Activists or Administrators?

The Influence of Social Movements on Entrepreneurs' Enactment of Social Issues

by

ANDREW E. F. FULTZ

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Ted Baker

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Dissertation Director:

Ted Baker

Social issues often trigger both local and diffuse prosocial organizing efforts, including local prosocial venturing and broader social movements. Yet, despite the frequent co-occurrence of these two forms of prosocial organizing—organizing aimed at benefiting others by relieving their hardship and/or promoting their welfare—and their potential similarities and synergies, their research streams have developed independently. Prior studies of prosocial venturing are often decontextualized, owing to an ongoing focus on individual and hyper-local explanations of prosocial venturing that neglect the broader environment, while social movement scholars often neglect studying small, grassroots organizations in favor of larger, more prominent social movement organizations. As a result, little is known about how social movements might influence local prosocial venturing. At the same time, social issues also trigger a variety of local responses, as prosocial entrepreneurs often vary widely in the ways they define social issues and the strategies they employ to address them—yet existing theory on prosocial venturing gives little insight into what drives these differential enactments of social issues. A small but growing number of studies at the intersection of prosocial venturing and social movements suggests linking these two research streams may hold the key to understanding systematic variation between prosocial ventures, yet these studies leave unanswered critical questions

about the theoretical mechanisms through which movements may influence ventures. In this study, I conduct a longitudinal inductive field study of the founders of 11 campus food pantries that operate in parallel with social movements around student hunger and basic needs on campus, in order to understand *how and why social movements shape the way prosocial entrepreneurs enact social issues.* My central finding and answer to this question is that variation in founders' identification with social movements shapes whether or not they enact a social issue as stigmatized, which in turn shapes their strategies for responding to the issue. These findings hold important implications for research on prosocial venturing and social movements, for the relationship between the two, and for research on organizational stigma, while also suggesting a number of promising directions for future research.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated with love and respect to Dr. Chuck Fultz, II: *The original Dr. Fultz*. Dad, nothing I can say will do full justice for everything you have done for me. To start with, you pulled me out of that lake in West Virginia, where my short journey nearly ended. Then there was that car ride near Bristol (one of many!) where you helped my faith begin. Your love of classical music and Audis, both of which for better or worse you passed to me, continue to shape my musical and automotive tastes. Your love of reading and learning set the tone for my work. Your work, and your vision for your work, continue to inspire me—every time I do an interview, I remember the confidence, warmth, respect, and friendliness in your voice as you talked to your patients, with me listening outside the operatory. And every time I travel to some conference, I remember tagging along with you to those many, many dental conferences. All these things, and many more, together are the stuff of a great Dad. But, more than anything, I remember and am inspired by your commitment to your faith—the best lesson you ever taught me. While you may never read this, I hope you know how much you mean to me, and how much I love and respect you. Thanks for everything Dad.

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These brief acknowledgements, which don't do full justice to the support I have received, are tokens of a very deeply felt gratitude. Thank you all.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"...If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."
(Thomas & Thomas 1928: 572)

"...Acting as if his known differentness were irrelevant...is one main possibility...The second main possibility...[is]...managing information about his failing." (Goffman, 1963: 42)

Social issues often trigger both local and diffuse prosocial organizing efforts. For example, thousands of small, local organizations across the U.S. focus on issues such as promoting air and water quality, responsible forestry practices, and recycling; this occurs alongside global environmentalist movements (Andrews & Edwards, 2005). Concurrently with political activism in and response to South Africa, anti-apartheid sentiment in the U.S. during the 1980s found expression in the establishment of "shantytowns" at Columbia, Princeton, and numerous other campuses (Soule, 1997). As a more recent example, in response to growing awareness of basic needs insecurity on college campuses, a loosely organized social movement is emerging—with associations, political activism, conferences, research centers, and movement organizations—in parallel with several hundred independent efforts to start campus food pantries that address hunger directly on local campuses (College & University Food Bank Alliance, 2020). Examples abound of these two forms of prosocial organizing—organizing to benefit others by relieving their hardship and/or promoting their welfare (Peredo, Haugh, & McLean, 2018; Branzei, Parker, Moroz, & Gamble, 2018; Batson & Powell, 2003)—co-occurring in response to social issues.

And yet, despite evidence that national or global social movements and local prosocial venturing are common joint responses to social issues (Staggenborg, 1998;

Andrews & Edwards, 2005), and "despite their potential synergies" (Broek, Tijs,

Ehrenhard, Langley, & Groen., 2012: 214), few entrepreneurship or social movement

scholars examine them together. Instead, a long-standing tendency among

entrepreneurship researchers is to atomize prosocial ventures, attributing their creation

and patterns of action to "heroic" individual founders (Bacq & Janssen, 2011; Saebi,

Foss, & Linder, 2019; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Vasi, 2009; Dacin, Dacin, & Tracey,

2011; Branzei *et al.*, 2018) and viewing them as largely isolated from broader organizing

efforts (Montgomery, Dacin, & Dacin, 2012; Akemu, Whiteman, & Kennnedy, 2016). In

parallel, movement scholars typically focus on large social movement organizations

(Zald & McCarthy, 1979), to the neglect of smaller, though far more numerous, local

grassroots ventures (Edwards & Foley, 2003; Walker & McCarthy, 2010). As a result, it

remains unclear if or how movements might influence prosocial entrepreneurs and local

venturing.

At the same time, entrepreneurs running local prosocial ventures often vary

widely in the ways they enact social issues (Seelos, Mair, Battilana, & Dacin, 2010)—

that is, by attending to certain aspects of a social issue while downplaying others,

entrepreneurs construct idiosyncratic definitions of the social issue that drive their

behavioral strategies towards it (Powell & Baker, 2014; 2017). Prior studies, for instance,

highlight the variety of ways entrepreneurs enact poverty in local contexts—as a

collective responsibility to be solved through community solidarity and enterprise

(Peredo & Chrisman, 2006), as a matter of individual responsibility enabled by the

provision of microloans (Seelos & Mair, 2007), or as an issue of beneficence to be

handled through donations and charitable programming (Mair & Seelos, 2006; Anteby,

Battilana, & Pache, 2007). Further, these different enactments can generate non-trivial effects on beneficiaries, both good and bad—for example, microloans can create substantial debt burdens for the chronically poor (Sinclair, 2012) and market-based approaches can tend towards an overemphasis on economic growth and sustainability to the detriment of social impact (Dacin *et al.*, 2011). In spite of ongoing and rapidly growing interest in social entrepreneurship, however, surprisingly little research explains what drives variation in entrepreneurs' enactment of social issues, and the little that does exist echoes earlier research that neglects potential influences beyond the local context.

Recently, a small set of studies have pointed to the potential value of examining the intersection of prosocial venturing and social movements, providing early indications that social movements sometimes influence prosocial venturing and may generate variation between ventures in their approaches to social issues. These studies suggest movements may trigger venture emergence (Weber, Heinze, & DeSoucey, 2008; Sine & Lee, 2009; Akemu *et al.*, 2016) and that prosocial ventures at times resemble the goals, purposes, and practices of movements (Lounsbury, 2001; Broek *et al.*, 2012; Montessori, 2016; Cherrier, Goswami, & Ray, 2018; Scarlato, 2013; Becker, Kunze, & Vancea, 2017). Despite their promise, however, these studies typically provide only descriptive accounts of co-occurrence between local ventures and movements to support broad claims that movements influence and shape the emergence and behaviors of prosocial entrepreneurs and ventures. It remains unclear how, why, and through what mechanisms this occurs.

Further, the emphasis these studies place on the influence of social movements on local ventures typically downplays the heterogeneity of local contexts and ventures, as

well as differences between founders in whether and how their activities are shaped by broader movements. The founders of such ventures are in an important sense—in an ironic overcorrection of research seeing them as heroes—portrayed as if they are simply playing out scripts social movement organizations have written. Given the ubiquity of local venturing and its frequent co-occurrence with broader movements (Staggenborg, 1998; Andrews & Edwards, 2005), as well as important variations in practice between entrepreneurs, the question driving this study is: *How and why do social movements shape the way prosocial entrepreneurs enact social issues?*

I investigate this question through a longitudinal inductive field study of 14 founders and their campus pantries. These founders operate their pantries in parallel with, but vary in the extent to which they identify with, organizations and actors that constitute movements focused on basic needs and social justice for increasingly diverse college students. In contrast with the romanticized image of four idyllic years where students do little work while parents foot the bill, or the valorized image of students toughing it out while "living on ramen", many students find it increasingly difficult to afford basic necessities like food and secure housing (Goldrick-Rab, 2016). The founding and operation of campus food pantries is a strategic setting for my research, since it allows me to observe local prosocial ventures operating in parallel with broader social movements, joined by the overlapping goal of addressing food insecurity on campuses. It is also a strategic research setting because, although each pantry is in some way affiliated with a college or university, I observe what turns out be consequential contrasts between pantries that emerge in a largely grassroots versus top-down manner.

My central finding and answer to my research question is that variation in identification with social movements shapes whether or not founders enact a social issue, like student hunger, as stigmatized, which in turn shapes their strategies for responding to the issue. I inducted a process model (Figure 1) showing that variation among founders in expressing movement-related identities leads to distinct definitions of and strategic responses to a social issue—defining an issue as stigmatized or not stigmatized, with responses including from what I call "concealing" to "partial revealing" to "full revealing". These findings open up important new questions about the relationship between social movements and prosocial entrepreneurship, as well as questions about the intertwining of social movements and founder identity in shaping entrepreneurs' enactment of social issues.

My work advances a nascent but expanding stream of research exploring interrelationships between prosocial venturing and social movements in several ways. I improve on prior studies by identifying specific theoretical mechanisms linking movements to ventures. Unlike prior studies that assume a substantive relationship between prosocial ventures and movements based on co-occurrence (Broek *et al.*, 2012; Montessory, 2016), my study draws on an increasingly central construct within entrepreneurship research—founder identity (Baker & Powell, 2020)—as a crucial mechanism through which movements shape prosocial entrepreneurship. In addition, when prosocial venturing and movements are considered jointly, ventures are often unintentionally portrayed as compliant puppets that absorb the views and goals of a movement and that act out scripts written for them by social activists or movement organizations. By attending closely to the central importance of founder identity, and

holding in abeyance the assumption that founders passively react to movements, I avoid over-socialized characterizations of movements as overbearing influences that shape prosocial venturing, instead foregrounding founders as central agents in identifying with social movements and playing out movement-related identities as they start and run new ventures. In these two ways, I provide a picture of prosocial entrepreneurship which balances perspectives that see founders as heroes and perspectives that see them as puppets.

Finally, my findings suggest new directions for research on organizational stigma (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2014; Devers, Dewett, Mishina, & Belsito, 2009). Prior studies focus almost exclusively on organizations as victims of external stigmatization—giving particular attention to the antecedents of, experience of, and coping strategies for this stigma. This emphasis is understandable given the very real negative consequences stigma generates for organizations and their motivation to "avoid scandals and the threat of stigmas" (Warren, 2007: 477). At the same time, in contrast with the prevailing perspective that stigma arises solely from "external audience evaluations" (Hudson, 2008: 262), my finding that founder identity plays a central role in whether or not founders define the social issue they face as stigmatized, and whether or not they behave as if it is stigmatized, points to an important research agenda that examines the role organizational leaders and stigmatized organizations play in constructing the stigma they and their beneficiaries face.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Heroic Entrepreneurs and Isolated Ventures

Even while theorizing the role of prosocial ventures—organizations created to benefit others (Peredo *et al.*, 2018; Mair & Noboa, 2006)—in addressing problems ranging from highly local to highly dispersed challenges, prosocial venturing (PSV) research often exhibits a narrow, individual-centric focus. Like early entrepreneurship research that over-emphasized individuals (Aldrich, 1979) and early organization theory that neglected the environment (Scott, 2002), PSV research often accords primary or even sole agency in new venture creation to prosocial entrepreneurs (Saebi *et al*., 2019). This view is conceptually problematic because it often constrains researchers from examining the multiplicity of contextual factors that provide opportunities and set boundaries on individual behavior, and risks missing important ways the actions of entrepreneurs shape those of other actors in their broader environment (Welter, 2011).

Research on PSV focuses heavily on the individual entrepreneur. A recent review of social entrepreneurship—the main sub-stream of PSV research (Munoz, Cacciotti, & Cohen, 2018; see also Peredo *et al*., 2018)—indicates the major theme over the previous 10 years of research is the role of the social entrepreneur (Phillips, Lee, Ghobadian, O'Regan, & James, 2015). Like entrepreneurship research more generally (Aldrich, 1979; Gartner, 1989; Garud & Karnoe, 2003), PSV research focuses on highly innovative entrepreneurs, as well as on heroic individual narratives (Kerlin, 2010; Dacin *et al*., 2011; Helmsing, 2015). This appears, for example, in the tendency of studies to highlight famous, influential, or "heroic" entrepreneurs like Muhammad Yunus (Light, 2006). Of the most cited works on social entrepreneurship pointed out by Sassmannshausen and Volkmann (2018), roughly half mention Yunus by name.

Closely related to this heroic focus, over the past two decades a substantial body of research has explored the individual-level factors influencing the emergence, characteristics, and success of prosocial ventures (Thompson, 2002; Hemingway, 2005; Mair & Noboa, 2006; Zahra *et al*., 2009; Nga & Shamuganathan, 2010; Jiao, 2011; Miller *et al*., 2012; Renko, 2013; Campin *et al*. 2013; Mody & Day, 2014; Yiu *et al*., 2014; Mody *et al*., 2016; Shumate *et al*., 2014; Germak & Robinson, 2014; Hockerts, 2015; Dey & Steyaert, 2016; Bacq *et al*., 2016; Ruskin *et al*., 2016; Waddock & Steckler, 2016; Hockerts, 2017; Tiwari*, et al*., 2017; Hechavarria *et al*., 2017). Overall, the literature continues to exhibit a "biased focus on the individual level of analysis" (Dacin *et al*., 2011: 1205), a tendency to position the individual entrepreneur as the "hero" at the center of the narrative (Vasi, 2009; Montgomery *et al*., 2012), and an "egocentric reference point" (Branzei *et al*., 2018).

Similarly, at the organizational level, many scholars study prosocial ventures as if they exist in isolation, paying little attention to if or how a focal venture interrelates with the broader efforts of groups or organizations beyond the local context. For instance, in a careful study of an NGO embedded in rural Bangladesh, Mair and Martí (2009) focused on how a single organization—which they labeled an institutional and social entrepreneur—addressed institutional voids and poverty among the ultra-poor. Their single case study provides rich description and local contextualization but its insights do not attempt to account for ways BRAC may influence broader poverty alleviation efforts or be influenced by actors outside Bangladesh. Research on community-based enterprise (CBE) explores the role of distributed entrepreneurial activity within a community in the formation of new prosocial ventures (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Peredo *et al*., 2018).

This research avoids the heroic individualism of much prior research by situating venturing in the context of a community, yet it still focuses on organizations inherently embedded in a "specific socioeconomic environment" (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006: 309) and hence relatively isolated from outside influence. Even sustainable entrepreneurship research, which studies the role of entrepreneurs in the global challenge of environmental degradation (Cohen & Winn, 2007; Dean & McMullen, 2007), often exhibits a narrow focus on single ventures without exploring their interrelation with broader environmental efforts. For example, Rodgers (2010) and Belz and Binder (2015) conducted case studies of several independent environmental ventures to examine the process of "ecopreneurship", yet their studies do not seem to take into account other environmental actors, much less the global movement around sustainability, and the influence these may have on ecopreneurship. Overall, given prior focus on conceptually or empirically isolated prosocial ventures, existing theory seems ill-equipped to explain the role of PSV more broadly across the full range of social problems—from highly localized to highly dispersed challenges (Sud *et al.*, 2009).

Until recently, this strong focus on individual entrepreneurs and organizations in isolation neglected the influence of the broader environment on PSV (Bacq & Janssen, 2011). Early conceptual work suggested that social enterprise emerged from the increasing popularity of neo-liberal approaches to social service provision, the retrenchment of welfare states, reduced funding for nonprofits and subsequent competition for resources, and the failure of markets and governments to address social needs (Leadbeater, 1997; Johnson, 2003; Borzaga & Defourny, 2001; Austin *et al.*, 2006; Perrini & Vurio, 2006; Zahra *et al.*, 2008; Townsend & Hart, 2008; Helmsing, 2015).

More recently, empirical studies have begun exploring the macro-social and institutional level factors that influence PSV (Saebi *et al.*, 2019), focusing particularly on how they affect venture emergence (Estrin *et al.*, 2013; Griffiths *et al.*, 2013; Roy *et al.*, 2014; Stephan *et al.*, 2015; Estrin *et al.*, 2016; Pathak & Muralidharan, 2016; Hoogendoorn, 2016; Mottiar, 2016), characteristics, and activities (Korosec & Berman, 2006; Desa, 2012; Rivera-Santos *et al.*, 2015; Ault, 2016; Zhao & Lounsbury, 2016).

Themes emerging from these studies include the influence of formal and informal institutions on prosocial venture emergence, as well as the ways they shape prosocial ventures' activities. For example, in a large scale study of entrepreneurs from 26 nations, Stephan *et al.* (2015) found that active governmental support, post-materialism cultural values, and supportive cultural norms positively influence the emergence of social enterprise. Desa (2012), in another study of regulatory and cognitive institutions, found that constraining institutional environments shape social ventures' use of resources. As a whole, these studies suggest the important influence of macro-level factors and ways they shape PSV.

This recent attention to broader environments represents the beginning of a shift in focus beyond the efforts of heroic prosocial entrepreneurs and ventures. These efforts to situate PSV in broader, macro-contexts, however, risk swinging too far in the other direction without doing the work of integrating the heroes and the multiple contexts (Welter, 2011) in which they operate. Recent studies continue to overlook that the milieu in which much prosocial venturing takes place is often characterized by the presence of many related forms of prosocial organizing, especially when the triggering social problem is broad. The work of other significant prosocial actors, including large

dispersed coalitions like social movements, constitute a context rarely examined or theorized in PSV studies. In their comprehensive review of social entrepreneurship research, Saebi *et al*. (2019: 71) comment that "research typically concentrates on only one level of analysis". Strikingly, they uncovered *no* research examining interrelations between prosocial ventures and broader prosocial organizing efforts. Further, it is noteworthy that the venture is the center of their synthetic theoretical model, positioned as the primary driver of social change, and their recommendations for future research make no mention of examining interactions with broader efforts. Especially given ongoing calls for collective views of PSV and inclusion of social movement theories and phenomena (Mair & Marti, 2006; Sud *et al*., 2009; Dacin *et al*., 2011; Branzei *et al*., 2018), this silence is surprising. My research seeks to contextualize PSV within one important part of the broader stream of prosocial organizing and theorize the interaction between these two forms.

Social Movements and Grassroots Movement Organizations

Resource mobilization theory (Zald & Ash, 1966) emphasizes the role of organizations as actors within social movements (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; 1979; Edwards & Foley, 2003; Walker & Martin, 2018). McCarthy and Zald (1979: 2) defined social movement organizations (SMOs) as complex, or formal, organizations which identify their goals with the preferences of a social movement or countermovement. Well-known examples include the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the NAACP in the Civil Rights movement. Empirical evidence suggests SMOs fulfill critical functions within social movements related to recruitment and outreach, fundraising,

staffing, and mobilization (for an overview see Walker & Martin, 2018). The majority of studies on SMOs, however, focus on large, "prominent" national organizations resulting in "an unrecognized but significant distortion of prevailing conceptions of social movement organizations and activities" (Andrews & Edwards, 2005: 213). A direct result of this heavy emphasis on large SMOs is that movement scholars have "paid comparatively little attention to the full spectrum of groups operating within any specific social movement industry" (Edwards & Foley, 2003: 87; see also Andrews & Caren, 2010).

This assessment may overstate the problem to some degree. Scholars have examined the importance of a variety of alternative grassroots movement organizations including "other organizations" in social movement communities (Buechler, 1990; Staggenborg, 1998), "small SMOs" (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004), community-based organizations (Walker & McCarthy, 2010), and grassroots/local associations (Soteri-Proctor *et al*., 2016). Research over the past four decades has explored a number of phenomena related to grassroots organizations, including their prevalence (Kempton *et al*., 2001; Edwards & Foley, 2003), their mortality/persistence (Edwards & Marullo, 1995; Cress & Snow, 1996; Holland & Cable, 2002; Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; Regar & Staggenborg, 2006; Walker & McCarthy, 2010), their practices (Cress, 1997; Lounsbury, 2001; Blee, 2013), their dimensions and characteristics (Martin, 1990; Andrews & Edwards, 2005), and the drivers of individual participation in these organizations (Tsutsui & Wotipka, 2004; Collom, 2011; Bosi & della Porta, 2012). These studies indicate promising progress in understanding smaller organizations involved in social movements.

Nevertheless, perhaps because much of this attention to grassroots organizations is relatively recent, movement scholars continue to pay little attention to questions entrepreneurship scholars consider central, such as how individuals become founders, processes of venture emergence and venture impact, and more generally how such organizations interrelate with broader movements. These oversights are nonetheless surprising given long-standing calls for more research on grassroots organizations (Walsh, 1981; Minkoff & McCarthy, 2005; Andrews & Caren, 2010; Collom, 2011).

Prosocial Ventures and Social Movements

Organization theorists recently began focusing more on the intersection between social movements and organizations (Davis *et al*., 2008), specifically organizations outside the social movement. A main thrust of this research is that movements constitute important contexts that can foster the emergence and shape the paths of organizations and industries (Rojas & King, 2018). This occurs as movements that alter the institutional and cultural environment around organizations as well as through direct confrontations, such as boycotts (Weber & King, 2014). For example, Hiatt *et al*. (2009) showed that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union contributed to the failure of breweries and the growth of soft-drink producers by altering public attitudes toward alcohol and supporting temperance legislation. Similarly, boycotts can compel organizations to succumb to demands by threatening their operations, finances, and reputations (Weber & King, 2014; Rojas & King, 2018; Luders, 2006; King & Soule, 2007; King, 2008). By examining how movements can influence industries and organizations, this research provides insights

that have recently been picked up by entrepreneurship scholars examining prosocial venturing.

Recent research on prosocial venturing and social movements mirrors several of the findings from organization and movement studies. Several recent studies claim movements are important contexts that foster and shape prosocial ventures. Further, several suggest prosocial ventures and movements can exhibit a "family resemblance" and that prosocial ventures can play a role in the larger movements. Akemu *et al*. (2016) adopt a social movement perspective to argue that distributed agency undergirded the emergence of Fairphone, a social venture creating a responsibly-sourced smartphone. They claim social activism was an impetus and facilitator for the emergence of Fairphone and was the critical context behind a network that pre-committed essential resources to the venture. While it is unclear specifically how social activism was responsible for the distributed agency that led to Fairphone's emergence, their general claim that movements can trigger, support, and perhaps shape the emergence of prosocial entrepreneurship resonates with research by other scholars.

Scarlato (2013) and Becker *et al*. (2017) similarly suggest social movements can lead to the emergence of social ventures, while also arguing movements may imprint ventures with idiosyncratic traits that distinguish them from ventures not connected to a movement. In a stylized illustrative case study, Scarlato (2013) suggests that movement-related social ventures espouse broader visions of social change that reach beyond the confines of their local context. From an exploratory study of community energy initiatives, Becker *et al*. (2017) describe several ways social enterprises link to larger movements—ventures may emerge from networks put in place by previous activism or

be founded by activists, adopt goals that reflect a movement's goals, collaborate and partner with movements, and converge with movements to the extent that venture and movement become nearly indistinguishable.

More broadly, Weber *et al*. (2008) and Sine and Lee (2009) explore how movements foster the emergence of new prosocial markets. Weber *et al.* (2008) found that social activism fostered the emergence of the grass-fed meat and dairy market— activism motivated individuals to become entrepreneurs, helped establish a collective identity, and linked entrepreneurs to consumers. Sine and Lee (2009) similarly showed how social movement organizations contributed to the emergence of wind energy entrepreneurs by constructing and propagating cognitive frameworks, norms, values, and regulatory structures. By moving towards an integration of PSV and social movement research, these studies are a promising start to exploring how broader prosocial efforts provide context for and influence PSV.

Echoing earlier research on SMOs, an additional finding from this stream is that prosocial ventures and movements can exhibit what might be labeled a "general affinity" for one another—such as overlapping goals, purposes, and practices. For example, Broek *et al*. (2012) explore how online environmental advocacy organizations combine practices typical of both social entrepreneurs and activists. They describe more broadly that social entrepreneurship and social movements sometimes exhibit overlapping purposes pursued through combinations of practices common to both domains. Montessori (2016) similarly describes convergence between social entrepreneurship and social movements. Intriguingly, she argues "social entrepreneurial movements" are movements built on organizations and which use organizations as the main vehicle for

pursuing social change. Cherrier *et al*. (2018) show that social enterprises sometimes adopt strategies from activists as well as intentionally align themselves with movements. Overall, this research is suggestive that movements may sometimes be important contexts that foster the emergence and shape the characteristics of prosocial ventures; by beginning to explore such cross-level influence, these studies depart in an important way from previous PSV research with its myopic focus on a single level of analysis (Saebi *et al*., 2019).

Despite their promise, however, these studies provide an incomplete picture of the relationship between prosocial ventures and social movements. The studies are largely exploratory and descriptive in nature. They stop short of developing theory to identify mechanisms that explain how and why prosocial ventures connect to social movements. Further, while they implicitly recognize that prosocial ventures differ in whether or not they are connected to or influenced by social movements, they leave unexplored how and why social movements influence some prosocial ventures created to address a particular social problem more or in different ways than others.

As noted, these studies describe an affinity or "family resemblance" between prosocial ventures and social movements, leading to characteristics that distinguish them from other prosocial ventures, yet do not examine the mechanisms interconnecting them or how this interconnection shapes prosocial venturing. Broek *et al.* (2012) and Montessori (2016) describe overlap in the purposes, practices, and organizational vehicles of social entrepreneurship and movements. By proposing overlap, these studies suggest that connections exist between prosocial ventures and movements, but do not clearly identify causal processes or mechanisms that link them. In a fascinating

descriptive study of social enterprise and activism in Ecuador, Scarlato (2013: 1278)

claims activism is "a new explanatory factor of social enterprise origin" yet provides

almost no explanation of specifically how or why movements influence new ventures.

Further, she claims that social ventures influenced by movements constitute a distinct

form of social venture, with "specific traits" that systematically distinguish them from

"traditional" social ventures. Becker *et al.* (2017) recount how some social enterprises are

founded by activists, built on activist networks, collaborate with movements, or emerge

as an initiative of a movement, but provide little explanation for why these ventures in

particular, but not others, emerged in conjunction with activism. Cherrier *et al*. (2018)

illustrate how one social venture in India aligned itself with the emphases of broader

efforts related to menstrual hygiene, environmental responsibility, and the global

sisterhood of women. The study focused more on describing broad patterns, rather than

how and why the venture came to align itself and its strategy with these broader efforts.

Akemu *et al.* (2016) suggest social activism can be critical in triggering social enterprises

and mobilizing needed resources, yet their examples of resource provision typically

center on non-activist actors, leaving it unclear if or how these actors were connected in

anyway with activism. In sum, scholars tend to describe the co-occurrence of prosocial

ventures and movements and conclude there is a causal relationship between them, while

overlooking important questions about what mechanisms account for this influence or

whether or not ventures come within the sphere of influence of a social movement in the

first place.

 Overall, these studies provide compelling suggestive evidence of some form of

causal relationship between local prosocial ventures and broader social movements.

Further, they are a promising step forward in moving beyond the narrow focus on individual entrepreneurs and organizations in PSV research and in attending to the influence of broader prosocial efforts that constitute an important context for prosocial ventures. Yet, as a whole, these studies have important limitations. In particular, there is a need for more research on the interplay of prosocial ventures and social movements that carefully attends to the mechanisms at play—mechanisms that account for the how's and why's of social movements' differential influence on prosocial ventures, including the how's and why's behind ventures' differential connections to social movements.

Institutional Logics

The main thrust of research on institutional logics is that "socially constructed…patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules" are key drivers of organizations' behaviors, as well as the behaviors of individuals within the organizations (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008: 101). For example, institutional logics have been linked to organizational decisions and outcomes such as choice of CEO (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999), likelihood of acquisition (Thornton, 2001), adoption of specific organizational forms (Thornton, 2002), and the founding of new organizations (Almandoz, 2012). Despite advancing understanding of organizational decisions and outcomes, however, as well as its intentional inclusion of individual agency (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), research on institutional logics shares in common with neo-institutional theory a strong emphasis on stability and conformity—that is, it emphasizes "broad agreement on a set of rules and 'institutional logics' [that come] to be shared by most actors in the strategic action field" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012: 89). As a result of this

strong emphasis on consensus and conformity, institutional logics research excels at explaining uniformity in behavior across organizations and organizational members, yet falls short of accounting for behavioral variation across organizations, and provides little theoretical leverage for explaining this variation. Recent research suggests that social movements, which at times can wield an influence over organizations similar to that of logics and which have been labeled "alternative" or "insurgent" logics (Weber *et al.*, 2008), may be important drivers of organizational behaviors (Davis *et al.*, 2008) that conflict with existing institutional logics and social structures. Thus, the intersection of social movements and organizations presents a promising opportunity to move beyond the focus on uniformity between organizations to examining and explaining variation between organizations.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

I conducted a longitudinal field study of on-campus food pantries, other small prosocial ventures that address campus hunger, and a variety of social movement organizations that share a focus on student hunger or self-identify as part of the movement. I inducted grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) through iterative cross-case analyses of data gathered from multiple sources (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2009). This research design is appropriate for answering my research question: *How and why do social movements shape the way prosocial entrepreneurs enact social issues?*

Empirical Setting

To understand the ways social movements shape prosocial entrepreneurs' enactment of social issues, I employed a multiple-case study in order to induct theory (Eisenhardt, 1989). Grounded theory methods are well suited to examining deeply contextualized patterns of behavior to derive theory from data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and are appropriate for answering the how and why aspects of my research question (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). Systematic comparison and contrasting of multiple cases enable a form of replication, which allows me to increase confidence in my emergent theory (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Yin, 2009).

The recent emergence of a social movement and an unordered mass of national social movement organizations—organizations such as Swipe Out Hunger, Universities Fighting World Hunger, The Hope Center for College, Community, and Justice, and Sharing Excess—targeting student hunger and other student basic needs in the United States is a strategic setting for studying how social movements influence PSV. Over the past few decades, gradual but consistent demographic shifts in undergraduate enrollment have resulted in increasing student diversity, including higher percentages of female students and students of color, many of whom exhibit higher average rates of food and basic needs insecurity (Goldrick-Rab, 2006; Statista, 2017, 2018). At the same time, lower state support and rising college costs, paired with tighter budgets facing many families since the recession in 2008, have made it harder for increasing numbers of families to afford college and have increased rates of basic needs insecurity among college students (Goldrick-Rab, 2016). Alongside these demographic and economic shifts, there has been gradually increasing awareness of student hunger and expanding

efforts to alleviate or eliminate it. Local and national media outlets have featured stories on student hunger, leading to greater popular awareness of the issue. Recent activism by a number of individuals and organizations has led to more recognition of student hunger among college and university administrations, as well as increased activity from local, state, and federal governments. Since at least 1993, with the founding of the Michigan State University Student Food Bank, the number of campus food pantries and other student hunger organizations have grown substantially, with rapid growth starting around 2011.

Sampling

I studied the founders of 11 campus-based pantries on a variety of U.S. colleges and universities. To explore the relationship between prosocial ventures and social movements, my initial target profile of organizations included: a) on-campus food pantries, off-campus anti-hunger organizations, and social movement organizations where b) I could access founders or other individuals who I thought would be intimately familiar with the history and current operations of the organizations. I also c) attended several national anti-hunger conferences. Using contacts from my social network— including individuals I met at these conferences— snowball sampling, and cold-calling, I identified individuals and organizations that fit this profile and conducted exploratory interviews.

As my theoretical ideas developed, I followed common practices of theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to move the initial set of founders and pantries, selecting additional cases that were "particularly suitable for illuminating and extending

relationships and logics" (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007: 27). At first, I was intentionally inclusive in talking with a variety of individuals associated with pantries, including a number of non-founders and others with less in-depth knowledge of the respective pantries, since I wanted to become more familiar with campus pantries in general. However, in a number of cases, I was not able to access the founder of the pantry and instead interviewed individuals who, although knowledgeable about the pantries, did not possess the depth of understanding that founders typically have. As it became more apparent that the characteristics of pantry founders in particular would play a role in my developing theory, I focused on pantries that remained founder-run.

I explored a large number of pantries to arrive at 14 pantries in my initial sample. Three of these cases, while providing useful confirmatory data, were removed from my final analysis due to insufficient data. While I draw at times on these three cases to illuminate certain points, my theory is based on the remaining 11 pantries and their founders. I ceased adding cases to my sample after reaching "theoretical saturation" and when I was no longer making substantial new inferences (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I present here summary data for the 11 pantries, and Table 1 provides details about my sample. In addition, I conducted a number of secondary interviews with these founders' colleagues, which was an important source of data that allowed me to confirm, or in some cases to challenge, what I thought I understood from founder interviews. In addition to these 11 pantries, I also conducted interviews with the founders of five prominent national social movement organizations—however, because these individuals are well-known, I provide only basic details about them and the organizations in-text in order to

protect their anonymity. More generally, throughout this paper, I have changed

inconsequential details in order to protect the anonymity of the people in my study.

Data Collection

I conducted interviews for around 20 months, between late-2018 and mid-2020.

My early interviews were unstructured, and I asked general, open-ended questions about

the individual's background, how they became involved, and the story of how the pantry

got started. Throughout all of my interviews, I carefully played the role of a neutral but

supportive listener, lowering the chance of social desirability bias in the respondents'

answers (Kahn & Canelle, 1957). As my interviews proceeded, they become more

structured—though still highly flexible—as I explored in more depth my emerging

theoretical themes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). For instance, I asked about each

individual's background, and in most cases they provided me with detailed biographical

information including various group affiliations they had or conferences they attended, as

well as information about their personal lives prior to, during, or after their involvement

with the pantry. I also asked about where the pantry was located, and in most cases the

interviewees would begin telling me about their rationale or logic for choosing the

pantries' location. As I discovered the importance connections to social movements,

founders' identities, and differing views about the stigma of food pantries and solvability

of food insecurity held for my emerging theory, I gathered deeper background

information for each individual.

The interviews, with only few exceptions, were recorded and transcribed into

approximately 800 single-spaced pages. Average interview length was 55 minutes,

ranging from 28 to 102 minutes. In the few cases that I was unable to record interviews, I took detailed real time notes and expanded on this shortly after the interview was completed. For the five social movement organizations, my transcribed interviews generated 160 single-spaced pages, and interviews averaged 49 minutes and ranged from 34 to 59 minutes. During the three national conferences I attended, I took just under 80 single-spaced pages of field notes. In total, my total time in the field was approximately 250 hours. In addition to my interviews and field notes, I collected over 400 additional pieces of data across the pantries, social movement organizations, and conferences, including photos and videos, research reports, press clippings, web pages, publicly available social media posts, and personal blog posts. This diverse array of data provides a strong foundation for generating "thick description" (Geertz, 1973; Charmaz, 2006) and avoids the growing tendency among inductive organizational studies to valorize individuals' utterances to the near exclusion of other critical sources of data (Baker, Powell, & Fultz, 2017).

All quotes in this paper come from transcribed interviews, field notes, and occasionally quotes pulled from additional publicly available sources such as personal websites, social media, and—more rarely—press clippings. In several cases, it was necessary for me to alter in minor ways several pieces of these data in order to maintain the anonymity of each participant (e.g., change an inconsequential detail about a person's background that otherwise could identify them, referencing but not showing an identifying photo). All the names of the interviewees, their colleagues, and their school affiliations are pseudonyms.

Analytic Strategy

My methods were patterned after accepted procedures for inductive research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Glaser, 1978; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Throughout my data collection, I compared cases to other cases, looking for variations across cases as well as common themes. I developed numerous matrices by coding the cases into typologies that emerged through my cross-case comparisons (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Early in this process, I identified a working typology of three behavioral patterns among the pantries that I labeled "concealing", "partial revealing", and "full revealing". As I describe in my results, I came to understand that these were not isolated behavioral strategies, but instead the end points of three distinct paths shaped by variation in connection to social movements—and an institutional logic of student affairs—and translated through founders' identities and roles. I extensively documented the patterns in the data, writing over 400 single-spaced pages of theoretical memos (Charmaz, 2006) as I constructed tentative theoretical explanations, using each case as a replication (Eisenhardt, 1989; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Yin, 2009) with which to challenge and extend my theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

CHAPTER 4: LOGICS AND MOVEMENTS, IDENTITIES AND ROLES

In this chapter, I explore two important social influences that shape the identities and behaviors of the founders in my study—a student affairs institutional logic and social movements—and examine the influence these have on the roles founders occupy as they start and operate pantries, and on the set of identities salient to them in their pantry work. I first describe a student affairs logic and then examine those founders influenced

primarily by this logic. I show the ways the logic shapes their roles and, by structurally

isolating them, constrains them to have single role-identities that are salient to their

pantry work and leads them to run their pantries in role-congruent ways. I next describe

the characteristics of the social movements that influence the remaining founders. I show

how these movements influence these founders' roles and, by introducing structural

overlap to their roles as founders, provides them access to movement-related identities

that lead them to alter or construct roles congruent with their movement-related identities.

Table 3 summarizes each founder's path. As will be seen in Chapter 5, these differences

in founder identities and roles drive profound variations in the way prosocial founders

enact food insecurity—whether they define it as stigmatized or not, as well as their

behavioral strategies for dealing with it.

Prior research has identified similarities between institutional logics and social

movements in terms of their impact on individuals' behaviors and identities. Institutional

logics are "socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions,

values, beliefs, and rules" (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008: 101) that "furnish guidelines for

practical action" (Rao *et al.*, 2003: 795 - 796). They constitute prescriptions for how

individuals *should* act, the rules they *should* follow, and the assumptions, values, and

beliefs they *should* hold. Thornton and Ocasio (2008) further suggest logics are a key

mechanism linking broad, institutional practices and rules to individuals' behaviors. On

the other hand, social movements are "loosely organized coalitions with a goal of

contesting prominent social and cultural practices through sustained campaigns" and have

been shown to generate "alternative logics" that oppose existing institutions (Weber *et*

al., 2008: 531).

In common across institutional logics and movements is the production of prescriptive practices, assumptions, values, and beliefs that can significantly influence individuals' behaviors. Through these prescriptions, both influence individuals and their behaviors in part by shaping self-concept or identity. Friedland and Alford (1991) argue that logics "provide individuals…with a sense of self" (p. 251), and Rao *et al.* (2003) found that logics are important drivers of role identities. Miller, Miller, and Lester (2011) suggest that an "entrepreneurial logic" can drive both entrepreneurs' role and social identities. Among social movements, similarly, research suggests individuals participating in movements often partake of a collective identity, which involves "shared values" (Staggenborg & Ramos, 2016), "shared beliefs" (Klandermans & De Weerd, 2000), and "reconstitut[ing] the individual self around a new and valued identity" (Friedman & McAdam, 1992: 157). Both logics and movements, then, describe and prescribe prototypical beliefs and behaviors that become shared among those following the logic or movement. Finally, both institutional logics and social movements can influence the roles that individuals occupy. A main thrust of prior research is that institutional logics are important drivers of "rational, mindful behavior" of individuals within organizations (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), and research on social movements has illustrated ways movements foster the creation of new roles or the modification of existing roles in organizations (Lounsbury, 2001).

Despite these important similarities, however, there is a critical difference between institutional logics and social movements: Logics are important drivers of stability and the reproduction of existing social structures (Rao *et al.*, 2003), while social movements generate "insurgent logics" that aim at destabilizing and restructuring

existing structures (Weber *et al.*, 2008). In what follows, I detail the characteristics of an institutional logic and various social movements, exploring the ways they influence founders' identities and roles, and—in the process—set in motion processes of *role-playing* and *role-making* among the founders in my study. I begin by exploring the institutional logic and its impact, as this provides a useful baseline against which to compare the operation of the social movements.

Institutional Logic and Structural Isolation

Student Affairs Logic. An important institutional logic that influences many of the founders in my study is what I'm labeling a *student affairs logic*. Within universities, student affairs divisions provide a wide range of services and programming to enhance students' academic experiences, typically outside the classroom. These include, among many others, a wide array of services related to challenging issues and problems students frequently face, including alcohol and other drug abuse programs, counseling for physical, mental, and psychological health, disability services, LGBT+ services, sexual violence and student conduct, and TRIO and access programing (Council for the Advancement of Standards, 2019). In addressing these and other student issues, three prototypical practices or approaches that are particularly noticeable in the student affairs profession, but also in higher-ed more generally, are (a) respect for student privacy and confidentiality, (b) sensitivity in handling student issues, and (c) a routine, administrative approach to handling student issues.

Dating back at least to the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974 (FERPA), strictly maintaining student privacy and confidentiality has been a central

concern among student affairs professionals in particular and higher-ed professionals in general—enshrined in both government regulations applying to colleges and universities, as well as standards of professional practice articulated by various associations. Explaining the ramifications of FERPA for colleges and universities, two student affairs professionals write, "…when student affairs professionals violate a student's confidentiality without maintaining anonymity, they not only violate federal laws such as [FERPA]…they also put their institution at risk" (Burmudez & Durham, 2012).

Further, privacy/confidentiality is repeatedly framed as a professional norm and core value. In 2015, the Council for the Advancement of Standards released an ethics statement consisting of a set of "shared ethical principles" which included: "Fidelity: …We maintain confidentiality of interactions, student records, and information related to legal and private matters" and "Veracity: …We communicate all relevant facts and information while respecting privacy and confidentiality" (Council for the Advancement of Standards, 2015). Similarly, student affairs associations—such as the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) and the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA)—address student confidentiality in their standards of professional practices. The ACPA lists privacy as a core ethical principle: "Maintain current, accurate knowledge of all regulations related to privacy of student records…Student affairs professionals respect and promote autonomy and privacy" (ACPA, 2006). NASPA also lists confidentiality as a standard of professional practice, stating "Members ensure that confidentiality is maintained with respect to all privileged communications…" (NASPA, 1990). Student confidentiality has been labeled as one of the "core concepts student affairs practitioners hold as pillars" (NASPA, 2019)

While this emphasis is particularly pronounced in the student affairs profession, a similar emphasis appears in higher education more generally—the American Association of University Administrators, for example, similarly emphasizes privacy and confidentiality as ethical principles: "We respect confidentiality and protect the privacy of information. We take active steps to respect and protect the legitimate privacy interests of all individuals and maintain appropriate confidentiality of institutional information and student records" (AAUA, 2017). Further, institutional employees at all levels are held to similar standards. At a large Southwestern state university's employee onboarding training, for example, "employees may not disclose confidential information gained by reason of the employees' official position", and information considered confidential includes "Employee personnel files…student records".

This repeated and ubiquitous emphasis on student privacy and confidentiality within higher-ed as a whole, and student affairs in particular, not surprisingly finds expression in a related emphasis on practicing sensitivity when dealing with particular issues. Campus sexual violence is a prime example. Government recommendations to campuses for supporting victims of sexual violence include employing "trauma-informed" preventatives and responses to sexual violence, and creating a "system that provides coordinated, confidential support" (Dills, Fowler, & Payne, 2016). Within the student affairs profession, a recent article on addressing sexual violence on campus states that student affairs professionals "sit amid many tensions related to responding swiftly and sensitively to sexual violence within our institutions…", suggests these professionals should aim to create a campus culture that will increase the "likelihood for a sensitive and effective institutional response", and work to ensure "a sensitive, fair, and just

adjudication" (Landreman & Williamsen, 2018: 35, 27, 42). A recent NASPA report on sexual violence, quoting from Mercer and Madsen (2011), notes, "The intimate nature of sexual assault demands that the process is managed carefully and with sensitivity…" (NASPA, 2020a). Reflecting this broad emphasis on sensitivity, a 2017 study by Culture of Respect found that "89% of responding institutions offer an option for students to report [sexual violence] anonymously" (NASPA, 2017a), and NASPA reports promising progress among colleges and universities in "employing staff with diverse skill sets to provide trauma-informed response to survivors" (NASPA, 2017b) and in "raising the bar of responsibility to prevent sexual violence…and to respond…with sensitive and well-developed programs for victims…" (Koenick, 2014).

This same emphasis on sensitivity appears in other student issues as well. When dealing with student mental health issues, for example, one student affairs professional critically summarizes the normal process: "The typical way of addressing mental health challenges…requires us to delegate the response to a small number of licensed mental health professionals at the institution. That response then becomes hidden in a cloak of confidentiality…We continue to emphasize the need for more clinicians with specialized training while chanting confidentiality mantras…" (Dills *et al*., 2016). Similar to dealing with mental health issues, student substance abuse and recovery support services are complicated by "Issues of confidentiality and sensitivity" given "the serious stigma associated with substance use disorders" (Perron *et al*., 2011: 55). In sum, across numerous student issues within higher-ed, there is a long-standing, ongoing routine emphasis on student confidentiality and on handling student issues with elevated sensitivity to the presence and possibilities of stigmatization.

Finally, the common approach to dealing with student issues is administrative, hierarchical, and routinized. This is evident, first, from the ongoing existence of institutional departments and offices dedicated to issues such as mental and psychiatric issues, mental health, violence prevention and victim assistance, accessibility, Title IX and student conduct, and now food insecurity, as well as the orientation of the associated staff who fill these offices. For student affairs professionals, such student issues are ongoing realities and are viewed as such. Garland and Grace (1993) described "evolving realities" student affairs professionals face, including "various changes in their contexts and clienteles…uneven success with students from underrepresented groups in the education pipeline, demographic shifts, expanding use of information technologies, increasing violence, and the burden of debt". A more recent assessment by Tull and Kuk (2012) concurs that student affairs divisions face a series of "new realities" including growing enrollment and changing student demographics. For student affairs professionals, the issues they address are realities, often beyond their control, which they must respond to—ongoing issues fed by a constant stream of new incoming students. And these ongoing issues are structured bureaucratically as routine problems to be handled through delegation and routine, repeatable processes. In an opinion piece on changes in institutional approaches to sexual violence, a former Dean of Students notes both the delegation and routinization involved in sexual misconduct cases:

> *"I didn't investigate; I deployed skilled people to do that. I didn't advocate: I*
> *assigned staff to those roles. I didn't' judge: I relied on smart, thoughtful,*
> *compassionate colleagues to find whatever truth there might be in the midst of*

accusations and counteraccusations. My job was to protect a process…I stood at the figurative door and held off all those who would interfere, impede, or otherwise compromise a process we had worked hard to create…" (Williams, 2015)

In sum, within what I'm labeling a student affairs logic are a set of embedded normative practices and beliefs, or prototypes, that in large part drive professional practices and importantly influence the behaviors of student affairs and higher-education administrative professionals. Among these normative practices and beliefs are emphases on maintaining student confidentiality, addressing issues sensitively, and handling issues as largely unavoidable realities that require ongoing management.

Student Affairs Logic, Roles, and Founder Identities. Importantly, this overarching student affairs logic strongly impacts several founders in my study in two primary ways: through (1) shaping the roles they occupy and (b) shaping their founder identities. Further, as I will show below, these roles and founder identities interact in a process of role-playing, where the role constrains founder identity towards a singular role-related identity, which in turn motivates role-congruent behaviors. In what follows, I explore the manifestation of student affairs logic in the particular schools my founders are members of, the ways their roles reflect this logic, the way their identities are structurally constrained to reflect this logic, and how their identities motivate role-congruent behaviors.

The founders following the Concealing path (Figure 1) start and operate pantries as extensions of their pre-existing professional roles, roles that reflect the rules and norms

of student affairs and higher-ed administration. The institutional contexts around these founders and their roles strongly align with and reinforce the rules and norms of a student affairs logic. As seen in Table 1, Kathy (C1), Hazel (C2), Rebecca (C3), and Sasha (C4) are each embedded in student affairs divisions that adhere to the logic of confidentiality and sensitivity across multiple issues such as student mental and psychological counseling, sexual violence, gender identity and sexual orientation, and substance abuse recovery programs. My data clearly points to repeated emphases among these schools on confidentiality and sensitivity in handling student issues, evidenced through references to "safe, non-judgmental and highly confidential environment[s]", "confidentiality and trust", "confidential psychological counseling", "confidential services", a "safe, confidential place" with "sensitive and highly trained professionals", "confidential medical care", "confidential emotional support", counseling services that are "free, voluntary, and confidential", advertising "free and confidential" hotlines, "informal and confidential" support groups, "holding in confidence reports of conduct", and "confidential sessions".

Even Charlene and Mary (C5), administrators in an academic department rather than student affairs professionals, are nevertheless subject to the confidentiality regulations of FERPA; as an academic department, they have access to "records, files, documents, and other materials that contain information directly related to a student", as well as personally identifiable information for students, and must maintain the confidentiality of this information. These founders' pre-existing roles—within which they start and operate campus pantries—are formally subject to governmental requirements for

confidentiality, and by the requirements of their local institution, as well as informally subject to professional norms of ethics and best practices.

While Concealers occupy roles primarily shaped around a student affairs logic, it is important to note that their roles are at times influenced by social movements to some extent—most notably the growing movement around student basic needs. The most evident influence of this movement on these founders' roles is via the awareness it generates of student basic needs insecurity as a significant, national issue and the impetus it creates for campuses to more intentionally address these insecurities. In other words, the movement makes known or reinforces the need for something like a campus pantry, among both senior leadership and eventual founders. For instance, food insecurity came onto Brenda's radar—a student affairs VP at HSU and Sasha's boss—through her own observations as well through a session she attended at a conference. Faria recounts, "It really kind of started with [Brenda]…She went to a session on food insecurity…", and Sasha said that "[Brenda] tapped us both and said, Look, let's get this off the ground'". At MU, the basic needs movement alerted Charlene and Mary (C5), as well as their department manager, to the need for a pantry. They indicated awareness that food insecurity has "been a bigger national conversation" of late, and indirectly credit the basic needs movement for the idea of starting a pantry: "I think the idea originally came from some articles we had read…in the [New York] Times…and the [school newspaper]…And that's what started the conversation amongst us staff members". The New York Times article, notably, discusses the extent of food insecurity across the country, citing heavily research from Dr. Sara Goldrick-Rab and the Hope Center, the "college food-pantry movement", and other organizations involved in the basic needs

movement including the College and University Food Bank Alliance and two meal-sharing organizations.

The other Concealers also give indications of awareness or at least familiarity with the movement. Discussing her dissertation work, Rebecca (C3) mentions drawing on data from Sara Goldrick-Rab's studies with the Hope Center: "Sara Goldrick-Rab who is nationally known, very, very invested in this work that she's doing. And there are a number of others that I've kind of looked at and used their data and used their information…because they've been doing a lot of studies." And later she mentions Sara Goldrick-Rab again, saying she has been "very, very instrumental in raising awareness 'cause she kept beating a drum…Every report she's ever put out, every place she can talk to…She really, really started to raise this awareness…particularly in the last—I wanna say at least in the last three to five years. These reports just kept coming out. Nobody could ignore them any longer".

Hazel (C2) mentioned being aware that "most campuses are moving towards a food pantry…So it is sort of a trend across the campuses", and Kathy, who passed the pantry off to Hazel, (C1) similarly mentioned, "I mean, obviously as a national issue there's been a lot more attention to it [food insecurity] in higher education over the past, like, five years". Sasha (C4), as noted, is the only Concealer who has attended a conference associated with the social movement, and was greatly encouraged to discover many others people with roles similar to hers. Across these founders, and in some cases their superiors, the basic needs movement in particular has raised awareness of the issue of student basic needs and made known the need for initiatives to address food insecurity—in some cases leading these founders to expand their roles by initiating a

food pantry, as in the case of Charlene and Mary (C5), and in others leading their superiors to order them to start pantries, as in Sasha's (C4) case. Thus, while the primary influences on these founders stems from the institutional logic behind their professions as well as their roles, their roles are nevertheless influenced to some extent by broader social movements.

In addition to occupying roles strongly shaped by a student affairs logic, and to a lesser extent influenced by social movements, these Concealing founders have single role identities—tied to their extant roles—as salient in their work founding and operating campus pantries. These singular founder identities appear in several ways in my data, including through recognition by the individuals themselves and by others that they occupy certain roles, through a striking lack of other salient identities being invoked in their pantry work, and, in several of the cases, through evidence of other salient identities the individuals have but which do not appear salient to—and rather are experienced quite separately from—their work. Table 2 provides illustrative data for the identities salient to these individuals as they launch and operate pantries. Charlene and Mary (C5) are exceptions in that they express multiple identities in the context of their pantry work, which I will address more fully below.

In the context of two conversations with Kathy (C1), the identity that emerges as salient in her work with the pantry is her role identity as a proficient student affairs professional. As noted, this emerges through her numerous references to different aspects of her role and the almost complete absence in her work of identities that are salient to her in other settings. Throughout our discussions, and in publicly-available secondary data I collected, what appears to a great extent are references in various forms to her

professional life and identity as a student affairs professional. The importance of this identity to Kathy (C1) appears in several ways. First, Kathy (C1) has a long-standing professional background in higher-education administration, and student affairs specifically:

> *"So I've been in higher ed for — I think this is my 13th year…I have a very much liberal arts background, specifically in health education. But I have my master's…in higher post-secondary education, and my doctorate from _____, ED.D in ed leadership…I was the associate dean of students over there [at my former institution]…When I came to ETU, I was hired as the Director of Student Life and so I came from a student life background but I did a lot of conduct over at [my former institution]."*

This is reinforced by her LinkedIn profile which shows that nearly her entire career has been in higher education, with titles including assistant director of student activities, director of student life, dean of students, Title IX coordinator, and executive director of student life. Second, Kathy (C1) exhibits a recurrent concern within her role about others' expectations. She spoke several times of others' expectations and her attempts to manage these expectations, seek feedback, and fulfill expectations by putting out a good product. For example:

> *"…There's, I think, sometimes an unrealistic expectation that this is easy…And so I really had to kind of push back a little…And to kind of say this is not*

easy…There was this expectation that we were going to have [the pantry] open

right after homecoming, I said no way…Be realistic. 'Cause also, I don't want to

fail…I don't want to set it up for an opening and have a crappy reception…And

I'm new too. So like I want to make sure that I put out a good product."

Kathy (C1) is very sensitive to, aware of, and responsive to the expectations and opinions of other people—including superiors, peers, and inferiors. She is very aware the expectations exist, she tried to manage expectations in a more realistic direction and seek feedback, making it more likely she would succeed in meeting expectations. She gives further glimpses that fulfilling her role and meeting these various expectations is important to her: "I don't want to fail," "I don't like going back on my word," "I want to make sure that I put out a good product," "I don't like to do anything half-a**ed", and in response to how students had stacked cans in the pantry, "me coming in, being nit-picky." Further, her concern with others' expectations and producing a good product extend only as far as the boundaries of her role. Kathy (C1) stays in her lane and wants other people to do the same. She describes her role, and the responsibilities that come with it, as owned possessions. They are hers by right of her role. This includes the pantry but also extends beyond it: "AF: You have a pub on campus? … Kathy (C1): Uh huh…it falls under our oversight." Responsibility for organizing homecoming was given to her and it "is now mine". The proximity of the pantry to her office is "why it makes sense that we oversee it." Kathy (C1) exhibits—figuratively, and almost literally—a territorial claim over those responsibilities that are given to her. And during her time at her previous job, she didn't get involved in food insecurity discussions because "it really [wasn't]

under my purview". Finally, Kathy (C1) is an active participant in the student affairs professional associations. In 2018 and 2019, she gave presentations on sexual violence interventions and the process of getting a PhD while a mother. Overall, Kathy (C1) has a strong role identity connected to her position as director of student life specifically, and a student affairs professional more generally, because her "understanding of and identification with a role is shaped by [her] interactions with others who express a set of behavioral norms and expectations that help define the role" and she "shape[s] [her] behavior to seek confirmation of valued roles" (Powell & Baker, 2014: 1408).

Hazel (C2)—who helped Kathy (C1) co-found the pantry at ETU and now is primarily responsible for running it—has a similar role identity. This is evident, first, in her intentional career path in student affairs and her self-identification with the student affairs profession. After graduating with her undergraduate degree, in her words, "I committed myself to pursuing a career within Student Affairs". Consistent with this declaration, she received an MA in Higher Education in Student Affairs, held two internships at colleges and universities related to student success and conference and event coordination, followed by her current job at ETU working as assistant director for commuter life and operations. Further, in a portfolio website she created, she enumerates her experience and understanding of ethics in student affairs, and clearly links herself to some of the values mentioned previously related to a student affairs logic: "Being an ethical professional in the field of student affairs means…considering all views when faced with an issue…respecting autonomy, being just, considering cultural values...being true to…the virtues of the profession". Summing up her background during our

interview, Hazel (C2) said "So my background is all higher ed…[My first position at ETU] was really in operations…and then switched more over to Student Life".

Alongside this educational and career trajectory, Hazel (C2) is very active in her field's professional conferences. During our discussion, she mentioned "I've been a part of both NASPA and ACPA on and off. Usually switching from year to year…And also [a regional conference]…which is more local…[and] more campus inter-operations and building operations…Also the [university name] conference, because [that university] hosts a student affairs conference". And, consistent with this, on the personal development section of her portfolio website, she records attendance at the Association of College Student Unions, ACPA, [a student affairs conferences hosted by a university], NASPA, and the [State Name] College Personnel Association; she also lists her membership in many of these, and several other, professional associations. In addition, similar to Kathy (C1)'s efforts to put out a good product and meet the expectations of those around her, Hazel (C2) also endeavors to present herself as competent, informed, and well-prepared for roles within student affairs. In her portfolio site, as a personal reflection on her master's program, she details at length the courses she took as well as her "competencies" within important areas of student affairs including advising and helping, equity-diversity-inclusion, ethical professional practice, the history, philosophy, and values of higher education, and leadership.

Finally, in addition to her self-declaration of committing herself to a career in student affairs, she gives other indications that her work is something she values. It is a field where she has the goal of "contributing to making changes in the world of Higher Education", specifically in student affairs. During her career, she wants to contribute

"important things…at the institution I am working at", and she states that "Off Campus Student Affairs" is "an area that I am interested in personally". She further draws a close connection between career goals and her life goals, by explaining her "overall goals in life" within the context of her career: "The way you get meaning into your life is to devote yourself to loving others…devote yourself to creating something that gives you purpose and meaning". In sum, in a blog during her graduate program, she describes herself as: "I am an _____ alumna…from [state name]…Currently I am attending ____ for my MEd Higher Education in Student Affairs…I do what I love and I love what I do". Hazel (C2), like Kathy (C1), positions herself clearly as a student affairs professional and indicates it is a career that she values highly.

Rebecca (C3) at MCC clearly identities herself as a social worker. In describing her background, she notes that she has worked in the social services field for the past "oh, I don't know, 30, 35 years, both in private industry, you know, in communities of high need, and in government organizations". During the first 25 years of her career, she worked for government social service agencies, and worked in "[city name] neighborhoods with substance abuse programs or healthcare, when the AIDs epidemic was at its peak…Not even its peak. When it was starting around the '80s". After a quarter-century in this field, she switched gears, maintaining her status as a social worker but changing to the context of an urban community college system. "So about eight, nine years ago, I kind of wanted a little change in my career. I had an opportunity to leave [a government agency] and come to [this community college system] and implement the Single Stop Program". It is noteworthy that for roughly 35 years spent across these different contexts, and with various organizations, Rebecca (C3) provides a strikingly

unified view of who she is: "In terms of my background, I am a social worker and I am a social worker who has worked in the social services field. So I'm not a clinical social worker." While defining her background, she employs the present continuous tense—"I am…". Her historical background remains an accurate description of who she is. This is seen in how she conflates past with present in her self-description: "in terms of my background…I am", "I am…has worked."

Next, she situates herself through both positive and negative affirmations to describe the in-group she is a part of: "I am a social worker…who has worked in the social services field…I'm not a clinical social worker". As a whole, in her work with Single Stop in general and the pantry in particular, she sees herself as doing social services work. Speaking about the pantry, which falls within Single Stop, she says, "Campuses are not particularly designed for social services. Right? Am I right on that? They're not. They're not particularly designed for social services." Finally, she is also very concerned with carrying out her role as prescribed, being careful before proceeding with a food pantry—even though it closely aligns with her office's overall mandate of removing barriers to student retention and graduation—to seek permission from the VP of Student Affairs, who in turn sought permission from the president and board before the pantry went forward. Thus, she continues to see herself as a social worker—a social worker who provides social services on campus.

Like these previous founders, Sasha (C4)'s roles are also within student affairs. She has identities connected to her joint roles as Student Center Coordinator and Pantry Coordinator, formal roles she identifies herself with. For her approximately 13 years at HSU, she has been within student affairs, starting as Program Assistant for the Student

Center at HSU and eventually becoming the Student Center Coordinator around two years ago. While serving as Program Assistant, she also worked on a master's degree in counseling with a concentration on clinical mental health, a degree that equips students to work on a variety of issues including "…eating disorders, mental health transition, and other related issues of developmental challenges". Around the time she finished this degree—"I had just finished up my master's in clinical mental health"—she was tapped by Faria, the Associate Dean of Students, for involvement with the pantry. According to Faria, "I was charged with…making it happen. I put Sasha (C4) in because she would run the day-to-day piece of it".

Sasha (C4) became the Pantry Coordinator in addition to her then role as Program Assistant for the Student Center, and continues as Pantry Coordinator while also serving as the Coordinator for the Student Center. During our multiple interviews, as well as in other publicly-available data, Sasha (C4) identifies herself as holding these roles: "But, that's my background here. I started as Program Coordinator [Assistant]…", and, "I'm the coordinator of the Student Center…and I run the food pantry". And in her LinkedIn profile, she simultaneously lists her roles as "Student Center Coordinator and Coordinator for the _____ Pantry at [HSU]". In sum, Sasha (C4) is a "participant in structural role relationships", and has associated identities given that she is recognized as filling these roles by both others and herself (Stryker, 1980).

Charlene and Mary (C5) similarly have role identities connected to their roles as higher-ed professionals within the department of history at MU. Charlene refers to herself as "the graduate program administrator" and describes herself as an "experienced program administrator with a demonstrated history of work in the higher education

industry". Mary, similarly, introduced herself as "the assistant to the chair", with "almost five years of experience working in higher education…". Similar to the others, they are operating the pantry with the approval of their department manager—"…[we] are spearheading this effort with…our department manager's direct and influential involvement"—and they are planning the pantry in a way that won't unduly interfere with their existing responsibilities: "We don't have the budget to…set something up that we can't kind of incorporate into our existing flows…A fridge would be a level of maintenance that just takes us far outside of what we can [handle]".

Unlike the previous four founders, who expressed only a single role identity as salient to their work, these two also have salient social identities as progressive social critics—illustrated in Table 2. However, it is noteworthy that their identities as higher-ed professionals and their identities as progressive social critics are both closely tied to interactions with their academic department as opposed to an external referent group, such as a social movement. For example, they noted, "Our faculty are…outspokenly progressive in a lot of cases…when we bring them stuff like this that's human rights related to them, their ears perk up…". This makes it difficult to tell whether they express distinct role and social identities, or whether their progressive social critic tendencies are another aspect of their role, given they are embedded in an openly progressive department.

In sum, in common across these founders are roles and role identities rooted strongly in their profession—typically student affairs, always higher-ed. Their role identities drive them to be "good" professionals by behaving in ways that meet the norms and expectations of their roles in order to "elicit validating responses from others in the

form of positive reflected appraisals" (Powell & Baker, 2014; see also Stryker, 1980 and Gecas & Burke, 1995). In essence, these founders' identities are rooted heavily in their professions, encouraging these individuals to be "good" professionals by fulfilling their roles.

Structural Isolation. Among the Concealers there is a striking division between who they are at work and who they are the rest of the time. This division is driven by structural isolation—that is, their roles channel them towards interactions with professionals in similar roles and effectively isolate them from connections with "analytically distinct sets of social relations" (Stryker, 1980: 61). By isolating them from interactions with multiple distinct groups, structural isolation makes it more likely they will invoke a single salient identity within their roles.

In the context of her role as Executive Director of Student Life—which includes the work she did to launch the ETU pantry—Kathy (C1) has a strong role-identity as a student affairs professional and a desire to be a proficient student affairs professional as evidenced by her effort to "put out a good product" and her strong dislike for doing "anything half-a**ed". At the same time, outside of work she expresses a variety of role and social identities related to being a wife, a mother, a singer, and a human rights advocate with emphases on LGBT+ issues—"something I am incredibly passionate about"—a feminist and women's rights advocate, and a sexual violence advocate. Yet, throughout our interviews as well as other data I collected, these other identities did not appear as salient to her professional role. In fact, Kathy (C1) draws a strikingly clear line between work and life. In a public social media post, she shared information about a sexual violence event held by her institution, stating directly, "I don't typically share

things I'm involved in at work". In a reflection on the 2016 Orlando nightclub shooting,

written for a student affairs blog, Kathy (C1) noted the event hit her particularly hard

because part of her (then) job was overseeing Safe Zones; to emotionally cope, she said,

"I removed my student affairs hat and focused on hugging my kids…The next day on the

way to work, I went back to being a student affairs professional". And referencing her

identity as a singer, she noted "I'm a student affairs admin who moonlights as a rock star

singer!"

Hazel (C2) has a similar division. Indicative of her role-identity as a student

affairs professional, she declared, "I committed myself to pursuing a career within

Student Affairs" and her educational and professional choices have led her directly down

this path. At the same time, she gives glimpses of a large number of other salient

identities that seem entirely separate from her professional life. In a personal blog, she

writes a list of " 'I' statements that explain me":

> *I actively support no-kill animal shelters. I'm a big fan of [band name]. I write*
>
> *poetry. I'm a former gymnast with a bunch of former injuries. I love [author*
>
> *name] books. I have a cat named Merlot, but I am not an alcoholic. I love the*
>
> *color blue. I am addicted to the smell of Constant Comment tea packets. I am*
>
> *Bulgarian and Lithuanian. I was always the biggest tomboy. I did not play with*
>
> *barbies. I love to travel. I do what I love and I love what I do.*

At another point, she described herself diversely, as formerly "the gymnast", a "horror

genre enthusiast" and "big fan of slasher films", as sympathetic to witches—"People who

do Wicca are people too, and really have a neat history"—a loving daughter, and a feminist in favor of women's rights to wear or not wear whatever they want and to not take their husbands' surnames.

As a final example, Sasha (C4) at HSU is strikingly similar. She describes herself as the "Student Center Coordinator" and the "[Mascot's Name] Pantry Coordinator". But in her public Facebook posts, there is very little work-related material and a lot of material related to other interests including: Repeated displays in support of women's rights and feminism/Afro-feminism, such as setting the Women's March logo and slogan "The rise of the woman = the rise of the nation" as her social media profile pictures, a profile picture of stylized female African warriors quoting "Move or you will be moved" from Marvel's "Black Panther" movie, posting a stylized image of a super heroine with an annotation stating "I'm doing an homage to female black super heroines, and all around kick-a** women", and a social media profile picture of Wonder Woman standing on top of Batman, having defeated him, saying "Don't. Get. Up."

As noted, Charlene and Mary (C5) are exceptions among the Concealers—in addition to their role identities as higher-ed professionals, both express salient identities as progressive social critics in the context of their professional roles, including their pantry work. At the same time, these progressive social critic identities are tied to their department. Importantly, they communicate that being openly progressive characterizes the culture in their department: "…Our faculty are generally pretty supportive of any effort that makes the lives of students a little bit better…Our faculty are pretty progressive and pretty outspokenly progressive in a lot of cases…" As a result, both their identities as higher-ed professionals and as progressive social critics closely reflect

normative behavior and expectations within their department—an indicator of structural isolation within their roles, which I address more fully in the following paragraphs. In sum, Concealers have a strong distinction between the identities salient to them in their work—including their pantry-related work—and the identities salient to them in other areas of their lives.

To pursue this further, the division between Concealers' professional and personal identities is importantly driven by their roles, which structurally isolate them from interacting with diverse networks, and acquiring associated identities, within their work. My data frequently reveal what groups founders are connected to within their roles. A similarity among the Concealers, particularly in comparison to the Revealers, is the relatively limited diversity of their professional networks—within their roles they generally interact with people who are similar to them and this appears largely to be a function of their roles. Compared to Revealers, Concealers live their professional lives primarily in interaction with others who share the same professional norms and belong to the same identity-relevant groups.

For example, as student affairs professionals Kathy (C1) and Hazel (C2) are active participants in industry conferences such as NASPA's annual meeting—"a global gathering of student affairs educators" (NASPA, 2020b). Beyond visits to local campus pantries to learn best practices, and a passing reference to a social movement organization focused on pantries whose name they could not remember, neither gave concrete indications of other professional memberships, formal or informal. During my interview with Rebecca (C3) at MCC, she gave strong indications of embeddedness in her institution and the broader community college system she is part of, but talked about no

other groups that help to define her professional identity. Sasha (C4) at HSU—who attended a conference put on by one prominent organization in the basic needs movement—is unique among the Concealers for having interacted with a social movement network. At first, I thought this could be a case where a founder became a Concealer despite having a movement-related identity, particularly given her initial response to seeing the large number of attendees: "Oh my God, there's more of us…". But during our second interview, it turned out she could not even remember the name of the conference she attended. Her connection to the basic needs movement was as an arms-length resource, and a source of encouragement, rather than a source of identity. And as noted, even Charlene and Mary's (C5) identities as progressive social critics are importantly tied to the same group that defines their role identities. In sum, these founders give little indication of substantive professional connections to diverse social networks, instead giving indications of connections to networks of similarly-situated professionals.

This limited diversity of professional networks is tied in important ways to the roles these founders occupy. First, all of these founders occupy formal, full-time jobs with little slack in their schedules, even prior to launching a pantry. It can be difficult for these individuals even to find time to carry out tasks directly associated with their roles—including pantry work. At MCC, Rebecca mentioned the pantry is an added responsibility she and her staff have taken on, and that they are at or beyond capacity: "Staffing is a tremendous, tremendous issue, particularly if you wanna run the pantry on the level we're trying to…". Kathy similarly alluded to her and Hazel's limited capacity: "I physically can't manage the day to day operations [of the pantry]…There's a lot on my plate…I did

ask for an additional staff member next year to support other things that need to happen, because my staff member's [Hazel's] going to be doing…things she can't take on either". Sasha (C4), Charlene (C5), and Mary (C6) similarly took on pantry initiatives while filling existing, full-time roles. Each of these founders communicate that time and capacity are tight resources, and several communicated that even pantry related work— which is now part of their role—must fit within existing role responsibilities, routines, and budgets. To the degree their extant roles fill up their professional schedules, to that extent they are structurally constrained from extensive professional interactions with people not immediately related to their roles.

Further, when these founders do have time to interact with groups external to their institution, these interactions, as noted, take the form of meeting individuals with similar backgrounds and roles at professional conferences—or other interactive settings tied closely to their existing roles, like when Rebecca (C3) meets with donors or potential donors to raise funds. These interactions stem directly from the founders' professional roles—fund-raising is an essential part of Rebecca's role as director of Single Stop, while attending conferences is a professional normal likely subsidized by these founders' institutions in the form of travel and continuing education budgets. Norms and the provision of resources for attending professional conferences or engaging in other role-relevant interactions puts these founders in the paths of similarly-situated or role-corresponding professionals. Full schedules that constrain what people and groups they have time to interact with, and the provision of resources for interactions with specific networks related to their roles, together demarcate who these individuals do and do not interact with—and, by extension, also shape the identities that are salient to their work.

These findings resonate with Stryker's (1980) arguments that certain mechanisms attached to roles are important tools used "to isolate groups…from one another or to guarantee that contact will occur" (p. 71), and that social structure, by shaping the possibilities for interaction with others, ultimately "shapes…the person" (p. 66). These findings are also consistent with Lounsbury's (2001) findings that individuals who take on new responsibilities within existing roles, but without added slack or resources, tend to maintain "occupational identities…tied to their extant, full-time work roles" (p. 33). In sum, these founders' roles constitute "closed networks" that isolate them and restrict their "access to multiple identities with attached varying and oppositional" behavioral alternatives, and instead place them in the path of "persons sharing the same characteristics" (Stryker, 2001: 229).

Further, several Concealers indicated awareness of their structural isolation. As noted, Kathy (C1) provides the strongest example of a division between her salient professional role-identity and her other salient identities outside work—for example, in her previously noted comment about not sharing with friends things she is involved with at work. Kathy (C1), of all the Concealers, is the most self-aware of this division between her identity at work and her identities at other times. Sasha (C4), the only Concealer to attend a basic needs conference, also communicates strong isolation through her response to seeing how many people were at the conference: "You think it's just you and your little pantry, and you're doing the best you can, but then you realize there's like 500 more of you…". Hazel (C2) indicates isolation more subtly. Her knowledge of food insecurity did not come through interactions with people attached, for example, to the growing student basic needs movement. Instead, it came through "reading" and her usual

professional network at student affairs "conferences and things like that". Similar to

Hazel (C2), food insecurity came into Charlene and Mary's (C5) radar through two news

articles—the school newspaper and the New York Times. Overall, Concealers' work

roles as student affairs and higher-ed professionals largely determine their professional

groups and interactions, providing them with a ready-made role-identity, to which they

add the pantry as an extra responsibility.

    Role-Playing. An important implication of this structural isolation is that by

largely constraining individuals to invoke only a single salient role identity, it encourages

these founders to behave in role-conforming ways. Stryker (1980) notes that individuals

tend to seek confirmation or validation of their identities "by behaving in ways that elicit

validating responses from others…Having an identity which is premised on societal

definitions will tend to produce behavior that conforms to those definitions" (p. 64).

These founders' express a desire to conform to their roles and to seek "validating

responses from others", and very little desire to push against expectations. Kathy (C1),

for instance, was very concerned with "putting out a good product" because she was new

at ETU and wanted to make a good first impression; she was also careful to follow the

president's orders to open the pantry to faculty and staff, even though she personally

disagreed with allowing anyone but students to use it. Hazel (C2), similarly, went to great

lengths to establish herself as a competent, up-and-coming student affairs professional in

a portfolio website she created, which painstakingly details her relevant coursework and

experience, her accomplishments, her knowledge, and her professional connections

within student affairs. Rebecca (C3)'s concern with fulfilling her role according to

expectations is expressed in her careful attention to those in authority over her and in

seeking permission before moving forward with the pantry: [When the VP calls] "You stop. *Screech*…So I started talking with my VP about [the pantry idea]. She started talking with the president…She shared [a proposal for the pantry] with the cabinet". It is particularly interesting that she did not just initiate the pantry, given that it is closely tied to her office's overall mandate to remove barriers to student success. In sum, consistent with their salient role identities as student affairs and higher-ed professionals, these founders seek out validating responses from those around them by doing their jobs well.

Social Movements and Structural Overlap

Social Movements. As noted previously, social movements are "loosely organized coalitions with a goal of contesting prominent social and cultural practices through sustained campaigns" (Weber *et al.*, 2008: 531). The founders in my study exhibit connections to a variety of social movements focused on an array of social issues, among them student basic needs—which includes food insecurity—environmentalism, sexual violence, and various sub-streams of human rights including feminism/women's rights and LGBT+ rights. Prior research notes a number of important similarities among social movements, regardless of the specific issues they emphasize. Consistent with this, the social movements implicated in my data exhibit important shared characteristics such as (a) critiquing the status quo and diagnosing the problem, (b) generating prognoses of the problems, (c) a bias for contentious social action, (d) communicating hope, and (e) establishing a collective identity. In the paragraphs that follow, I illustrate these characteristics within the basic needs movement given its novelty and because research

has long established these characteristics within the other social movements (see Benford & Snow, 2000; Staggenborg, 2016; Fominaya, 2010).

First, a ubiquitous theme is the tendency of the basic needs movement to *critique the status quo*. Consistent with prior research, challenging "existing structures or systems of authority" (Snow & Soule, 2010: 6) or "prominent social and cultural practices" (Weber *et al.*, 2008) is a defining characteristic—if not *the* defining characteristic—of the basic needs movement, similar to the other movements represented. The movement takes aim at various targets including the institution of higher education, state and federal governments, and society in general.

Several examples concisely illustrate this. Achieving the Dream—a nonprofit that developed a food insecurity guidebook—describes itself as a leader of a "comprehensive, non-governmental reform movement for student success in higher education", with the stated mission of "championing evidence-based institutional improvement" (Achieving the Dream, 2017). Other critiques are less subtle. The College and University Food Bank Alliance, a leading SMO in the movement, states "[the] educational system is failing to provide [students] with a viable path to success in their higher education" (Dubick, Mathews, & Cady, 2016). Similarly, a prominent leader of the movement wrote "…the financial aid system, long intended to make college affordable, failed to keep up with growing student and family need…Despite its good intentions, our current financial aid system is failing today's students", and she labels this as part of "the broken promises of public education in this country" (Goldrick-Rab, 2016: 233, 240). During an evening keynote at a conference I attended, the speaker—a well-known political commentator— showed a slide criticizing the large income discrepancy between a university president

and a food service worker at her alma-mater; as I record in my field notes, the slide had "the word 'HOWL' on it. The slide was showing the income of [a university's] president—who gets around $1.1 million—versus a food service worker's income—around $21,000. She was critiquing this. The word 'HOWL, instead of having an 'o', had a circle with a socialist-style fist in the middle of it.". That same evening during a party, "A political candidate…got up and spoke…He referred to the 'movement that isn't radical but it is a rebellion against the status quo', referring to inclusive college access…". In sum, consonant with prior research that movements challenge existing social structure and systems of authority (Snow & Soule, 2010; Weber *et al.*, 2008), the basic needs movement critiques institutions, higher-education, governments, and society in general, suggesting they need improvement, they have failed, they have "broken promises", and people should be angry and should "rebel".

In addition to declaring there is a problem with the status quo, these critiques also diagnose what the problem is and what causes it. The cost of tuition and the total cost of college are frequently cited problems, with multiple sources referring to "rising tuition" (Goldrick-Rab & Cady, 2018), "rising tuition rates" (Lee, 2020), "rising cost of tuition" (College & University Pantry Research Team, 2017), and "increases in campus tuition and fees" (Hagedorn, 2019). Alongside this are critiques of the inadequacy of financial aid to keep pace with rising costs. As noted, a prominent movement leader blames the financial aid system for not keeping pace with the rising tuition (Goldrick-Rab, 2016).

Others point to inadequate access to social benefits for students. In an interview with Kat, the co-founder of a prominent SMO focused on campus food insecurity, she pointed to SNAP policies as a problem: "There are programs out there that address

hunger much more effectively than a pantry. SNAP being one of them…The criterion for students are very stringent…It's really hard for students to get SNAP, that policy needs to change…", pointing to the federal government to make needed changes.

Still others blame individual school administrations, such as the excerpt above criticizing the income disparity between a university president and a university food service worker. Further, at a conference I attended in Maine, a student from a large Southern public university criticized his school's administration for resisting their grassroots food insecurity initiatives: He said they have "showed [our] admin numbers related to food insecurity, and everyone keeps saying no to [us]". Interestingly, around two weeks later this student engaged in a hunger strike, alongside 300 other students, that led to an occupation of the school's main administration building and demands that the administration create a basic needs center. Similarly, at a Mid-Atlantic public university, the school newspaper commented, "The _____ administration should take the steps necessary to address this [hunger] crisis, which has been relegated to the background for far too long". Each of these various critiques attempts to clearly specify what the problem is (e.g., student basic needs insecurity, inadequate student access to SNAP) and what is driving the problem (e.g., administration's failure to have a basic needs office, federal government SNAP policies). Buechler (2011), summarizing Klandermans (1984), refers to this as "diagnostic framing", which "identifies a problem and attributes blame or causality" (p. 148). It provides movement members with targets for their activism.

Many of these critiques go a step further by elevating the diagnosed problem to an issue of injustice. During one SMO conference, I summarized the prevalent view of food insecurity at the conference:

> *"…There is definitely an ideological content in what people are saying…People speak about: injustice, social justice, structural racism, poverty, systemic/root causes of hunger and poverty, a broken food system, a capitalist food system that is working properly but which is unjust, moral compass, moral basis…[One panelist said] 'There's a social justice issue here. Food is political, otherwise we wouldn't be here…There's a hole the government is leaving…It's tied into income inequality, structural racism', etc.*

The failure to address food insecurity and other basic needs represents an injustice because basic needs are framed as moral issues and viewed as basic human rights. During a keynote at another prominent conference, I noted: "Throughout his speech, there was a lot of use of the word 'rights'. For example, under 'basic human rights', [he] seemed to include housing and home ownership, education, healthcare, jobs, food, and basic income…There was a lot of clapping at the end of his speech and people stood". At the same conference, a breakout session focused on "Basic Needs as Human Rights". Finally, the name of the social movement organization that runs this conference foregrounds justice in its name: The Hope Center for College, Community, and Justice. These frequent constructions of food insecurity and other basic needs as moral and ethical issues are important because such "injustice frames" are important triggers of resistance to extant authority systems and the status quo—as Buechler (2011), building on Gamson *et al.* (1982), puts it: "Challenges to authority emerge when at least some people adopt an injustice frame, or 'a belief that the unimpeded operation of the authority system…would

result in an injustice'" (p. 144). In sum, in line with prior social movement research, the basic needs movement aims critiques at various authority structures, lays the blame for problems such as food insecurity at their feet, and frames these issues and failings as moral in content.

Second, to build on their diagnoses of the social issue, social movements in general and the basic needs movement in particular generate prognoses—that is, answers to the question "what is to be done?" by "framing solutions and the tactics and strategies to implement those solutions" (Buechler, 2011: 148). One manifestation of this is an emphasis on engaging in advocacy. This is an emphasis shared by the major social movement organizations, and is something they call on their members to implement. In a webinar on helping students during COVID-19, for instance, the founder of the Hope Center mentioned, "And lastly, we wouldn't be the Hope Center if we did not also talk about advocacy, this is a critical moment for advocacy. We're going to struggle together to get through this emergency crisis in part because systems are not in place right now to support us. We all have a role to play in changing that." She followed this with a call-to-action for those of us in attendance:

> *"Lastly, this is the moment to advocate. Contact your local human services*
> *agency. Find out what they need and advocate for it. We need to get college*
> *students better access to public benefits. Be sure to call your members of*
> *Congress and ask them to support the Supporting Students in Response to*
> *Coronavirus Act…And one of the things the Hope Center, by the way, is prepared*
> *to do is…help you with your advocacy".*

Similarly, Universities Fighting World Hunger puts forward as a "major goal" developing an "action agenda that includes hunger awareness and consciousness-raising, action, advocacy, and academic initiatives", and calls on its on-campus members to "Become a hunger advocate. Speak up on your campus and in your community…Tell your elected officials that you want them to act…"

Third, flowing from their critiques, diagnoses, and prognoses is a *bias for contentious social action*, aimed at creating social change. It is not enough to criticize the way things are and to place blame, but action must be taken. "We have so much work to do in this country and we are ready for this fight,", as one leader noted, and "Food insecurity among college students is of increasing concern in the U.S. and warrants action" (College & University Pantry Research Team, 2017) as a group of college and university researchers concluded. The Hope Center declares, "…It's time to stop being polite…about why so many students are leaving college without degrees" (Hope Center, n.d.) and bills itself as "the movement to do something about it. Join students, practitioners, policymakers, researchers, and activists at the annual…convening to develop strategies and take action to secure students' basic needs". As noted, advocacy is a major manifestation of action aimed at creating social change. A prominent association of campus pantries states "…We are here to advocate on our member's behalf at state and national levels" (CUFBA, 2015a). A policy report by this association aims several recommendations directly at institutions and governments:

"…Colleges and universities should replicate these programs which help at-risk students afford the cost of attending college…While colleges and universities should take immediate steps to support their students, some changes are beyond their reach…Policymakers should take steps to improve students' access to existing federal programs, including expanding the SNAP eligibility requirements for college students, simplifying the FAFSA process…Adding food security measurements to the annual National Postsecondary Student Aid Study." (Dubick *et al.*, 2016)

As noted, two of the major SMOs within the basic needs movement heavily emphasize advocacy and call on their members to follow suit.

Further, consistent with the "injustice framing" commonly adopted by these various movement actors, as well as among the other social movements represented in my study, this resulting bias for acting to create social change often motivates action that is *contentious*. This is seen, for example, in the militaristic and guerilla warfare language often adopted by movement participants, as well as in the actions they take. At two of the movement conferences I attended, I repeatedly ran into terms and phrases such as "rebellion against the status quo", "we are ready for this fight", "we are going to win", "the other side", "we will win", "we will rise", "war on hunger", "hunger fighter", "join forces under the UFWH banner", and "tuition hike killer".

The specific actions members take, not surprisingly, fall short of this violent imagery but are nevertheless conflictual. While talking with a conference attendee who worked with Nevada (PR2) at UEP, she mentioned to me that she and her co-workers at

the UEP pantry face resistance from school administration—they are told to be quiet, the provost tells them to be quiet, and the admin is afraid of losing sponsorships if it were to come out that there were unmet basic needs on campus. She said that since this is her last year, she is going to "raise sh*t". At the same conference, two students from a private college—an HBCU in the Deep South—described themselves as "rabble rousers" and recounted a 6 day hunger strike they organized at their college to "bring awareness to food insecurity and to get the school to change policies on donating unused meals from student pre-paid meal plans to needy students". In a dramatic event previously mentioned, upwards of 300 students at a major public university in the South engaged in a hunger strike. One participant, writing for the socialist newspaper Liberation, noted the strike was part of a Basic Needs Campaign "demanding that the University of _____ 1) create and fund an on-site Basic Needs Center, 2) start a Basic Needs Fund, and 3) create a full-time Basic Needs employee position". This hunger strike culminated in a tense but non-violent confrontation where student protesters made these demands of the university president. These findings resonate strongly with prior social movement research that finds "Challenges to authority emerge when at least some people adopt an injustice frame" (Buechler, 2011: 144; Gamson *et al*., 1982).

Fourth, there is a concerted effort among movement leaders to communicate hope to movement members, and to assure them that, despite the bleakness of the current situation, the challenges they face are beatable and change is possible. They consistently present members an optimistic view of the future. Hope, for example, is prominently embedded in the name of the SMO mentioned earlier: The Hope Center. This message of hope is communicated in a book by Sara Goldrick-Rab, leader of this organization, who

says "Perhaps the best sign of hope we have is that there is growing recognition there is something terribly wrong…There is reason for hope. An improved college financing system could help America create a future where people can use their own hard work to get ahead." (Goldrick-Rab, 2016: 10 – 11).

At points, this optimism is tempered by a portrayal of the challenges as large and a recognition that change will be difficult, but always accompanied by a message of determination and optimism. To return to an earlier example, this same SMO leader said, "There is so much money on the other side [defenders of the status quo]" and "We have so much work to do in this country. And we are ready for this fight". During that event, in the same room, a board covered in brown paper (see Figure 2) was set up for attendees to express their hopes for the future of higher education, with people writing messages such as: "My hope for college is…to not be elitist…to have everyone at the table…to give EVERYONE a fighting chance…success is based only on hard work…one's identities don't preclude them from success…help/support undocumented students/people".

These efforts at instilling hope seem to be finding their marks. During a large group activity at the same conference, with all of us sitting in a circle on the floor, I recount in my field notes the participant next to me sharing with the crowd that it was "…great to be in a place where we can discuss real things, raw things, and to cuss—like [the keynote speaker]—and to talk openly about power, privilege, and oppression". For her, the conference was a refreshing, even cathartic, experience. Sasha (C4), one of the founders in my sample who attended this conference, was encouraged by the number of people in attendance: "You think it's just you and your little pantry, and you're doing the

best you can, but then you realize there's like 500 more of you". In response to a TedTalk given by Sara Goldrick-Rab on how colleges create poverty, one student commented: "Yes!! As a refugee I was in the murky middle. I struggled for 10 years and I am still in debt…Thank you for your voice". Similarly, a professor noted, "I want to say thank you to Sara Goldrick-Rab…You've been really inspiring to me as a scholar and an advocate…And, last, thank you for inspiring me to look closer at my own local data, issues, and potential pathways forward." Again, as a whole these efforts to encourage movement members that victory is possible and that challenges, although very real, can be overcome aligns closely with the idea of "motivational framing", which Buechler (2011: 148) suggests "is…needed for cognitive liberation by convincing people that change is possible and that their participation will make a difference".

Fifth, and finally, there are repeated efforts to make movement members feel connected to a larger, united group. Universities Fighting World Hunger, for instance, describes itself as "a coalition" (UFWH, n.d.) and "a growing network of universities working in partnership to amplify the voice of the rising generation—a voice calling for a world free from hunger…" (UFWH, n.d.). UFWH communicates to members and prospective members that it is a "network…working in partnership", aimed at amplifying the collective but unified voice of the rising generation. In its guidebook for on-campus chapters, UFWH describes itself as "the UFWH Movement", and speaks of "Becoming part of UFWH" and gaining "access to a network of universities and chapters all around the world who are each working to solve hunger". The organization adopts militaristic terminology to invoke imagery of unification—UFWH is a "coalition", joining UFWH means "join[ing] forces under the UFWH banner", and adopting the "UFWH banner can

help existing groups work collaboratively and cohesively". It tells members that while attending the annual conference is not necessary, it is a great way to "be with other like-minded students from around the world". It also enjoins members to "show that you are part of this bigger movement" by using the UFWH logo, and provides local chapters with a brand and style guide (UFWH, 2018).

The Hope Center similarly communicates belonging, at times using militaristic terms, but often adopting warmer, even familial, tones. A number of instances occurred at the Hope Center's 2018 #RealCollege convening I attended. At the start of the conference, the emcee had participants stand up if they were in need or helping those in need—he said this exercise "was to help us realize that we're not alone and there are others like us". Throughout the day, people used phrases such as "we are going to win", "you are not alone", and "there are others like you", hearkening back to the militaristic terminology and invoking images of solidarity and shared fate. In a later session, an undocumented scholar had the group chant together, "We will win". In another session, a woman had everyone clap in unison, with increasing rapidity, and end with a unison chant—a solidarity chant from Latin American farmers. The following day, the emcee began morning warmup activities, which his co-emcee said were intended to "make us feel more like a community than we already do". In my notes I also record her mentioning "family" in connection to us, the audience. Later, the emcee had us do a Filipino collective clap. We were supposed to feel our pulses and let them be the rhythm we "danced to, prayed to…". On stage, with eyes closed, he felt his own pulse and began clapping to its beat. We all clapped along, with increasing speed, until we were clapping rapidly—he ended the clapping by raising a hand in the air and saying a word in Filipino,

while we all we did likewise, before bringing our hands down in one collective clap. Later, he asked if we felt alone, if we felt loved.

Similarly, at the 2019 #RealCollege convening, one activity split all of the conference attendees into sections, and had the sections yell, "IT'S…ABOUT…TO GET….REAL!" in sequence. At another time, we did a unison breathing exercise where we collectively breathed in, held it, and breathed out. At the end of the conference, the leader of the organization had us recite in unison a quote from Angela Davis—a former Black Panther, former Communist, Marxist, feminist—"I AM NO LONGER ACCEPTING THE THINGS I CANNOT CHANGE, I AM CHANGING THE THINGS I CANNOT ACCEPT". Throughout the conference, we were often asked to say or recite things collectively. Particularly with the above quote, these exercises felt like rituals, almost religious in nature—like a unison reading or recitation in worship. As I record in my field notes across the two #RealCollege convenings, "Overall, people showed a lot of passion around the topics presented, with a lot of spontaneous—and enthusiastic—clapping, clicking, and cheering. At times the conference felt like a political rally….There was a lot of 'kum-ba-yah'…a lot of cheering and enthusiasm".

Further, there was a strong emphasis on community throughout the conference—this was emphasized in the opening session of the #RealCollege 2019 convening, when we had a "community check-in to see who's in the room". At another point, I was approached by two fellow-attendees looking for a place to sit, and they approached me by warmly saying, "Hey friend, are you setting here?" In context, in struck me as unique and important that they referred to me as "friend"—this is not a way I am normally addressed when someone approaches me with a question, and it stood out to me due to the strong

emphasis placed on community in the opening session. The emphasis on community and the collective reached a high point during a keynote, where the speaker made the statement "The needs of the community supersede those of an individual" and he also displayed a slide that said "We over me". Similarly, in a letter announcing the cancelation of #RealCollege 2020, due to COVID-19, the Sara Goldrick-Rab wrote, "Five years ago we met for the first time *as a community* at the inaugural convening in Milwaukee…Norther Virginia Community College will host us [in 2021]…Then, in fall 2022 we will return *as a community* to Rutgers-Camden as planned…We're thrilled to announce that the #RealCollege *community* is invited to join…for a special screening [of a new documentary]" (Hope Center, 2020).

Similar to UFWH with its provided branding guide for on-campus chapters to "show that you are part of a global movement" (UFWH, 2018), at both the 2018 and 2019 #RealCollege convenings the collective was strongly emphasized through marketing and branding. In Figures 3 and 4 I show photos of my conference name tags. In the first tag, my name is small and hard to read from a distance, while the #RealCollege logo is much more apparent, emblazoned in orange and black. Visually, my affiliation with #RealCollege was much more apparent than who I was as an individual. On the 2019 name tag, my given name is relatively large, my family name is smaller, my institutional affiliation is even smaller, and prominently—perhaps symbolically—located at the base is the #RealCollege logo. This combination of hierarchical ordering, differential size, and visual prominence indicate a hierarchy of importance: given name and #RealCollege are more important than surname and school affiliation; the tag gives

the impression that who *I* am and my involvement with #RealCollege—apart from other group affiliations like family and institution—are what matter most.

Further, during the 2019 convening, there was a strong emphasis on the #RealCollege brand. For example, on the displays behind the emcees and speakers on stage in the main auditorium, the #RealCollege logo was unavoidably and strikingly placed front and center on the screen, while to the left and right were vinyl banners with "The Hope Center" and #RealCollege logos. When others were on stage, such as the keynote speakers, their names were displayed on the screens behind them, along with their institutional affiliations. But noticeably placed above all of this were the #RealCollege and Hope Center logos. Further, the conference intentionally co-branded with their various exhibit partners who were set up in the main hallway. These exhibitors brought their own branded materials, but each exhibitor table had a card that listed the organization's name, overlaid on top of #RealCollege stationary. Figures 5, 6, and 7 show three examples of this co-branding, including two on-table cards and a co-branded postcard.

Across these various mediums—name tags, the branding behind the speakers on stage, and the co-branding with partners—individuals' names and particularly their institutional affiliations are acknowledged but visually disadvantaged compared to the overall #RealCollege branding, including logos and color scheme. What is common across these examples is that separateness or distinction from #RealCollege is downplayed while connection to #RealCollege is emphasized. Whether individual or organization, distinctiveness from the #RealCollege collective is suppressed in favor of emphasizing connection to #RealCollege. The individuals in attendance, the speakers on

stage, and the organizational partners are all linked to, and often visually subordinated to the visual hegemony of, the movement or organization of #RealCollege.

These efforts across these social movement organizations closely align with the idea of collective identity developed in prior social movement research. Diani (1992) refers to collective identity/solidarity as a sense of belongingness and the perception of a common fate, and Snow (2001) similarly suggests the essence of collective identity "resides in a shared sense of 'one-ness' or 'we-ness'" with a "corresponding sense of 'collective agency'" (p. 2213). Among these movements implicated in my study, most strongly illustrated by data from the basic needs movement, there are striking efforts at instilling in members a sense of belonging and common fate, a sense of one-ness and we-ness, with a shared fate: "make us feel more like a community than we already do", "you are not alone", "we over me", and "we are going to win".

Overall, the social movements that I will show shaped some of the founders in my study share in common various characteristics. Consistent with movement research, they establish shared beliefs and values through their critiques and diagnoses of what the problem is and what causes it, their prognoses of what the solutions are and how to carry them out, their injustice and motivational framings, and their attempts to foster among their members a shared sense of belonging and fate (Diani, 1992; Benford & Snow, 2000; Buechler, 2011). I now move on to the influence that social movements have on the roles and identities of several founders in my study.

Social Movements, Roles, and Founder Identities. Similar to the impact the student affairs institutional logic had on Concealers, various social movements have an important impact on founders on the Revealing paths (Figure 1), specifically by

influencing their roles and, particularly, their founder identities. Unlike the Concealers, whose roles and identities jointly drive a process of role-playing where role constrains identity and identity in turn reinforces role, among both sets of Revealers (Partial and Full) described below, the interaction between roles and identities takes the form of *role-making*—a process where founder identity drives founders' to attempt to alter existing roles or create new roles that are congruent with their movement-related identities. In this section, I explore ways social movements influence founders' roles, founders' identities, and the structural overlap social movements introduce to their roles and how this overlap drives the process of role-making.

As a whole, the Revealers occupy a greater diversity of roles compared to the Concealers, including roles students, student leaders, student employees, nutritionists, and student affairs professionals. In some cases, the Revealers run pantries as part of their existing roles, similar to the Concealers—Kathy (C1), Nevada (PR2), and Rayah (PR4), for instance, operate pantries as extensions of their roles as Director of Off Campus and Community Issues, Sustainability Assistant, and student body president, respectively. In other cases, the pantry represents a distinct role separate from any pre-existing roles. Sharon (PR1), for instance, started the pantry on her own initiative while a student, Eve (FR1) started the pantry as a university nutritionist but then worked to create a distinct pantry role, and Toni (PR5), as a paid student employee, created and then transitioned into a new pantry role. However, regardless of whether they occupied new or existing roles, in common across these cases is a struggle against various pressures, notably including an ambient student affairs logic and expectations from various other stakeholders. Similar to the Concealers, Nevada's (PR2) role as Sustainability Assistant

is housed within the Student Affairs Division, and early on she faced pressures to keep the pantry relatively hidden by using targeted as opposed to widespread marketing. Eve (FR1), though not housed within Student Affairs, faced push back from a Student Affairs administrator to be stricter in enforcing who can use the pantry, as well as facing repeated suggestions to make the pantry more discreet. Sharon (PR1) faced disapproval from her school's dean who told her after the fact, "I did not want a pantry on my campus". In sum, these founders often face various pressures from others' expectations arising from a student affairs logic, or elsewhere, that impinge on their efforts to run their pantries in the manner they think best. These expectations represent influences that shape, or at least apply pressure to, these founders' roles.

It is at this point that social movements have an important influence on these individuals' roles as pantry founders. The basic needs movement, in particular, generates greater awareness of the prevalence of food insecurity as an issue, which in several cases helps lessen the pressures these founders face. For example, Sharon describes her dean's change of heart towards the pantry, due to news coverage of research by the basic needs movement: "Dean _____ sat down, and she said, 'I was thinking about the pantry while I was in the shower.' And she goes, 'Because the news was on, and they were talking about this is a national crisis. And I didn't want a pantry on my campus, but here is the issue." Eric, Jasmine's (PR6) boss, mentioned using national data in order to gain more support from Student Affairs:

> *"What started to come out of these conversations to me was that there's a serious issue here with hunger…Not only am I hearing it in these sort of stories from*

students, but we're seeing the research, the national news, you've got the Hope

[Center] studies or the College and University Food Bank Alliance, or whatever,

they're putting out this work. And so, we're like validating that, yes, this is an

issue. It's not just a rare phenomenon at NCU…We can stand behind that. We're

able to kind of work through Student Life, or Student Affairs where we're nested

and say, 'Look, we need some support here. We need some authority to start to

address this issue.' That led to the creation of a food insecurity working group."

Similarly, in collaboration with the Hope Center, Sherry (PR3) helped conduct a
campus-wide survey aimed at establishing the prevalence of food insecurity, which
served as a platform for reinforcing the value of the pantry and encouraging
administration to take additional steps against food insecurity: "Henry University already
has many programs designed to address food insecurity…One of the most important
programs already developed is the recently created Henry Student Food Pantry…While
this is a critical approach to helping students…it is not a sufficient response to the issue
of food insecurity at Henry University". As a whole, the basic needs movement, by
generating greater awareness and empirical evidence, helps reduce the pressure or
resistance some of these pantry founders face in carrying out their pantry work, as well as
providing them leverage to justify and reinforce the need for and value of a pantry.

In addition to influencing their roles, social movements also shape these founders'
identities. A similarity between Revealers—which further distinguishes them from
Concealers—is the comparative complexity of their founder identities. In contrast with
Concealers, whose "simpler" founder identities consist of singular role identities,

Revealers have what Smith-Lovin (2003) labels "complex (multiple identity) selves" that are salient to their pantry work. Like Concealers, Revealers have role identities that closely relate to their pantry work or extant roles but differ by also having salient social identities tied to broader social movements and reflective of the movements' prototypical beliefs and behaviors. For example, Nevada (PR2) identifies herself as the "Pantry Coordinator" and "Sustainability Assistant", and is recognized inside and outside her institution as the "UEP Pantry Coordinator" and as the coordinator "of various student-facing sustainability programs such as the UEP Pantry". At the same time, she strongly identifies herself as passionate about "the intersection between environmental and social justice". Consistent with this social identity, Nevada (PR2) donates to various environmental and social justice causes, and is connected with numerous groups focused on these issues, including UFWH, the Hope Center and #RealCollege, the College and University Food Bank Alliance, the Association for the Advancement of Sustainability in Higher Education, and a local on-campus movement focused on promoting basic needs security.

Similarly, Ricky (FR2), the "University Senator...[who] co-founded" the pantry at UU, identified himself during our interview as the co-founder of the pantry and, post-graduation, maintains a role as an advisory board member. At the same time, Ricky (FR2) has strong social identities as a gay man and army veteran—and consistent with each, is actively involved with advocacy efforts for gay rights and veteran rights through volunteer work with the Human Rights Campaign and The Mission Continues, as well through his professional work with multiple veteran advocacy organizations.

As another example, Sharon was introduced to the dean of her school as the person who "started the great food pantry initiative," and at a break-out session at UFWH 2019 announced herself as the "founder and food coordinator" for the St. Giles pantry. Despite being a homeless single mom, she started the pantry and continued the role even after graduation despite not being paid for it—in her words, "It's not even about the money, because if that's the case, I wouldn't do what I do". More generally she also expresses a deep interest in social justice, particularly issues of food insecurity and race. Summarizing her academic career during our second interview, she said, "…Seriously Andrew, when I looked back over my university career, from day one I focused on race issues without even knowing it…You can look at the history of my writing. I really focused on child abuse. Then I started including racial issues and then food issues. And those three things stayed every year". And after graduation, she "started focusing on a couple things. One, food related issues within the youth that I serve [in her job]…And I'm kind of sidetracked to more of a social justice, racial, diversity inclusion type of under[taking]…". Connected to these interests, Sharon attended UFWH 2019, where we met, and was scheduled as a speaker for UFWH 2020 before it was canceled due to COVID-19.

Finally, Jasmine (PR6) clearly combines both a role identity tied to her formal position as manager of the pantry as well as a strong social identity as a social justice activist. She publicizes her position as pantry manager repeatedly via her personal social media. And, in a striking counterpoint to the dichotomy between Concealers' role identity and other salient identities, offers a unified description of herself that combines her role *and* social identities: "I am…passionate about human justice, food security, student

affairs and engagement, cultural competency, diversity/equity/inclusion, identity development work and emotional intelligence". As these various examples illustrate, Revealers' founder identities are consistently more complex than those of Concealers, in the sense of consisting of multiple as opposed to singular identities.

It is worth noting that several of these founders, in addition to their movement-related identities, have role identities that reflect a student affairs logic. For instance, consistent with her social identity as a basic needs activist, Sherry (PR3) invited the leader of the Hope Center to speak at her school, engages in advocacy such as testifying before the state senate and conducting food insecurity research, and her office is active in marketing the pantry and raising awareness about food insecurity via its social media accounts. At the same time, she expresses a sensitivity towards food insecurity consistent with her role identity as a student affairs professional—the pantry is discreetly located in the back room of the building where her department is located and they provide unmarked bags for students to use. Jessica (PR6) is similarly housed within student affairs and similarly operates a pantry discreetly located in a residence hall basement, while providing students with unmarked bags. The pantry emphasizes privacy "at the center of our mission to ensure the dignity of all individuals". Simultaneously, as noted, Jasmine has a strong social identity as a social justice activist. Finally, Nevada (PR2) also has a role identity tied into student affairs. As a student affairs employee, she abides by the directives of her superiors in student affairs and upper administration—even when these are at odds with her movement-related identity. For example, due to concern that food insecurity could damage the school's reputation, upper administration at UEP strictly controls how Nevada (PR2) and her colleagues market the pantry and how it is

presented to media outlets. While she follows orders, she nevertheless works to get her superiors to be more open regarding marketing and discussions with the media, in line with her social identity as a social justice activist. The following quote illustrates both her conformity to her role as well as her efforts to alter her role:

> *"...There are certain areas at UEP especially that are kind of touchy...So a big one is media...We are required to have all our media for the pantry coordinated through university communications and student affairs marketing. And that's something where I have very little say. It is something that over the past three years, through a lot of very slow, longterm advocacy efforts I've seen an impact on...But if a media member asks a certain question and we're told we can't answer it, then we can't answer it."*

In sum, the Revealers have complex founder identities that combine both role and social identities. For each, this involves a role identity tied to closely to their position and/or their work with the pantry, as well as a social identity tied to one or more social movements. And for three of these founders, this involves pairing movement-related identities with role identities tied to a student affairs logic.

Structural Overlap. This distinction between Concealers and Revealers—simpler versus more complex founder identities—is noteworthy and highlights an important influence social movements have on eight entrepreneurs in my study: In contrast with the student affairs institutional logic and associated roles—relatively "closed" structures that isolate Concealers from diverse networks and restricts their "access to multiple identities"

(Stryker, 2001: 229; Stryker, 1980)—social movements introduce *structural overlap* to a founder's work networks, granting them access to additional identities and making it more likely they will invoke multiple identities in a particular situation. Structural overlap exists when an individual interacts with multiple distinct groups or networks within a given situation (Stryker, 1980), with each group providing a distinct identity (Stryker, 2001). While Concealers and several Revealers share in common that they found and operate pantries while embedded in relatively homogenous school and professional networks, Revealers are simultaneously embedded in social movements that constitute "analytically distinct sets of social relations" (Stryker, 1980) and which make new identities salient to the situation of starting and running campus pantries. As noted, Concealers interact with a limitedly diverse network and invoke strongly role-related identities to the exclusion of identities salient in other areas of their lives; in contrast, Revealers interact with multiple networks—including social movements—and have multiple identities that are salient to them while starting and running pantries.

For instance, Nevada (PR2)'s role as Sustainability Assistant falls within the Student Affairs division and she accordingly interacts with her Student Affairs colleagues: "I also help out with some of our larger campus wide sustainability programs along with ____, who is my boss" and, speaking about coordinating the pantry, notes, "…Most of the time I would be required to involve multiple scales of leadership in that decision making". Her role includes coordinating "a variety of student-facing sustainability programs including the UEP Pantry", and she also "chairs a campus-wide basic needs committee and meal scholarship committee". Consistent with this role, she has a role identity as a basic needs leader at UEP by, for example, describing herself in

these terms: "I serve as the pantry coordinator and I chair the [basic needs] committee and I do some other work around food related basic needs". She also expresses a desire to be stay connected with this kind of work, even to rejoin UEP later in her career: "…I would love to see us evolve to the point where there is an office of basic needs. And you know, I would love to be a part of that…Coming back and being in that role…". Further, her role at UEP bleeds into her personal life as she solicits donations and recruits for the pantry via her personal Facebook profile and uses work-related pictures as her personal profile photos. At the same time, she has a strong social identity as an activist passionate about "sustainability and the intersection between environmental and social justice", and interacts with multiple groups focused on these issues such as UFWH, #RealCollege, the College and University Food Bank Alliance, the Association for the Advancement of Sustainability in Higher Education, and a local on-campus movement. She brings ideas from these groups into her role as pantry coordinator:

> "We are also…a member of…CUFBA. So that's the way we get a lot of our information about what other pantries across the country are doing…CUFBA gives us an opportunity to learn about a lot of conferences that we might not have heard about otherwise. [UFWH]… was something we found out about through CUFBA…[The idea for making the pantry feel like a grocery store] was actually research that came out of CUFBA."

> "Another way that we're…getting the word out to students [about the pantry] is through syllabi. Which is also something that I stole from Sara Goldrick-Rab

[founder of the Hope Center and #RealCollege]…A lot of our advocacy

efforts…I've kind of stolen them from Hope Lab [now called the Hope Center]."

Rayah (PR4) provides a similar example. As an undergraduate, Rayah (PR4) served as "student body president at [DU]". Consistent with her social identity as a sexual assault advocate—"That's my big thing…I've been a victim advocate for survivors of sexual assault….[for] at least…six to seven years"—she brought a heavy emphasis on sexual violence awareness and prevention into her role as student president: "One of the initiatives she is most proud of is calling more attention to sexual assault on campus…Raising awareness among students, administration, and staff was her focus last year as first term president", according to the school newspaper. This emphasis on sexual violence awareness also makes its way into her personal life through, for example, requests for friends to donate to an anti-sexual violence organization whose "mission means a lot to me". She also described attending "national student conferences in DC where I've done workshops for sexual assault advocacy, so I've been around other student communities". In addition, she clearly indicates that she interpreted food insecurity, and how to address it, through a lens colored by her sexual assault advocacy identity and experiences:

"So I knew [food insecurity has] gotta be something like or similar to that process

where you first start with awareness, you start with talking about something, but

then you leave space for people who wanna talk about it in more detail to come

forward themselves. You don't seek those people out…Because you're going into

somebody's private life, it's something very personal".

These examples illustrate the patterns of invoking, and acting out, movement-related identities while running pantries that is common the Revealers more generally—for example, Sherry's (PR3) identity as a basic needs advocate, Sharon's identity as a food, racial, and social justice activist, Jessica's identity as a human justice and diversity/equity/inclusion activist, Ricky's (FR2) identity as a veteran and LGBT+ rights activist, Eve's (FR1) identity as a food insecurity activist, and Toni's (PR5) identity as a social justice activist. In sum, social movements provide these founders with an important source of structural overlap in their roles as pantry founders and are important sources of social identities, causing them to have multiple salient founder identities.

Role-Making. Invoking multiple identities, especially movement-related identities, leads to a further contrast between Concealers and Revealers—Concealers' singular role identities lead the founders to act out roles largely as prescribed (role-playing), while Revealers instead seek to shape their roles as pantry founders around their movement-related identities in a process of *role-making*. That is, rather than "actors playing parts in scripts" already written (Stryker, 2001: 217), these founders seek instead to "make their roles and communicate to others what role they are playing" (Turner, 1994: 427).

Social identities in general motivate individuals to behave in identity-congruent ways—to identify with a referent social group, individuals self-categorize by "assuming the perceived prototypical or exemplary characteristics of the category or role as their

own (Ashforth, 2001: 25) as they "strive for a positive self-concept" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979: 283). In a similar way, as will be seen, these founders attempt to run their pantries in ways congruent with their movement-related identities. However, as noted, these individuals are at the same time embedded in existing institutional and professional networks, and four of these founders occupy existing roles with attendant behavioral norms and expectations. This can lead to potential conflict, as the "perceived prototypical or exemplary characteristics" (Ashforth, 2001) of the social movements represent at least alternative and at times oppositional behavioral expectations compared to the behavioral expectations of their existing roles and/or networks (Stryker, 2001). Particularly because these founders have social identities premised on social movements that emphasize challenging the status quo and creating social change, in cases where their movement-related identities and the expectations of those around them do not align, these founders attempt to push against these expectations in order to run their pantries in manners consistent with their movement-related identities.

Each Revealer indicated some form of resistance they faced from the expectations of others, arising from their existing roles or from their institutional networks more generally, and each gave at least some sign of pushing against these expectations. For example, aligned with her long involvement with numerous charitable groups providing food and nutritional support to low-income children, women, and the elderly in rural areas, Eve (FR1) has always made it a point to open the pantry to every DU community member in need, taking it on honor that they are truly in need: "I mean, my approach from the beginning has been, you know, don't means test. You just let people in…". This stance, however, conflicted with "other people here [at DU] who thought we should do

more screening", in particular a senior administrator for Student Affairs. At one event, where the administrator was on site at the pantry, she recognized a student who had a scholarship-provided meal plan:

> *"...Like an hour later [the senior administrator] sent me a message that she wanted me to come meet with her. So I thought, 'Oh, that's good. She's probably been here, and she appreciates the pantry.' But that was not why she called me. She called me because she saw someone she thought shouldn't have been in here using the pantry. And so she wanted to know whether we were actually serving the people we should be serving".*

Eve (FR1)'s response was to fight the suggestion that she needed to do more to ensure that "truly needy" people were the ones using the pantry:

> *"I was so flabbergasted at the suggestion [laughter]…And I mean, from my view point, our point is that we need to—what I told her was, if we're going to reduce the stigma, we can't be calling people out, right? So since then, I've seen a lot of numbers and I've looked up a lot more information about this…Because it's like food stamps. Food stamps have the lowest abuse level of any governmental program out there…It does not stop us all from hearing that people are out there eating lobster, drinking champagne, and smoking cigarettes off of the government, right?".*

Eve (FR1) still operates the pantry without any sort of means testing.

Nevada (PR2), and her colleagues at UEP, provide another example. The administration at UEP, while very supportive of the pantry in many ways, was reluctant for it to be widely marketed and very sensitive when it came to any sort of media coverage. At #RealCollege 2018, I had a colorful conversation with Julie, who worked under Nevada (PR2) at the pantry. She said the admin in general and the provost in particular tells them to be quiet for fear the school will lose sponsorships if it becomes widely known there is basic needs insecurity at the school. Julie's conclusion is that, since she is in her last year, she is going to "raise sh*t". Consistent with this, though less dramatic, Nevada (PR2) commented a year later: "…There are certain areas at UEP, especially, that are kind of touchy…So a big one is media. Generally, we are required to have all of our media for the pantry coordinated through university communications and student affairs marketing. And that's something where I have very little say…". While Nevada (PR2) seems to have respected these orders from her superiors, she nevertheless worked to change their minds, using advocacy ideas from a leading social movement organization: "It is something that over the past three years, through a lot of very slow, long-term advocacy efforts I've seen an impact on…a lot of our advocacy efforts have actually, I've kind of stolen them from Hope [Center]" [01 > 02]. And more generally, she has tried to implement a number of ideas from the Hope Center—the school has given a "mixed response", yet "when you kind of zoom out and look at it from a long-term perspective, we're getting to the point where we are implementing more and more and more suggestions from the Hope Center".

Rayah (PR4) and Ricky (FR2) provide two additional examples. Both have social identities tied to movements that are not connected directly to food insecurity—sexual assault and LGBT+ and veteran rights, respectively. As Rayah (PR4) was laying the groundwork for the pantry at DU, she "…had some news interest. Um, I think [a regional newspaper] was interested in doing an article and they came to campus and they talked to me, and they were like, 'Oh this is great, this is fantastic, so where are the food insecure students, what are their names, and how do we contact them?' " In line with her social identity as a sexual assault activist and the emphases of social movements around sexual assault—such as leaving "space for people who wanna talk about it in detail to come forward…[but not seeking] those people out"—her response to the news network was, " 'No' (laughs). And that's where I kind of closed the door. I was like, I don't need media…We'll do this our way, but we're not making vulnerable people even more vulnerable".

Ricky (FR2), similarly, faced suggestions from student volunteers to locate the pantry more discreetly so pantry-goers wouldn't be embarrassed. Ricky (FR2)'s response was a hard no: "I would kind of like cut it off right there and be like, 'Wait. Let's stop that now because I need everyone to understand that we definitely can't be participating in that narrative. We cannot". This response resonates strongly with positions taken by the Human Rights Campaign, an LGBTQ advocacy and political lobbying organization Ricky (FR2) has volunteered for since 2007. In a blog post about "National Coming Out Day", for example, the Human Rights Campaign quotes Audre Lorde, "Your silence will not protect you", and follows this with, "Equality doesn't have a fighting chance if we stay in the closet!...So let's unite in a visible display of support for lesbian, gay, bisexual,

transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people!...Whether you are an LGBTQ person, or an ally—please make your support of LGBTQ people visible today". Consistent with this message, Ricky (FR2)'s response to the suggestions to hide the pantry was, "I understand [food insecurity and using the pantry] is fragile…but we cannot speak about it as *if it is that* [stigmatized], because it's not. It's treated that way, but it doesn't have to be. You know? And so I wanted that big splash. I wanted students talking about it. I wanted students knowing about it." Rayah and Ricky are particularly noteworthy because their movement-related identities are attached to issues other than hunger, and yet they strongly draw on these identities in the ways they run their pantries.

Overall, Revealers draw on their movement-related social identities to push against the expectations, criticisms, or well-intentioned suggestions of those around them. In some cases, this pushing back takes the form of trying to alter existing roles, like Nevada (PR2) at UEP, while for others it involves creating new roles like Eve (FR1), Rayah (PR4), and Ricky (FR2)—regardless, it involves working to align their roles as pantry founders, as much as possible with their movement-related identities.

To conclude, in Chapter 4 I explored two important social influences that shape the identities and behaviors of the founders in my study—an institutional logic rooted in student affairs on the one hand, and social movements on the other. I showed that a student affairs logic was a strong driver of founders' identities and the roles they occupy, and that together this logic and the roles it creates serve to structurally isolate founders, making it more likely they will have a single salient role identity that motivates them to run the pantries in manners consistent with their roles. On the flip side, I also explored the ways social movements shape founders' identities and roles through introducing

structural overlap, making it more likely these founders will invoke multiple salient identities within their roles as founders, and how these movement-related social identities drive founders' attempts to shape their roles so they can run the pantries in manners consistent with their movement-related identities. As I now move into Chapter 5, I explore how these influences get played out in the ways founders' enact food insecurity as stigmatized or not stigmatized—specifically, the definitions they create of food insecurity and the subsequent behavioral strategies they implement.

CHAPTER 5: THE ENACTMENT OF STIGMA

Definition of the Social Issue

Important to an understanding of individuals' behaviors is an understanding of how they define the situation they face. Summarizing W. I. Thomas's idea of *definition of the situation*, Stryker (1980) states that accounting for human behavior "is faulty and incomplete if it fails to cope with the subjective, as well as the objective, facts of experience" (p. 30). The way individuals behave not only reflects the objective contours of the situation—such as the constraints they face from various quarters—but also their subjective understanding of the situation. Unless a situation is highly routine, and prior definitions for it exist, individuals define what elements of the situation are most important and warrant attention (Stryker, 1980), which helps them "sort out appropriate lines of conduct" (Turner, 1994: 394). In line with prior research from sociology and entrepreneurship that individuals' identities shape their definitions of and responses to situations (Stryker, 1980; Turner, 1994; Powell & Baker, 2014), the founders in my study come to various definitions of the issue they face—campus food insecurity—driven by differences in their founder identities and roles. More specifically, the institutional logics

and social movements these founders identify with, as well as their identities and roles, together lead these founders to emphasize or focus on specific aspects of food insecurity, which in turn shapes the behavioral strategies they implement in response.

Flowing from the founders' identities and roles, and the movements or logics they identify with, the founders in my study construct distinct definitions of campus food insecurity. These definitions hinge on differences in the founders' views of the issue (1) as a *fixed reality* or *a problem*, (2) as *stigmatized* or *normal*, and (3) as something where they have agency to *manage* or agency to help *solve* student hunger. This brings the idea of "reification" (Berger & Luckman, 1966) clearly into view. Concealers focus on the way things are, and by doing so reify food insecurity as given or fixed—for practical purposes, it is not something that can feasibly be solved, at least by them. Both Partial and Full Revealers, in contrast, focus on the way things could be, problematizing food insecurity as something not yet settled and still open to question—it is something amenable to alteration via human agency. Seeing food insecurity as a fixed reality and part of the way things are, versus seeing it a problem that is open to change, shapes founders' views of their own agency—those who focus on the givenness of food insecurity view their agency towards it as limited to managing its effects, while those who see it as problematic view themselves as having sufficient agency to solve, or contribute to solving, the issue.

Further, Concealers and Partial Revealers both view food insecurity as *stigmatized*—as something that will likely discredit students and give rise to embarrassment and shame if it becomes known that they are hungry and if they are seen using a pantry—while Full Revealers view it as *normal*, in the sense that it is so common

it is unlikely to discredit students or give rise to embarrassment and shame. And in the case of Full Revealers, they also believe that operating their pantries as if food insecurity is stigmatized is likely to create or perpetuate stigma. In sum, the founders in my study construct distinct definitions of food insecurity—driven by their identities and roles, as reflections of the movements or logics they identify with—and these definitions in turn drive patterned variation in the behavioral strategies they employ to address it, consistent with the idea that entrepreneurs enact definitions of their situations which become "the pertinent context shaping the entrepreneurs' behavioral responses" (Baker & Welter, 2020: 43; Powell & Baker, 2014). In what follows, I provide greater detail on these various constructed definitions of campus food insecurity and the ways their identities and roles, reflective of the emphases of either social movements or a student affairs logic, shape these definitions.

Concealers—Reifying Food Insecurity. In Chapter 4, I noted a student affairs logic emphasizes respect for student privacy and confidentiality, the sensitivity of student issues, and a routine, administrative approach to handling student issues. The Concealers in my data, whose identities and roles are both shaped by a student affairs logic, construct common definitions of food insecurity. Reflecting this logic, the elements of their definition of food insecurity include: (1) viewing food insecurity as a *stigmatized* issue, (2) viewing food insecurity as a *fixed reality*, and (3) behaving as if their agency towards food insecurity is limited to *managing* its effects. This combination of elements leads Concealers to arrive at a practical definition of food insecurity as *a stigmatized reality to be discreetly managed*.

First, Concealers view food insecurity as *stigmatized,* that is, something discrediting that will cause embarrassment and arouse feelings of shame for the person experiencing it. Consistent with their student affairs-related role identities, these founders focus on the sensitivity, or perceived sensitivity, of student issues. Given how they are expected and required to handle other issues such as campus sexual violence—whose "intimate nature…demands that the process is managed carefully and with sensitivity" (NASPA, 2020a)—and student mental health with its attendant stigma, it is easy and routine for these founders to focus on the potential sensitivity of food insecurity and using a pantry, and think them likely to cause social discomfort for those who experience it if it becomes known about them.

For example, prior to opening the pantry, Kathy (C1)—who has a background as a Title IX coordinator at a previous school—was struggling with whether the pantry's location next to student organizations would generate discomfort for pantry goers because of the risk of being seen by their peers: "Part of me feels like 'Okay, students may not feel so embarrassed because it's not in the lobby…' But then again, they may see their peers…I don't know if there's going to be a kind of wall up for some of those students because they might see their friends up here and feel ashamed". In a follow-up interview after the pantry opened, her view remained the same: "I think there's still some sort of hesitancy because we're located among student organization offices… I'm sure that there's still some embarrassment about it". Kathy (C1) fears that if it is known that a particular student uses the pantry, this will generate embarrassment—an assumption she held prior to and maintains after opening the pantry. Hazel (C2), who now primarily runs the pantry: similarly foregrounds stigma and takes for granted that it exists: "…Even

though, you know, we're trying to change the stigma against using it, there's still an embarrassment attached to it".

Sasha (C4) similarly associates pantry usage with embarrassment and shame. She mentions they initially wanted a location for the pantry that was accessible but discreet enough that students won't "feel like everybody's watching them go in there [she lowers her voice and makes herself sound somewhat secretive]", a sentiment echoed by the Associate Dean of Students and the VP of Campus Life and Student Development during our interviews. A year later, Sasha (C4) reiterated this view of pantry usage as shameful, mentioning the pantry's location is beneficial because it feels like "nobody's looking at you".

Rebecca (C3), who has extensive experience in social work, emphasizes to students the anonymity of the pantry: "…None of the bags say pantry or anything like that. So no one knows. For all intents and purposes, you could have gone shopping anywhere". And finally, at MU, Charlene and Mary (C5) present a strikingly similar sentiment: "We talked a lot about, like, the stigma that a student might feel if they are really hungry and can't focus in class and they don't want to just like come to the faculty lounge to get a free snack. There's a lot of eyes in this area…We found a closet on the seventh floor…It's not directly in the sight of a classroom".

These founders zero-in on the stigma or potential stigma of food insecurity and pantry usage, and operate on the assumption that food insecurity and pantry usage will *necessarily* generate feelings of shame and embarrassment. Related to this assumption, these founders also assume that students do experience or will experience these feelings personally. These founders appear to have generated these assumptions without students

voicing this shame and at times in spite of indications that students *don't* feel this shame—as Brenda, Sasha's boss, noted: "Come to find out that the students…are less concerned about [embarrassment] than we are". At ETU, Kathy states that she *feels* students may get embarrassed and that she *thinks* there is hesitancy on the part of students, and she follows this by saying she's *sure* there is embarrassment. Charlene and Mary discussed their view that students *might feel* stigmatized. In sum, across these cases—and similar to common views of many other student issues—Concealers look at food insecurity as *stigmatized*—meaning it will discredit students and generate feelings of shame or embarrassment if it becomes known about them. Consistent with the requirements and norms of their roles and role identities, being a "good" student affairs or higher-ed professional requires "protecting" the students—adhering strictly to student confidentiality as a "core concept" (NASPA, 2019) of the student affairs logic.

Second, viewing food insecurity as a *fixed reality* entails seeing it as an unfortunate fact of life—part of the way things are—that cannot, practically, be solved. Concealers imply that food insecurity is a taken-for-granted aspect of their job because of its relation to poverty. For example, at MCC, Rebecca (C3) said: "There is a reluctance [among some at MCC] to acknowledge that [we] have a certain population of need on [our] campus…There's no way in creation that you're not aware that [we] have a population of high need". Similarly, Shelley—who helped Rebecca (C3) gain permission for the pantry—commented: "We also saw that increasingly, the public school system, the students were homeless and hungry…And those are the students who are feeding into our institution".

Kathy (C1) also references the populations that make up the student body at ETU: "So I think there's definitely an awareness of the demographic that there is a need…You know, so, but to be here in [city name], it's a different, it's a different student population…And also because we're a diverse community. How can we further continue to support our students to persist here? We don't want food to be a reason that they can't come to class".

For these founders, in their various roles in student affairs, students who are poor and hungry is a fact of their every-day professional lives and one they are responsible for coping with given their roles. The students coming into their schools are from the city and are already poor and hungry when they come, and this is something outside these founders' control and sphere of influence—Rebecca (C3) states as a matter of fact that "those are the students who are feeding into our institution". Needy students are an unavoidable aspect of their jobs and part of the hand they have been dealt within their roles. It is something practically impossible for them to alter or overcome given the many underlying issues causing it, as well as the practical boundaries of their roles. Similarly, Charlene and Mary (C5) see food insecurity as a symptom, focusing on much deeper issues tied to their institutional setting and to higher education more generally: Their school's lack of a large endowment and dependence on tuition, its resulting high tuition, and long-standing expectations within what they call the "machine" of higher education. These, and other, problems range from large to monolithic, and in their view are practically unassailable by two department of history administrators. In response to a question about the solvability of hunger at MU, they replied: "I don't know that there's ever going to be a total solution…I don't think…we're ever going to totally eliminate

students who are hungry…There are just so many things…It all goes back to how things work".

The pantry at HSU provides another interesting example of viewing food insecurity, as well as other issues, as given. The first line on the webpage for the pantry states directly the purpose of the pantry: "To combat the *reality* and struggle of food insecurity for our students" [06 > 01, emphasis added]. More subtly, Brenda, Sasha (C4)'s boss who ordered the pantry be created, described a broad shift in perceptions and expectations of universities' roles in society:

> *"...For many years I would say to my staff, 'We're not a social service agency.' There were just things we couldn't do, and there were expectations that this is not what a university does. This isn't who we are. Reality is, in the 2010s going forward, this is what a university is. We are a social service agency. We are an institutional force that can help students through this process." [HSU 01 > 03, emphasis added]*

Brenda sees student hunger, alongside other issues such as mental disabilities, as a new reality for who their students are, the issues they face, and the school's responsibility towards them. In the past, their student body was "full of middle class, upper middle-class students who could manage and take care of things with their family's support. It's not necessarily the case anymore". Across these cases is the shared but implicit view that food insecurity, like so many other issues must deal with on a daily basis, is an inevitable student issue that they must manage and that is here to stay.

Focusing on the inevitability of food insecurity on their campuses and viewing it as yet another issue threatening student success also appears in these founders' implicit recognition that efforts to manage food insecurity will be ongoing. For example, Kathy (C1) told me she has so much on her plate already, that she "physically can't manage the day-to-day operations" for the pantry, so she passed it to someone better able to accommodate the responsibility. In her view the pantry is a fixed initiative, requiring continual and ongoing management—which further implies that food insecurity in her view will continue indefinitely. Rebecca (C3) at MCC similarly points to staffing issues, recounting to me that her existing staff has taken on the pantry but hints this is unlikely to be feasible going forward: "A Vice Chancellor for [the school system]…indicated that there may be some opportunity to fund, meaning staff and all that, the pantry. Staffing is a tremendous, tremendous issue…So that'd be great, if we ever get to the place where I can actually hire a dedicated coordinator…". To reference Brenda's comments again, food insecurity is part of a new reality that, "going forward", requires a fundamental shift in what universities are and do—a shift to being a social service agency. In line with this, it is not surprising that Sasha (C4) now has a formal part-time position as pantry coordinator.

For the Concealers, food insecurity represents an ongoing issue they, as student affairs and higher-ed professionals, must deal with *"going forward"*, in Brenda's words. Each has assigned, or hopes to assign, employees to address it indefinitely. Overall, akin to issues like sexual assault, substance abuse, mental health, and other student services, for these founders food insecurity is a new issue, a new reality, to be handled through delegation and routine like every other student issue.

Third, Concealers act as if their agency is limited to *managing* food insecurity. Not surprisingly, given their view of food insecurity as given and as something to be handled like any other student issue, as well as limitations to their ability to address food insecurity stemming from their other full-time responsibilities, Concealers act *to manage* rather than to solve food insecurity. This rarely appears in explicit statements of inability to address the issue, but appears primarily through relatively narrow visions for their venture —typically, visions for mitigating food insecurity's negative impact on student retention, graduation, and success. As noted, food insecurity is seen as one issue likely to threaten student success, alongside a host of other issues. These founders are not out to solve student hunger on their campus, *per se*, but to mitigate its influence on academic issues, consistent with the mandates and expectations of their roles.   At MCC, for example, the VP for Student Affairs positioned the pantry as another weapon in their arsenal for promoting student retention: "…We looked at what are the issues that the students are presenting that are affecting their retention, that are roadblocks…Food insecurity was one of the issues", which aligns closely with the mission statement of the Student Affairs Division, to "[foster] and [support] the success of MCC students by providing programs, services, and opportunities...to help you succeed at MCC and beyond". Brenda, the VP at HSU, framed their pantry's mission similarly: Another initiative supporting their evolving mission to be "an institutional force that can help students through this process". And at ETU, Kathy (C1) said, "…The purpose of why we're here is to get students to persist and graduate", aiding the student affairs division in its mission to develop "supportive environments and enriching experiences that promote student success…". Food insecurity is a practical barrier—one of many—to student

success. Concealers' efforts are limited to alleviating or coping with, not eliminating, food insecurity—consistent with how they play out their roles in other areas. Charlene and Mary (C5) nicely summarize this view: "I don't know that there's ever going to be a total solution…I don't know that there is like an ultimate solution…Yeah, a lot would have to happen to address, fully address, [the] food insecurity problems here." But at least they can do "Something little…It could make a difference for some people, you know?"

As a whole, Concealers' definitions of food insecurity as stigmatized and a fixed reality, paired with actions to manage hunger, results in a composite view of food insecurity as *a stigmatized reality to be discreetly managed.* It is a new reality in the day-to-day of higher-education that likely cannot be solved, but it might to some extent be managed. Their actions, closely reflecting the norms and best practices of their roles and of student affairs logic, become oriented towards managing the issue through discreet behaviors, in order to promote student success. While the issue cannot be fully solved, its negative impacts may be mitigated to an extent. This includes both mitigating hunger for those in need and also mitigating the negative experience of shame or stigma attached to being hungry, so it is more likely students will seek help. As I will illustrate in the upcoming section on behavioral strategies, behaviors of concealment become a promising management strategy as it helps to avoid the negative impacts food insecurity, such as the experience of shame or stigma, that, along with food insecurity itself, could hinder students' academic performance. In sum, Concealers reify food insecurity, viewing it as an "inert facticity" (Berger & Luckman, 1967: 89). Food insecurity, like student physical and mental health issues, student misconduct, and sexual assault, are unfortunate facts of

life that *are,* and for all practical purposes they cannot be solved, so they must instead be managed.

Partial and Full Revealers: Problematizing Food Insecurity. In this section, I first explore Partial and Full Revealers together because of similarities in their definitions of food insecurity. In contrast to Concealers, Partial and Full Revealers view food insecurity as *problematic* and view their own agency as *ample* for effecting meaningful change. The two differ, however, in their view of food insecurity as a *stigmatized* or a *normal* problem—Partial Revealers, like Concealers, see food insecurity as stigmatized, while Full Revealers view it as something normal that should not arouse feelings of shame or embarrassment. These different definitional elements lead Partial Revealers to a practical definition of food insecurity as *a stigmatized problem to be discreetly solved* and Full Revealers to a practical definition of food insecurity as *a normal problem to be openly solved*.

In contrast to the somewhat fatalistic views of Concealers, Partial Revealers and Full Revealers are more optimistic in their views. First, consistent with their movement-related identities, they critique the way things are and focus instead on what could be. Rather than an "inert facticity" or fixed reality that is given, they see food insecurity as a problem—that is, an open question that is not yet settled. It is something that can be positively influenced through action.

In my data, this view ranges from implicit to explicit. At several of the pantries, the solvability of food insecurity is implied in respondents' statements about what is needed to solve food insecurity and their belief—implicit in their framing—that these solutions are viable. Nevada (PR2), and her colleague Julie, provide a strong contrast to

Charlene (C5) and Mary (C6). Like Charlene and Mary, Nevada and Julie point to the need for broad, systemic changes. In their view, the problems giving rise to food insecurity are as massive as those Mary and Charlene noted. But rather than stop there, concluding there will never be a complete solution, they engage in "prognostic framing" (Buechler, 2011)—focusing on needed changes and suggesting paths forward: from local initiatives like putting the pantry "in the middle of campus so that people know it's there", dealing with poverty before students come to campus via "student and community movement[s] around minimum wage laws," and "targeting housing affordability", to more state and national issues like lobbying for policy changes and changes in SNAP benefits. This broad-based optimism was again implicit in a follow up interview with Nevada (PR2) a year later:

> *"Maybe someday I will get a PhD about why are our students needing a food pantry? Like, what is it about what we're doing or the context of the region that we're in, or like what social and political and economic things are happening right now in this moment that our students don't have enough food to eat…"*

Nevada's implicit assumption here is that something "we're doing" has caused student hunger, and therefore there is something we—or she—can do or undo to fix it. Far from considering food insecurity as a "[fact] of nature", Nevada instead focuses on what humans have done to produce it (Berger & Luckman, 1967). Nevada and Julie's views contain both realism and optimism—recognizing that the needed changes will not be easy, but nevertheless believing the changes can be accomplished. This is a striking

reflection of the optimism of the basic needs movement and its efforts to communicate hope to its followers, while acknowledging the difficulty of creating change—as noted earlier, the founder of the Hope Center, who Nevada (PR2) draws from heavily, summed up this view by stating: "We have so much work to do in this country. And we are ready for this fight". This optimism from Nevada (PR2) and Julie also contrasts sharply with Rebecca (C3) and Shelley's views at MCC. Nevada (PR2) and Julie, like Shelley and Rebecca (C3), acknowledge their school's population is coming to college already poor and hungry. But they begin suggesting ways to address poverty among the population of incoming students, rather than perceiving it as a given aspect of their context that is outside their sphere of influence. Ricky (FR2), at UU, was the most explicit in his faith in the solvability of campus hunger: "We've got an issue with food security…And it's so easy to fix". Below are several additional examples of Partial and Full Revealers' implicit or explicit views that hunger is solvable:

> "…Food insecurity is never usually a problem by itself. Usually it's a symptom of a larger problem…So it really ranges and I think that's why the basic needs coordinator that was hired this year is a really instrumental step in helping eliminate hunger…" [Raiq, University of the South]

> "And so, from an outside perspective, well they might be like, "Well, it's a meal swipe program. Students are hungry, give them food. Give them meal swipes." And we're like, that's great. That provides food in the near term, but, um, what

about, like, culinary classes, or addressing some underlying need…Like, look we

need to address root cause, not just the immediate symptoms there." [Eric, NCU]

"The [pantry] at SSU is a choice food pantry open to the entire SSU community,

that is committed to help end food insecurities in the SSU community."

"…We have the opportunity and arguably the responsibility to serve as a leader

in our region. And in the country, hopefully, right? To address campus food

insecurity." [Nevada, UEP]

"…Food insecurity among students is a problem on college campuses around the

country, and it is something that is increasingly encountered at HU. As a result,

HU is continuing its work in this area, while also expanding its efforts."

While these founders may differ in making their views implicit or explicit, or differ in their views of the difficulty of solving hunger, in common across these cases is an optimistic view that food insecurity is solvable or at least can be substantially mitigated.

Second, this leads to the next point that both Partial Revealers and Full Revealers operate as if they possess *ample agency* to solve, or make meaningful progress towards solving, campus hunger. Consistent with the action orientation of social movements noted earlier, in addition to proposing solutions and framing themselves as part of those solutions, several additional examples help illustrate the strong view of agency among these founders.

At UU, Ricky (FR2) and his co-founder Marshall, both recount various achievements of the pantry, such as being the first student-run pantry among a select group of prestigious private schools, being the first student group to get permanent space on campus, and winning the support of the [their specific school's] administration. Further, Ricky (FR2) clearly articulates the purpose of the pantry: "…To alleviate food insecurity and to shine a light on it so that those people who have the ability to create programs that will eliminate food insecurity will do it", and suggests that they are making progress in this: "We haven't quite penetrated central administration, although, we're well on our way…"

Rayah (PR4), at DU, similarly expresses high levels of belief in her own ability to effect change against hunger on her campus: "I had an interaction with [a food insecure] friend…*I decided I wanted to do something* about it, *I decided I was uncomfortable with it*, it wasn't okay…*I decided to launch a survey*…I wanted to see what students could do to *push the administration to meet the needs of these students…I don't like to rely on institutional change* because it's often times ineffective".

And similar to the militaristic social movement slogans I mentioned earlier, such as "we are ready for this fight," "war on hunger", and "we will win", views of agency among these cases also appear at times in public-facing statements from these pantries: "Our mission is to relieve hunger…and to lead our campus community in the *fight* against hunger", "Leading the *fight* against hunger for the campus community", "Food insecurity is an ongoing issue here on our campus…You are not alone. HU has resources available to help *fight* the problem", and "Come learn more about collegiate food insecurity, UEP's *fight* against hunger, and how you can get involved!".

Up to this point, Partial Revealers and Full Revealers construct similar definitions of food insecurity—rather than viewing food insecurity as a fixed reality requiring management, both Partial Revealers and Full Revealers view it as a problem that can be solved. They differ, however, in treating it as *stigmatized* or *normal*—and it is here that important differences appear in the underlying views of the social movements with which the founders identify. These differences in turn lead to subtle but important differences in how these founders go about addressing the issue of food insecurity, as will be seen more clearly in the next section on behavioral strategies.

Similar to the student affairs-influenced view of Concealers, Partial Revealers view food insecurity, and pantry usage, as *stigmatized*, meaning it is an issue that will or likely will discredit and embarrass the students who experience if it becomes known about them. A similar emphasis is apparent in the social movements these founders identify with, including social movements around sexual assault and student basic needs. Rayah (PR4), for example, provides a striking example of viewing food insecurity as shameful by comparing it to sexual assault:

> *"So I knew [food insecurity advocacy has] gotta be something like or similar to that process [sexual assault advocacy] where you first start with awareness, you start with talking about something, but then you also leave some space for people who wanna talk about it more in detail to come forward themselves. You don't seek those people out, you don't go looking and say, 'Hey are you food insecure? Tell me about it.'…You're going into somebody's private life, it's something very personal."*

Her view is that while awareness of student hunger is needed, hunger is "private" and "very personal" to each individual—you should not broadcast that someone does not have enough food, just like you would not broadcast they had been sexually abused. This view closely mirrors the emphases of the Rape, Abuse, & Incest National Network, an anti-sexual assault organization that Rayah (PR4) supports. The organization hosts "RAINN Day", an event Rayah (PR4) has raised money for, which is an "annual campaign to raise awareness and educate students about sexual violence on college campuses…"; at the same time, the organization provides confidential support for victims of sexual violence: "Chat online with a trained staff member who can provide you confidential crisis support. Your privacy and safety are crucial. Please make sure you are in a safe place and that you are using a secure device and Internet connection…We will not ask for information that would identify you (such as your name or address) and we will not record the chat". A similar emphasis on preventing shame or embarrassment also appears among Partial Revealers influenced by the basic needs movements.

During my interview with Nevada (PR2) and Julie at UEP, for example, they mentioned specifically training their volunteers to provide "a service that has a lot of social stigma round it". For example, they train volunteers not to identify users if they meet them outside the pantry and—discussing the pantry's discreet location in the basement of an on-campus church—Julie mentioned that early research coming out of the basic needs movement "was saying that you want [the pantry] to be in a quiet- and obviously space is just limited, but like, you want it to be in a place so that people feel comfortable walking in…". An example of this sort of research was created by an

organization that Nevada (PR2) and Julie mention drawing ideas from—the College and University Food Bank Alliance (CUFBA), a social movement organization co-founded by an individual with a strong student affairs background. In an early pantry how-to guide, CUFBA suggests: "The dignity of users should be considered when starting a campus food pantry. It is likely volunteers will encounter individuals using the pantry on other parts of the campus. It is completely acceptable for volunteers and staff to interact with users outside the pantry, but they should never discuss an individual's use of services or confidential information in public…" (CUFBA, 2015a). And in a prominent follow-on pantry toolkit, they also state, "Your pantry should also be located in an easily accessible location…It's also good to find a location which already receives a lot of visitors, so that it's not obvious that students or staff who visit the building are there for food assistance" (CUFBA, 2015b).

Similar recommendations appear among multiple other movement organizations. For example:

> *"Make pantry accessibility fairly private to maintain the dignity of students…Appointments are used to make sure students have privacy…"*
> (Achieving the Dream, 2017)

> *"Consider privacy…An unfortunate stigma lingers around the idea of not having enough to eat. To help students avoid that feeling of shame and inadequacy, many campus-based food pantries keep things as anonymous as possible."*
> (Lee, 2020)

"The location of a pantry also contributes to how private it is, and while 92% of campus pantries report having a designated space on campus, 24% of all pantries are not private. Again, the direction of influence of privacy on students is unclear."

(Goldrick-Rab, Cady, & Coca, 2018)

Admittedly, some social movements organizations, such as the Hope Center, suggest there is disagreement over whether making pantries more or less visible is helpful; yet, in their research reports, they offer somewhat conflicting accounts, at one point praising a school that located its pantry very visibly, but at another time suggesting "Privacy and dignity are important to consider when choosing a location for services" (Goldrick-Rab, Richardson, Schneider, Hernandez, & Cady, 2018). Consistent overall with these sources, Partial Revealers who are influenced by the basic needs movement repeatedly focus on food insecurity as something that should be handled discreetly:

"They're throwing up ideas like, 'Well, what about a voucher program? Where we can give students vouchers.' And so I'm like, 'Okay, so give all the poor students these vouchers that stigmatize that?...' That point out, 'Hey, I have a voucher for food.'" [Sharon (PR1), St. Giles]

"When I arrived, Eric [Jasmine's (PR6) boss] was discussing that they want non-descript bags for students to use, bags that won't scream, 'Oh, you went to the cupboard…'" [NCU]

"I wanted…the entire DU community to know the work we were doing [re: the pantry and food insecurity]…But I didn't want it to be a two way street where everything that was said at these meetings was taken out of context and maybe people were left kind of out in the wind with like, 'Oh, you shared that information about me.' … That comes from, I think, a lot of experience with working with survivors [of sexual assault]…There are people who choose to be at the center of it and share their story, but that's the[ir] choice, not a requirement." [Rayah (PR4), DU]

"[When students sign in] We emphasize and we tell them, 'There's no way we can track, we have no idea who you are…[The pantry is] actually moving this summer. So we finally got space on the…third floor of the university center, which is like the perfect, central building. And then it's good because it's on the third floor, so it's like out of sight and more discreet…We'll try to make it as obvious as possible. We'll also be as discreet as possible (slight laughing)." [Toni (PR5), WU]

As a whole, Partial Revealers' views of food insecurity as *stigmatized*, combined with their views that it is a solvable problem and they have the capacity to meaningfully

contribute to solving it, leads to a distinct definition of food insecurity as *a stigmatized problem to be discreetly solved*. Given their view that food insecurity can generate embarrassment and shame when pantry users are observed, and that it can and should be solved, a behavioral response of *partial revealing* that conceals those in need while simultaneously revealing the issue in order to catalyze broader change and shift peoples' perspectives about the issue becomes a sensible and likely strategy. This dual strategy of Partial Revealers to raise awareness while protecting the individual, which will be more fully explored in the next section, is nicely summarized by Rayah (PR4): "

> *"…You first start with awareness, you start with talking about something, but then you also leave some space for people who wanna talk about it more in detail to come forward themselves. You don't seek those people out, you know, you don't go looking and say, hey are you food insecure? Tell me about it. That's the wrong approach because you're going into somebody's private life, it's something very personal."*

Full Revealers, in contrast to both Concealers and Partial Revealers, reject views that position food insecurity as necessarily stigmatized. Instead, their view of food insecurity is well captured by the label *normal problem*. Rather than a stigmatized issue that sets an individual apart as different and discredited and gives rise to feelings of shame and embarrassment, they see food insecurity as a problem common to many in higher education and which is encountered in their normal, day-to-day experience of

academia. As a normal problem, it does not bestow a special status—a discrediting status (Goffman, 1963)—on those experiencing it.

It is important to notice the contrast here with both Partial Revealers and Concealers: Both view food insecurity as something that sets the food insecure individual apart—in Goffman's (1963) terms, being food insecure makes a person *discreditable*, and being known as food insecure makes a person *discredited*, compared to the "normals" around them. Full Revealers instead view food insecurity as a problem that, as a result of its commonness, is a normal experience in higher education and therefore does not distinguish the sufferer as separate—it bestows no special, discrediting status.

It is noteworthy the two founders I categorized as Full Revealers are only distantly connected to the basic needs movement, if at all—at a conference we attended together, Eve (FR1) spoke critically of the host movement organization, saying she "noticed a lot of 'self-serving' going on in the conference. Also, she thought they tended to make things dramatic". I have not been able to find any indication that Ricky (FR2) is connected to the movement beyond joining a monthly hunger dialogue call put on by a small social movement organization. Instead, both identify with broader movements focused on hunger and human rights, respectively, and which share their emphasis on visibility.

Eve (FR1), for example, has a long history of involvement with anti-hunger organizations including a highly visible congregate feeding center and other organizations focused on addressing hunger among rural youth and the elderly. Consistent with this, for the duration of her time with the pantry at DU, Eve (FR1) has "never bought into trying to promote anonymity", refusing to treat food insecurity as

something non-normal that should be covered up. Instead, she works actively to treat food insecurity and pantry usage as normal—for example, by intentionally identifying pantry-goers through providing reusable bags with the pantry logo clearly displayed, as well as relocating the pantry from its relatively discreet location to a much higher profile, highly trafficked area next to a popular restaurant in the student center. Further, as previously noted, she also in a sense openly recruits pantry users to identify themselves with the pantry with tote bags emblazoned with "End the Stigma" as part of a larger campaign to shift the university community's perceptions of food insecurity as shameful.

Ricky (FR2), at UU, is similar. He identifies with least two human rights social movements, volunteering for Human Rights Campaign, an LGBTQ advocacy and lobbying organization that emphasizes visibility, and working first for a "veteran-led grassroots organization committed to…mobilizing veterans to elect accountable leaders and promote progressive values in 2020 and beyond", and then as a state policy manager for an organization advancing veteran access to education. Particularly consistent with the emphasis of the Human Rights Campaign that "Equality doesn't have a fighting chance if we stay in the closet", Ricky (FR2) intentionally works to generate word of mouth and get everyone to "be talking about it [the pantry]", due to the stigma that surrounds pantry usage. Further, even when facing pressure to locate the pantry more discreetly in case students feel uncomfortable being seen going in, he responded "I understand [food insecurity is] fragile and we need to approach it with the knowledge that it's fragile but we cannot speak about it *as if it is that* [stigmatized]. Because it's not. It's treated that way but it doesn't have to be". In sum, the combination of viewing food insecurity as a problem that is normal and solvable, and which they can meaningfully

impact, leads Full Revealers to a practical definition of food insecurity as *a normal problem to be openly solved.*

An additional aspect of the differences between Partial Revealers and Full Revealers, and their respective views of food insecurity as *stigmatized* or *normal*, is the audiences they target with their awareness and education efforts. As will be elaborated more fully in the next section, audiences can be roughly sorted into pantry "users" and "non-users", the former representing food insecure individuals who use the pantry and the latter representing the remaining campus community.

As noted above, Partial Revealers work on behalf of pantry users, keeping them largely hidden while working to raise general awareness of food insecurity and educating others about the plight of food insecure individuals. The audience whose views Partial Revealers seek to alter are largely non-users. Full Revealers similarly seek to alter non-users' views towards food insecurity and pantry users, engaging in many of the same sorts of awareness and educational activities, but at the same time—and in contrast to Partial Revealers—also working to alter pantry users' own views. They do this primarily through behaviors that reveal the users, such as my previous examples of tote bags with pantry logos and visible and central locations, both of which encourage the users to be seen using the pantry. The pantry at UEP—a Partial Revealer but which nevertheless has some Full Revealer leanings—provides a useful illustration of this: "…We want to reduce that stigma. We want [the pantry] to be in the middle of campus so that people know it's there and that people can just walk in if they want…I think at this point, we'd like to be visible". In other words, the pantry becomes normal—it becomes visible and people can walk in casually, the way they might walk into the cafeteria, book store, or

coffee shop. (It is important to note that, at this point, the UEP pantry is still discreetly located.)

This is also apparent among Eve (FR1) at DU and Ricky (FR2) at UU with their shared refusals to hide the pantry and pantry users and their attempts to keep both visible. These sorts of actions necessitate that those using the pantry cannot hide; they will often be seen going in and coming out. This forces "seeing" food insecurity and pantry users onto non-users' daily experiences. At the same time, it forces "being seen" onto pantry users' daily experiences. What these pantries have in view is a recalibration of who and what is considered normal, by users and non-users alike. By forcing food insecurity and pantries into the flows and locations of normal campus life, food insecurity and pantries become part of normal campus life. At DU, people going into the pantry physically parallel people going into a new restaurant that recently opened. In sum, despite their similarities in other areas, Partial Revealers and Full Revealers operate on very different underlying views of food insecurity as shameful or common. In the next section, I explore the ways that these varying views, in addition to the highly separate views of Concealers, drive patterned differences in the behavioral strategies these founders employ to address food insecurity.

Behavioral Strategy

These founders' underlying definitions of food insecurity play an important role in shaping their behavioral strategies. Flowing directly from their definitions of the situation—food insecurity as a *stigmatized reality to be discreetly managed*, *a stigmatized problem to be discreetly solved*, and *a normal problem to be openly solved*—the pantries

in my study vary in their behavioral strategies for dealing with food insecurity. These strategies include: *concealing*, *partial revealing*, and *full revealing*. As will be shown, the key criteria that distinguishes these distinct behavioral strategies are their behaviors and logic regarding (a) concealing or revealing the *issue of food insecurity* and (b) concealing or revealing the *pantry users*.

Concealing. As a strategy for discreetly managing food insecurity, Concealers engage in behaviors that conceal both the pantry users and the issue of campus food insecurity. Their concealment of the pantry users is most clearly seen through various behaviors focused on discretion and confidentiality, which in many cases is framed with a logic of maintaining anonymity. One of the primary ways pantries do this is through locating the pantry in a discreet or physically remote location. As a prime example, at Hillsville State, the pantry is located in the back corner of the basement of the student center, directly next to the cargo elevator and rear utility steps—or "in the deeps of the Student Center", as the school newspaper reported. Discussing the selection of the location for the pantry, Sasha (C4) commented:

> *"And, I think that's what a lot of universities, you know, are having trouble with is actually acquiring a good space. You know, space that's accessible for students that's not going to be in the forefront where, you know, they feel like everybody's watching them go in there [she lowers her voice and makes herself sound somewhat secretive]."*

This was echoed by Faria, who helped Sasha (C4) co-found the pantry, as well as Brenda, who gave the initial order for the pantry:

> *"…We placed it in the basement of this building…We wanted it to be at places where students would not be uncomfortable going. So that they wouldn't be embarrassed by going to the pantry…And so because it's in a very obscure location, students don't even know that that space is there…It's in the basement of the Student Center and it's not a place that people would normally go unless you were going to the pantry."*

> *"So the Student Center is neutral. We originally put it down where it is because we thought, "Well, we don't want students to be embarrassed by going." So, um, it's not on the first floor, right in the, the main hallway. Um, come to find out that the students who were willing to, to use it are less concerned about that than we are."*

Sasha (C4), and her bosses Faria and Brenda, communicated the view that the pantry should intentionally be located off-the-beaten-track in an area that "accessible" but not "in the forefront" and somewhere students will not be "uncomfortable going" so that they do not "feel like everybody's watching them" and so they won't be "embarrassed by going". What is particularly noteworthy is that Brenda mentions that students, as it turned out, were less concerned about being observed than originally thought. Despite this,

however, in an interview a year later, Sasha (C4) repeats the same sentiment when again

discussing the location of the pantry:

> *"The upside is that it is in this building, that it is in the Student Center, which is*
>
> *like perfect. You know, nobody's looking at you like, what are you doing here, you*
>
> *know, as a student. You know, you can move in and out easily. If you don't want*
>
> *people to know where you are, you can move in and out easily via like three or*
>
> *four different directions and nobody's gonna know where you came from. So*
>
> *that's, that's the upside."*

Similarly, at ETU, speaking with both Kathy (C1) and Hazel (C2), the same logic

of anonymity appears in their discussions of the pantry location. Kathy (C1) mentioned

the pantry is located:

> *"...in an area of campus that isn't super populated. However, it is between some*
>
> *of the major student organization offices. So I don't know...part of me feels like,*
>
> *"Okay, students may not feel so embarrassed because it's not in the lobby.' It's*
>
> *up here. But then again, they may see their peers."*

A year later, Hazel (C2) echoed this emphasis on visual anonymity. Speaking of the

pantry being located on the 4th floor of the student center, Hazel (C2) mentions it's

located in a place that students likely will not "naturally find", and in comparing it to the

more highly trafficked 2nd floor, she suggests the current location helps "if students are feeling any kind of embarrassment".

In addition to locating the pantry in discreet or out-of-the-way places that prevent pantry users from being seen, some pantries implement or at least consider a range of other behaviors intended to prevent pantry users from being observed or feeling like they are being observed. For example, at MCC, Rebecca (C3) mentioned she was considering having food drop-off sites so students do not have to come to a central pantry location: "…I got an email from an…alumni, actually, who said, 'You may wanna think about drop-off sites because when I was a student needing to access the food, it just felt really horrible that I had to go to a place because it meant that I had to reveal this need', and I think that's something really, really, interesting, an angle to look at".

Others discuss intentionally using lighter marketing approaches than they would use for other initiatives or events where they want more people to attend. Kathy (C1) at ETU said, "…I will not be as aggressive as I would with other things that I want 300 people to come to for an event. So I think it's going to be a light approach". Similarly, they sometimes mention a sensitive approach to marketing that emphasizes student comfort and anonymity. Kathy (C1), again, in discussing her marketing for the pantry, mentioned, "I keep coming back to I'm not going to qualify it with like, 'Are you hungry? Are you in need? Come to the food pantry.' It's like, 'Ew.' It just feels like I'm being judged". Charlene and Mary (C5) similarly mention a limited, discreet form of marketing: "It's that problem of like how discreet can we be, but also make sure people know about this. And I think, you know, we're not going to, like, we would probably Tweet about it, but like not launch a whole marketing campaign".

Another concealing tactic some pantries use is to provide reusable pantry bags that do not include any identifying words or graphics that would connect the student to the pantry. Rebecca (C3) at MCC strongly emphasized this: "…And bags. I say to [users], '…Nobody has to know 'cause none of the bags are— none of the bags say pantry or anything like that. So no one knows. For all intents and purposes, you could have gone shopping anywhere". The pantry at ETU also provides generic bags. Generic, unmarked pantry bags are relatively common even among the Partial Revealing pantries that are discussed in the next section. For example, Eric, who provides oversight for the pantry Jasmine runs, gave a talk at a conference I attended; in my notes I record: "…Eric was discussing that they want non-descript bags for students to use, bags that won't scream, 'Oh, you went to the cupboard…'".

Several related practices intended to provide anonymity include having staff pre-pack bags of food because "most students don't want to make that trek [to the pantry]. It's all about stigma", and using confidential appointments to provide "a level of confidentiality" that feels "a little more private" for those users "wanting a more private experience" and to attract students who are otherwise too embarrassed to come. In addition, in response to a suggestion by school administration to provide meal vouchers, Sharon at St. Giles responded by recommending they load meal swipes on students' ID cards so they don't stand out.

Other less common practices include providing a generic pantry email address so students "wouldn't be reaching out to an individual…Like who's receiving this email?", providing confidentiality training for pantry employees, and overall emphasizing confidentiality/anonymity to users: "…We try to keep this as confidential as we

can…[Students] will do an intake form which has the confidentiality agreement…",

"Privacy is at the center of our mission to ensure the dignity of all individuals.

Information will not be shared…", and "I would like, we have right now a Google Form

that accepts an anonymous submission…[about] whether they would find [a pantry] to be

something useful". In sum, in common across these practices is the intentional effort to

conceal the pantry user from being personally identified to outside observers, particularly

others in the college or university community, as someone who uses a food pantry. This

attempt to conceal users is expressed both in the material practices of the pantries, such as

where they locate the pantry and the bags they provide, often explicitly reinforced

through the pantry leaders' statements about the intention to conceal users.

In addition to behaviors intentionally calculated to provide pantry users with

anonymity, Concealing pantries also tend to have limited or muted initiatives to raise

awareness about the pantry and food insecurity more generally. A few examples help

illustrate this relative absence, although it appears most clearly through contrast with the

Partial and Full Revealing pantries' broader awareness efforts. At ETU, as noted, Kathy

(C1) mentioned that her marketing efforts for the pantry are much narrower, and smaller

scale than other events she would market:

> *"So there will be a widespread net being thrown and then I think we will do some*
>
> *maintenance outreach, but I will not be as aggressive as I would the other things*
>
> *that I want 300 people to come to for an event."*

"…We advertise the guidelines [for using the pantry], and we advertise that the pantry's accepting donations. We haven't actually done a flyer for like, "The pantry is here"…There's one [a poster, see photo below] downstairs. So after spring break, we'll probably do something else more that's like, 'Hey, come visit us. This is why you might need to come visit us.' We just haven't done that yet."

Similarly, at HSU, while the Sasha (C4) mentioned she has "talked about [the pantry] consistently for four years" and sent out emails, she also reports that people will tell her, " 'I didn't know.' 'Well, why didn't you know?' 'Oh, I don't read that. I don't look at that email…I don't look at the [school] news'". There are two aspects to these examples that are important to note: It is not that these schools completely hide the pantries or that they never advertise them and gain more attention among students; instead, it is that their efforts to raise awareness about the pantry and about food insecurity are more limited, narrower forms aimed at raising awareness for students who need to use the pantry.

So, in addition to behaviors of concealing the user, there is a concurrent engagement in limited or relatively narrow behaviors aimed at raising awareness around the issue of food insecurity. In sum, far from engaging in active efforts to conceal all knowledge of their pantries, Concealers instead actively provide anonymity for students paired with active though limited efforts to bring awareness to the pantry and to food insecurity as a whole. The combination of concealing the students and limited awareness activities constitutes the two defining characteristics of Concealers' strategies towards the stigma they perceive as attached to pantry use and food insecurity.

Partial Revealing. In an effort to discreetly solve food insecurity, partial revealers engage in behaviors that simultaneously conceal certain aspects of food insecurity and reveal other aspects. Like Concealers, Partial Revealers make a point to conceal pantry users, engaging in intentional concealing behaviors and an accompanying logic of anonymity. They differ, however, from Concealers in their broader concern for and efforts to raise awareness about the pantry and the issue of food insecurity more generally—as opposed to relatively limited and narrow efforts to advertise the pantry, Partial Revealers make a concerted effort to *reveal* the pantry and food insecurity. This balance between carefully concealing users from unnecessary observation and revelation and revealing the issue of food insecurity is nicely encapsulated in a previously cited comment from Rayah (PR4):

> *"So I knew it's [food insecurity's] gotta be something like or similar to [sexual assault advocacy] where you first start with awareness, you start with talking about something, but then you also leave some space for people who wanna talk about it in detail to come forward themselves. You don't seek those people out…Because I wanted people to know, like I wanted obviously the entire DU community to know the work we were doing. And the good that was coming from it. But I didn't want it to be a two way street where everything that was said at these meetings was taken out of context and maybe people were like, you know, left kind of out in the wind with like, oh you shared that information about me."*

More specifically, when it comes to how Revealers handle pantry users, like Concealers they often engage in various behaviors to conceal the pantry users. This is seen, for example, in a tendency to physically conceal the pantry location. The pantries at St. Giles, UEP, HU, and WU—all Partial Revealers—all have the pantries discreetly located. In addition, Partial Revealers also engage in various other behaviors intended to provide anonymity for the student, such as confidential appointments, anonymous sign-in, discreet bags with no logos, confidentiality training, separating the pantry from the reception area, and in communicating a general emphasis on anonymity at various pantries. To illustrate this final behavior—emphasizing anonymity—Eileen at SSU, a non-focal case in my study, mentioned that pantry volunteers' "job would be like, 'Yeah, come in, this is what it's for, and it's not a big deal, and no one's watching ya [sic]'", while NCU's website states, "Privacy is at the center of our mission. Information will not be shared…".

While Partial Revealers share with Concealers a focus on providing anonymity for the pantry user, they diverge, as noted, in their approach to handling the overall visibility of the issue of food insecurity. In contrast to the relatively limited, narrow awareness efforts of Concealers, Partial Revealers often emphasize the importance of raising awareness of and educating people about food insecurity. This general orientation towards generating awareness appears explicitly in the mission statements of the pantry at NCU: To "provide an immediate and comprehensive response for the NCU community…Offering resources, educational opportunities, compassionate support, and more…". It also finds expression in other behaviors of various forms. These pantries often engage in a variety of awareness events. For example, at UEP, the pantry held

several annual "hunger banquets" for the university community. According to information put out by pantry, the 2020 hunger banquet was intended to help students "experience a new perspective on the college diet as you step into a new identity during a hunger simulation. Meet and hear from leaders on the front line of food, social justice, and equity initiatives on-campus and around [the city].". Similarly, Sherry (PR3), who runs the pantry at HU, mentioned:

> *"Last year we hosted a conference on basic needs insecurity in [state name] higher education…We brought Sara Goldrick-Rab here…to do a keynote for our student affairs staff…So that was sort of bringing people together. And we really wanted to talk about research, advocacy, and policy".*

And at UU, one of the Full Revealers discussed in more detail in the next section, they host "a bunch of events during the year for you to get involved and learn more about the food pantry and also to talk about food insecurity and campus hunger, throughout UU".

In addition to these more formal awareness events, pantries often build awareness in numerous other ways. This sometimes takes the form of seeking to generate buzz or word of mouth: "…We ask [students] to follow us on social media and share that information 'cause the peer-to-peer referral piece is huge" and "Social media ambassadors help us reach more students and serve as a valuable asset to the Henry Student Food Pantry's outreach efforts". In line with this, social media is a common tactic to spread information both about the pantry and the issue of food insecurity. Eileen, one of the non-focal cases in my study, provides a useful example here. At SSU during

Eileen's tenure, the pantry, via its Facebook and Twitter accounts, repeatedly shared pantry- and food insecurity-related content to raise awareness. They shared a link to a Washington Post article on student hunger, and provided the caption "Students — You are not alone. This is a national issue. Please don't hesitate to use our services". They invited the campus community to a viewing of the film "A Place at the Table", a documentary foregrounding food insecurity across America, and reshared a Feeding America tweet about Giving Tuesday and provided the caption "Please join us in the fight against hunger". The pantry at HU similarly builds awareness via its Facebook page, sharing details about a "live cooking demo featuring food & items from the Henry Student Food Pantry", information about "eating well on a budget", details about eligibility for using the pantry and a definition of food insecurity, recipes, and information from Feeding America about food insecurity in America.

Finally, throughout my interviews with several Partial Revealers, there was a strong emphasis on educating people, often via face to face interactions, about campus hunger and food insecurity. For example, Sharon at St. Giles told me multiple times about people approaching her with critical questions or attempts to be helpful, and how she needed to respond by increasing their understanding of the issues:

> *"...We just had the question…Why aren't students utilizing local food pantries?...So I compiled a list of nearby locations and said, 'These are their guidelines, and this is what restricts students from coming'…Um, people would say, 'Well, why don't they have meal plans?' So then we go into, 'Well, let's talk*

about the cost of a meal plan' … 'Well, why aren't students utilizing SNAP

benefits?' Okay, well, most students don't know that they qualify for SNAP".

At UEP, Nevada (PR2) discusses needing to educate food insecure students in

order for them to understand that they are food insecure:

"...If someone's not sure [if they should use the pantry], I'll say, 'What did you

eat yesterday?' And if they say, 'Oh, I had easy mac.' I'll say, 'Okay, did you

have easy mac because you didn't have a lot of time or because you just like easy

mac or did you have easy mac because it was a dollar and that was all you could

afford?' Because those are two very different conversations."

And as a final example of educating, in response to a question about whether people

challenge her over the severity of food insecurity as an issue, Toni (PR5) at WU replied:

"Yes. Yeah, but then I just try to educate them about like, 'Well, actually, it kind of is a

big deal', and like, 'Here's why, even if you have the right quantity of food, it's…not

going to be nourishing…And that can be food insecurity. And I have just used it as an

opportunity to educate people".

In sum, for a subset of pantries in my study, their approach to dealing with stigma

attached to using food pantries and being food insecure is to *partially reveal*—to engage,

on the one hand, in behaviors that protect the privacy of the student and prevent them

from experiencing any embarrassment due to needing to use the pantry, and on the other

hand, to engage in behaviors that bring greater awareness to the pantry in order to reach

more students in need and to elevate the issue of food insecurity into a well-known issue.

 Full Revealing. In line with their view that food insecurity should be openly, or

visibly, solved, Full Revealers engage in behaviors that comprehensively reveal the issue.

Full Revealers are pantries that reveal both the issue of food insecurity and the pantry

users. They share with Partial Revealers an emphasis on raising awareness about food

insecurity. For example, the pantry at UU seeks to raise awareness about food insecurity

through "a bunch of events during the year for you to get involved and learn more about

the food pantry, and also to talk about food insecurity and campus hunger…", including

"a silent auction" during the fall semester and a "campus hunger awareness week" during

the spring semester intended to "encourage conversations surrounding food insecurity

and campus hunger on UU's campus", and finally a "student cooking demo" in

collaboration with the university dining service. Ricky (FR2), in particular, has sought to

bring awareness to and generate word of mouth about the pantry through sending a mass

email "to the entire student body" and by having a visible grand opening for the pantry in

order to "make a huge splash right there at the beginning…Everyone needs to be talking

about it…Because there's a stigma". The grand opening idea is something Ricky (FR2),

and his co-founder Marshall, have repeated at the two new locations they recently

launched .

 However, in contrast with both Partial Revealers and Concealers, Full Revealer

pantries make a point of *not* concealing the pantry users and at times make an intentional

effort to make pantry users more visible. For example, the DU pantry's reusable shopping

totes are clearly labeled with the pantry's logo. Students who use the totes will be

associated with the pantry. More recently, the DU pantry has begun openly attacking stigma related to pantry usage by including explicitly anti-stigma messaging on the shopping totes: "End the Stigma — Office of Disability Services and DU Pantry". By including the pantry's logo on the totes, the pantry at DU increases the visibility of any person who uses the totes to shop the pantry. The more explicit, recent totes take this a step further—by including "End the Stigma" on the totes, the pantry not only increases shoppers' visibility and the chances they will be identified with the pantry, but actively recruits those shoppers to participate in an anti-stigma campaign. The pantry at DU wants students who use the pantry to be seen and to be associated with the pantry, and actively encourage shoppers to use these identifying bags: "PLEASE bring your bags today…" and "Hello Runners! Don't forget your bag".

Another strategy that clearly sets Full Revealers apart from Partial Revealers and Concealers is their view on the location of the pantry. In discussing feedback from pantry volunteers about moving the pantry to a more discreet location, Ricky (FR2) made this comment during our interview:

> *"…There are times where people are like, 'Well, we don't necessarily want, uh— maybe we should look at moving the space or something like that.' And these are ideas that were just brought up by volunteers and things. But they're like, 'Maybe some students don't want to be seen, you know, going and picking up food.' And I would kind of like cut it off right at the—right there and be like, "Wait. Let's stop that now because I need everyone to understand that we definitely can't be participating in that narrative. We cannot."*

This provides a striking contrast to an example mentioned earlier, which viewed together helps bring out the strong differences in Concealers' and Full Revealers' strategic approaches to dealing with stigma. When Ricky (FR2) was encouraged to locate the pantry more discreetly, his response was a strong indictment of concealing behaviors and an emphasis on visibility as an important path forward for addressing stigma. In contrast, in response to feedback from an alumni who suggested making the pantry more discreetly accessible via drop-off sites, Rebecca (C3) at MCC appeared to be strongly considering the suggestion: "I think that's something really, really interesting to— an angle to look at. The question is, how do you actually implement drop-off sites? He had made some suggestions about, maybe at a locker, in the gym, and those kinds of things…I'm sure there are ways to do it…"

Like Ricky (FR2) at UU, Eve (FR1) at DU similarly "never bought into trying to promote anonymity", instead viewing various situations as teaching moments and opportunities to change people's view of hunger, pantries, and neediness [personal communication]. In addition to the explicitly labeled tote bags mentioned previously, the pantry at DU recently moved from its relatively out-of-the-way corner in the campus student center to a more centralized, visible room in the student center, directly beside a highly trafficked restaurant that recently opened. Thus, for both the pantry at UU and the pantry at DU, the approach to stigma is not through concealing or raising awareness only about the issue of food insecurity, but through greater visibility of both the issue and the people who experience the issue and use a food pantry. And for both, this is driven by a firm refusal to hide and a commitment to achieve greater visibility. Ricky (FR2), at UU,

summarizes this position nicely: "We wanted the food pantry to be a flagship for financial insecurities writ large…[The purpose of the pantry] is to alleviate food insecurity and to shine a light on it…You don't see [food insecurity] it's so invisible, people don't want to talk about it. You know, they're embarrassed…And so we wanted to do that."

In summary, flowing from their founder identities and roles, which stem either from social movements or a student affairs logic, the founders in my study construct various distinct definitions of the social issue that they face. Those following a student affairs logic define food insecurity like any other student issue they face—as a stigmatized reality that they must discreetly manage as they endeavor to support the academic success of their students. Those associated with social movements that emphasize sensitivity—such as movements around sexual assault and student basic needs—define food insecurity as a stigmatized problem like the Concealers do, but in contrast see it as a problem to be solved discreetly. And those founders associated with social movements that emphasize visibility define food insecurity as a normal problem, without stigma, that should be solved openly through greater visibility.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

Social Movements and the Enactment of Social Issues

The research question driving this study was *how and why do social movements shape the way prosocial entrepreneurs enact social issues*, and my central finding was that variation between founders in identifying with a social movement profoundly shapes

whether or not they define and act as if a social issue—such as student hunger—is stigmatized or not. This finding is broadly consistent with prior studies that suggest prosocial ventures sometimes reflect or are shaped by social movements. And at various points my findings closely reinforce – and help to explain – specific claims from past studies. For instance, my finding that Concealers have narrower, more limited visions for managing hunger on their campuses while Revealers have broader visions that include local and non-local solutions for student hunger resonates strongly with Scarlato's (2013) claims that movement-related ventures espouse broader visions of social change that reach beyond their local setting. Others claim that prosocial ventures sometimes reflect or adopt the views, behavioral strategies, or goals of social movements (Broek *et al.*, 2012; Montesorri, 2016; Cherrier *et al.*, 2018), which overlaps with my findings that founders' constructed definitions and behavioral strategies towards a social issue is highly consistent with the views of the respective social movements they identify with. At the same time, I build on these earlier studies by identifying a specific theoretical mechanism through which movements sometimes influence prosocial ventures. My finding that founder identity plays a crucial mediating role between individual founders' behaviors and broader social movements helps clarify these earlier claims by providing a specific mechanism that connects prosocial venturing to social movements.

Further, identity as a linking mechanism between movements and ventures is strongly consistent with recent research by Weber *et al.*, (2008) who found that social movements can establish collective identities that underpin the emergence of new populations of ventures. At the same time, more generally in line with ideas from social movement research that identification with a movement is an important driver of

individual participation in activism (Snow & Soule, 2010), I extend prior research at the population level by using identity as a mechanism to explain the way social movements drive patterned variation between individual ventures.

Finally, prior research often explores the influence of social movements on entire populations of ventures (Weber *et al.*, 2008; Sine & Lee, 2009; Pacheco, York, & Hargrave, 2016), or else conducts cases studies of a small number of movement-influenced ventures (Akemu *et al.*, 2016; Scarlato, 2013: Becker *et al.*, 2017; Broek *et al.*, 2012; Cherrier *et al.*, 2018; Montessori, 2016). As a result, it remains unclear why ventures are influenced in very different ways – and sometimes very little if at all – by social movements. My findings that variations in entrepreneurs' identification with social movements appears to be shaped profoundly by the level of structural isolation they experience within their roles provide a first attempt at explaining these differences.

Founder Identity and Prosocial Entrepreneurship

Another key finding in my study is that the presence or absence of a movement-related identity in a founder's set of identities salient to them in their work—their founder identity (Powell & Baker, 2014)—was importantly tied to the founder's level of structural isolation or overlap (SI/O) while founding. Stryker (1980) introduced the notion of SI/O—whether an individual interacts with one or multiple distinct groups or networks in a given situation—in an effort to explain when individuals are likely to invoke one or multiple salient identities. His exploration of this notion was, unfortunately, limited, and left open important questions about the sources and drivers of isolation and overlap. Two of my findings directly build on his notion of SI/O and begin

exploring some of these questions. Among the founders labeled Concealers in my study, the structure of their roles profoundly isolated them from interacting with multiple distinct groups and networks while encouraging them to interact with other professionals in highly similar roles. At the same time, among both sets of Revealers in my study, social movements provided an important source of structural overlap for these founders, fostering interactions with a new and distinct network of activists and granting them access within their role to a new salient identity. These findings are a striking example of "social structural characteristics affect[ing] the makeup of the self" (Stryker, 1980: 61), and position roles and social movements as two—out of potentially many—drivers of structural isolation and overlap for founders.

Further, my overall findings align with recent entrepreneurship research on founder identity theory (FIT), namely, that founders seek to run their ventures in ways that express their salient social identities by creating roles and role identities that reflect them (Powell & Baker, 2014, 2017; Fauchart & Gruber, 2011). At the same time, my study suggests ways that FIT may be extended. An unexpected finding in my data is that the movement-related identities salient to founders in their work starting and running pantries are strikingly and unexpectedly diverse. For instance, Eve, Sharon, Nevada, Rayah, Toni, and Ricky have salient movement-related identities—*prior* to founding a pantry—as a food insecurity activist, a social justice activist (with an emphasis on food insecurity), a social justice activist (with an emphasis on environmental sustainability), a sexual assault activist, a community supporter, and a human rights activist (with an emphasis on veterans' and LGBT+ rights), respectively. The idea that running a food pantry would express Eve and Sharon's movement-related identities is intuitive given the

tight connection between the issues they care about and the services provided by a pantry. It is less intuitive, however, that Nevada, Rayah, Toni, and Ricky's more diverse identities would find adequate expression in running a pantry. This suggests a substantially broader range of creativity in constructing roles that express social identities than prior FIT research has observed and suggests the need for more research exploring the range of ways that social identities can shape how founders enact the environments in which they operate, the strategies they develop and, more broadly, how they construct roles that help them to become who they want to be through their ventures.

An interesting overlap in the stories among these latter founders is the combination of an untargeted search for meaningful work and an accidental discovery of food pantries. Nevada committed herself to making a career out of her interests in environmental sustainability and social justice, and then bumped into the pantry: "It just so happened that I was in a meeting…and [my now boss] mentioned they had an opportunity…[for a food pantry]…I kind of fell in love with the concept immediately." Rayah, similarly, had a long-standing interest in doing grassroots activism work, and through a chance "interaction with a friend of mine….[who] talked about how she was struggling to feed herself" immediately "decided that I wanted to do something about it". As a final example, Toni told me she had "always had interactions with non-profits" and was "interested in then getting experience working in that realm", before coming across the idea for a pantry through her friend's partner. Analogous to Cohen, March, and Olsen's (1972) "garbage can" model of organizational choice—where "collections of…solutions are looking for issues to which they might be an answer" (p. 1)—these founders, driven by their movement-related identities premised on critiquing the status

quo and a bias for contentious social action, appear to be in search of issues they can attach themselves to in order to make a positive difference in the world.

These intriguing results are somewhat difficult to reconcile with existing research. While prior research has long noted the existence of collective identities among groups of activists and associated movement-related social identities among individuals (Snow & McAdam, 2000), characterizations of both these collective and social identities present them as strongly tied to the specific set of values unique to a specific social movement. Gecas (2000) argues that "a social movement is typically identified as representing or advocating one or a few specific values, such as 'equality', 'liberty', 'pro-life', 'pro-choice'…" and that such values "as integral parts of a movement's ideology become important aspects of members' self-definitions…and may even provide the moral foundation for a person's self-conception" (p. 100). In contrast to these arguments, however, my findings suggest that such "value identities", as Gecas labels them, may motivate action aimed at, and find expression through, a much larger set of social issues than prior research suggests. This unexpected and non-intuitive finding opens up important questions about our understanding of founder identities and the role they play in shaping entrepreneurs' behaviors, by suggesting that a single salient identity may motivate and be expressed in a much wider range of behaviors than previously thought. This adds interesting complexity to the main thrust of founder identity theory that entrepreneurs run their ventures in ways that express their salient identities, suggesting the dynamics underlying this process are richer than previously suggested.

Social Movements, Founder Identity, and Organizational Stigma

Finally, my central finding that variation in identification with social movements shapes whether or not founders enact a social issue as stigmatized is novel in implicating both social movements and founder identity in the construction of organizational stigma. This suggests promising new directions for the rapidly growing stream of research on organizational stigma.

In contrast with prior research that focuses on organizations as victims of stigmatization, my findings suggest that organizations are sometimes active agents in constructing the stigma they face. The emphasis of prior research on organizational stigma is well captured by Warren (2007: 477): "Organizations are motivated to avoid stigmas because they lead to negative organizational outcomes…". Consistent with this emphasis, there is a strong emphasis on understanding the antecedents, experience, and management of stigma by stigmatized organizations. This appears most often in explanations of how organizations sometimes manage to cope with or remove stigma through organizational practices (Sutton & Callahan, 1987; Hudson, 2008; Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009; Vergne, 2012; Carberry & King, 2012; Helms & Patterson, 2014; Reinmoeller & Ansari, 2016; Grougiou, Dedoulis, & Leventis, 2016; Hempel & Tracey, 2017), as well through explorations of the impact or outcomes of organizational stigma (Elsbach, 1994; Elsbach *et al*., 1998; Marcus & Goodman, 1991; Sutton & Callahan, 1987). In common across these studies is a view of organizations as victims of stigmatization and a view of stigma as arising from "evaluation[s] by social audiences external to the organization" (Hudson, 2008: 254). In this study, however, I present an alternative view of organizational stigma where organizational leaders are active agents in constructing as stigmatized the services they provide and the audience they serve.
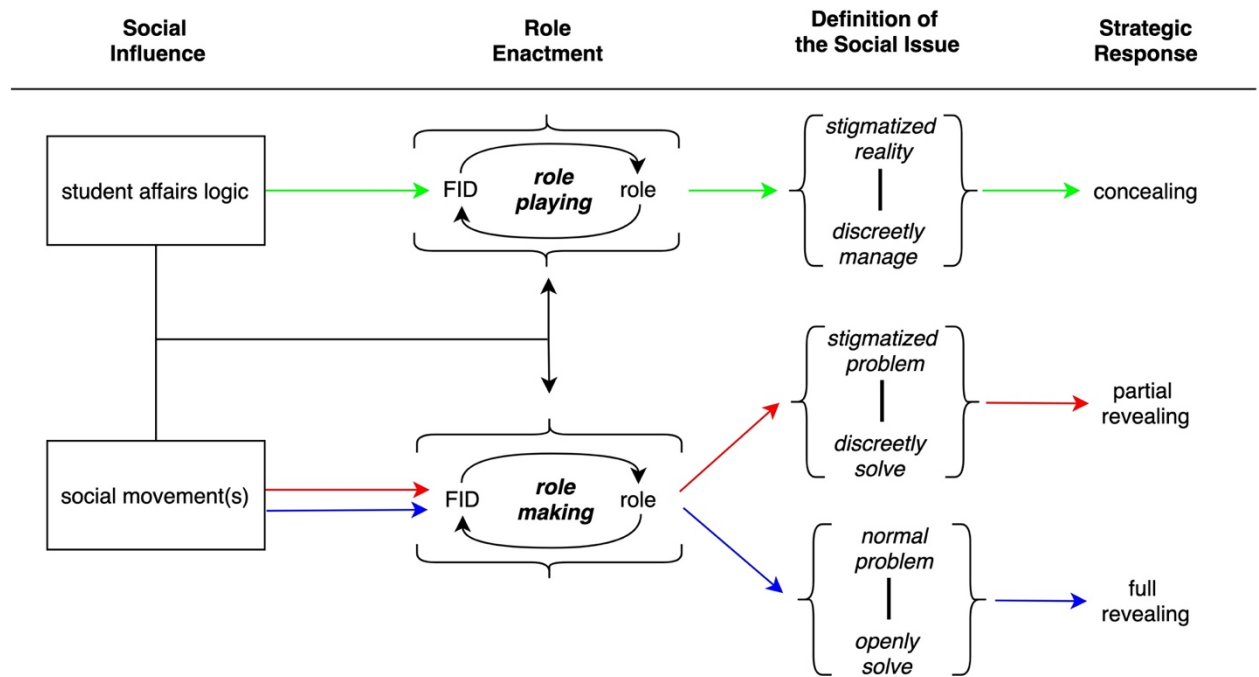
Building on this, my findings also suggest an important role of identity in general and founder identity in particular in organizational stigma. It is well established in organizational stigma research that no organization or organizational practices are inherently stigmatized, but rather are stigmatized as the result of a process of social construction about the propriety or impropriety of certain organizational practices or the clients they serve (Hudson, 2008). From the perspective of stigmatized organizations, this stigma represents an important and damaging characteristic of its objective environment. While such characteristics of the objective environment are important backgrounds within which organizations operate, emerging research on contextualization compellingly argues that organizational leaders' enactments of these situations are equally important for understanding variations in organizational behaviors and outcomes. Organizational leaders' enactments of their objective environments become "the pertinent context shaping [their] behavioral responses" (Baker & Welter, forthcoming). Consistent with recent entrepreneurship research, my findings indicate that founders' identities are central drivers of how they enact the social issues they are responding to (Powell & Baker 2014; 2017), and further that their identities are central drivers of defining and behaving as if these issues are stigmatized. Overall, my findings open up important questions for future research on the role that stigmatized organizations play in creating or at least reinforcing and reproducing the stigmatization they experience.

Conclusion

This study set out to answer the question of how and why social movements shape the way prosocial entrepreneurs enact social issues. And the answer, that variation in

founders' identification with social movements shapes whether or not founders enact a social issue as stigmatized, contributes in important ways to research on prosocial venturing and social movements and to growing research contextualizing prosocial entrepreneurship within broader environments. In addition, my findings open up exciting new questions for research on founder identity and organizational stigma. At the same time, many questions remain. Is stigma the only aspect of enacting social issues that social movements influence? Is the enactment of social issues the only aspect of prosocial venturing that social movements influence? If a single identity may drive a large number of behavioral expressions, how does our understanding of founder identity need to change in order to accommodate this greater complexity? Do organizations sometimes, and with the best of intentions, create stigmas that negatively impact themselves and their beneficiaries? My findings uncover even more exciting questions than they answer.

Figure 1: Process Model

Social Influence	Role Enactment	Definition of the Social Issue	Strategic Response
student affairs logic	FID *role playing* role	*stigmatized reality* — *discreetly manage*	concealing
social movement(s)	FID *role making* role	*stigmatized problem* — *discreetly solve*	partial revealing
		normal problem — *openly solve*	full revealing

Figure 2: Exhibit from Hope Center Annual Convening

Figure 3: Name tag from #RealCollege 2018

Figure 4: Name tag from #RealCollege 2019

Figures 5, 6, & 7: #RealCollege 2019 Partner Co-Branding

Table 1
Case Descriptions

Case #	Founders	Division	Institution	# of Founder Interviews	Degree Type	Institutional Type	Setting	Student Count*
1	Kathy	Student Affairs	Eastern Tech (ETU)	2	4-yr	public	urban	10,000
2	Hazel	Student Affairs	Eastern Tech (ETU)	1	4-yr	public	urban	10,000
3	Rebecca	Student Affairs	Metropolis Comm. College (MCC)	1	2-yr	public	urban	25,000
4	Sasha	Student Affairs	Milton State College (MSC)	2	4-yr	public	suburban	20,000
5	Charlene	Academic Department	Metro University (MU)	1	4-yr	private	urban	60,000
6	Mary	Academic Department	Metro University (MU)	1	4-yr	private	urban	60,000
7	Sharon	N/A - Student	St. Giles (SGU)	2	4-yr	private	urban	5,000
8	Nevada	Student Affairs	University of East Point (UEP)	2	4-yr	public	urban	30,000
9	Sherry	Student Affairs	Henry University (HU)	2	4-yr	public	suburban	50,000
10	Rayah	N/A - Student	Downtown University (DU)	1	4-yr	public	urban	15,000
11	Toni	N/A - Student	Western University (WU)	2	4-yr	private	urban	2,000
12	Jasmine	Student Affairs	North Central (NCU)	1	4-yr	public	urban	50,000
13	Eve	Student Health & Wellness	Downtown University (DU)	1	4-yr	public	urban	15,000
14	Ricky	N/A - Student	Upper University (UU)	1	4-yr	private	urban	35,000

Numbers are rounded to protect anonymity

Table 2

Representative Data for Each Salient Identity

Founders	Identity	Illustration
Kathy	Role: Student Affairs Professional	I was hired as the Director of Student Life and so I came from a student life background...I don't want to fail...And I'm new too. So, I want to make sure that I put out a good product...I don't like to do anything half-a**ed.
	Role: Mother	[After the Orlando nightclub shooting] I removed my student affairs hat and focused on hugging my kids a little tighter...The next day on the way to work, I went back to being a student affairs professional.
	Social: LGBT ally + Singer	I was so excited because I had a singing engagement at the ____ Pride festival and could not wait to celebrate Pride with friends and loved ones (yup, I am a student affairs admin who moonlights as a rock star singer!)
Hazel	Role: Student Affairs Professional	I committed myself to pursuing a career within Student Affairs...My goals for my career include making changes in the world of Higher Education...
	Social: Feminist	Seriously, there are those who *actually* think there should be differences in the building sets girls get to play with. They're typically pink. Pink's not a problem, but making everything marketed to a specific gender pink, is.
Rebecca	Role: Social Worker	I am a social worker, and I'm a social worker who's worked in the social services field. So I'm not a clinical social worker. I've worked in the social services field for the past, I don't know, 30, 35 years...
Sasha	Role: Student Center/Pantry Coordinator	I coordinate the Student Center, and I run the food pantry.
	Social: Feminist	I'm doing an homage to black female super heroines and all around kick-a** women.

Table 2 [cont.]
Representative Data for Each Salient Identity

Founders	Identity	Illustration
Charlene	Role: Higher-Ed Professional	I'm the graduate program administrator...Just basically doing all things related to graduate program. I mean, you know, you're a PhD student, you probably have one of me in your department... Experienced program administrator with a demonstrated history of working in the higher education industry.
	Social: Progressive Social Critic	I don't know that there's ever going to be a total solution [to food insecurity at Metro University] because we live in a totally capitalist and inequitable place.
Mary	Role: Higher-Ed Professional	I am the assistant to the chair. So I do faculty promoting and tenure and faculty recruitment for the job searches. [Mary] has almost give years of experience working in higher education...
	Social: Progressive Social Critic	And the schedules [students] are put on and like the whole *machine* that is higher-ed, I feel like could really just use some common sense conversations about meeting basic needs [chuckles sardonically]...We'd have to topple the patriarchy...I think that, you know, we work in this industry that is, and you know, especially at a school like Metro University...We are a tuition driven school and so like the cost of tuition...
Sharon	Role: Pantry Founder	If I would have asked permission to start the pantry...it would not be in existence...I did it [ran the pantry] for free, for the past, you know, x number of years. Excluding the period of work study, but again, my hours exceeded what I was even compensated for...So I told them, "It's not even about the money, because if that's the case, I wouldn't do what I do.
	Social: Social Justice Activist	...Seriously Andrew, when I looked back over my academic career, from day one I focused on race issues without even knowing it...You can look at the history of my writing. I really focused on child abuse. Then I started including racial issues and then food issues. And those three things stayed every year.

Table 2 [cont.]
Representative Data for Each Salient Identity

Founders	Identity	Illustration
Jasmine	Role: Pantry Founder/Manager	Several months ago I took a leap of faith and accepted an opportunity to establish a new Student Life unit and open a full time food pantry for the University of the North.
	Social: Social Justice Activist	I am...passionate about human justice, food insecurity, student affairs, and engagement, cultural competency, diversity/equity, inclusion, identity development work, and emotional intelligence.
Sherry	Role: Student Affairs Professional	I'm the Director of Off Campus and Community Issues...[Prior to the role's existence] We were asked to pull out the report [of off campus issues], take a look at it...and make a proposal of what we could provide here. And so we did that and I was provided the opportunity to sort of take the lead in creating this department.
	Social: Basic Needs Insecurity Activist	Last year we hosted a conference on basic needs insecurity in [our state]...And so we brought Sara Goldrick-Rab here to, in the morning, do a keynote for our student affairs staff...And we really wanted to talk about research, advocacy, and policy...In addition to having our pantry and supporting students who are coming in, we're also, where appropriate and where we can, we're trying to advocate...I had an opportunity to testify to the Health and Human Services Committee of the Senate...
Rayah	Role: student leader	[My mentor told me] if I see something and I wanna do it, to do it...So I was student body president at Downtown University for two years...I could have easily sat as elected student body president for two years and done nothing. But what's the point?
	Social: Sexual assault activist	I've previously been to national student conferences in DC where I've done workshops for sexual assault advocacy, so I've been around other student communities...[Sexual assault] that's my big thing. So I've been a victim advocate for survivors of sexual assault...for at least I would say probably six to seven years now.

Table 2 [cont.]
Representative Data for Each Salient Identity

Founders	Identity	Illustration
Toni	Role: Pantry Founder	I oversaw all operational logistics of the pantry, which included volunteer recruitment, scheduling, and oversight, facilitating partnerships...I also served as the contact for students, staff, and faculty at Western University's colleges and a college-access program. Also, I created and maintained detailed records tracking usage of the pantry and donations received...
	Social: Community Supporter	I grew up on an organic farm and, just like, yeah. And community engagement has always been a big thing, just I don't know. We've [she and her family] have always been involved in our community, and my sister and I had a farmer's market booth in our town when we were growing up, the farmers market is run by a non-profit that serves Latina youth and so— I don't know, I've always had interactions with non-profits throughout my life, so I kind of was interested in then getting experience working in that realm
Nevada	Role: Basic Needs Leaders	Nevada coordinates various student-facing sustainability programs such as the UEP Pantry. And I serve as the pantry coordinator and I chair the [basic needs] committee and I do some other work around food related basic needs.
	Social: Social Justice Activist	[I am a] young professional who is passionate about sustainability and the intersection between environmental and social justice.

Table 2 [cont.]
Representative Data for Each Salient Identity

Founders	Identity	Illustration
Eve	Role: Pantry Founder	Take a look at the food pantry I run at Downtown University to provide free food to students who are struggling to afford a healthy diet.
	Social: Food Insecurity Activist	She has been associated with movements addressing rural childhood hunger and hunger among the elderly for several decades.
Ricky	Role: Pantry Co-Founder	I co-founded the food pantry...my side of it was the development side, and the approach and understanding the large-scale of— you know, where we want to be this time next year and how do we get there and then pursuing those specific steps to reach that goal. And it was all focused on my experience in starting new businesses.
	Social: Human Rights Activist	[Speaking of July 4th] Today is Saturday. Until every man, woman, and child in the US is able to celebrate full independence without systematic oppression, today is Saturday. [03 > 43]
		It's 2020 and there are still people in my life who think they deserve praise since they "accept" me (read: aren't hateful bigots). [03 > 42]

Table 3
Process Model Elements

Case #	Founders	Founder Code	School	Social Influence	Role Enactment	Definition of Social Issue	Behavioral Response
1	Kathy	Concealer 1 (C1)	Eastern Tech (ETU)	logic	playing	stigmatized reality : discreetly manage	concealing
2	Hazel	Concealer 2 (C2)	Eastern Tech (ETU)	logic	playing	stigmatized reality : discreetly manage	concealing
3	Rebecca	Concealer 3 (C3)	Metropolis Comm. College (MCC)	logic	playing	stigmatized reality : discreetly manage	concealing
4	Sasha	Concealer 4 (C4)	Hillsville State University (HSU)	logic	playing	stigmatized reality : discreetly manage	concealing
5	Charlene	Concealer 5 (C5)	Metro University (MU)	logic	playing	stigmatized reality : discreetly manage	concealing
6	Mary	Concealer 6 (C6)	Metro University (MU)	logic	playing	stigmatized reality : discreetly manage	concealing
7	Sharon	Partial Revealer 1 (PR1)	St. Giles (SGU)	movement	making	stigmatized problem : discreetly solve	partial revealing
8	Nevada	Partial Revealer 2 (PR2)	University of East Point (UEP)	logic + movement	making	stigmatized problem : discreetly solve	partial revealing
9	Sherry	Partial Revealer 3 (PR3)	Henry University (HU)	logic + movement	making	stigmatized problem : discreetly solve	partial revealing
10	Rayah	Partial Revealer 4 (PR4)	Downtown University (DU)	movement	making	stigmatized problem : discreetly solve	partial revealing
11	Toni	Partial Revealer 5 (PR5)	Western University (WU)	movement	making	stigmatized problem : discreetly solve	partial revealing
12	Jasmine	Partial Revealer 6 (PR6)	North Central (NCU)	logic + movement	making?	stigmatized problem : discreetly solve	partial revealing
13	Eve	Full Revealer 1 (FR1)	Downtown University (DU)	movement	making	common problem : openly solve	full revealing
14	Ricky	Full Revealer 2 (FR2)	Upper University (UU)	movement	making	common problem : openly solve	full revealing

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