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## BRIEF REPORT

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# Perceived self- and social stigma among campus-based food pantry users

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#### ABSTRACT

**Participants:** A critical public health issue facing many universities is food insecurity. Food insecurity has been associated with many academic, physical, and mental health issues. Although the number of campus-based food pantries has grown exponentially, self-, and social stigma have been associated with low rates of utilization. **Methods:** The current quantitative study examined perceptions of food pantry stigma among food insecure college students (n=93) who have accessed food pantry services. **Results:** Results reveal moderate levels of food pantry stigma with no statistically significant differences in food pantry stigma scores by level of food security (p=.322) and frequency of food pantry use (p=.263). Few participants indicated perceptions of social stigma, yet mixed results were observed regarding self-stigma. **Conclusion:** More research is warranted aimed at gaining a better understanding of food pantry stigma among college students that can inform campus-based interventions, practices, and policies aimed at increasing the utilization of campus-based food pantry resources.

#### **ARTICLE HISTORY**

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**KEYWORDS** Food insecurity; food pantry; stigma

# Introduction

Food insecurity is a critical public health issue facing many US universities. College students are disproportionately more food insecure as compared to the general public.<sup>1–3</sup> Prevalence studies have reported an average of  $36.5\%^{4-10}$  to 44% of college students as food insecure.<sup>3,11–13</sup> Moreover, food insecurity has been associated with decreased campus engagement,<sup>14</sup> lower academic performance,<sup>1,2,15–17</sup> poor physical hea lth,<sup>4,6,12,15,18–25</sup> and several mental health conditions such as stress, anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation.<sup>2,16,22,26,27</sup>

Due to the prevalence of food insecurity among college students, the number of college campus food pantries has rapidly grown across the country as evidenced by an increase in College and University Food Bank Alliance membership since 2012 from 15 to over 700 universities.<sup>2</sup> Although food pantries have the potential to improve health outcomes,<sup>28</sup> current research documents low utilization rates.<sup>29–32</sup> For instance, in a cross-sectional study of 896 college students, 48.8% were classified as food insecure, yet only 17.4% utilized the campus food pantry.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, in a 2022 study among college students, 49.2% of participants were observed as food insecure, with only 40% reporting campus food pantry utilization.<sup>30</sup> Identified barriers include personal (self-stigma,<sup>31–34</sup> embarrassment, shame, and feeling of failure,<sup>2</sup> lack of awareness,<sup>33</sup> and beliefs that other students

need it more<sup>30,31,33</sup>), social (social-stigma,<sup>29</sup> normalcy surrounding lack of food and finances in college<sup>29,32,35</sup>), and structural (time, lack of transportation, limited hours of pantry operation<sup>30</sup>) factors.

# Social-stigma, self-stigma, and food pantry use among colleges students

Social stigma is defined as a social process that exists when labeling, stereotyping, and discrimination occur within a power context resulting in groups being socially devalued and discredited.<sup>36-38</sup> Social stigma within the context of food pantry utilization encompasses perceived negative judgment (eg, labels, stereotypes) from others due to using the food pantry.<sup>39-42</sup> Consequences of social stigma include a fear of others finding out about using a food pantry based on perceptions that others would judge42,43 and view them as less valuable for using these food assistance resources.14,40,44 Relevant to the current study, among college students who have accessed food pantry resources, social stigma from their peers was observed among first-time users.<sup>2</sup> In particular, this qualitative study revealed students expressing feelings of embarrassment walking through campus with food obtained from the pantry.<sup>2</sup> Perceived negative perceptions included being viewed as lazy/unmotivated, selfish, irresponsible, low-income, and poor financial management; thus,

impacting the likelihood of subsequent food pantry utulization.<sup>36,40,44,45</sup>

Self-stigma refers to the individual's internalization of negative stereotypes, which may result in lower self-esteem and self-efficacy.46 In reference to food pantry utilization, self-stigma has been characterized by the internalization of negative stereotypes associated with food assistance which may result in feelings of shame, embarrassment, and fear,<sup>33,40,44-48</sup> that can lead to individuals feeling undeserving of support,<sup>40,44,49</sup> and lowered self-esteem.<sup>33,46</sup> Among college students, a qualitative study revealed students who reported embarrassment from food pantry utilization often reported feeling that others have a greater need than themselves and that they are exploiting the food pantry.33,50 Moreover, self-stigma salient to food pantry usage can be a consequence of internalization stemming from social stigma.<sup>39,51</sup> For example, a qualitative study among college students who accessed food pantry resources revealed students expressing the need to hide the food that was obtained out of embarrassment due to concerns of being seen by others, and judged, as they left the pantry.14

In addition to negative impacts on food pantry utilization.<sup>8,33,39,47,48,51</sup> previous literature has also noted the mental health implications from stigmatization of food pantry resources.<sup>36,52-54</sup> Bruckner et al.<sup>55</sup> note a strong link between self-stigma and anxiety from using food assistance. Feelings of shame and anxiety can be magnified by the stigmatization of acceptance of charitable foods from settings such as food banks.46,48,56-58 In a quantitative study on food insecurity and COVID-19, it was found that for those who were not food insecure before COVID-19, stigmatization of receiving food assistance may have led to increased self-reported levels of anxiety and depression.<sup>58</sup> Self-stigma may also contribute to lower self-esteem due to the internalization of negative stereotypes regarding accessing food resources.<sup>39,46</sup> Among college students who were food insecure, perceiving oneself as having low social status has been related to depression.48,59

Previous literature, predominantly qualitative in nature, has provided some insight regarding social- and self-stigma and utilization of campus-based food pantry resources among food insecure college students.<sup>8,33,39,48</sup> Nonetheless, additional research is warranted that can be used to inform practices that address stigma-related barriers to campus-based food pantry utilization. To that end, the purpose of this quantitative cross-sectional study is to examine perceptions of food pantry stigma among food insecure college students who have accessed food pantry services.

#### Methods

### **Participants**

The current study is part of a larger cross-sectional study exploring food insecurity among racially and ethnically diverse undergraduate college students attending a large, urban research institution (n=588). The current study sample (n=93) is comprised of participants from the larger study who self-reported either "sometimes" or "often" obtaining food from the campus food pantry.

#### Procedures

As part of the larger study, a list of all students meeting the following eligibility criteria: (1) currently enrolled as an undergraduate student and (2) 18 years old or older as verified from the university registrar (n=26,751). From those eligible, a stratified sample (25% of non-Hispanic White students; 100% of Hispanic/Latino/a students; 100% of non-Hispanic Black/African American students) of students (n=15,528) were emailed a link to the study screener survey. Individuals responding "yes" to a one-item food insecurity screener (In the last 30 days, did you ever cut the size of your meals or skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?)60 were invited to participate in the study and were emailed a link to the informed consent form. Upon providing informed consent, participants completed the electronic survey housed in the Research Electronic Data Capture (REDCap) web-based application.<sup>61,62</sup> Participants received a \$25 Amazon Gift Card for completing the survey. The study was reviewed and approved by the University of South Florida Institutional Review Board (IRB # 004835).

#### Measures

#### Food insecurity

The USDA Food Security Survey Short Form is a reliable  $(\alpha = .87)^{63}$  6-item questionnaire (5-items when self-administered) used to measure the level of food security.<sup>64,65</sup> A sum score was generated ranging from 0 to 6 with higher scores reflecting higher levels of food insecurity. Scores were categorized as 0–1= marginal food security; 2–4= low food security; 5–6=very low food security.

### Food pantry use

Food pantry use was measured by asking participants how often they obtained food from the campus food pantry within the last 30 days. The three categorical response options were "never," "sometimes," and "often."

#### Food pantry stigma

The 10-item, Likert-type (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree) Food Pantry Stigma Scale<sup>66</sup> was employed to assess perceptions of stigma regarding use of a campus-based food pantry ( $\alpha$  = .852). Examples of items included, "*I have stopped socializing with people due to their reaction to me when using the food pantry*"; "*I am careful whom I tell that I use the food pantry*"; "*I do not mind if people in my neighborhood know I use the food pantry*"; "*I fear losing friends and facing rejection because I used a food pantry*." A sum score was generated ranging from 10 to 40 with higher scores indicating greater food pantry stigma.

## Sociodemographic characteristics

Variables included self-reported age, race, ethnicity, sex (assigned at birth), student status, undergraduate level, housing, employment status.

## Statistical analysis

Survey data were exported from REDCap and uploaded into IBM SPSS Statistics Version 29.0.1 where all statistical analyses were conducted. Descriptive statistics were computed for all demographic variables by food pantry use for food-insecure students. Independent sample *t*-tests and chi-squares were used to identify any differences between food-insecure food pantry users and non-users across multi-level variables.

### Results

#### Socio-demographics

Among the 93 participants, the majority self-identified as female (76.3%). Approximately 48% self-identified as Hispanic, 34% as Black non-Hispanic, and 17% White non-Hispanic. Many participants self-reported enrolled as full-time students (92.4%), either a Junior (33.3%) or Senior (33.3), living off campus (46.9%), and working (61%). Regarding food insecurity, approximately 74% were observed with very low food security and 26% with low food security while 100% accessed the food pantry (78% reported "sometimes" access and 22% "often" access). No statistically significant differences were observed for food insecurity by race/ethnicity (p=.088), sex (p=.587), or gender (p=.809).

When compared to participants in the larger study (n=494; self-reported not accessing the campus-based food pantry), no statistically significant differences were observed by age, p=.090), race (p=.128), ethnicity (p=.944), sex (p=.060), full versus part time (p=.597), undergraduate level (p=.668), housing (p=.937), or employment status (p=.683). Statistically significant differences (p=.009) were observed between study participants and the larger study in that a larger percentage of participants in the current study population (ie, those who accessed the food pantry) were observed with very low food insecurity as compared with those in the larger study population who self-reported not accessing the food pantry (74.2% vs 59.9%).

## Food pantry stigma

The mean food pantry stigma score among participants was 23.24 (SD=7.92), reflecting scores at the midpoint of the range. No statistically significant differences were observed for food pantry stigma scores by race/ethnicity (p = .622), sex (p=.309), and gender (p=.182). Table 1 depicts specific items within the Food Pantry Stigma Scale. In general, the majority of participants reported either strongly disagree or disagree with the following statements: "I have stopped socializing with people due to their reaction to me using the food pantry" (79.3%), "I fear losing friends and facing rejection because I use a food pantry" (70.7%), "Some people avoid interacting with me after finding out I used a food pantry" (79.3%), "I am not as good a person as others because I use a food pantry" (65.6%), and, "As a rule, telling others that I use a food pantry has been a mistake" (59.1%), "I work hard to keep that I use a food pantry from others" (50.0%). Approximately half of all participants reported strongly agree/agree to the following statement: "I have not had any trouble with people knowing that I use a food pantry" (49.5%).

Conversely, participants were split with regard to the statements: "I am careful whom I tell that I use the food pantry" (39.8% strongly disagree/disagree, 45.2% strongly agree/ agree), "I feel guilty because I use the food pantry" (46.7% strongly disagree/disagree, 45.2% strongly agree/agree), and "I don't mind people in my neighborhood knowing that I use a food pantry" (37.6% strongly disagree/disagree, 37.6% strongly agree/agree).

# Differences in food pantry stigma by level of food security and frequency of use

An independent-samples *t*-test was conducted to compare the food pantry stigma scores by level of food security and frequency of food pantry use. There was no statistically significant difference in food pantry stigma scores (p=.322) among participants observed with low food security (M=21.83, SD=8.65) and very low food security (M=23.74, SD=7.66). The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = -1.91, confidence interval [CI]: -5.73 to

Variable	Strongly disagree n (%)	Disagree n (%)	Neither agree/ disagree <i>n</i> (%)	Agree <i>n</i> (%)	Strongly agree <i>r</i> (%)
I have stopped socializing with some people due to their reaction to me using the food pantry	56 (60.9)	17 (18.5)	15 (16.3)	3 (3.3)	1 (1.1)
I am very careful whom I tell that I use the food pantry	25 (26.9)	12 (12.9)	14 (15.1)	26 (28.0)	16 (17.2)
I feel guilty because I use the food pantry	29 (31.5)	14 (15.2)	21 (22.8)	20 (21.7)	8 (8.7)
I fear losing friends and facing rejection because I use a food pantry	44 (47.8)	21 (22.8)	16 (17.4)	9 (9.8)	2 (2.2)
Some people avoid interacting with me after finding out I used a food pantry	49 (53.3)	24 (26.1)	14 (15.2)	4 (4.3)	1 (1.1)
I feel I'm not as good a person as others because I used a food pantry	41 (44.1)	20 (21.5)	17 (18.3)	12 (12.9)	3 (3.2)
I do not mind people in my neighborhood knowing that I use a food pantry	18 (19.4)	17 (18.3)	23 (24.7)	24 (25.8)	11 (11.8)
I have not had any trouble with people knowing that I use a food pantry	14 (15.1)	10 (10.8)	23 (24.7)	33 (35.5)	13 (14.0)
I work hard to keep that I use a food pantry from others	34 (37.0)	12 (13.0)	33 (35.9)	10 (10.9)	3 (3.3)
As a rule, telling others that I used a food pantry has been a mistake	33 (35.5)	22 (23.7)	26 (28.0)	10 (10.8)	2 (2.2)

1.91) was very small (.241). Similarly, there was no statistically significant difference in food pantry stigma scores (p=.263) among participants who reported sometimes accessing the food pantry (M=22.76, SD=7.50) and often accessing the food pantry (M=25.11, SD = 9.39). The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = -2.35, CI: -6.51 to 1.80) was very small (.298).

# Discussion

Although the number of campus-based food pantries has grown exponentially,<sup>2</sup> current research notes low utilization rates<sup>29-32</sup> accompanied by personal barriers including socialand self-stigma.<sup>29,31-34</sup> The current study explored the concept of food pantry stigma among food insecure college students who have accessed the campus-based food pantry. Collectively, results reveal moderate food pantry stigma among participants who have accessed the food pantry with no observed differences in scores by level of food security or frequency of use. When observed separately, the *Food Pantry Stigma Scale* items reveal interesting insights regarding social- and self-stigma.

First, results reveal few participants noting social stigma and interpersonal impacts regarding utilization of campus-based food pantry resources. More specifically, most participants indicated that they had no difficulty with others knowing that they went to the food panty and, consequently, others' knowledge of their food pantry utilization had not resulted in less socialization or avoidance by others. These results do not support the work of others who revealed social stigma from peers and university as a result of obtaining food from a campus-based food pantry.<sup>2,14</sup> Yet, it is essential to note that the lack of perceptions of social stigma could be due to participants being careful about the number and with whom they share this information. Additional research is warranted to further explore the concepts of social stigma and social networks on food pantry utilization.

Second, varied insight regarding self-stigma associated with food pantry use was revealed. More specifically, although few participants revealed feelings of inferiority associated with obtaining food from the food pantry, almost half reported feeling guilty about using the food pantry. To that end, although these results align with previous work which notes feelings of shame associated with obtaining food from a food pantry,<sup>14</sup> more research is warranted with regard to the impact of self-stigma and campus-based food pantry use.

Interpretation of findings should be considered with certain study limitations. First, the study sample comprised undergraduate-level students at a single university which may affect generalizability to graduate-level and college students attending institutions in other geographical regions. Second, the small sample size from a single university limits generalizability due to differences in campus culture and food pantry resources (eg, location, processes, etc.). Additionally, data are from food pantry patrons who are observed with low or very low food security which may skew stigma scores. Further, the sample is comprised of students who self-reported using the food pantry, as such does not include students who have not used the food pantry perhaps due to stigma. As such, food pantry stigma may be conservative. Third, the influence of social approval bias and social desirability bias that may have impacted the way students self-reported their food pantry stigma. Social desirability is related to the tendency to respond in a way as to avoid criticism and social approval refers to the tendency to seek praise.<sup>67</sup> Previous research has identified both social approval and social desirability bias to influence self-reported measures.<sup>67–70</sup> Thus, social desirability and approval bias may have depressed and skewed stigma scores.

Despite these limitations, to our knowledge, this is the first quantitative study exploring food pantry stigma among college students who have accessed food pantry resources. Collectively, findings provide additional information regarding food pantry stigma among food insecure students who utilize campus-based food pantries; specifically, the importance of looking more carefully at different aspects of food pantry use stigma. Furthermore, the current study provides additional insight into the contradictory nature of food insecurity among college students (ie, high rate of food insecurity and low perceived deservingness of assistance and associated guilt). Implications for college and university administrators include (1) reframing food insecurity as something that affects many students; (2) changing the way students think about being in need; and (3) normalizing food assistance as one of the many campus resources. To that end, social norming campaigns and positive messaging offer possibilities for increasing food pantry use. Social norms theory suggests that a person's perceptions of the behaviors among their peers can influence behaviors through a desire for social approval; as such, correcting misperceptions about norms may modify behavior.<sup>71</sup> Social norming campaigns have been found to be successful in addressing a variety of behaviors among college students.<sup>72</sup> With specific reference to food insecurity, social norming campaigns could focus on statements regarding the prevalence of the food insecurity among colleges students aimed as changing the way students think about being in need and associated campus resources. More research is needed to inform campus-based interventions, practices, and policies aimed at increasing campus-based food pantry utilization.

# **Disclosure statement**

The authors have no conflicts of interest to report. The authors confirm that the research presented in this article met the ethical guidelines, including adherence to the legal requirements, of the U.S. and received approval from the Institutional Review Board of the University of South Florida.

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#### Data availability statement

The participants of this study did not give written consent for their data to be shared publicly; therefore, supporting data is not available.

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