addressing issues of food injustice and insecurity?

Participants in the workshop told us that **Trent is at its best when:**





WE ARE A CARING COMMUNITY

Trent prides itself on being a welcoming place for our entire community. But those who are food insecure often struggle with stigma in silence. Workshop participants highlighted the ways that Trent could live up to its promise to be a campus for all:

- **Reduce stigma through pay what you can options and the expansion of community spaces to connect over food.**
- **Develop supports specific to at-risk groups, including procurement processes and storage for culturally appropriate foods for international and Indigenous students.**
- **Provide clear communication as to what supports are out there and the removal of barriers to access (i.e. a clear pathway to support). Building a community of caring, helping others and having “every door as the right door.”**
- **Normalize experience of food insecurity by emphasizing that individuals are not alone - both in terms of shared experience and the availability of support.**
- **Ensure a barrier-free model - students don’t need to meet specific criteria to access food resources or meals; all students are welcome, food insecure or not.**
- **Always have food available at events.**
- **Embed food supports into other student support services.**

Workshop participants also emphasized that community is built by including everyone at the table and especially by amplifying the voices of those with lived experience of food insecurity. **By diversifying who is involved in high-level conversations, we avoid a bubble where “the same people discussing the issue only among themselves.”**



WE STRIVE TO COLLABORATE

Stakeholders at the workshop emphasized the need for closer collaboration across the campus food ecosystem, something we heard in the focus groups as well.

Right now there are a whole series of programs which operate independently and have largely been meaningful but ad hoc attempts to deal with the growing problem.


Workshop participants consistently expressed an understanding of the significance and severity of food insecurity on campus. The challenge is to find ways of addressing this through successful institutional policies and practices across our food ecosystem.

How might we be more efficient and more effective if these programs were coordinately more purposefully?

One workshop participant noted that we need to **remove territoriality** “between groups on campus forwarding their own missions of addressing this issue without collaboration. These services are for everyone rather than just those that are affiliated with a group or program.”

Another suggested “providing **a clear outline of all available food support services** at Trent, including step-by-step breakdowns of how each one works – this helps reduce stress and anxiety before and in the moment of accessing the service which may increase participation.”

“The thing we ask ourselves a lot like **who isn't here** and like who like, who hasn't heard about this, but it's hard when you feel like you're already at capacity. Like for us from the organizational perspective, it's tricky... like all the food's getting sold at the end of the day, like all the workshops are full, but like **are there like folks who are like consistently not being reached?** Almost certainly... how do you reach those folks? It is a good question. And also, I hear this from folks at the university all the time that they're like, I don't know how to get students involved.” - Focus group participant



WE ARE ADVOCATING FOR SYSTEM CHANGE

Food insecurity is not only a problem of a lack of food; it's a result of a whole constellation of systemic failures. As one of the focus group participants pointed out:

"Just throwing food at the problem doesn't actually fix the problem... we have to sort of address them all. We can't fix this problem in isolation."

Trent can't solve the housing or cost of living crises alone. But there are things we can do that are within in our sphere of influence:

- **Prioritize food security in the budget**
- **Provide more tuition supports to our students**
- **Offer a range of options for students to access food (prepaid grocery boxes, customized meal sizes, communal freezers and kitchens, free food at all events)**
- **Increase money allocated to emergency relief fund**
- **Establish a levy for one free meal a day**
- **Have a grocery store on campus, or partner with local grocery stores to provide food**
- **Provide a living wage for all student workers**

In the end, such programs would benefit Trent. As a workshop participant noted, "We need to pay attention to the long-term health benefits of reducing food insecurity, in the long run the university will benefit from addressing this issue in an economic sense too."

WE ARE GROWING FOOD ON CAMPUS

One of the strengths of Trent, and an area of strategic importance, is agriculture on campus. **Growing food also grows our campus community.** Workshop participants emphasized the important role that food growing can play in reducing student food insecurity.

We already have models to follow. For instance, one workshop participant highlighted the “unique Seasoned Spoon and Trent Vegetable Garden partnership that can act as a model for how we can partner food production on campus with food services. We need to expand our kitchen spaces so that we can process food on campus to meet the current student population size.”

We have a wealth of land on campus that could be used for food provisioning. Developing frameworks to support and enhance existing food growing operations at the Trent Vegetable Garden, the Trent Market Garden, the Trent Apiary, and as part of the Trent Research Farm could position Trent as a leader in sustainable agriculture and justice-oriented food systems.



Trent Vegetable Garden

THE VISION FOR A FOOD SECURE TRENT

One of the focus group participants put it best when asked what a food secure Trent would look and feel like:

"A food secure campus would have supports that were easy to access. Supports must offer immediate relief as well as sustained support, that is sensitive to a range of challenges and specific religious/cultural needs (e.g., international students, those with English as an additional language, students with cognitive challenges, the need for halal and kosher foods). Again, supports must be implemented with diversity, equity and inclusion, in mind."

Building pathways to making this vision a reality would position Trent as a leader in the sector and reinforce our commitment to excellence in student experience.

It also has the potential of providing real institutional rewards by enhancing our brand and reputation, and significantly contributing to our students' well being, academic performance and retention levels.

THANKS TO OUR TEAM



Top row, left to right: Michelle Barnes, Daniel Abrampah, Leslie Menagh, Allannah Trumble, Khad Haque, Hannah McKenna, Kyle Moes, Maggie Wareham, Marian Sagoe, Oscar Etorko-Gwebu
Bottom row, left to right: Stephanie Rutherford, Asaf Zohar, Najah Wardat, Madeline Seward, Alyssa Scanga, Mike Eckert

Literature Review/Environmental Scan Team: Daniel Abrampah, Mike Eckert, Oscar Etorko-Gwebu, Enoch Niboi, Madeline Seward

Survey Team: Hannah McKenna, Kyle Moes, Marian Sagoe

Focus Group Team: Michelle Barnes, Khad Haque, Alyssa Scanga

Communications Team: Leslie Menagh, Allannah Trumble, Najah Wardat, Maggie Wareham

REFERENCES

- 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*. https://tacc.org/sites/default/files/documents/2020-02/2019_realcollege_survey_report.pdf
- Brewis, A., & Wutich, A. (2019). *Lazy, Crazy, and Disgusting: Stigma and the Undoing of Global Health*. Baltimore, MD: JHU Press.
- Bruening, M., Nelson, 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): 1450–57.
- Crutchfield, R. M., Carpena, A., McCloyn, T. N., & Maguire, J. (2020). "The Starving Student Narrative: How Normalizing Deprivation Reinforces Basic Need Insecurity in Higher Education." *Families in Society*, 101(3): 409-421.
- Dasné, S. & Furgal, C. (2017). "Food Insecurity at Trent University: Key Results from the 2016-2017 Food Access Survey."
- Food Matters Manitoba (.n.d.). "What is Food Security"? <https://foodmattersmanitoba.ca/food-security/>
- Goldrick-Rab, S. (2016). *Paying the Price: College Costs, Financial Aid, and the Betrayal of the American Dream*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Goldrick-Rab, S., Richardson, J., Schneider, J., Anthony, H., & Cady, C. (2018). "Still Hungry and Homeless in College." <https://hope4college.com/files/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/wisconsin-hope-lab-still-hungry-and-homeless.pdf>
- Goldrick-Rab, S., Baker-Smith, C., Coca, V., Looker, E., & Williams, T. (2019). "College and University Basic Needs Insecurity: A National #RealCollege Survey Report." https://hope4college.com/files/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/hope_realcollege_national_report_digital.pdf
- Hagedorn, R. L., Olfert, M. D., MacNell, L., Houghtaling, B., Hood, L. B., Savoie Roskos, M. R., Goetz, J. R., Kern-Lyons, V., Knol, L. L., Mann, G. R., Esquivel, M. K., Hege, A., Walsh, J., Pearson, K., Berner, M., Soldavini, J., Anderson Steeves, E. T., & (2021). "College student sleep quality and mental and physical health are associated with food insecurity in a multi-campus study." *Public Health Nutrition*, 24(13), 4305–12.
- Henry, L. (2020). *Experiences of Hunger and Food Insecurity in College*. Springer.
- 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), 515–26.
- Meal Exchange. (2021). "2021 National Student Food Insecurity Report." <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5fa8521696a5fd2ab92d32e6/t/6318b24f068ccf1571675884/1662562897883/2021+National+Student+Food+Insecurity+Report+-3.pdf>

Peterson, N. D., & Freidus, A. (2020). More than money: barriers to food security on a college campus. *Culture, Agriculture, Food and Environment*, 42(2): 125-137.

Poppendieck, J. (1999). *Sweet Charity? Emergency Food and the End of Entitlement*. New York: Penguin.

Power, E. M., Little, M. H., & Collins, P. A. (2014). "Should Canadian health promoters support a food stamp-style program to address food insecurity?" *Health Promotion International*, 30(1): 184-193.

Purdam, K., Garratt, E. A., & Esmail, A. (2016). "Hungry? Food insecurity, social stigma and embarrassment in the UK." *Sociology*, 50(6): 1072-1088.

Rosa, T. L., Ortolano, S. E., & Dickin, K. L. (2018). "Remembering food insecurity: Low-income parents' perspectives on childhood experiences and implications for measurement." *Appetite*, Feb 1(121): 1-8.

Sharp, C., Dewar, B. & Barrie, K. (2016). "Forming new futures through appreciative inquiry."
<https://www.iriss.org.uk/resources/insights/forming-new-futures-through-appreciative-inquiry>

Thompson, C., Smith, D., & Cummins, S. (2018). "Understanding the health and wellbeing challenges of the food banking system: A qualitative study of food bank users, providers and referrers in London." *Social Science & Medicine*, 211:95-101.

Witt, C. D., & Hardin-Fanning, F. (2021). "Social Norms and Stigma: Implications for Measuring Childhood Food Security." *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition*, 16(1), 82-94.

Wolfson, J. A., Insolera, N., Cohen, A., & Leung, C. W. (2021). *The Effect of Food Insecurity During College on Graduation and Type of Degree Attained: Evidence from a Nationally Representative Longitudinal Survey*. Cambridge University Press.