Building Food Sovereign Campuses:
A Case Study of the Campus-Community Food Groups at Concordia University

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Abstract

Building Food Sovereign Campuses: A Case Study of the Campus-Community Food Groups at Concordia University

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This thesis focused on the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project as a case study to explore how to build food sovereign campuses. While most universities in Canada are developing sustainability policies, none have yet to be considered transformative, holistic, and in-depth. Food sovereignty approaches can help university foodservices meet these higher order sustainability conditions. The research for this dissertation was performed between 2014 and 2018 using a critical-participatory-action research approach. First, we gathered information about the campus-community food system by interviewing fifty-nine food activists and searched Concordia's archives for relevant artifacts and articles. Second, we built an online archive and created multimedia products for the archive. We uploaded over seven hundred video interview segments and designed maps of the campus-community food system. Third, we organized a public consultation with all the campus-community food groups to get feedback about our findings and discuss how to build a food sovereign campus. This thesis provides a description of the campus-community food system map, and a historical analysis of how the groups on the map came to fruition. We found a dozen food groups that produce, process, and distribute food, fight for food justice and reduce food insecurity. We also found seven historical trends that explain how the campus-community food system was created and several factors that impeded activists from successfully preventing Concordia from hiring transnational foodservice corporations. Lastly, this thesis proposes a framework that distinguishes key differences between *corporate, weak sustainability, and food sovereignty* approaches to university food services. Our findings suggest that a food sovereign campus is transformative, controlled by an array of campus-community partners, not run by large multinational foodservice corporations, and provides value to the campus and surrounding communities instead of externalizing social and environmental costs. While there are some issues with using food sovereignty to refer to university campuses, we hope to inspire researchers and food activists to continue to develop the framework proposed in this thesis.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to everyone that helped co-create the campus-community food system at Concordia University. I would like to thank everyone who participated in the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project. In particular, Kim Gagnon was an integral part of the team. While I was giving public presentations about the project, Kim spent countless hours behind the scenes building the web-archive, capturing, and editing the videos, and designing the multimedia products. Her digital artwork was always clean, thoughtful, creative, and professional. She also proofread this dissertation in each of its drafts, listened to my ramblings about Concordia's food system and even provided excellent advice about the project. I am grateful for her patience and dedication and for being an amazing partner. Shylah Wolfe also helped tremendously. Shylah and I spent years reading, discussing, and debating articles about university foodservices and food systems. I appreciated learning through our discussions about how to transform foodservices at Concordia. It has been wonderful co-collaborating/conspiring with her. Gabriel Velasco also made significant contributions to this project. I am grateful to have worked with him to examine the conditions of foodservices across Canada. Gabriel was a great organizer and food activist. Thanks for collaborating on this project. Calvin Clarke, and Nora Fabre were also briefly part of the research team, thank you for participating in reading discussions and giving advice for research directions. The research presented in this dissertation was made possible by the hard work and dedication of the project team.

I want to thank Ben Prunty for his devotion to food system change at Concordia. Ben, your life ended too early. Hopefully, some of your memories and visions will be preserved in this thesis. You were a great friend and colleague.

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I owe a great deal of gratitude to Dr. Satoshi Ikeda for mentoring me and introducing me to community-service learning. I observed Dr. Ikeda and realized how effective he was at creating meaningful community projects through his courses. I have admired and adopted his teaching style – thank you Satoshi.

In addition, I would like to thank my supervisory committee for their patience and guidance. Completing my Ph.D. was not the easiest task because I taught full-time (as a part-time faculty member), was involved in a multitude of community projects, and had to take time off when my father passed away in 2016. I appreciate all your support and advice. Thanks Dr. Satoshi Ikeda, Dr. Beverley Best, Dr. Anna Kruzynski, Prof. Liz Miller, and Dr. Margie Mendell.

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Introduction: Transforming Campus Food Services

In the fall semester of 2007, Chartwells Chief Executive Officer, 'Mr. Wells' along with Chartwells manager 'Sargent Grub', visited the cafeterias at Concordia to implement the new, scheduled, mandatory meal plan. That's right, not only were Concordia resident students forced to purchase a Chartwells meal plan; they were also mandated to eat on a predetermined schedule. Sargent Grub distributed a pamphlet and made public announcements to students at each cafeteria. The new, scheduled, meal plan included items like gruel and even had 'McDonald's Day' once a week. Sargent Grub informed students about the new sanctions aimed at preventing them from holding bake sales. Chartwells claimed to have a food monopoly at Concordia and didn't want to encourage any kind of competition. Concerned students spoke out. They expressed anger about the negative effects of food monopolies on campus, like signing exclusivity contracts that prevented students from selling food, even as fundraisers for clubs. Sargent Grub did not tolerate dissent. He called security to have student activists removed from the cafeteria. As some kind of bizarre branding ritual, at every cafeteria visit, Sargent Grub commanded the Chartwells staff to sing the advertising jingle,

> We are Chartwells, we sell food, we're the only choice at school. I hope you like our tasty gruel. Killed the options now we rule. Chartwells, Compass, Chartwells Compass, same shit different name.

This fictional scenario was performed by members of Optative Theatrical Laboratories and Uber Culture Collective as an activist theatre intervention. The purpose of the spectacle was to pressure Chartwells and the Concordia administration to allow students in residence to opt-out of the mandatory meal plans. Although the intervention was unsuccessful at getting Chartwells and the Concordia administration to agree to these demands, the campaign was effective at raising awareness of campus food issues, especially about resident students' meal plans. I was part of both Optative Theatrical Laboratories and Uber Culture Collective and co-wrote, filmed, and edited the *mise-en-scène* described above, then broadcast the video on YouTube (AdJustedProductions, 2007).

This thesis is the result of twenty years of activism and academic study at Concordia University. Early in my undergraduate studies, I was drawn to student politics. As a young student, I admired activists who fought for social justice, challenged oppressive regimes, led demonstrations, and organized alternatives to capitalism. I began at Concordia as a psychology student, interested and concerned about how politicians and companies used media to manipulate mass audiences. To learn more about social influence, I worked in a hypnosis laboratory and read a lot about the effects of advertising. I continued to pursue politics and activism by entering an interdisciplinary master's program at Concordia that allowed me to further explore psychology and communications. I was particularly interested in theories from Erich Fromm suggesting that society, especially capitalism, could be causing some of the psychological disorders usually explained through individual perspectives. He showed how developed nations had higher rates of homicide, suicide, and alcoholism, blaming society instead of the individual for being sick (Fromm, 1955).

As a graduate student, I combined my academic studies with social activism and community development. For my master's degree, I further explored how people are affected by advertising. I also created a media education cooperative, Co-op Collective Vision[1], to help youth develop media literacy. Also, as a graduate student, I emersed myself more into student

politics, using subversive media and to expose social injustice. The Chartwells intervention was one of many activist interventions I took part in and/or organized.

For my Ph.D., I continued to combine academic studies with activism. I realized that universities had a lot of resources that could be used to fight against injustice and empower communities. I was particularly interested in developing non-capitalist organizations (like cooperatives, where the workers owned the means of production) and forming campaigns to improve the social and economic conditions of students and marginalized populations in local communities in and around Concordia. I was also drawn to environmental activism. Throughout my Ph.D., I participated in political rallies, mobilized for the student strike in 2012, and organized protests, demonstrations, and occupations. I was elected to many positions, including the Concordia Graduate Association (GSA), the Teaching and Research Assistant Union (TRAC), Senate and the Board of Governors of Concordia, and the Concordia Part-time Faculty Association (CUPFA). I used my privilege in these organizations to advocate for students' rights, labour rights, social justice and to direct funds to activist causes. I also organized many other campaigns and groups including, Free Education Montreal, the Alternative University Project, Divest Concordia[2], CultivAction Solidarity Cooperative[3], among others. Combining activism with academia allowed me to focus on community organizing while still pursuing higher education. I also learned a lot about activism through experience; more than I did in any classroom. Combining activism with academia delayed my progress as a student and led me to take non-conventional approaches to my scholarly work. It also exposed me to ways of thinking that I didn't acquire from formal education. This thesis is meant to empower activists, especially food activists, to be more successful.

In this thesis, I focus on food activism at Concordia University as a case study to understand how to build food sovereign campuses. Since the 1990s, students and faculty (including myself) have challenged large multinational foodservice providers by organizing demonstrations, campaigns, and protests – even winning concessions, like having the Concordia administration agree to ban the sale of bottled water on campus. We also co-created a vast network of cooperative and non-profit food organizations that fight for social justice, provide food security, advocate for ecological sustainability, and/or promote campus food sovereignty. These organizations produce, process, and distribute food at Concordia and in the surrounding communities. For example, the People's Potato and the Hive Free Lunch Program serve 'free' vegan lunches to students every weekday in the fall and winter semesters – where students don't pay per transaction but are charged a small, yearly fee (about $10 per year from full-time undergraduate students and $7.05 per year from full-time graduate students) (The People's Potato, n.d). These two organizations help reduce food insecurity on campus and in the community at large.

Over and above the scholarly contributions, this thesis is meant to guide food activists by providing a record of the institutional memory of the campus-community food organizations at Concordia University. Although Concordia students and faculty built an extensive campus-community food system, the institutional memory of many of these organizations have been lost, misplaced, forgotten and/or are fragmented in bits and pieces in newspapers and meeting minutes. In this thesis, I provide an analysis of the campus-community food system (until 2018) and an account of the history of foodservices (student-run, administration-run, and corporate contract) at Concordia University. Even though this thesis was written to satisfy the conditions of achieving my Ph.D., it was also intended to be useful to students and faculty at Concordia and

for anyone that wants to help build food sovereign campuses at other universities or colleges. In light of this, I have provided more in-depth explanations about the frameworks, approaches, methods, and concepts I use for my analysis. I also have rich descriptive information about the campus-community food organizations. I hope to provide an important scholarly contribution in the domain of transformative approaches to university foodservices, but also be accessible to non-experts.

Thesis Overview

In this thesis, I focus on the beginning stages of an ongoing critical-participatory-action research project called the Concordia Campus-Community[4] Food Groups Research Project. The main goal of the project is to provide resources for food activists at Concordia to be more effective in transforming foodservices at Concordia – specifically by replacing transnational foodservice corporations with campus-community-based social enterprises. Using this project as a case study, I contribute to scholarly work on university foodservices by exploring transformational approaches and proposing a food sovereignty framework that differentiates between corporate, reformist (weak sustainability) and transformative (strong sustainability) approaches to university foodservices. As I explain in the literature review, university foodservice researchers have largely focused on reforming transnational foodservice corporations and building sustainable campus foodservices. Recently, some scholars have highlighted the importance of going beyond reformist approaches (Bohunicky, Desmarais, & Entz, 2019), towards food system transformation. Many food systems researchers have argued that reformist approaches do not address the root causes of the issues with industrial food, and therefore, don't lead to meaningful change. In one example, Holt-Giménez (2017) maintains that we cannot just simply "fix a broken food system" because the food system is not broken, it was designed to benefit transnational food corporations and shift external costs on "racially stigmatized groups"[5].

While advocating for transformative approaches to university foodservices, Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz, (2019) compared self-operated vs corporate contracts. In this dissertation, I focus on transformative approaches by analyzing how campus-community food organizations could contribute to campus food sovereignty. This thesis expands on a pilot project that Gabriel Velasco and I performed where we investigated who controls university foodservices across Canada. Not surprisingly, we found that Chartwells-Compass, Aramark, and Sodexo controlled most university foodservice contracts. We also discovered that most universities in Canada have student-run cafés and/or bars. For example, the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi operates a cafeteria through the student union. We couldn't get a complete nationwide analysis of the student-run food organizations because the scope was too large. In the current thesis, I refined the project to focus on an in-depth case study of the campus-community food groups at Concordia University. We hope that other researchers will follow our example and study other campus-community food systems at other universities and use the food sovereignty framework proposed in this thesis.

In this dissertation, I address one main research question – *how can universities become food sovereign?* Admittingly, this is a complex and loaded question. I address the complexity of applying food sovereignty paradigms in the literature review and I am intentionally trying to shift the conversation from '*campus food services becoming more sustainable'* to '*building food sovereign campuses and communities'.* As I explain in more detail below, critical-participatory-

action research approaches are meant to challenge systems of oppression through active engagement of the researcher and participants. By outsourcing foodservice contracts, Canadian Universities are contributing to a global food system that causes environmental and social harm. As teaching and research institutes, I believe that universities can operate as transformation sites to improve local foodscapes through participatory-action research and community-service learning – or at the very least, not exacerbate existing environmental and social problems. Concordia and other universities can be using the expertise of food researchers and professors, in collaboration with students and staff, and in partnership with local communities, to create food sovereign, just, secure, and sustainable campus-community food systems. Relying on reformist and weak sustainability benchmarks has led to only small improvements that take a long time to implement. Instead, let's create food sovereign campuses.

Literature Review

What's the Problem with Campus Food Services?

Canadian universities are dominated by three large multinational foodservice providers: Aramark, Chartwells-Compass, and Sodexo. These corporations externalize environmental and social costs to maximize profits; they drive down labour costs and buy cheap food with large environmental footprints. Their clientele mainly consists of a captive market of resident students who are forced to buy a meal plan.

Since 2000, Concordia has had contracts with each of the big three foodservice corporations. Students and faculty have voiced opposition, proposed community-based foodservice models, and even created our own food organizations. In 2014, we began a critical-participatory-action research project (called the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project) to improve our chances of transforming foodservices on campus and in the community at large. As part of the project, Gabriel Velasco (a researcher for the Concordia Food Coalition) and I wanted to better understand how much of the Canadian university foodservice market share was controlled by Chartwells-Compass, Aramark and Sodexo. We came across a great deal of academic literature suggesting that that these foodservice corporations have formed an oligopoly, but none provided a breakdown of how much of the Canadian university foodservice market they actually owned[6]. We also investigated what types of meal plans were being offered and whether they were mandatory for resident students or not. Lastly, and most importantly for this thesis, we examined whether there were other foodservice provisions controlled by stakeholders of the university (i.e., students, faculty, the administration and/or local community organizations). A preliminary report of our research was made available to the Concordia Food Coalition (Velasco, 2018) but not published. Here is an overview of our study – the results are reflective of a snapshot of the Canadian University foodservice providers in 2018.

We included sixty-nine universities from across Canada because they were all recognized public universities, that were non-theological, as referenced on the Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials (CICIC) website (The Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials, n.d). Some universities were excluded from the study because of three criteria:

1. Universities that were primarily based online – therefore had no foodservice needs.
2. Universities with less than 1000 enrolled students – therefore had no need for large scale foodservices.
3. Universities that were affiliated to larger universities – so we didn't duplicate our data.

Velasco collected data by searching each of the universities' websites for information about their foodservice providers, resident student meal plans, and student-run food organizations. He also followed up by contacting the universities and/or student unions by e-mail and/or by phone. We did not contact each of the campus-community (or student-run) food organizations, therefore this part of the research was only exploratory. The case study presented in this dissertation expands upon Velasco and my research.

As expected, the top three food service corporations, Sodexo, Aramark, and Chartwells-Compass controlled the majority of the food service contracts in Canada. Together they

accounted for just over 60% of the food service contracts, Aramark and Chartwells-Compass each owning 24.3% and Sodexo owning 12.2%. Twenty-four point-three percent (24.3%) of the universities in Canada had self-operated foodservices via the administration, like University of Toronto. The Université du Québec à Chicoutimi student union independently ran their own cafeteria and three other universities (Université de Sherbrooke, Université du Québec à Rimouski, and Université de Montréal) developed cooperative cafeterias as members of Coopsco. Figure 1 displays a pie chart and Table 1 provides a breakdown of the foodservice providers at the sixty-nine universities across Canada. Please note that as shown in Table 1, there were seventy-four food service providers at sixty-nine universities. Some universities, like McGill had a hybrid system with more than one provider – a mixture of self-operated and Aramark. Please see Table 2 to find a list of universities that had more than one food service provider. We did not include smaller student-run and/or campus-community foodservice outlets in this list because most universities had these types of food organizations. Adding them to our list would have skewed the results showing that student-run food service providers made up most of the university food services across Canada. Furthermore, except for the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, student unions and/or student-run food organizations did not provide meal plans to student residents; they were independent organizations providing food in adjunct to larger, administration-run or corporate food service providers. I discuss self-operated, student-run and campus-community food organizations in more detail below. Please note that we also did not look at catering services – only those who operated foodservices on an ongoing basis.

Figure 1

Pie Chart of the Food Service Providers at Canadian Universities in 2018

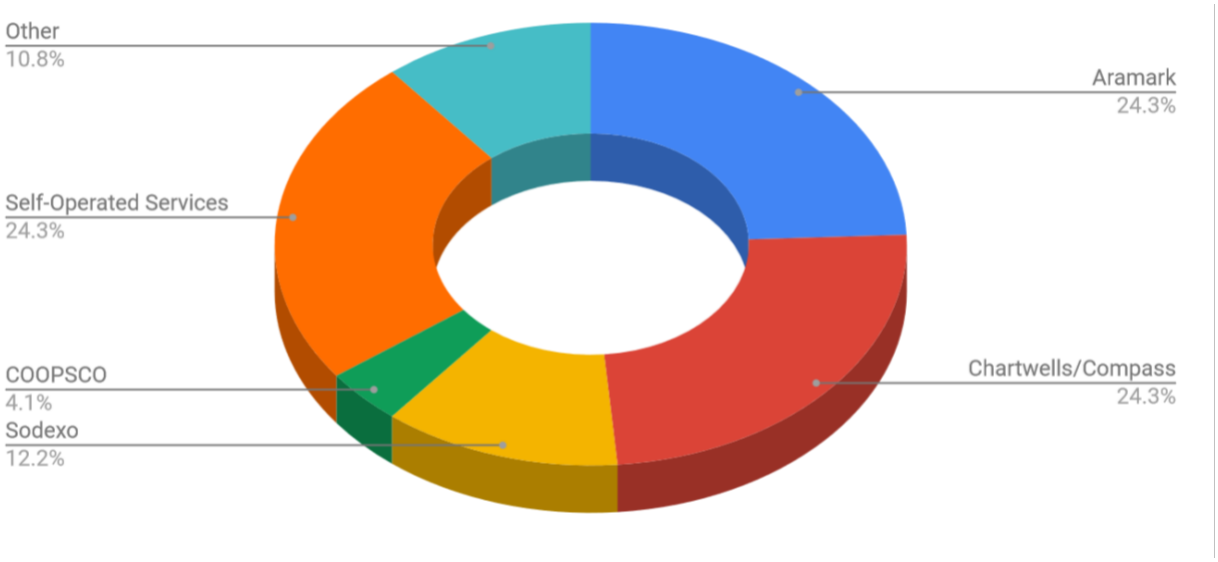


Table 4
Food Service Providers at Canadian Universities

Food Service Providers	Number of Universities
Aramark	18
Chartwells/Compass	18
Self-Operated Services	18
Sodexo	9
COOPSCO	3
Dana Hospitality	2
Lindocile	1
Morningstar Hospitality Services Inc	1
Madison County Food & Beverage Co	1
Excelso (Limilou)	1
Loafe Café	1
Truffles Catering	1
Total	74

Table 5
Universities with More Than One Food Service Provider

Universities with More Than One Provider	Providers
University of Guelph	Chartwells-Compass & Self-Operated
Lakehead	Aramark & Madison County Food & Beverage Co.
University of Toronto	Aramark & Self-Operated
Dalhousie University	Aramark & Chartwells-Compass
Université du Québec à Rimouski	Excelso (Limilou) & COOPSCO
Université de Montréal	Aramark & COOPSCO & Self-Operated
McGill University	Chartwells-Compass & Self-Operated

We found that the most common reason why universities provided foodservices was to feed students in residence. Across Canada, sixty-four universities (92.8%) had residence services and five (7.2%) didn't (see Figure 2 for an overview). Of the sixty-four universities that offered residence, fifty-one of them (79.7%) provided meal plans for students (see Figure 3 for an overview). Of the fifty-one universities that had meal plans for students in residence, forty-six universities (90.2%) required at least some of their students in residence to purchase a meal plan. Twenty-four (47.1%) of the universities had students in a residence building with a mandatory meal plan while other buildings didn't have a mandatory meal plan. Twenty-two (43.1%) of universities made meal plans mandatory for all students in residence – they could not opt out (see Figure 4 for an overview).

Figure 2
Universities with Residence Services

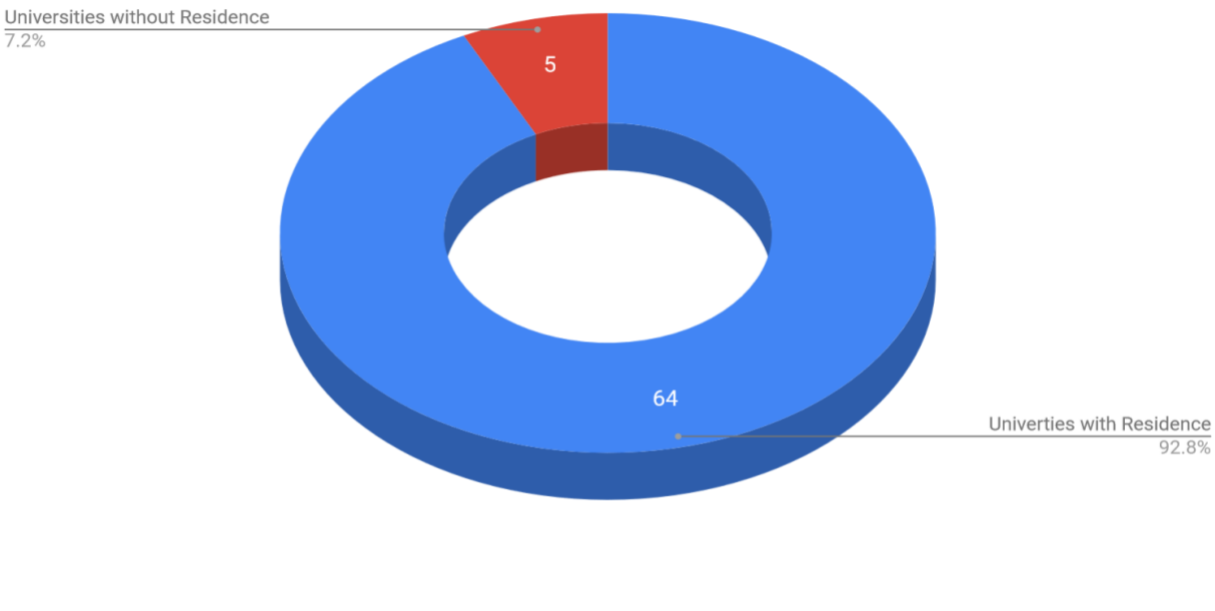


Figure 3
Canadian Universities with Meal Plans for Resident Students

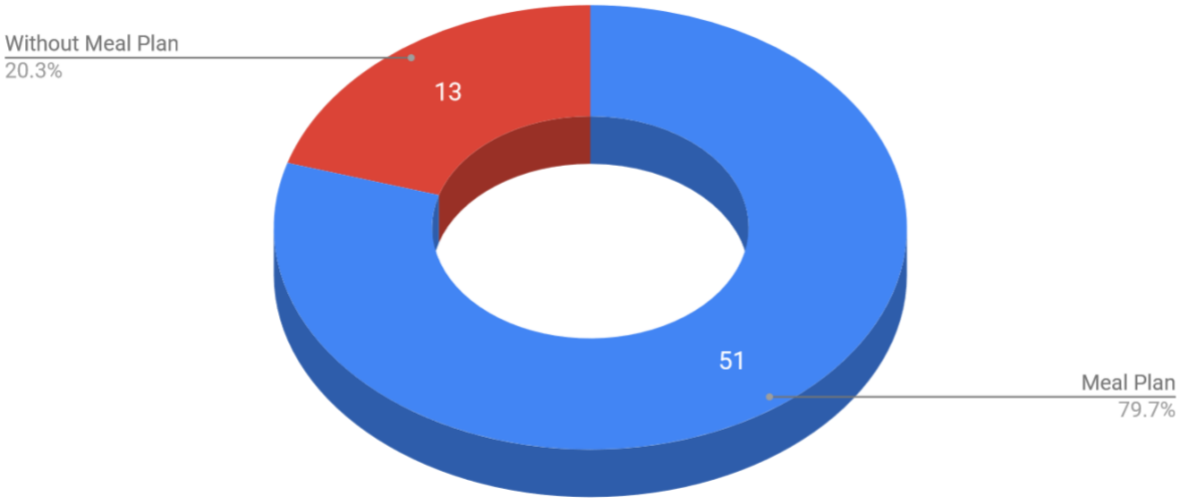
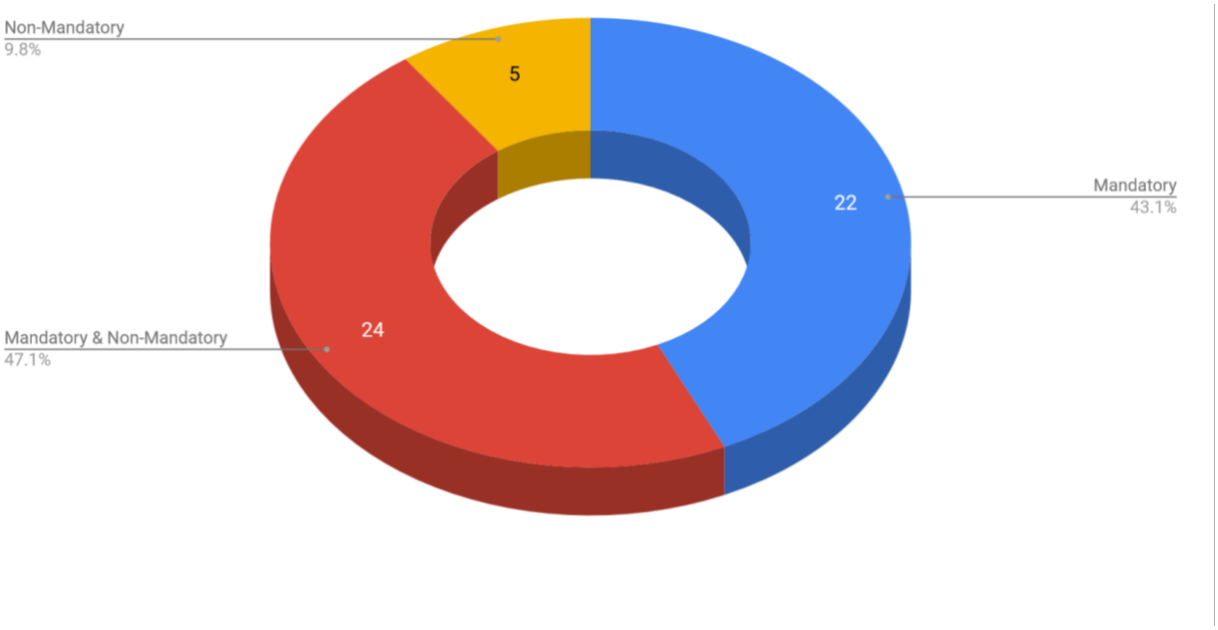


Figure 4

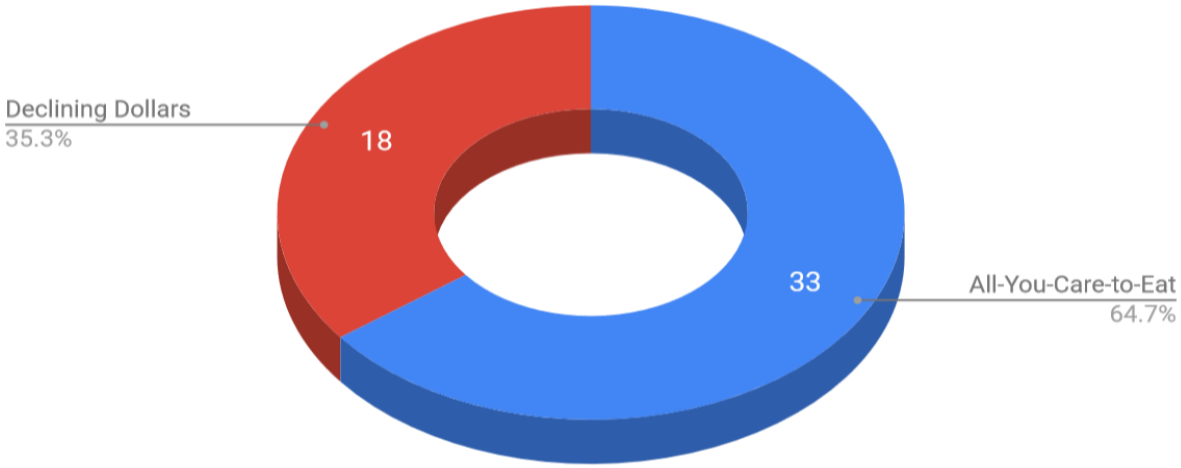
Mandatory vs Non-Mandatory Meal Plans



The meal plans were administered to students in two ways; *All-You-Care-to-Eat Meal Plans*, where students paid an annual fee to get unlimited access to food from the food services cafeterias. These plans usually included a limited sum of money called '*flex dollars*', which could be used at other approved food providers on campus. The second type was the *Declining Balance Meal Plans,* where students paid an annual balance that diminished every time they made a food purchase at the cafeterias and/or at retail locations. Of the fifty-one, universities offering a meal plan, thirty-three (64.7%) were All-You-Care-to-Eat Meal Plans, and eighteen (35.3%) were Declining Balance Meal Plans (see Figure 5 for more details).

Figure 5

Types of Meal Plans at Canadian Universities



We also analyzed how *Flex Dollars* were administered and found four types (Velasco, 2018):

1. Exclusive – *Flex Dollars* that could only be used at retail spaces included in the foodservice contract.
2. Exclusive and Student-Run Organizations – *Flex Dollars* that could only be used at retail spaces included in the foodservice contract as well as at some student-run organizations.
3. Open Excluding Student-Run Organizations – *Flex Dollars* that could also be used at retail spaces outside of the foodservice contract excluding student-run organizations.
4. Open and Student-Run Organizations – *Flex Dollars* that could also be used at retail spaces outside of the foodservice contract including well as at some student-run organizations.

Of the fifty-one universities that had meal plans, thirty-two (62.7%) had exclusive *Flex Dollar plans*, ten (19.6%) had open plans that include student-run organizations, three (5.9%) had open plans that exclude student-run organizations, three had exclusive plans that also include student-run organizations, and three (5.9%) did not have *Flex Dollars*. See Figure 6 for a breakdown of *Flex Dollar* plans. Table 3 provides a list of the thirteen universities who allowed student-run organizations to be part of the *Flex Dollars* and/or allowed some of their Declining Balance plan to be used at student-run food locations on campus.

Figure 6
Breaking Down Flex Dollar Plans

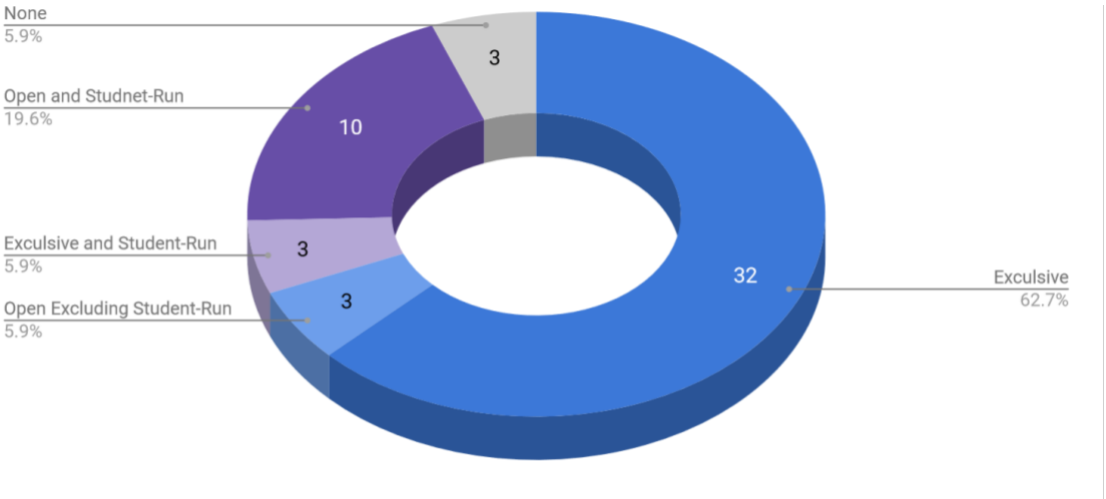


Table 6
List of Universities Who Included Student-Run Organizations in Meal Plan

Universities that Include Student-Run Food Organizations to be Part of Flex Dollar Program
McGill University
Saint Mary's University
McMaster University
Ryerson University
University of Guelph
Trent University
Wilfrid Laurier University
York University
University of Manitoba
University of Alberta
University of Calgary
University of British Columbia
University of Northern British Columbia

Our study demonstrates that not only do Aramark, Chartwells-Compass and Sodexo form an oligopoly in university foodservices across Canada, by-and-large universities force students in residence to purchase meal plans from these corporations and encourage binge eating (all you can eat at breakfast, lunch, and dinner). Universities with all-you-care-to-eat plans, like Concordia, do not permit students to take food out of the cafeteria. At Concordia, students can only take one hot beverage, fruit, or dry snack per cafeteria visit (Concordia University, 2021). Furthermore, about two thirds of all student residence meal plans at Canadian universities allocate flex dollars exclusively to the same foodservice contractor – providing students very little to no other food choices. The findings of the study converge with other reports on university foodservice corporations; Aramark, Chartwells/Compass, and Sodexo sign long-term contracts with (mainly) public institutions[7] who provide a captive market of consumers. These three foodservice corporations serve at schools, hospitals, elderly residence buildings, the military, and prisons; where customers cannot purchase food elsewhere (Stahlbrand, 2017).

Ironically, university administrators, who argue for a business approach to university food services, often contradict fundamental neoclassical market principles, competition, and rational choice[8]. By signing long-term exclusivity contracts with large multinational companies and forcing students in residence to purchase a meal plan, they create a campus foodservice monopoly and limit consumer choice[9]. Although students can choose from a variety of offerings provided by these transnational corporations, often the choices are disguised as different brands, but share the same supply chain. Foodservice corporations often subcontract, purchase, and/or operate other franchises, like Tim Hortons, Starbucks, and other brands they create[10]. Choice is merely an illusion when the same company operates under different brands on the same campus through a centralized management structure. Martin and Andree (2012) suggest that because of clever branding tactics, purchasing and operating franchises of other large corporations and because most of their clients are in captive markets, Chartwells-Compass, Aramark and Sodexo's formation into an oligopoly was largely unnoticed by consumers[11].

There are numerous criticisms of Aramark, Chartwells-Compass and Sodexo. At Concordia, a sustainability report published in 2002 provides an in-depth analysis of Concordia's foodservices. This report accuses Chartwells-Compass of exploiting prison labour, participating in aggressive competition with non-profit-organizations, union busting and serving smaller portions with low quality ingredients in order to save money[12]. Martin and Andree (2012) also state that Chartwells-Compass, Aramark, and Sodexo reduce labour costs by employing "sophisticated strategies to deal with unions" (p. 167). They further explain that the business model of the big three is based on centralized supply chains, corporate management structures, and rely on preprepared food intended to reduce procurement and labour costs. Bohunicky, Desmarais, and Entz (2019) echo similar concerns explaining that the big three depend on unsustainable global supply networks, cheap labour costs, elaborative marketing and branding tactics, and capital investments exchanged for long-term exclusive contracts.

Not only does Sodexo serve food at prisons, they also own Sodexo Justice Services, a private prison company. They fully operate five prisons in the U.K. and one in Australia, and provide managerial services, custodial services, maintenance, and food service in eighty-four other prisons (Sodexo, 2021). Although Sodexo claims that their prisons are "routinely and randomly inspected by the respective Ministries of Justice with favourable results" (Sodexo, 2021), they have been accused of malpractice on many occasions[13]. In one instance, the Government of Western Australia terminated Sodexo's contract with Melaleuca Women's Prison one year early because many instances of improper care (Government of Western Australia, 2021). Aramark and Chartwells-Compass have been found guilty of countless violations as well[14], especially in prisons. Inmates across the USA went on strike to protest the condition of Aramark's food. They accused Aramark of serving food that contained maggots, providing small portion sizes, smuggling of drugs into the prisons (Aramark employees), and in once instance, an Aramark manager was convicted of a felony for soliciting an inmate to assault another inmate (PBS, 2017). In addition to these examples of the negative social and environmental externalities caused by Chartwells-Compass, Aramark, and Sodexo, they are major contributors to an unsustainable global food system.

University Food Services Contribute to an Unsustainable Global Food System

In the bigger picture, the global food system is causing devastating ecological and social problems. Instead of being sustainability leaders, university foodservices are contributing to these problems. Universities operate within a food system that causes an array of negative externalities. The current food system is not socially responsible because, even though we have enough food to feed the entire population one and a half times over, close to a billion people are undernourished worldwide (Holt-Giménez E. , Shattuck, Altieri, Herren, & Gliessman , 2012). The Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) estimates that there are currently 815 million people who are food insecure and world hunger is on the rise (The Food and Agriculture Organization, n.d)[15]. Additionally, the current food system is rooted in racism, colonialism and patriarchy. When Europeans colonized the Americas, they brought slaves from Africa to work on plantations, in cotton fields and on farms (Holt-Giménez, 2017). Today, migrant workers are the backbone of agriculture in many industrialized nations, like Canada, they are put into conditions that are referred to as modern slavery (Holt-Giménez, 2017). A recent documentary by W5 on CTV exposes Canada's horrendous treatment of migrant agricultural workers (Ayres, 2021). Indigenous People's lives have been taken, displaced and uprooted. These are not events of the

past; countries like Canada continue to infringe upon unceded territories (like the Wet'suwet'en Territories), as well as preventing Indigenous communities from participating in traditional fishing and hunting (like the Mi'kmaq Peoples in Nova Scotia). Women produce the majority of the world's food (Shiva, 2016); they are "the primary growers and providers of food, nutrition and nourishment in societies across the world, [and] have evolved agriculture" (Shiva, 2016, p. 111). Despite the large role of women as agricultural producers, they receive little to no compensation and perform most of the subsistence work, like household food production, processing and cleaning (Miles, 1986).

Modern agriculture is not environmentally sustainable. The commodification of food (especially GMO foods; Shiva, 1999) threatens biodiversity. When crops are commercially grown, companies prioritize varieties that are most productive and are best fit for market sales (Coakrall-King, 2012). They choose high-yielding-varieties that have longer shelf-life so they can travel across the world and remain in a supermarket for long enough to be purchased. Over the last fifty years, we have lost many varieties of seeds/crops. Akhter (2016) remarks that in Bangladesh, there are only fifty-seven high-yield-varieties and three hybrid varieties used for commercial rice cultivation, where before 1976, more than fifteen thousand varieties existed (Akhter, 2016, p. 257). Millstone and Lang (2008) estimate that our food has come from a ten-thousand-year process of breeding, yet today we only use 10% of those varieties. There are many other reports about biodiversity loss. For a more in-depth analysis, please refer to the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services from the seventh plenary held in April 2019 (The Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services, 2019) and/or watch the documentary, Seeds: An Untold Story (Betz & Siegel, 2017).

Unsustainable food practices have a greater impact on the planet than just biodiversity loss. Industrial agriculture is contributing to the loss of arable soil, depletion of fresh water, and pollution of the atmosphere, at a rapid rate and on an increasing scale. The Barilla Center for Food and Nutrition Foundation published a book that provides a summary of research about food, nutrition and sustainability – *Nourished Planet: Sustainability in the Global Food System* (Nierenberg, 2018). According to Nierenberg (2018) over the last forty years, thirty percent of the worlds arable soil has been lost. In addition, Nierenberg (2018) estimates that thirty one percent of all greenhouse gas emissions are related to agriculture – higher than energy and transportation sectors. Livestock cultivation makes up twelve percent of all greenhouse gas emissions alone. Furthermore, Nierenberg (2018) suggests that agriculture uses up seventy percent of the global fresh water supply. The world is experiencing record setting fires all over the world including, Angola, the Congo, Australia, the West Coast of the USA, Canada, Brazil and even in cold climates, like Siberia. Industrial agriculture is destroying the natural environment and will make our planet uninhabitable if we continue this trend.

The capitalist food system is not economically viable without causing negative externalities or receiving government subsidies. Large agrochemical and seed companies are capturing most of the agriculture profits making farming not economically sustainable across the world. Darrin Qualman (2011) provides a summary of the problem for Canadian farmers.

> Since 1985, chemical and seed companies, fertilizer makers, and assorted agri-business corporations have captured 100 percent of the value of Canadian farm production – the whole three-quarters of a trillion dollars, leaving farm families to survive financially on off-farm income, taxpayer-funded support payments and loans. Canada has one of the most profound dysfunctional agricultural policies in the world and we

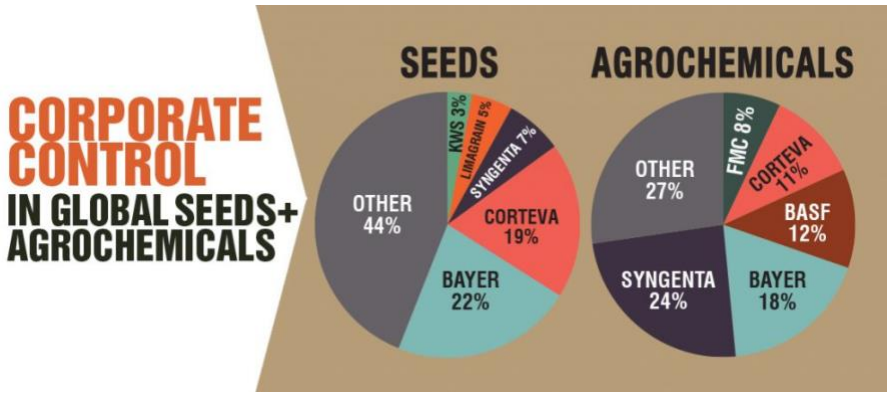
> begin to see the critical need for alternative food, trade and agricultural policies based fairly upon food sovereignty. (Qualman, 2011, p. 20)

Farmers are also negatively affected by food dumping and free trade agreements, especially countries that don't provide farming subsidies. The concept of food sovereignty was popularized by small farmers and peasants in the Global South when they challenged notions of food security to protect against countries, like Canada and the United States of America, that subsidize food corporations who 'dump' cheap food commodities into their markets. Food dumping undermines local food production because if farmers cannot compete with artificially low food prices they go out of business, making local residents dependent on foreign food imports[16]. Even food security efforts with good intentions can undermine local food economies by causing agricultural goods to be sold at below-market rates[17]. Eric Holt-Giménez (2017) provides an excellent analysis of how consumers don't pay the true cost of food in capitalist food system. Taking a Marxian approach, he explains that profit systems depend on increasing labour intensity (relative surplus value) and by trying to speed up natural processes of plant cycles. The result is negative environmental and social externalities. Holt-Giménez (2017) refers to agricultural labourers as the "super exploited" (p. 64).

Agrobusiness is also becoming highly concentrated. According to the Canadian Biotechnology Action Network (CBAN) (n.d), Bayer, Syngenta, BASF and Corteva own most of the seed and agrichemical market shares. Over the last five years, these companies formed out of mergers to dominate the food market. In 2016, ChemChina bought Syngenta, in 2018, Bayer bought Monsanto, and Dow Chemical merged with DuPont, then they operate under the name Corteva (please see Figure 7 below).

Figure 7

CBAN Chart of Market Shares of Agro-Chemicals and Seed Companies



Only A Few Large Corporations Own Most of the Agrochemical Market
(Canadian Biotechnology Action Network, n.d)

Not only are these companies destroying the Canadian family farming economy, but they have also been killing people and the planet for years. This is not a metaphor; Bayer and BASF used to be part of a company called IG Farben, who manufactured Zyklon B for the gas chambers in Nazi Germany (His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1949). This chemical was used to exterminate over a million Jewish people (Hayes, 2004). Dow Chemical invented Agent Orange, which was used by the United States in Vietnam (Dow, n.d), and also owns Union Carbide, a chemical company responsible for the 'world's largest industrial disaster' in 1984, in Bhopal, India, killing between five and ten thousand people from the initial blast, causing major

environmental, health and economic effects for decades after (Eckerman, The Bhopal Saga: Causes and Consequences of the World's Largest Industrial Disaster, 2005). Eckerman (2005) estimates that between 100 and 200 thousand people were left permanently impaired by the explosion. Monsanto also produced and sold Agent Orange used in the Vietnam war (Robin, 2014).

Today, these companies have re-purposed chemicals used in wars as herbicides and pesticides. Some of these chemicals have caused severe negative health effects. For example, Monsanto (now Bayer) manufactures and distributes products that contain glyphosates, claiming these products are safe, while they know that glyphosates are harmful and cause cancer[18]. Monsanto was caught ghostwriting scientific papers that downplay the harm of their chemicals (McHenry, 2018). Shiva (2016) describes the system of industrial agriculture as a "necroeconomy" because the profits of agrichemical companies are rooted in death and destruction[19].

Universities as Places for Food System Transformation

Universities are fertile grounds to act as transformation sites to improve community foodscapes. Universities create opportunities for experiential learning and participatory-action research, which in return, can be useful in developing better food practices on campus and in the community (Andree, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, Brynne, & Kneen, 2016; Levkoe, et al., 2016). Universities bring together professors, researchers, resources, funding, space, and other assets, making them ideal places to 'experiment' with food practices (Barlett, 2011). Researchers can help mobilize human, material, cognitive, relational and financial resources to enhance the social economy of neighbouring communities (Fontan, 2013). Stahlbrand (2017) contends that 'MUSH' sectors (municipalities, universities, schools and hospitals) are important places to research the impact of public food procurement because they purchase large volumes of food, are embedded into community economies, and serve a population who are often concerned with social and environmental issues (Stahlbrand, 2017). Pothukuchi and Molnar (2015) and Pothukuchi (2012) argue that universities have a responsibility to foster democratic and social justice[20], especially in enhancing inner-city food projects[21].

University campuses are already being recognized as important hubs for the development of sustainable campus food projects[22], community-campus engagement[23]; community food security[24] (Nelson, Stadey, & Lyon, 2005), teaching and research partnerships that strengthen community food sovereignty (Andree, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, Brynne, & Kneen, 2016), real food standards (The Real Food Standards Council, N.D.), enhanced community foodscapes (Nixon & Salazar, 2015), opportunities for local farmers to "scale up local supply chains" (Friedmann, 2007, p. 389), value-based food chains (Stahlbrand, 2017) and transformative approaches to foodservices (Bohunicky, Desmarais, & Entz, 2019). In the next section, I provide a rationale for taking transformative (instead of reformist) approaches to university foodservices. Then, I advance the work of Bohunicky, Desmarais, & Entz (2019) by proposing a way to develop a framework for transformative foodservices through a food sovereignty approach.

From Reformist to Transformative Approaches to University Foodservices

Food systems researchers are increasingly employing transformative approaches to solving food crises; however, research on university foodservices has mainly focused on

reforming transnational foodservice corporations. Studies from reformist approaches have found convergent trends; there is considerable potential for university foodservices to improve local food systems, but large transnational foodservice corporations hinder meaningful food system reforms. Food system reforms are slow, modest at best, are not desirable by foodservice corporations if profits could be lost, and do not address root causes of current food crises – the corporate food regime[25].

Reformist approaches rely on market competitiveness to pressure large foodservice corporations to reduce their ecological footprints. Universities attempt to reform foodservice corporations by creating food sustainability plans, including more sustainability criteria in foodservice contracts and requests for proposals (Bohunicky, Desmarais, and Entz, 2019), and/or becoming 'anchors' for local farmers to sell produce on a large scale (Friedmann, 2007). Pioneering contemporary reformist approaches to university foodservices, Friedmann (2007) claims to have found a "breakthrough in longstanding attempts to scale-up local supply chains in Toronto" (p. 389). The University of Toronto (UofT) developed food health and sustainability criteria by working with Local Food Plus (LFP), a third-party certification organization, to "build ladders" from local farmers to the food service corporation, Aramark. According to Friedmann (2007), rewarding improvements in local, ethical purchasing pushes large transnational foodservice corporations to improve their behaviour. Unfortunately, LFP ceased operations in 2014 but were credited for motivating the University of Toronto to adopt a self-operated foodservice model in 2016 (Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz, 2019). Martin and Andree (2012) also acknowledge some of the successes of the LFP initiative in building ladders to local farmers but also argue that "much of the logic of foodservice TNCs [*transnational corporations*] seems incommensurable with the aims of local food proponents" [*italics added*] (p. 171). These critiques of reformist approaches are echoed by other researchers.

In an example at Concordia, Bennell (2008), wrote a master's thesis looking at the possibility of implementing a farm-to-university program at Concordia with Chartwells-Compass. Although Bennell (2008) suggests that Concordia can push large foodservice corporations to adopt more sustainable practices[26], his main conclusions are that farm-to-university models are incompatible with Chartwells-Compass foodservices. Bennell (2008) suggests that, for alternative food movements to affect change, farmers need to have a voice at the table and that the movement needs to challenge underlying power structures. He writes,

> This study found the rigidity of Chartwells' food purchasing model to be incompatible with the idea of local food purchasing from more sustainable food supply networks. Although the potential to source a large portion of Quebec grown produce was found to be theoretically possible, relying solely on import substitution in the absence of a sustainable food supply network, will not foster food system change as farmers are left out of the equation. This finding helps to reinforce the reason why concerned stakeholders must continue to complicate the idea of local food. Far too often, alternative food movements have seen their efforts dissolve and absorbed into modern food systems; not because they were ill intended, but because they did not challenge the underlying structures (Bennell, 2008, p. 105).

Hrdicka, Tomalty, and Bornstein (2011) suggest that public institutions have the potential to reform food systems by devising more seasonal menus, upgrading kitchens for insitutions to prepare seasonal meals, through healthy vending, public education and waste reduation. The authors noted that a variety of challenges made it difficult for these instutions to make significant food system reforms. These challenges include lack of sustainabilty information about food from large supply chains; provincial food regulations; food certifications; lack of local supply chains

and distribution infrustructure; and difficulty to get commitment from public institutions, especially universities (Hrdicka, Tomalty, and Bornstein, 2011). Hrdicka, Tomalty, and Bornstein (2011) believe that reforming large instituitions creates meaningful community collaborations but only incremental food system reforms.

Groups like Meal Exchange[27] work with student leaders across Canada through The Good Food Challenge to "create campus food systems that are sustainable, socially just, humane, and healthy." (Meal Exchange, n.d) The Good Food Challenge has had some positive impacts on post-secondary campuses across Canada[28], but takes a reformist instead of a transformative approach. Meal Exchange takes sponsorships from large food corporations and works with them to improve local food procurement. Meal Exchange was sponsored by Chartwells-Compass and Aramark (Meal Exchange, n.d.) and is now sponsored by Whole Foods (owned by Amazon) and Sobeys (owned by Empire) two giant food retailers. The Good Food Challenge sets low benchmarks, has a slow implementation time and doesn't address the root causes of food system problems – the corporate food regime. Their campaign, The Good Food Challenge, sets sustainability objectives of "…shifting 20% of university food purchasing to Good Food[29] by 2025…" (Meal Exchange, n.d.) Furthermore, Burley, et. al. (2016) published an article describing their experience in trying to get 'Real Food' at Southeastern Louisiana University. The authors conclude that the corporate food vendor prevented them from realizing local and sustainable purchase goals. I am not dismissing the important work that Meal Exchange contributes to improving post-secondary foodservices. I argue that there are other, more transformative approaches that don't involve working with large multinational foodservice corporations. At Concordia, students and faculty are fighting to replace the large transnational foodservice corporations. Although Concordia University still contracts transnational foodservice providers (they currently have a contract with Aramark), students and faculty have created a vast alternative food network of urban farmers, alternative distribution centres, and collective kitchens. These alternatives provide tangible ways to study transformative approaches to campus foodservices, a point that I return to later.

Many researchers suggest that transnational food corporations cannot be reformed. In an article about sustainable campus food projects, Barlett (2011) suggests that trying to improve the corporate social responsibility of large foodservice corporations is a slow process and suggests that sustainability results may be better achieved through independent, self-operating dining services[30]. In an article about improving local food systems through infrastructure in the middle, Stahlbrand (2017) suggests that foodservice operations must be self-catered, self-operated, or local and independent[31]. She created the term "infrastructure in the middle" [32] to refer to the soft and hard public resources (skill sets, services, capacities, networks, and communities of practice) needed to connect medium sized farms to public institutions, like universities[33]. Stahlbrand (2017) quotes Mike Schreiner from Local Food Plus saying, "…food-service departments committed to sustainable local food orient to keeping ownership and management in-house or contracting to local and independent providers (p. 90)" because small local food producers cannot compete with cheaper international food prices and large off-season supply assurances.

More recently, researchers are exploring transformative approaches to university foodservices. Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz's (2019) examined factors that facilitate and hinder food system transformation in university food procurement. They compared self-operated vs corporate contract food services from two different universities: the University of Winnipeg (that has an alternative, community-based food service provider, Diversity Food Services), and

the University of Manitoba (that held a large contract with Aramark but also had a smaller food service provider and student-run services). Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz's (2019) express concerns over increasing corporate concentration of university food services and suggest transforming campus food systems to become more sustainable and locally rooted. They argue for transformational food systems "profound, all-encompassing shift in economic, political and social structures" rather than reformist (transitional) systems, that do not challenge the corporate food regime and rely on multinational corporations to become incrementally more sustainable themselves. The authors claim that "food system transformation can best occur when moving away from corporate foodservice contracts (Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz, 2019, p. 44)." Furthermore, Bohunicky, Desmarais, and Entz (2019) advise the University of Manitoba to follow in the steps of the University of Winnipeg (UW), The University of Toronto and the University of British Colombia and others who have implemented more radical change. The authors recommend that the University of Manitoba "take progressive action to opt out of the transnational corporate contract, and shift to a food service model that appears more willing and able to contribute to building alternative food systems. (p. 67)." Bohunicky, Desmarais, and Entz (2019 also refer to Holt-Giménez's work on food regimes and food movements but did not further explore applying a similar approach to university foodservices. Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) built a model that identifies neoliberal (food enterprise), reformist (food security), progressive (food justice), and radical (food sovereignty) approaches to food crises.

To advance scholarly research on transformative approaches to foodservices, I expand on the work of Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz (2019) and Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) by developing a food regimes framework that can be applied to universities. The purpose of the framework is to identify ways to move past corporate and soft sustainability towards more transformative approaches. Researchers have given considerable attention to understanding ways for universities to develop more sustainable foodservices but have not explored food sovereignty frameworks. Furthermore, research on transformative approaches to university foodservices has focused on self-operated foodservices but has not yet explored the potential of student-run or campus-community food systems.

From Sustainable Foodservices to Food Sovereign Campuses

At the World Food Summit in 1996, La Via Campesina declared that "Food sovereignty is a precondition for food security". (Via Campesina 1996 cited in Patel, 2009) I argue that developing a food sovereign campus is a precondition for offering 'truly' sustainable university food services. Food sovereignty is a transformative movement, while sustainability refers to a vast spectrum of corporate, reformist, transitional and transformative approaches. Sustainability is also frequently used to purposefully disguise harmful business practices – this is known as greenwashing. Most Canadian universities claim that they strive to be sustainable[34]. Some of them, like Concordia University, are even developing sustainable food plans. Are universities really committed to sustainability? If so, what kind of approaches are they taking? Are sustainable food plans merely attempts at greenwashing university foodservices? What does it mean for university foodservices to be sustainable anyways? By deconstructing the terms sustainability and food sovereignty, I demonstrate that food sovereignty is a much more useful term to describe meaningful food system transformation.

Sustainability is a complex, overused and often misused phrase. In an article about the historical roots of sustainability, Du Pisani (2006) suggests that sustainability is a 'contemporary

buzzword' that is 'used without thinking of its real meaning and implications' (Du Pisani, 2006). Sumner (2012) suggests that sustainability is a confusing and misleading term that some people don't understand but have strong 'fuzzy' feelings about it and others reject it altogether because it is overused and polysemic[35]. The word sustainability is used to describe the preservation of our planet for future generations but also refers to economic growth and the continued solvency of a corporation. In consequence, the word sustainability often becomes part of a political and/or corporate greenwashing tactic, usually to promote economic interests over preserving the planet[36].

In the report Our Common Future (WCED, 1987), The Brundtland Commission coined the phrase 'sustainable development'[37] to mean, meeting the needs of today without limiting the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. From its inception, the definition of sustainable development contains a fundamental contradiction, it encourages economic growth while at the same time, calling for vague limitations on resource extraction. 'Meeting the needs of today' has been primarily interpreted as 'increasing production' (especially in poverty-stricken areas of the world), while 'preserving the planet for future generations' requires reducing global production, especially in industries that are heavy polluters (like oil production, coal production, and industrial agriculture, among others)[38]. The Brundtland Commission (WCED, 1987) was successful at bringing an international spotlight to the idea of sustainable development but failed to bring about meaningful changes. Since the report, social and environmental issues have worsened (Nierenberg, 2018; IPCC, 2019; Holt-Giménez, 2017, among many other examples). Concerns with economic growth have overshadowed the political will to live more harmoniously with the biosphere and preserve the planet for future generations (Shiva, 2005). Additionally, the Brundtland Commission report (WCED, 1987) contained ambiguities that led to a proliferation of interpretations and lacked a rigid framework. Some scholars went on to study sustainability through value theory, whereby looking at maintaining enough capital to reproduce the natural capital that is destroyed in the production process (weak sustainability) and where no forms of capital are lost in the production process, including natural capital (strong sustainability) (Gowdy & O'Hara, 1997). Weak sustainability is '*econocentric*'; the universal discourse reflects market economies (Gowdy & O'Hara, 1997). Strong sustainability is '*anthropocentric*'; it recognizes that sustainability has hierarchies, where the biosphere is the primary, most important system.

Another theory of sustainability, '*The Triple Bottom Line,*' became adopted mainly by business and environmental studies scholars (Alhaddi, 2015)[39]. Elkington (1997) popularized '*The Triple Bottom Line'* in a book called *Cannibals with Forks: The Triple Bottom Line of 21st Century Business*. Elkington (1997) suggests that business leaders could champion sustainability in an attempt to 'save capitalism' by not only sustaining the financial bottom line (profit) but also by becoming socially (people) and environmentally (planet) responsible. The Triple Bottom Line is also known as the PPP model – people, planet profit. Sustainability is frequently described as the 'sweet spot' where people, the planet and profits all meet, "… where the pursuit of profits blends seamlessly with the common good – where the planet, people and profit are equally balanced (Savitz & Weber, 2014)." The 'sweet spot' is commonly seen as the space where all three circles in a Venn diagram meet in the center. Please see Figure 8 for an overview of the 'sweet spot' of sustainability.

The problem with trying to find a 'sweet spot' that balances people, the planet and profit, is that the three are not equally important. Without the biosphere, social systems (people)

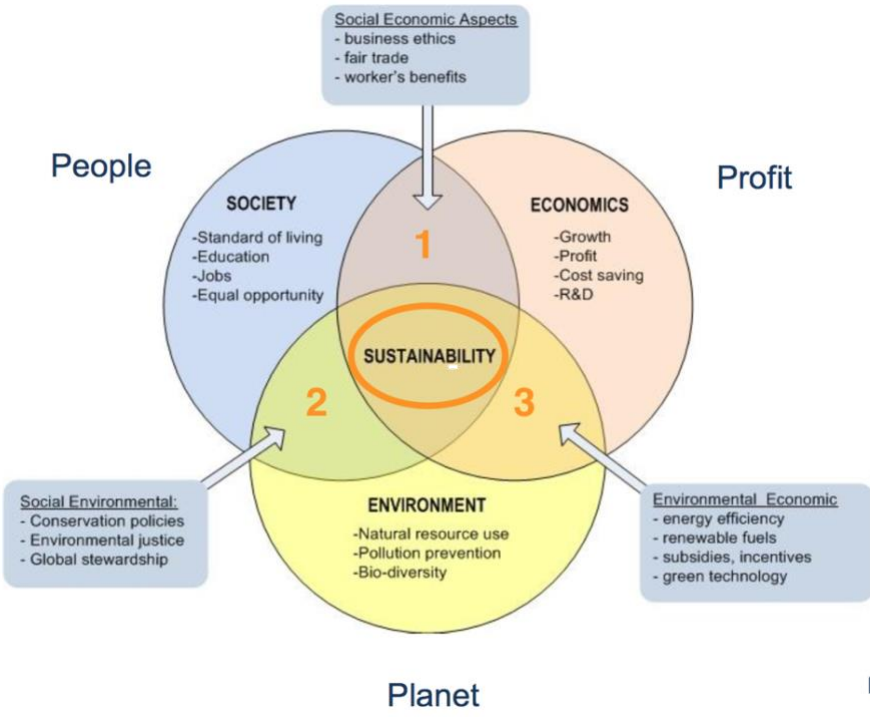
wouldn't exist, and as a result, markets wouldn't exist either[40]. Increasing economic production is only meaningful if the values positively impact the environment and social well-being[41]. To be sustainable, we need to assess the qualities of the values being produced, not just their quantities. For decades, influential economists, like John-Kenneth Galbraith (1998), have criticized economists for focusing on increasing production without considering what is being produced[42]. Strong sustainability models recognize that the biosphere allows people to exist, and that people create markets[43] (Gowdy, & O'Hara, 1997; Shiva, 2005). In Figure 9, strong sustainability is shown as three concentric circles in order of hierarchies of sustainability in order of (1) planet (environment), (2) people (society), (3) profit (economy).

Despite a long history of critique against 'econocentric' views of sustainability, many theories, indicators, and frameworks still prioritize corporate solvency and profit over long-term environmental sustainability and social responsibility. Twenty-five years after coining the term Triple Bottom Line, Elkington himself no longer supports this approach to sustainability. Elkington writes,

> Fundamentally, we have a hard-wired cultural problem in business, finance and markets. Whereas CEOs, CFOs, and other corporate leaders move heaven and earth to ensure that they hit their profit targets, the same is very rarely true of their people and planet targets. Clearly, the Triple Bottom Line has failed to bury the single bottom line paradigm…Indeed, none of these sustainability frameworks will be enough, as long as they lack the suitable pace and scale — the necessary radical intent — needed to stop us all overshooting our planetary boundaries. Hence the need for a "recall." I hope that in another 25 years we can look back and point to this as the moment started working toward a triple helix for value creation, a genetic code for tomorrow's capitalism, spurring the regeneration of our economies, societies, and biosphere. (Elkington, 2018)

Figure 8

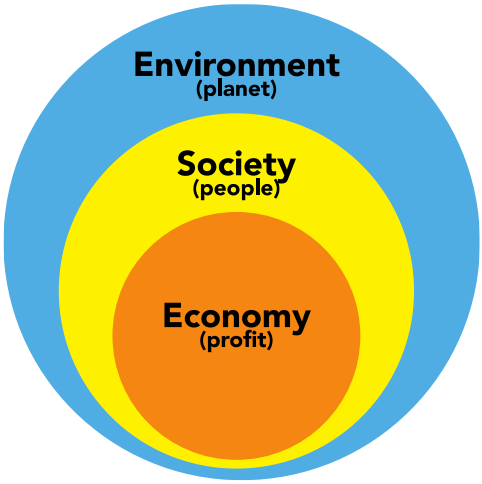
Triple Bottom Line



Interplay of the environmental, economic, and social aspects of sustainable development. Credit: Mark Fedkin. Adopted from the University of Michigan Sustainability Assessment (Rodriguez, Roman, Sturhahn, & Elizabeth , 2002)

Figure 9

Strong Sustainably



Designed by Kim Gagnon. Based on (Narang, 2022).

Sustainability at Canadian Universities

What kind of sustainability approaches do Canadian universities take? In an article about strategic planning and sustainability in Canadian Universities, Bieler and McKenzie's (2017) categorize the sustainability plans of higher education institutions as non-existent (they don't have a sustainability plan), accommodative (narrow scope), reformative (middle of the road scope), progressive (holistic with significant depth), and transformative (holistic, in-depth, including discussions about all domains including land, community and questioning education paradigms). Please see Table 4 for a more detailed description of the categories.

Table 7

Types of Responses in Higher Education Institutions' Strategic Plans

Type of Response	Breadth	Depth	Description
Accommodative: narrow scope with a cursory discussion of sustainability	1–2 domains	Shallow depth: cursory mentions of sustainability terminology (e.g., sentence clause or short sentence)	Narrow and shallow accounts of sustainability in strategic plans
Accommodative: narrow scope with a bit more depth in relation to core values, mission and strategic direction statements	1–2 domains	Middle depth: sustainability is connected to vision, mission, or core values statements	Sustainability addressed in relation to 1–2 domains but with slightly more depth of engagement with values than shallow versions of the accommodative response
Accommodative: narrow scope with greater depth in relation to sustainability-specific goals	1–2 domains	Significant depth: discussion in relation to sustainability-specific goals	Sustainability addressed in relation to 1–2 domains but with slightly more depth of engagement with goals than shallow versions of the accommodative response
Reformative: middle of the road response	3 domains	Middle depth: brief discussion of sustainability, with some connection to core values and goals	Sustainability addressed in relation to 3 domains, with some connection to core values and goals but no connection to sustainability-specific policy
Reformative: holistic but shallow discussion of sustainability	3–5 domains	Shallow: cursory mentions of sustainability terminology (e.g., sentence clause or short sentence)	Sustainability addressed in relation to 3–5 domains, but only in cursory terms
Progressive: holistic response with significant depth of discussion	4–5 domains	Significant depth: sustainability addressed in relation to mission or core values statements, and sustainability-specific goals	Sustainability addressed in relation to 4–5 domains, and with significant depth
Progressive: holistic response with detailed discussion of all domains but without a focus on land, community, and alternative paradigms	5 domains	Strong depth: sustainability addressed in relation to mission statements, goals, and sustainability policies. This response also sometimes references assessment. It does not include transformative language around questioning educational paradigms	Sustainability is addressed in relation to 5 domains, and with significant depth in relation to values, goals; policies and sometimes assessment processes. This response is missing transformative qualities, such as re-envisioning educational purposes and paradigms
Transformative: holistic and in-depth response including a detailed discussion of all domains, accounts of land, community, and a questioning of educational paradigms	5 domains	Greatest depth: sustainability addressed in relation to mission statements, goals, sustainability policies, assessments, as well as the relationship of the institution to surrounding land and community	Sustainability is addressed in relation to 5 domains and also includes a rethinking of educational paradigms in relation to place, land, ecology, and community

Note: The term 'domain' refers to the five areas of sustainability that are addressed in this paper including governance, education, campus operations, research and community outreach.

(Bieler & McKenzie, 2017)

Bieler and McKenzie (2017) found that nine higher learning institutions did not make commitments to sustainability, twenty had accommodative responses, eight had had reformative responses, thirteen had progressive responses, and none had transformative responses. Concordia University is among the thirteen higher learning institutions with progressive responses to

sustainability in their strategic plan. Bieler and McKenzie (2017) found that Concordia University addressed all five sustainability domains and had a holistic approach with significant depth on values and goals – although they weren't in the greatest depth on values, goals and sustainability-specific policy, nor were they transformative[44]. Since Bieler and McKenzie's (2017) study, Concordia has implemented their first ever, five-year sustainability action plan that includes guidelines for foodservices (Concordia University, 2020). While this is a great accomplishment, the food plan is not transformative. As I explain in more detail below, it does not address social justice or the root causes of the current food crises. In this dissertation, I explore food sovereignty approaches to university foodservices as a way to achieve true (not greenwashing), strong, transformative sustainability; especially when non-traditional, community-based education and research paradigms are used, i.e., critical-participatory-action research, community service-learning, and community-campus engagement.

Building Food Sovereign Campuses

More food studies scholars are beginning use food sovereignty approaches instead of sustainability metrics to ensure that food system change is transformative. In one example, Levkoe and Blay-Palmer (2018) argue against traditional sustainability indicators and suggest employing food sovereignty frameworks that include social and environmental justice[45]. Other authors have developed more elaborate ways of using food sovereignty frameworks through a food regimes approach to contrast different ways of solving food crises – i.e. Whitman (2011), Desmarais (2017) (corporate food regime vs. food sovereignty regime), Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) (corporate, reformist, progressive and radical).

In this thesis, I ask, how can we apply food sovereignty approaches to university foodservices? Through a critical-participatory-action research case study of the Concordia campus-community food groups, I ask, how can we build a food sovereign campus at Concordia University? Furthermore, how can we build food sovereignty frameworks that are also useful for other universities? Before addressing these questions, I provide an in-depth literature review of food sovereignty and ask more targeted research questions to guide the case study.

What is Food Sovereignty?

Food sovereignty is a multidimensional concept[46] that refers to processes, outcomes and radical approaches in '*food regimes*' comparative frameworks. Food sovereignty is a process because it describes a movement, a struggle, a democratic practise perpetually in negotiation and always in motion. Food sovereignty also refers to outcomes – agreed upon declarations of rights, codes of ethics and guiding principles. These declarations are debated at conferences, meetings, and public forums and carried out by the parties (who agree with the declarations) in local communities. In particular, food sovereignty refers to the rights of the people to control their own food economy – to decide how food is produced, consumed, processed, and distributed. Additionally, in comparative models of food regimes, food sovereignty is the most radical approach in relation to corporate, reformist and progressive orientations (Desmarais, 2017; Wittman, 2011; Holt-Giménez and Shattuck, 2011; and Rosset, 2003).

Authors have provided an array of dictionary type definitions of food sovereignty. In one example, Koc, Sumner, and Winson (2017) provide a glossary in their publication Critical Perspective in Food Studies, which includes the following definition of food sovereignty:

> A political framework developed by La Via Campesina that focuses on the rights of peoples and governments to determine their own agriculture systems, food markets, environments, and modes of production. Food sovereignty is a radical alternative to corporate-led, neo-liberal, industrial agriculture (Koc, Sumner, and Winson, 2017, p. 386).

There are many other definitions of food sovereignty[47]. Patel (2009) suggests that food sovereignty is over defined "There are so many versions of the concept, it is hard to know exactly what it means. (p. 664)". Alonso-Fradejas, Borras Jr., Holmes, Holt-Giménez, and Robbins (2015) acknowledge that, because of the multidisciplinary nature of food sovereignty research, academics even have a hard time agreeing on a definition[48]. Qualman (2011) also recognizes the difficulty of defining food sovereignty and suggests it is easier to define what food sovereignty is not[49]. Food sovereignty, like the term sustainability has many ways of defining the term. The fundamental difference is that food sovereignty always refers to transformative, strong sustainability, whereas the term sustainability often describes practices that prioritize economic growth and/or the solvency of a corporation over social systems and the biosphere.

Food Sovereignty is Rooted in Social Justice.

The terms '*soberania alimentaria*' (food sovereignty) and '*autonomia alimentaria'* (food autonomy) were used in Costa Rica and Honduras by peasants and farmers in the 1980s and 1990s to describe a movement to reclaim control of local food production. The use of the term came as a response to the USA dumping cheap maize on local economies – a practice that was economically disastrous for farmers in Mexico, Central and South America (Edelman, 2014). At the International Conference of the Via Campesina Tlaxcala, Mexico, in 1996, participants established basic principles (Campesina, 1996) that became the foundation for discussions about food sovereignty later that year (Desmarais, 2017).

The term food sovereignty was popularized at The World Food Conference in Rome in 1996 (Edelman, 2014)[50] when La Via Campesina and other transnational agrarian partners used the term to push the discussion of food security past simple notions of increasing production and distribution to incorporate social justice. Food sovereignty was used to promote food as a human right, local control over the food system, and public health (Patel, 2009). The definition of food security that was proposed at the 1996 World Food Summit reads:

> Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional, and global levels [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, and safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. (FAO 1996 cited in Patel, 2009)

La Via Campesina took the position that discussions around eliminating food insecurity needed to address local control of food production and distribution as well as the political arrangements of the food system. They argued that food sovereignty is a precondition for food security, acknowledged that food is a fundamental human right, and used 'food sovereignty' to described this more radical approach to eliminating food insecurity. La Via Campesina's statement reads,

> Long-term food security depends on those who produce food and care for the natural environment. As the stewards of food producing resources we hold the following principles as a necessary foundation food achieving food security…food is a basic human right. The right can only be realized in a system where

> food sovereignty is guaranteed. Food sovereignty is the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce its basic foods respecting cultural and productive diversity. Food sovereignty is the right to produce our own food in our own country. Food sovereignty is a precondition for food security. (Via Campesina 1996 cited in Patel, 2009)

La Via Campesina also proposed that food sovereignty was about larger food issues like agrarian reform, protecting natural resources, reorganizing food trade, ending global hunger, developing social peace, and establishing democratic control of the food system (Desmarais, 2017). Along with their transnational agrarian allies, La Via Campesina established the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty at the World Food Summit. In 2007, La Via Campesina and a steering committee of other interested groups[51] organized a Forum for Food Sovereignty in Nyéléni, Mali. At the meeting, the delegates produced a declaration on food sovereignty which was agreed upon by more than five-hundred diverse representatives, mostly food producers[52]. The declaration defines food sovereignty as,

> ..the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation. It offers a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, pastoral and fisheries systems determined by local producers and users. Food sovereignty prioritizes local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal - fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food production, distribution and consumption based on environmental, social, and economic sustainability. Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just incomes to all peoples as well as the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition. It ensures that the rights to use and manage lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food. Food sovereignty implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social and economic classes and generations. (La Via Campesina 1996 cited in Patel, 2009)

The definition of food sovereignty proposed at the forum in Nyéléni includes sustainable development, food security, local control of food production, government regulation of food markets, post-capitalism, proper nutrition, land rights, social justice, anti-oppression, anti-racism, anti-sexism, and Indigenous empowerment. Since the Forum for Food Sovereignty, the term has been further debated, discussed, defined, redefined, and even put into practice[53]. In this thesis, I bring the conversation about food sovereignty to university foodservices because, as demonstrated, food sovereignty refers to transformational forms of sustainability that are more radical, focus on root causes of food insecurity and are part of social justice and anti-oppression movements. To guide my analysis, I explore food sovereignty as a process, outcomes, and a comparative framework and propose a method of studying and creating food sovereign campuses through critical-participatory-action research.

Food Sovereignty is a Process.

Food sovereignty is a process – a process of reclaiming food from neoliberal modes of production, transformation and distribution and developing a cooperative food system by the people for the people. It describes a grassroots political movement to change the food system. For example, the Nyéléni declaration, mentioned above, identifies values that the coalition agreed to 'fight for' and to 'fight against'[54]. They also outline a plan of action stating what they can and will do to transform the food system. These values and plans came about as a result of

discussing, debating and negotiating in Nyéléni – however, the process is not complete. To achieve food sovereignty, delegates must implement actions and maintain the conditions agreed upon in the declaration[55]. In another example, the European Coordination of La Via Campesina refers to food sovereignty as a 'process of building social movements' and not a 'one-size-fits-all solution'. A report by the European Coordination of La Via Campesina captures the essence of food sovereignty as a process,

> Food Sovereignty offers itself as a process of building social movements and empowering peoples to organize their societies in ways that transcend the neoliberal vision of a world of commodities, markets and selfish economic actors. There is no one-size-fits-all solution to the myriad of complex problems we face in today's world. Instead, Food Sovereignty is a process that adapts to the people and places where it is put in practice. Food Sovereignty means solidarity, not competition, and building a fairer world from the bottom up ... Food Sovereignty is not a simple set of technical solutions or a formula which can be applied – it is instead a "process in action" – an invitation to citizens to exercise our capacity to organize ourselves and improve our conditions and societies together. (Anderson, 2018)

The definition of food sovereignty as a fluid, 'not all-encompassing process has been both a strength and a weakness. As a dynamic process, communities all over the world can define what food sovereignty means to them. After all, food sovereignty cannot be imposed on a group by external sources; it must be developed internally by the people who interact with their local food systems every day. A weakness of food sovereignty being defined as a dynamic, adaptable process is that the concept becomes (rightfully) entangled with 'idealistic righteousness' and 'self-congratulatory celebrations of food sovereignty'[56]. In applying food sovereignty to university foodservices, I look at the processes involved with campus food systems, like how decisions made about campus foodservices; the kinds of food practices and how they function; the campus food actors (i.e., administrators, activists, faculty, community members, external corporations) and their roles; and ultimately, how we can build food sovereign campuses. To address these issues, I use a process-based approach that is used to create conditions of social justice – critical-participatory-action research[57].

Food Sovereignty is about Achieving Outcomes – Establishing Rights and Ethical Principles.

Another critical feature in defining food sovereignty includes guaranteeing rights, establishing social justice, and developing a set of ethical principles that guide food production, distribution, and consumption, like those recognized in the Nyéléni declaration. These include the right to be food secure, women's rights, indigenous rights, environmental rights, labour rights, land rights, equal rights, and the right to be sovereign, among others. In particular, food sovereignty refers to the right to local autonomy in food production, processing, distribution, consumption and waste management. La Via Campesina defines food sovereignty as "the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce its basic foods, respecting cultural and productive diversity…the right of people to define their own agricultural food policy" (Cited in Desmarais, 2007 p. 34). According to Wittman, Desmarais, and Wiebe (2010) food sovereignty is the "right of peoples and nations to control their own food and agricultural systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures, and environments" (2010, p.4)

The original base of the food sovereignty movement was in the peasantry of the Global South, where activists embraced food sovereignty as a banner for social justice and food system

transformation (Alonso-Fradejas, Borras Jr, Holmes, Holt-Giménez, Robbins, 2015). Since then, the food sovereignty movement has spread globally, expressing itself through a range of policies and goals, including: prioritizing local production and distribution of food; protecting local knowledge, particularly that of women and indigenous people; promoting agroecology; implementing agrarian reforms; and recognizing rights of local communities (Andree, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, Brynne, & Kneen, 2016). In applying food sovereignty to university foodservices, I inquire about outcomes that have been achieved in campus food justice movements; the kinds of food policies that have been developed (by the administration and/or campus-community food groups) and determine whether they include social justice, transformational approaches to sustainability and/or food security; the kinds of policies that have been created around food procurement, distribution, consumption, and waste management; and whether other kinds of 'rights' are accorded to students, faculty, staff and the community at large.

Food Sovereignty Refers to a Variety of Concepts Used for Comparative Analyses.

Food sovereignty is referred to as a regime, approach, discourse, trend, framework, model and/or paradigm used in comparative models. In an essay on food sovereignty and rights, Wittman (2011) states that the intensions of her paper are to examine "the emergent framework of the food sovereignty regimes perspective…" (p. 89) and continues by discussing food sovereignty as an approach, "The food sovereignty approach can be distinguished as an "*epistemic shift*" in which value relations, approaches to rights, and a shift from an economic to an ecological calculus concurrently challenge the rules and relations of a corporate or neoliberal food regime"(p. 90). Later in her article she refers to food sovereignty as a paradigm, stating, "The roles of participation, citizenship, and democracy in a food sovereignty paradigm have been taken up by an increasing number of scholars" (p. 93). Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) use a similar framework as Wittman (2011) to compare corporate food regimes and food movements. He refers to food sovereignty as the discourse from a radical trend that proposes dismantling the prevailing corporate food system and replacing it with a more democratic, egalitarian system. Desmarais (2017) refers to food sovereignty as a framework and a model. She compares the neoliberal model to the food sovereignty model and discusses "key differences between corporate-led, neoliberal, industrial agriculture, and the food sovereignty framework" (p. 370). Even though food sovereignty refers to many different concepts, the current framework, approach, trend, model and/or paradigm stems from academic discourse about food regimes.

The term *food regime* was first coined by Friedman in 1987; since then, it has been used to describe the political economy and ecology of food in capitalist crises and broader historical geopolitical conditions. It also complements other types of food analyses, like commodity chain analyses, dependency analyses, fair trade studies, among others (McMichael, 2009)[58]. Rosset (2003) published an article comparing food sovereignty models with dominant food models on twenty-one categories including, hunger, trade, subsidies, monopoly, farmers, among others. For example, in the dominant model, free trade is prioritized, wherein in the food sovereignty model, food and agriculture are exempt from free trade agreements. Please refer to Table 5 in Appendix A or to Rosset (2003) for a more in-depth overview of these comparisons.

Since Rosset (2003), a variety of other authors have used food sovereignty models, regimes, frameworks, discourse, paradigms and movements, (among others) for the sake of comparing the dominant ideologies about prevailing political and economic power structures

involving food systems. In each analysis, food sovereignty and the corporate, neoliberal regimes are at opposite ends of a spectrum. For example, Wittman (2011) compares the food sovereignty regime with the corporate/neoliberal food regime by contrasting: the way they view feeding the world; the role of agriculture in advancing national development; the role of technology in advancing agricultural development; and in environmental stewardship. For an overview of Wittman's (2011) comparative chart, please see Table 6 in Appendix B.

According to Wittman (2011), the corporate/neoliberal food regime plans to feed the world by increasing food production and access based on principles of comparative advantage and market mechanisms; while the food sovereignty regime plans to feed the world by prioritizing local agricultural production and protecting local markets from food dumping (Wittman, 2011). The corporate/neoliberal regime views the role of agriculture in advancing national development as increasing positive trade balances by increasing exports of agricultural food items. In contrast, the food sovereignty regime views sustainable agriculture as part of a diversified economy that improves national well-being and environmental health. (Wittman, 2011) The corporate/neoliberal food regime views the role of technology in advancing agriculture by increasing innovation, modernizing technology, and thus increasing food outputs, while the food sovereignty regime advocates for minimizing external inputs, diversifying production and taking a holistic approach (Wittman, 2011). Finally, the corporate/neoliberal regime views environmental stewardship as developing protected areas like national parks and imposing environmental regulation, while the food sovereignty regime advocates for combined agriculture and environmental policies that protect biodiversity and encourage land conservation (Wittman, 2011).

Desmarais (2017) expands on Rosset's (2003) and Wittman's (2011) work. Desmarais (2017) compared the differences between the corporate-led, neoliberal model with a food sovereignty model on eighteen goal-related categories: trade, production priorities, market access, subsidies, food, food production and provisioning, hunger, food security, access to land, seeds, rural credit/investment, corporate monopolies, overproduction, small/medium scale farmers, gender, urban consumers vs agricultural workers, research, and policy development. Some examples of these comparisons include: Food is treated as a commodity in the neo-liberal model and as a human right in the food sovereignty model; production and provisioning is an "option for the economically efficient" in the neo-liberal model and is a right of small scale farmers, peasants, artisans, fishers, Indigenous peoples and migrants involved in food production in the food sovereignty model; seeds are a patentable commodity in the neo-liberal model and is held in trust by rural communities without patents in the food sovereignty model. Like Rosset (2003) and Wittman (2011), Desmarais (2017) suggests that the food sovereignty model favours people and communities over profit and private property. The neo-liberal model is orientated to facilitate market interactions and prioritizes corporate food producers over small and medium family farms. Please see Table 7 in Appendix C for a complete breakdown of Desmarais's (2017) analysis.

What about food sovereignty in relation to other food movements? Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) provide a similar comparison as Rosset (2003), Wittman (2011) and Desmarais (2017). Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) analyze food sovereignty discourse with the discourse of three other prevailing trends that seek to eliminate world hunger and food insecurity (neo-liberal, reformist and progressive). See Table 8 (in Appendix D) for an overview of Holt-Giménez and Shattuck’s (2011) comparisons.

According to Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011), food sovereignty is the most radical of these trends because it holds the 'corporate food regime' responsible for creating world hunger. According to the food sovereignty trend, the solution to eliminating world hunger can only be achieved by: dismantling the corporate food system and transforming it into something more democratic; by eliminating private ownership over land, seeds and water; and by focusing on providing food to marginalized populations[59]. The other trends described by Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) include the neoliberal trend, reformist trend and progressive trend. Like Rosset (2003), Wittman (2011) and Desmarais (2017), Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) propose that the neoliberal trend employs corporate, 'food enterprise,' discourse for eliminating hunger. The food enterprise discourse suggests that large-scale food companies can eliminate hunger by expanding markets and producing more food globally – like advocated by proponents of the Green Revolution.

The reformist trend employs a 'food security' discourse by acknowledging that there are problems with the corporate food system and advocates for incentive-based, self-regulation-based approaches by empowering consumers' vote with their forks.' This view suggests that corporations will change their behaviour if consumers disagree with that particular food corporation's business practices. The reason being that – if there is a threat from consumers to stop buying a particular brand, then the food corporation in question will adapt to consumer demands and change its problematic behaviour. The reformist trend also advocates for increasing and improving social safety nets (like food banks) rather than calling for a structural change to address hunger. The progressive trend uses 'food justice' discourse suggesting that citizens must be empowered to change the food system through a gradual, grassroots, transition towards a more socially and environmentally just food system. This approach stresses the importance of the right to food, better social programs, and empowering citizens to participate more in the food system. One example of an expression of the progressive trend is creating food councils of citizens and food policies that result from community discussions.

In Holt-Giménez and Shattuck's (2011) view, progressive and reformist trends are most closely related. Neoliberal and reformist trends are part of the 'corporate food regime,' while progressive and reformist trends are part of a food movement that calls for replacing/transforming the 'corporate food regime.' The differences between the progressive and radical approaches include the institutions, orientations, models, and approaches to the food crisis. The progressive (food justice) approach is more closely linked to community food organizations, alternative and fair-trade practices, food policy and community-sponsored agriculture (CSA). The radical (food sovereignty) approach is more closely linked to La Via Campesina, Global Women's March, and other rights and justice-based movements. The progressive (food justice) trend orients towards empowerment and utilize local, social economy rooted agroecological models and 'right-to-food' food security approaches. The radical (food sovereignty) trend orients towards entitlement and strives to dismantle corporate agriculture food monopolies give communities rights to land and water, democratize the food system, provide sustainable livelihoods and wealth redistribution.

In applying food sovereignty to university foodservices, I propose a comparative framework, like Desmarais (2017), Rosset's (2003), Wittman's (2011) and Holt-Giménez and Shattuck's (2011). In building the framework, I ask, what food crises apply to universities? What other categories could we use as a comparative approach? As a starting point, I compare corporate, weak-sustainability and food sovereignty approaches to university foodservices. I

contrast these approaches in terms of who runs food services, approaches to sustainability, the goals of campus foodservices, the business model of food services, involvement of different constituencies and their roles in the campus food system, how campus food security is addressed, how food consultations take place, how employees are treated, how food is procured, and environmental sustainability. I use a case study of the Concordia campus-community food system presently and through a historical approach to build the competitive framework.

Critique of Food Sovereignty.

Before moving on, it is important to recognize and address critiques of food sovereignty. Some critics question the viability of food sovereignty projects arguing that many food producers rely on government subsidies and/or have private sponsors. Others question the methods used in food sovereignty approaches pointing to a lack of empirical analyses. Aerni (2011) includes both of these points in his critique of the food sovereignty model. Aerni (2011) writes,

> Based on the findings of mostly non-empirical research, Food Sovereignty activists promote a wide range of local initiatives in developed and developing countries that aim to bring like-minded producers and consumers closer together in efforts to regain power over the control of food. Most of these projects, however, rely either, on state subsidies or have a generous private sponsor. Moreover, if farmers aim to sell their products for a premium price outside their community, they depend heavily on the good will of those who certify, package and market their products. (p. 23)

Aerni's (2011) arguments aren't unanswered. The same argument about subsidies can be applied to corporate food systems. As Qualman (2011) points out, farming in Canada is kept afloat via government subsidies and bank loans. As previously mentioned, in Canada, pesticide, herbicide and seed corporations make all the profits while farmers are suffering from economic difficulties. This trend has existed since the mid-1980s (Qualman, 2011). Over the last 30 years, Canadian taxpayers have provided over $67 billion to farmers so that they could buy pesticides, seeds and fertilizers from large companies, like Bayer, who were making record profits (Qualman, 2011). Coming back to Aerni's (2011) critique of food sovereignty, many of his other points attack food sovereignty approaches for opposing corporate food regimes, misaddressing hunger and malnutrition, being anti-GMO, and not being up-to-date with ideas of modernization and economic progress. These concerns have received considerable debate, like Shiva (2016) and Borlaug (2000), described in more detail in the methodology section. Other points made by Aerni (2011) have also been echoed by those who support the food sovereignty approach. Aerni (2011) suggests that food sovereignty activists have had difficulty defining and explaining what they mean by alternative systems[60]. As mentioned above, the loose definition of food sovereignty has been a strength and a weakness. Although there have been attempts to clarify the term and practices associated with food sovereignty (Edleman, Weis, Bakviskar, Borras, Holt-Giménez, Kandiyoti, and Wolford, 2014), some contradictions are more serious. Patel (2009) points out that the Nyéléni Declaration has a series of 'fatal' errors,

> The phrase 'those who produce, distribute and consume food' refers, unfortunately, to everyone, including the transnational corporations rejected in the second half of the sentence. There is also a glossing-over of one of the key distinctions in agrarian capitalism – that between a farm owner and a farmworker. To harmonize these two groups' interests is far less tractable effort than the authors of the declaration might hope. Finally, but perhaps most contradictory, is the emphasis of 'new social relations' in the same paragraph as family farming, when the family is one of the oldest factories for patriarchy. … (p. 667)

Nonetheless, Patel (2009) believes that these disparities can be overcome by introducing rights-based language and policies to prevent the food system from being controlled by a "handful of privileged people" (Patel, 2009). Food sovereignty redresses entitlement by framing the conversation around duties and obligations[61]. Both food sovereignty and sustainability have conceptual flaws, I am introducing a food sovereignty approach to university foodservices to ensure that, as publicly funded institutions, universities respect their duties and obligations to have a positive impact on local foodscapes; or at the minimum, not contribute to unsustainable food practices. To reiterate, despite the conceptual errors in the definition of food sovereignty is transformative and includes social and environmental justice; sustainability is often used to mask negative externalities. As demonstrated by Bieler and McKenzie (2017), not one Canadian university has met the conditions for transformative, in-depth sustainability. In this research project, I inquire about contradictions that arise when applying food sovereignty approaches to university foodservices, and how can these contradictions be addressed.

Focusing on Campus-Community Food Systems as a Way to Build Food Sovereign Campuses

Most studies about transformational approaches to university foodservices focus on self-operated foodservices, run by university administrators (Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz's, 2019; Mohawk College Sustainability Office, 2017); few focus on campus-community or student-run food organizations. One study by Barlett (2011) looks at "campus sustainable food projects" to address concerns with campus foodservices and provide an assessment of alternatives. She stresses the importance of university campuses as incubators for sustainable food projects and argues that these food projects have the potential to produce meaningful social and political impacts on agri-food systems[62]. Her article conveys optimism that campus food projects have the potential to create "coalitions far beyond the classroom (Barlett, 2011, p. 112)". Barlett (2011) suggests that campus food projects (like campus farms and partnerships with community gardens) have helped universities become more sustainable, but it is unclear whether the long-term changes to university food systems in Canada persist and are transformative. In the following dissertation, I take an in-depth look at the Concordia campus-community food organizations to see whether 'sustainable campus projects' can be transformative. As previously mentioned, Concordia students, faculty and community have built a robust campus-community food system. They key question is, does it have the potential to transform campus foodservices?

Coming back to the study described at the beginning of the literature review performed by Velasco and myself where we looked at the extent to which Aramark, Chartwells-Compass, and Sodexo have monopolized campus foodservices; we also took an exploratory look at the campus-community (and/or student-run) food organizations in universities across Canada. As previously mentioned, we found that the vast majority of universities had one or more student-run (campus-community) food providers that distribute food on campus. Université du Québec à Chicoutimi (with an annual enrollment of about 6000 students) was the only university in Canada with a food system that was entirely owned and operated by students. The student union operated the main cafeteria, catering services, a student-run café, and a student-run bar. Over and above the three universities who had cooperative cafeterias as members of Coopsco (Université de Sherbrooke, Université du Québec à Rimouski, and Université de Montréal), there were about two-hundred-and-fifty student-run food distribution organizations at universities across Canada. We didn't look at other non-distribution student-run food organizations, like campus gardens/farms, and waste management initiatives. This is not a complete list of student-run

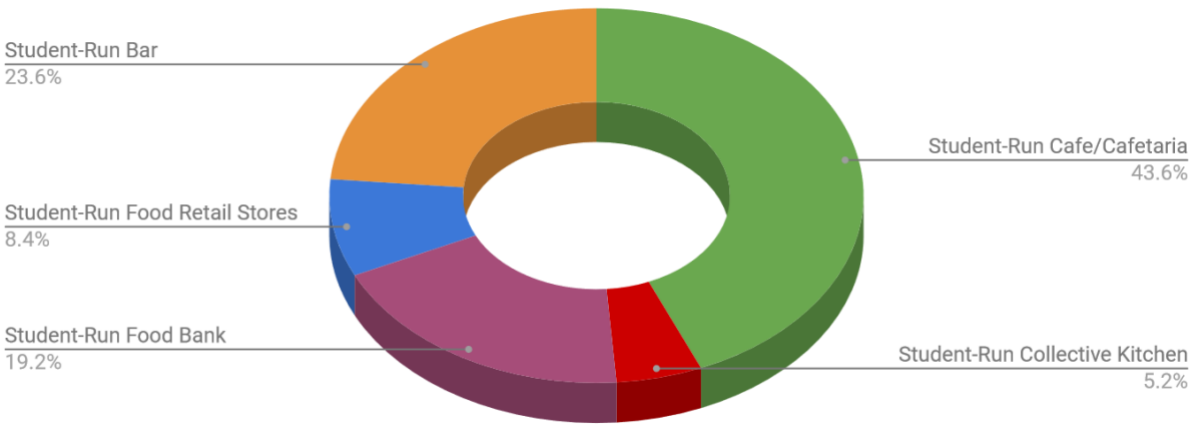
campus food distributers because it is only based on our preliminary research. A more in-depth study is needed to fully capture a snapshot of all the student-run food distributers in universities across Canada.

The student-run food providers offered five main services (Velasco, 2018):

1. *Student-Run Café/Cafeteria* – Any café, restaurant, and/or food service provider that was owned and/or operated by students independently and/or by a student union.
2. *Student-Run Collective Kitchen* – Any student-run cooking service that served students on a regular basis for free and/or by-donation and was owned and/or operated by students independently and/or by a student union.
3. *Student Union Food Bank* – Any food bank that distributed food to students for free and that was owned and/or operated by students independently and/or by a student union.
4. *Student-Run Food Retail Store* – Any store that operated as a retail store for food products and was owned and/or operated by students independently and/or by a student union.
5. *Student-Run Bar* – Any bar, pub, club and/or lounge that held a liquor license and was owned and/or operated by students independently and/or by a student union.

Figure 10

Student-Run Food Economy



Of all the two-hundred-and-fifty student-run organizations, 43.6% were café/cafeterias, 23.6% were bars, 19.2% were food banks, 8.4% were retail stores, and 5.2% were collective kitchens. Figure 10 displays the proportion of student-run food distribution outlets on the aggregate. By doing a cross country analysis of each university, twelve stood out for having numerous student-run food providers. Please see Figure 11 for an overview of the number of student-run food distribution outlets at each university across Canada and Figure 12 for a closer look at the top twelve universities. These campus-community (or student-run) food initiatives were owned and operated by student unions, student associations, clubs, cooperatives and/or fee levy groups. Our survey found twenty-two student-run food distribution outlets across Canada. Please see Table 9 for the list.

Figure 11

Number of Student-Run Food Distribution Outlets in Universities Across Canada in 2018

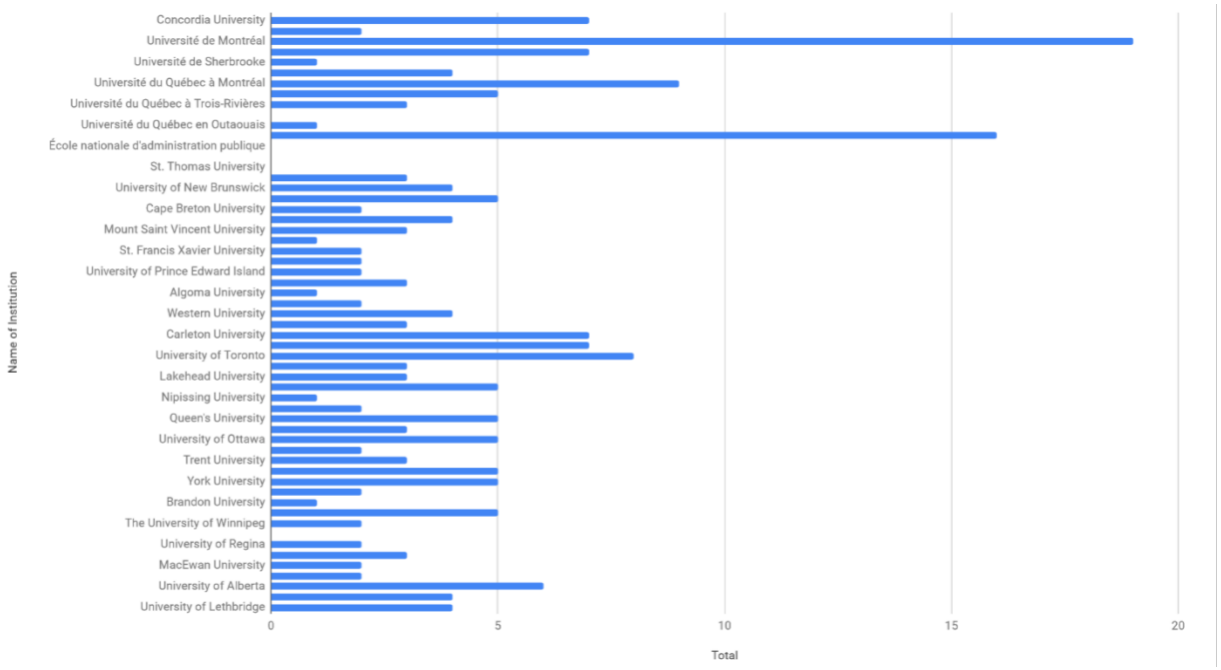


Figure 12

A Closer look at the Top 12 Student Run Food Systems

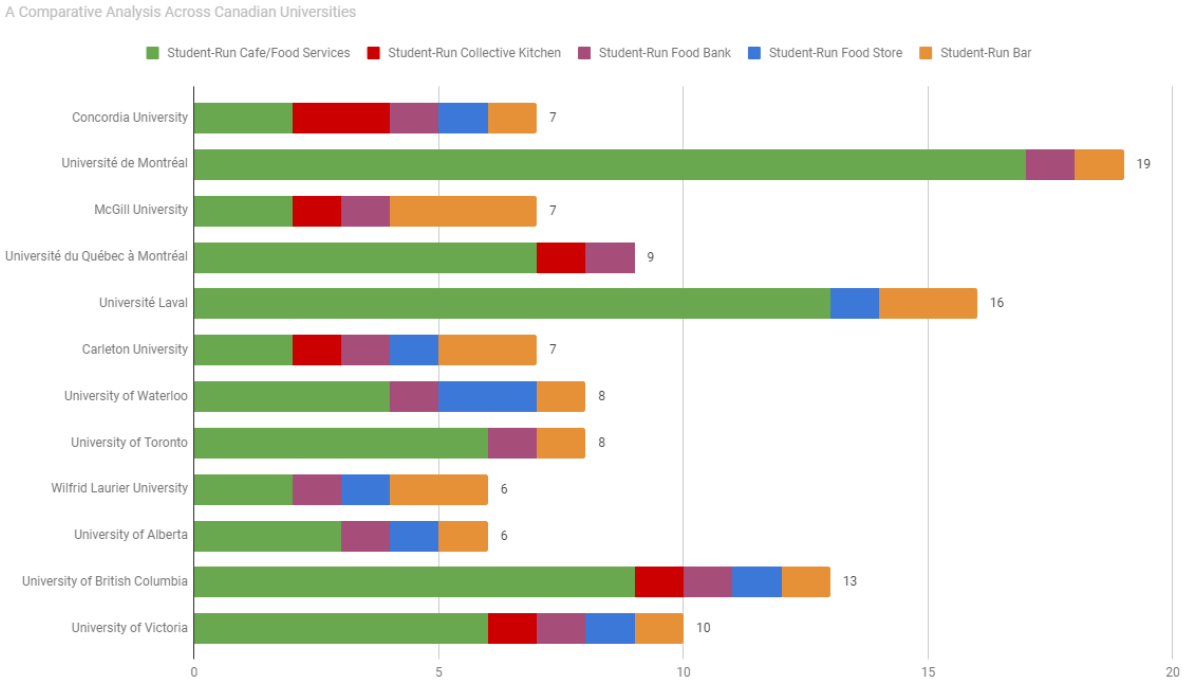


Table 9

Student-Run Food Distribution Outlets in Universities Across Canada

University	Name
Concordia University	Hive Café Co-op
	People's Potato
	Hive Free Lunch Loyola
	Frigo Vert
	Reggie's Co-op
McGill University	Midnight Kitchen
Université du Québec à Montréal	le Ras-le-bol
Université du Québec à Rimouski	Collectif Lèche-Babines
Dalhousie University	Loaded Ladle
Carleton University	G-Spot
University of Toronto	Caffiends
University of Ottawa	The People's Republic of Delicious
Trent University	The Season Spooned
	The Céilie
York University	Lunik Coop
Simon Fraser University	Embark Community Kitchen
University of British Columbia	Agora Café
	Seedlings Eatery
	Community Eats
	Sprouts
University of Victoria	Community Cabbage

Our findings show that most universities have campus-community (or student-run) food organizations, but we were not able to provide an in-depth analysis because we didn't have the resources or time to perform such a study. The information was gathered by gleaning from the websites of Canadian universities and student unions. We did not conduct follow up interviews or verify whether these organizations were still in operation. We also didn't look for any organizations that were not listed on university or student union websites. The current study expands on Velasco and my research by providing a comprehensive look at one of the campuses that were among our top twelve universities for having the most campus-community food organizations – Concordia University. This is only a starting point to further explore the potential of campus-community food systems in creating food sovereign campuses.

Researchers are recognizing the potential of university campuses in creating food sovereign communities (Levkoe & Blay-Palmer, 2018; Levkoe, Andree, Bhatt, Brynne, Davidson, Kneen and Nelson, 2016, Andree, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, Brynne, and Kneen, 2016). Andree, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, Brynne, and Kneen (2016) evaluated community-campus engagement through teaching and research partnerships as a way to strengthen food sovereignty

movements. According to the authors, community-campus engagement can strengthen food sovereignty in communities by co-creating knowledge through horizontal exchanges with the community through community-service learning, participatory-action research and community-based research[63]. Furthermore, both community-campus engagement and food sovereignty movements encourage academics and the larger community to share skills, maintain transformative orientations, build place-based knowledge, and create networking sites for change. Articles on community-campus engagement (rightfully) focus on improving the community – putting community first (Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, & Brynne, 2019). Although this is an important research stream, in the current thesis, I put the 'campus' community first – organizations initiated by combinations of students, faculty and the community at large on campus. Throughout this thesis, I intentionally used the term 'campus-community' to describe the food initiatives at Concordia University. The relationships between these groups are complex; therefore, categorizing these organizations is a difficult task. Initially, we referred to the food organizations as 'student-run'. More recently, I have been referring to the groups as campus-community organizations because they are on campus and run mainly by students; but also have connections (i.e., staff and managers who are not students) to the community at large. I do not use the term community-campus, because unlike Levkoe et al (2016), the organizations we are referring to are on campus and serve the Concordia community primarily.

The project analyzed in this thesis, The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project, shares many similarities to the work done on community-campus engagement and food sovereignty movements. For example, the research team used a critical-participatory-action research approach. Andrée, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, Brynne, and Kneen (2016) stress the importance of community-based research "a partnership of students, faculty, and community members who collaboratively engage in research with the purpose of solving pressing community problems or effecting social change" (Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, & Stoecker, 2003) and of adopting transformative orientations to community-campus engagement/partnerships. These views are not isolated, Levkoe, et. al. (2020) advocate for a food justice and food sovereignty praxis, one that "involves theory, action, and critical reflection about political, social economic, and environmental resistance to dominant corporate industrial food systems along with racist, patriarchal, and settler-colonial logics" (p. 295).

The campus-community food system at Concordia makes an ideal case study of how to understand campus food sovereignty because students and faculty have built a vast network of food organizations. This dissertation provides a comprehensive look at how campus-community food organizations can provide transformative, in-depth sustainability, even when the university continues to contract transnational corporations to feed resident students.

Methodology

The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project

The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project exists to form and strengthen partnerships between food organizations at Concordia University and in the community at large; preserve the institutional memory of the campus-community food groups at Concordia; and ultimately, create sovereign, secure and just food systems on campus and in the community. The project is currently being managed by the Concordia Food Coalition (CFC), a campus-community food organization that, according to its mission,

> … brings together students, faculty, staff and community members to promote and facilitate a transition to a more sustainable food system. [*Their*] aim is to foster a community-centered food system that will begin at Concordia University, but that will be built with expansion in mind through collaboration with organizations at Concordia and beyond. [*Italics added*] (Concordia Food Coalition, 2014)

The project began in 2014 with Kim Gagnon and myself who proposed to make a documentary movie about the student-run food groups at Concordia. Instead of a documentary, we produced a web-archive of video interviews with past and present members of the food organizations on campus. We believed that immediately sharing information about the food groups at Concordia would help strengthen the food movement on campus, instead of hording the footage until we produced a feature length documentary.

After the first phase of the project was complete (in 2018) we merged the project with the CFC. I also joined the board of the CFC at the same time. The aims of the CFC were complementary to the goals of the original Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project team; to create food sovereign conditions on campus. According to the CFC constitution (Concordia Food Coalition, 2014), the CFC aims to undertake "research and action projects for campus-based student-run food production and processing… [*as well as create*] …community spaces where passion for creativity and inventiveness can flourish". [*italics added*] Instead of pursuing these goals independently, we combined the projects. Currently, the Concordia Campus-Community Food Project is being spearheaded by the action research subcommittee of the CFC.

Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Team

The Concordia Campus-Community Research Team includes core members, interns, students, and the campus-community food groups themselves. The groups are invited to participate in developing and directing the research and collaboratively interpreting the results. Core group members oversee the day-to-day research tasks, like gathering information, writing reports, facilitating reading/discussion groups, making results available to the general public, applying for research grants, etc. The core group performs the 'research labour.' At the time of writing this dissertation, the active core members include: Shylah Wolfe and myself. Gabriel Velasco, Calvin Clarke, Nora Fabre and Kim Gagnon were core members but are no longer involved in the research. Until Concordia University closed the campus because of COVID-19, students contributed to the project through coursework and/or internships as community-service learning projects in the food courses I taught.

The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project team is currently working on two main projects:

1. We are studying self-operated foodservice models at universities across Canada and working with the administration of Concordia and the Food Advisory Working Group (FAWG) to, hopefully, adopt, or at least move towards, a food sovereignty approach (as proposed in the discussion section).
2. We are mapping the needs and assets of the campus-community food groups at Concordia; although, this project was put on hold because of the COVID-19 pandemic.
3. We are mapping campus-community food groups again to get a new snapshot of the food system post-pandemic.

This dissertation focuses on what we accomplished from 2014 until 2018.

1. We built an online, interactive website for the campus-community food groups at Concordia. The site contains:
   a) Video interviews with members of the Concordia campus-community food groups, food activists at Concordia and in the community at large.
   b) A system map of the campus-community food groups at Concordia.
   c) A map of the locations of the campus-community food groups at Concordia.
   d) Reports about the public conversations we organized to discuss campus food sovereignty, food justice, resident meal plans, and campus food services.
   e) A description of the research project, methodology and project team.
   f) A blog section where students could publish class assignments about food issues.
   g) Other useful information about food campus-community food systems and related articles.

   The website is located at www.concordiafoodgroups.ca. Please visit the site to get a first-hand overview of the project that I describe in this section.

2. We investigated the food service contracts in universities across Canada to determine what percent of market share was owned by the big three food service providers: Aramark, Chartwells/Compass and Sodexo. This project is discussed in the literature review.
3. We organized a series of public discussions about campus food issues; one of the public discussions focused on building a food sovereign campus. Some of the meetings were informal; others were run via the World Café method and were written up as research reports. These reports are available on the online archive.
4. We facilitated communication between campus-community food organizations at Concordia and encouraged active participation in developing the research project. Over and above organizing public meetings and discussing the research project, we also maintained open communication with the campus-community food organizations to see how we could strengthen partnerships on campus and in the larger community.

The Motivation for the Project and My Involvement

This project results from a growing concern about food services from multinational providers on campus – Chartwells was Concordia's food service provider at the time we initiated this project, now it is Aramark. From 2013 to 2014, the Concordia administration, through the FAWG, began a series of meetings to plan for a new food service contract for Concordia University; I took part in these meetings. Simultaneously, students and faculty, who were aware that the foodservice contract between Concordia and Chartwells was about to expire, began organizing meetings on campus. I also took part in these meetings. This assortment of students and faculty eventually went on to create the CFC.

Students and faculty from both groups advocated for the Concordia administration to rethink their plan to contract a large multinational food corporation and, instead, give student groups and faculty the ability to co-construct their own campus food services – or at minimum, prioritize local, ethical, food companies over large multinational food corporations. Students and faculty alike demanded better food services than the two previous large multinational foodservice providers, Chartwells and Sodexho-Marriott. At that time, the CFC's primary strategy was to organize a consortium of local food companies to bid on the contract and rival the multinational foodservice providers. Other groups on campus were also demanding better food services.

At the beginning of 2014, members of the FAWG were invited to participate on the RFP Committee to determine the parameters of the new food service contract. Those involved with the CFC were asked to either step down from the FAWG or the CFC. Being on the RFP Committee and actively organizing a bid would have put the CFC into a conflict of interest. I remained part of the RFP Committee and no longer participated with the CFC on an official basis until the contract was tendered. I believed I could convince the administration to prioritize local food service providers. I was wrong.

Although I did not create a consortium bid with the CFC, I actively engaged with campus-community food groups to build solidarity and encourage them to think about campus food sovereignty. Through many conversations with the Concordia administration and the campus-community food groups, I realized that Concordia students have already built a strong network of semi-autonomous food groups that provided essential food services on campus.

Campus-community food groups on campus were already offering well-needed services to the Concordia community. Some of the groups on campus expressed a need to become more legitimate in the administration's eyes, be better recognized in and around Concordia, and strengthen their relationships by working on projects collectively. These conversations motivated me to begin the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project as a community project and my Ph.D. research.

I came up with the idea for the project when I was on an exchange program visiting urban agriculture initiatives in Havana, Cumanayagua and Santa Clara – cities and towns in Cuba[64]. Before the trip, I was going to focus my Ph.D. research on post-capitalist futures by studying the 'free education movement' that was initiated in Montreal during the student strikes in 2012. However, Cuba's organoponicos inspired me to refocus my research on food systems. I envisioned using my Ph.D. research and involvement in food activism at Concordia to make tangible changes to campus-community food systems. During the bus trips between cities in Cuba, I planned the research methods; created a storyline for the documentary project, which

turned into an archival project instead; wrote the interview questions; and thought about funding organizations that would make this project happen.

Upon my arrival back in Montreal, I pitched the idea to Kim Gagnon (my partner) because she had the expertise in graphic arts, videography, and web design. I also formed a network of professors, student leaders, and food activists to participate in various parts of the project. Since the inception of the project, I coordinated (and co-coordinated with Shylah Wolfe from 2019 onwards) the entire project. To be specific about my involvement, I wrote the grant applications and was able to secure about $60 000. This money was used to pay the research team except for myself; I coordinated the project on a volunteer bases because I intended to use the findings for my Ph.D. dissertation. I worked with Kim Gagnon to build the online archive; I scheduled the interviews, had a pre-discussion with the interviewees about the questions, and interviewed each participant. Kim edited the videos, uploaded them to YouTube and created the online archive. With Gabriel Velasco, I wrote a grant proposal and secured funds for his labour. Gabriel and I created the research methodology for the project that looked into the oligopoly of university foodservices providers across Canada and 'student-run' food organizations. I worked with Gabriel to analyze the dataset. Gabriel wrote the original report to the Concordia Food Coalition, however in this thesis, I reinterpreted the original data because in Gabriel's report, he didn't separate the universities that had more than one foodservice provider. In this thesis, I was meticulous in making sure the data was correctly reported. Furthermore, I worked with the campus-community groups at Concordia to organize the public discussions. I wrote the grant applications to secure funding for these events, I met with members of the food groups to get input before the events took place, took care of logistics and refreshments, hired and trained people to take notes, facilitated the public discussions, and published reports that were made available on the online archive. I also worked with Shylah Wolfe to establish the Research Committee of the Concordia Food Coalition and launch the needs and assets mapping project of the campus-community food groups. I established the Concordia University Food Research Hub and worked with Shylah Wolfe on a proposal for Concordia to move towards a self-operated foodservice model. These projects are not the focus of this dissertation, therefore will not be discussed further.

Readers should be aware that there are many interconnected relationships between people involved with the project. For example, the project is currently being run by the Concordia Food Coalition, where I was the Chair of the Board between 2019-2021. The Concordia Food Coalition is part of the groups we are studying on campus. To maintain some degree of separation, I did not join the Concordia Food Coalition Board until all the interviews with the Concordia Food Coalition were conducted and uploaded to the Concordia Food Groups website. I have had many other overlapping roles at Concordia since I began in 2000. I am currently a part-time professor, although I have taught full-time course loads since 2016. I sat on the Board of Governors of Concordia for three years from 2011 - 2014, I was an executive on the Concordia Part-Time Faculty Association (CUPFA) from 2015 - 2020, I was the VP of Bargaining for the Teaching Assistant and Research Assistant Union for two years before I joined CUPFA. I was also an executive for the Graduate Student Association (from 2009 - 2010) and the Chair of the Judicial Board of the CSU from 2001 to 2004. This is only a shortlist of the positions I filled at Concordia. Additionally, some of the participants in the project were friends, partners and colleagues. My supervisor, Dr. Satoshi Ikeda participated in the FAWG with me and helped co-create many of the campus-community food organizations. I worked alongside Dr. Satoshi Ikeda on a variety of campus and community food projects. I also interviewed him as

part of this research project. Even though I am making this declaration, I want to remind the reader that participatory-action research approaches allow, even encourage, researchers and participants to co-create the project and collaboratively discuss the results. We are not neutral observers of the food movement; Dr. Satoshi Ikeda, the members of the research team, the Concordia Food Coalition and I have played different roles in fighting for food justice and/or assisting in co-create some of the campus-community food organizations at Concordia. This dissertation is not intended to be a cheerleading exercise – the purpose of this dissertation is to provide a critical analysis of the campus-community food organizations at Concordia by addressing how they came into fruition, are part of the campus-community food system and contribute to campus food sovereignty.

Approach

It was important to use a critical-participatory-action research approach to accomplish the goal of building a food sovereign campus and community. Hence, we involved research participants as co-designers of the project, focused on improving food systems on campus and in local communities, and advocated for a transformative approach to food services. We consulted with and got feedback from research participants and shared all the information (our findings) on a public website (Concordia Food Groups, n.d). We allowed participants to provide feedback on our site and/or via public discussions. Furthermore, we organized meetings with student groups, faculty members, and the community to discuss transforming campus/community food practices.

Our specific approach resembled those of the food sovereignty research praxis; we focused on humanizing the research, equalizing power relations and pursuing transformative change (Levkoe, Brem-Wilson, & Anderson, 2019). We also addressed historical and structural forces, flows of power and prioritized space and place in work on food justice and food sovereignty (Levkoe, et. al, 2020).

We also took a digital and visual action research approach by using methods that incorporate multimedia. We designed visual maps, built an online archive that hosts hundreds of interview segments; we also screened our videos at public meetings. We used multimedia to give voices to those involved in the transformative food movement on campus at Concordia. Gubrium, Harper and Otanez (2015) suggest that digital media can amplify the voices of people who are performing important community work, build a sense of solidarity amongst participants, and provide materials for advocacy organizing and solidarity. Gubrium, Harper and Otanez (2015) suggest that,

> Participants' narratives and media can be used to amplify previously silenced voices and perspectives; challenge dominant discourses on health, wellbeing, and society; and facilitate dialogue. The research process itself often creates a sense of solidarity among participants, bolsters and broadens social networks, and, more individually speaking, builds self-respecting and confidence for resilience and coping. Research products encourage audience engagement, evoke emotional and collective responses, and can be used as materials for organizing, advocacy, and to promote change. Public screenings or exhibitions of visual and digital media provoke moments of encounter and purposeful political listening. (p. 34)

Furthermore, Cadieux, Levkoe, Mount and Szanto (2016) discuss visual methods for collaborative food system work. According to these authors, food systems involve an interactive and interdependent web of activities, including growing, harvesting, eating, processing, distributing, marketing, selling, disposal, and recirculating nutrients, among other things. One

way to display the complexity of a food system is to employ visual methods. Cadieux, Levkoe, Mount and Szanto (2016) suggest that visual representations are more open to the viewer's interpretation, which generates a collaborative method for producing and reproducing knowledge. Meaning can be translated across different perspectives and can facilitate a process of creating collective meaning for communicating, exploring and refining knowledge. Before getting into the specific methodology for the case-study, I provide an overview of what constitutes critical-participatory-action research and how it was applied to our research.

What is Action Research?

Action research is a diverse field; there are many different types of action research referred to by a variety of names (Kemmis, McTaggart, & Nixon, The Action Research Planner: Doing Critical Participatory Action Research, 2014), including community-based participatory research (Hacker, 2013), participatory action research (Hall, Caringi, Pyles, Janine, & Bozlak, 2015), critical participatory action research, (Kemmis, McTaggart, & Nixon, The Action Research Planner: Doing Critical Participatory Action Research, 2014), activist research (Frampton, Kinsman, Thompson, & Tillec, 2006), action science (Argyris & Schon, 1989), to name a few. Each type of action research approach differs slightly from the other according to the scope, discipline, purpose, guiding principles, and participants' involvement (i.e., demographic participation and/or level of involvement in the research design). McNiff (2013) suggests that there is no such 'thing' as action research; instead, action research refers to a *process* of people interacting together, learning from one another and describing how the learning could improve their practices and situations[65]. In concordance with McNiff (2013), the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project team used the term *action research* to refer to a *process* of collective learning, collaborating, and co-creating conditions of food security, sovereignty and justice on campus and in the community. This dissertation merely provides a 'snapshot' of part of an ongoing process.

Action research is a multidisciplinary[66] research approach where investigators engage with practitioners in their local environments[67] to learn from these participants' practices and solve issues together[68]. Action researchers typically reject conventional research approaches[69], usually those based on positivistic methods that believe in separating the researcher from the study. Some action researchers use more formal (academic) methods while others use less formal methods involving no real 'research method'[70]. Thus, action research can be viewed as more of a research orientation or approach than a method because action researchers use various methods, including qualitative and quantitative methods, among others.

Although not all action researchers agree. In particular, Kemmis, McTaggart, (2014) argue,

> We do not regard the 'research' part of critical-participatory-action research as a matter of employing or applying some 'correct' set of research 'techniques' borrowed from other fields like agriculture (the field for which many of our experimental statistics were originally developed). In our view, critical-participatory-action research is not a technique or a set of techniques for generating the kinds of 'generalizations' that positivist social and educational research aim to produce. On the contrary, critical-participatory-action research aims to help people understand and transform 'the way we do things around here.' In particular, critical participatory research aims to help participants transform (1) their understandings of their practices, (2) conduct of their practices, (3) conditions under which they practice, in order that these things will be more rational…more productive and sustainable, and more just and inclusive. (p. 67)

The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project Team acknowledged the points made by Kemmis, McTaggart, Nixon (2014), in that, we realized that positivistic approaches have contributed to many negative consequences, especially regarding food issues. However, we also propose that there are many appropriate methods to gather information and create social change, depending on what we are looking to create, change, or understand. We do not take a positivist approach; however, we apply mixed qualitative and quantitative methods. It is important not to confuse our overarching research principles with each part of the research project's specific methodology[71].

Action-based researchers, like McNiff (2013) emphasize ontological approaches[72] that encourage participants and researchers to come together and co-create knowledge. In another example, Smith (1990) stresses the importance of ontological approaches to activist knowledge formation, like political activist ethnography. While studying the AIDS epidemic in Toronto, Smith (1990) recommended that researchers take the 'ontological shift' by focusing on the individual and their experience rather than the narrative upheld by the ruling political regime. Smith (1990) recommends taking the following approach,

1. Start with the actual lives of people and undertake an analysis of a world known reflexively
2. Stake out an ontological commitment to a social order constituted in the practices and activities of people
3. Take their analytic, the notion of "social relations"
4. Are based on the use of meetings with government officials and professional cadres as ethnographic data
5. Analyze texts such as media reports of government departments, in developing a description of how the ruling regime works
6. Illustrate the necessity of the bracketing ordinary political explanations – the technique of the materialist epoch, as I call it – in order to provide a scientific account of the social organization of a ruling regime (pp. 629-630)

Like Smith (1990), McNiff (2013) also stresses viewing knowledge as something that is not as a 'free standing unit' but instead a dynamic process that changes continuously. McNiff (2013) views action researchers as uncovering living experiences, creating new realities by interacting with communities and the world[73].

The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project team employed research methods that encourage people to interact with the surrounding food systems to co-create meaningful food practices. We did not view ourselves as separate from the people and conditions we were studying, nor did we accept that passive researchers just observe and report how food systems work. Participants and researchers were working together to create better foodscapes on campus and in the community. Our approach was in line with action/research principles, like those suggested by Somekh (2006). According to Somekh (2006), action research:

1. integrates research and action.
2. is conducted by a collaborative partnership of participants and researchers.
3. involves the development of knowledge and understanding of a unique kind.
4. starts from a vision of social transformation and aspirations for greater social justice.
5. involves a high level of reflexivity and senility to the role of the self in mediating the whole research process.
6. involves explanatory engagement with a wide range of existing knowledge drawn from psychology, sociology, and other fields of science, in order to test its explanatory power and practical usefulness.
7. engenders powerful learning for participants through combining research with reflection on practice.

8. locates the inquiry in an understanding of broader historical, political and ideological contexts that shape and constrain human activity at even the local level, including economic factors and international forces such as the structuring power of globalization. (pp. 6-8)

Origin of Action Research.

The origin of action research is mostly attributed to Kurt Lewin[74] who, in 1946, wrote a paper about action research to improve the lives of minority groups in the USA (Lewin, Action Research and Minority Problems, 1946). Lewin (1946) describes action research as a type of comparative research that focuses on the conditions and effects of various types of social action. He regards action research as important as other types of scientific research and views action research as encompassing mathematics, conceptual analysis, field and laboratory experiments with the end goal of social change[75].

In his paper on group decision and social change, Lewin (1947) writes about '*action spirals*,' a research process that involves planning, fact-finding (i.e., reconnaissance) and execution. Lewin's model consists of a process whereby someone starts with a general idea and/or an objective they would like to accomplish. To begin, action researchers conduct some preliminary research about the idea, then modify the original plan according to what was discovered. Once the plan is established, it is put in place. Then there is a period of reconnaissance where the action is evaluated. Once the action is assessed, the information is used to re-plan another action, drawing from the insight gained from the reconnaissance period. [76] Many other researchers, especially from the field of education, have adapted Lewin's model to fit their approach[77].

The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project team also used methods adapted from Lewin (1947). We started with a broad set of goals and came up with an action plan. As previously mentioned, the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project exists to form and strengthen partnerships between food organizations at Concordia University and in the community at large; safeguard the institutional memory of the Campus-Community food groups at Concordia; and ultimately, create sovereign, secure and just food systems on campus and in the community. To accomplish these goals, we began by gathering information about the campus food organizations. Once this phase was over, we held public meetings with the food groups in order to discuss the findings and envision how to proceed with the project to meet our objectives. After getting feedback from the food groups, we revised the study and are now mapping the needs and assets of the Campus-Community food groups. I expand upon the phases and methodologies below. Before discussing the phases of the project, I continue by explaining *participatory*-action research, then I explore *critical*-participatory-action research.

Participatory-Action research.

Participatory-action research is a type of action research whereby participants are involved with designing the research project, acting as co-researchers and/or helping to interpret and implement the results. Grgyris and Schon (1989) believe that if participants also co-design the study, they will provide information that is more valid and will generate more internal commitment[78]. The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Project Research team oversaw the research tasks (like collecting the data) on behalf of the Campus-Community food

groups; however, the food groups provided feedback and consulted with the research team; this is not uncommon in action research approaches. For example, Kemmis, McTaggart, and Nixon (2014) suggest that participants can seek help from an external team of researchers in some cases[79]. In another example, Lawson (2015) acknowledges that participants are integral to the research process; however, he suggests that participatory action research is still conducted by 'outside researchers' but in close collaboration with participants. Lawson (2015) outlines guidelines for participatory research that involves three steps: consult with locals before conducting research, return to locals before interpreting the research findings; finally, ask local experts about how to use the research[80]. The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Project research team consulted with the food groups before launching a research project, organized public meetings to interpret our findings, asked the food groups how we could implement the findings and how we could continue the research project to meet the goals of the project.

We also incorporated the following practices that align with the participatory-action research priorities outlined by Lawson (2015).

> Participatory action research (PAR) is a special investigative methodology. It connects and integrates five priorities. First, PAR enables democratic participation in real-world problem-solving by local stake holders who typically lack formal research training and credentials when the research begins. Second, this democratic participation occurs in successive action research cycles, which can be described simply as plan, do, study, act. Third, new knowledge and understandings are generated as local problem-solving proceeds, thus qualifying PAR research. Fourth, the practice-generated knowledge responds to practitioners' and policymakers' knowledge needs because relevant, useful knowledge for policy and practices derived from them. Fifth, PAR's patently local knowledge provides a safeguard against an impending threat associated with globalization – namely, practice and policy homogenization. (p. xv-xvi)

The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research team includes experienced researchers who facilitate the development of the project, gather the data, interpret the results, and implement what the groups decide. We work in collaboration with the food organizations at Concordia – whereby many of them do not have formal research training and/or the time to invest in administering this kind of study. Secondly, we incorporate research/action cycles that involve planning, doing, studying, and acting. Third, our research is intended to help local problem-solving at Concordia and in the community at large. Our findings are made public and have been used by the community in a variety of ways. For instance, the administration at Concordia has used the Concordia Campus-Community food groups system map 'A Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food Groups' in their presentations to the FAWG about the state of the Campus-Community food groups at Concordia. Other student groups and researchers have also used the information for their own intended purposes. For instance, a master's student at Concordia used the interviews on the Concordia food groups website as a basis for her master's research about food procurement at Concordia (Alt Kecik, 2017). Additionally, professors in food studies have shown some of our videos to students in their courses. Finally, as mentioned above, one of the goals of the research project is to preserve the institutional memory of the food organizations at Concordia University. Lawson (2015) qualifies participatory action research as a 'special investigative methodology'; but, like noted above, participatory-action researchers use various methods, like quantitative and qualitative methods. Whether participatory action research is a specific methodology or research approach, an essential feature of participatory action is its reflexive nature.

Like action research, there are many types of participatory action research and many approaches to applying reflexive frameworks. Some examples include participatory rural appraisals, community-based participatory-action research, and visual/digital participatory action research, to name a few[81]. The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Project Research team involved our participants by asking them to collaborate in the design of the project(s) and provide their input in interpreting the results.

Critical-Participatory-Action research.

Critical-participatory-action research refers to a type of participatory-action research that allows participants to address collective problems, especially those that are irrational, unsustainable, and unjust[82]. Kemmis, McTaggart, and Nixon (2014) suggest that critical-participatory-action researchers implement five practices. First, they should take a historical approach to determine how we got to the problem in the first place. To accomplish this, the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Project Research Team interviewed people who helped create the campus-community food organizations at Concordia. Secondly, participants and researchers need to adopt a critical stance to find out what affects current practices bring about. Our goals clearly stated that we are taking a critical stance and work towards transformative approaches based on food sovereignty frameworks. Third, researchers and participants engage in communication to understand each other's points of view. To accomplish this, we hosted public discussions, had a face-to-face interaction with the food groups, and hosted meetings where we solicited feedback from the groups about specific matters; like what kinds of questions best apply to their group. Fourth, researchers and participants act to transform their practices to reach desirable outcomes. The campus-community food groups at Concordia and our research team attempted to transform the food system at Concordia in partnership with campus-community food organizations and other food activists. Fifth, the process is documented and monitored to determine what positive and negative consequences were produced by the action. The Concordia food groups website provided a great deal of documentation for the food groups, students, faculty, and anyone interested in building a food sovereign campus via our videos and reports on the Concordia campus-community food groups web archive.

Phases of the Project and Methods

The Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project is a multifaced, ongoing project. This thesis covers the first three phases; the first two phases were part of the fact-finding part of an *action spiral.* In the first phase, we gathered information to understand the campus-community food system. In the second phase, we created visual multimedia of our results. In the third phase, we got feedback from the campus-community food groups and collectively interpreted the results. The third phase was part of the planning stage of an *action spiral*, where we developed a community action strategy. These phases overlapped temporally. We uploaded the video interviews as we produced them; also, once we got feedback from the campus-community food groups about the food system map, we revised the map and re-uploaded a new version.

This project received ethical approval from Concordia University. Every participant gave us consent to upload the video to the website, to use the information for my dissertation, and to

create reports and/or videos about the campus-community food system at Concordia University. Please see Appendix E and F for the consent forms.

Phase 1.

In phase 1, we gathered as much information as possible about the campus-community and administration-run food services at Concordia University from as far back as we can find until we held the public discussion on March 22nd, 2017. To accomplish this, we completed three steps. First, we conducted video interviews with participants who have been involved and/or continue to be part of the 'food movement' at Concordia University. These included founders of the campus-community food groups, students who played instrumental political roles (in unions, on various university committees), members of the administration, and professors from/at Concordia, as well as a variety of other important people involved in this movement.

Video Interviews.

We contacted every campus-community food organization to participate in a video interview about their organization. Each group participated by sending a representative or two to be interviewed. We also made public callouts on Facebook, tracked down and invited the founding members of the campus-community food organizations. We interviewed everyone who came forward as founding members and/or who participated in the activities of a campus food group. We did not turn anyone away.

Each participant answered a series of open-ended questions about their respective food group (and or role in the group) in a semi-structured process. A videographer (Kim Gagnon) and I conducted the interviews. The questions used for the interviews with the campus-community food groups are found in Appendix G of this thesis. Other, more specific questions were asked that reflected the expertise of the person being interviewed. For example, if the person being interviewed oversaw food procurement, I asked them questions about the food procurement policies of their organization. These additional questions were often negotiated with the participant before the interview. Each interview lasted about 30 minutes to an hour. When the interview was complete, the videographer edited the videos by taking out all the awkward pauses and uploaded them on YouTube and the Concordia food groups website. We also uploaded an unedited, full version of the interview on YouTube and the website so that people can verify that we did not alter our participants' responses.

We also interviewed community members to assess the contribution that these organizations bring to the neighbourhoods surrounding Concordia. In addition, we interviewed professors and researchers about food topics that relate to their research, teachings and/or publications. Moreover, we interviewed members of the Concordia administration about their take on food services on campus. We even interviewed some 'celebrity' authors like Vandana Shiva and Katherine Gibson, which we included on the website but did not use for this analysis. The questions were chosen according to the expertise of the person interviewed; the questions were also discussed before the interview took place. All the video interviews were also uploaded to the Concordia campus-community food groups website.

Gathering Historical Artifacts.

Secondly, we gathered news articles that were written about the campus-community food groups and food services at Concordia in the student newspapers (*The Link* and *The Concordian*) as well as the Concordia Archive Department. We also gathered information from external news sources. These documents were also uploaded to the Concordia campus-community food groups website. Third, we gathered information about the campus-community food groups and Concordia's food services in other media forms. For example, we collected a variety of videos, papers written by former students, and old interviews in raw format, among others. Again, we made these documents available on the website.

To accomplish this, we performed a Google search, a search of *The Concordian* and *The Link* and a search in the Concordia Archives with the names of each of the food groups. All of the articles we gathered were uploaded to the Concordia campus-community food groups website. We also went through every Concordia publication available on Concordia's online archive (Concordia University, n.d) from 1966 (when the Henry F. Hall Building was opened) until 2018, when we completed phase 2.

Phase 2.

In phase 2, we created the Concordia campus-community website, edited and uploaded the video interviews. Once the interviews were complete, we produced maps of the campus-community food system at Concordia University and developed a geographical resource map of the campus-community organizations. In total, we interviewed 59 people and produced 704 videos. We excluded three individuals from the archive because they asked us to remove their videos for personal reasons.

The map was constructed by analyzing the video interviews and identifying the groups who participate in production (food production and knowledge production), processing (cooking and transforming food), distributing (market-based and non-market-based), waste management, support and advocacy. These categories reflect the food system at Concordia as well as converge with other food system maps. For example, Jacobi et al. (2019) include input supply and the operations subsystems that lead to consumption (food production processing and distribution). Kuusaana and Eledi (2014) discuss food systems as a cycle of production, distribution, acquisition, and consumption – whereby each cycle was responsible for waste management of some sort. In their paper on food policy councils, Harper, Shattuck, Holt-Giménez, Alkon, and Lambrick (2009) describe the five sectors of the food system as,

> …production, consumption, processing, distribution and waste recycling. They often include anti-hunger and food justice advocates, educators, non-profit organizations, concerned citizens, government officials, farmers, grocers, chefs, workers, food processors and food distributors. (p. 2)

Pothukuchi and Kaufman (2000) describe a food system as a,

> …chain of activities connecting food production, processing, distribution, consumption, and waste management, as well as the associated regulatory institutions and activities. (p. 113)

We also included support groups in our analysis because they were essential for the instigation, development and viability of many food organizations. We did not interview consumers; therefore, they are not part of our food system analysis.

Recognizing that a food economy is diverse, we identified groups that performed market and non-market activities. As Gibson-Graham, Cameron, and Healy (2013) point out, an economy comprises more than just capitalist activities and market practice; it also contains non-market and alternative-market practices. Gibson-Graham, Cameron, and Healy (2013) suggest that locating non-market and non-capitalist practices is vital for strengthening community economies. They state,

> …sectors of industry are comprised of a range of diverse economic activities…The diversity that already exists, and that we are all part of, is the basis for building community economies. The diverse economy helps reveal the economic activities that might be strengthened and developed in order to take back the economy for people and the planet. (p. 13)

For this study, we did not use the same categories of a diverse economy that Gibson-Graham, Cameron, and Healy (2013) suggest: labour, enterprise, transactions, property, and finance. Although, we are currently using a framework more similar to *Take Back the Economy* in our current needs and asset mapping project.

The map was designed by a graphic designer (Kim Gagnon) with my guidance and was circulated to each food group for their approval. After making a first draft of the food system map in March 2017, we emailed all the organizations and asked for feedback about the accuracy of the map.

Phase 3.

In phase 3, we invited the groups to a public meeting to discuss the map, give more feedback on the second version of the draft (revised the map according to the comments we got from the emails) and discuss how to build a food sovereign campus. The meeting was hosted via the World Café Method (The World Café, n.d). The World Café method consists of seven integrated design principles: set the context, create hospitable space, explore questions that matter, encourage everyone's contribution, connect diverse perspectives, listen together for patterns and insights, share collective discoveries.

The public discussion was titled Building a Food Sovereign Campus and focused on:

1. Providing a report about the preliminary findings of the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project to the groups themselves.
2. Presenting the online archive to the groups that participated in the interviews and getting feedback about how the project can serve these groups.
3. Encouraging the campus-community food groups at Concordia to build a common strategy about increasing food sovereignty on campus.

The two-hour event was held on March 22nd, 2017, in the teaching and learning center at Concordia. Each campus-community food group at Concordia was invited to attend the event, as well as anyone interested in discussing food sovereignty at Concordia. Participants were given tea and snacks and sat at one of three tables in the room. Each of the tables had a facilitator who took written notes from the conversations at the table. A total of nineteen people attended the event.

The session began with a presentation where I summarized the general findings from phase 1 of the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project. In the

presentation, I conveyed the idea of focusing on the campus-community food system instead of remaining in organizational silos. We considered how we could co-create conditions of food sovereignty on campus together as a movement.

I asked five questions and facilitated a discussion. For each question, the participants had ten minutes to brainstorm together at their respective tables – the note-takers recorded the discussion by writing down what participants said. Then there was a general report back from each table to the entire group. Once the session was over, participants were thanked for their time, and the note-takers submitted their notes to the research team. The research team has made the results public on the website (Chevrier & Gagnon, 2020). At the event, we asked these five questions:

1. How can the archive website be improved to address the needs of the student food groups?
2. Food systems consist of six main parts of a cycle: production, processing, transportation, distribution, consumption and waste management. Is there a way to internalize parts of the cycle at Concordia so that the 'food system' can be more self-sufficient? If so, how can the groups on campus now contribute to this? What other food groups/projects may be needed?
3. How can we imagine a food-sovereign campus at Concordia University? What would the system look like, and how can we create it?
4. How can we encourage groups/individuals who are interested in food sovereignty to work together? How can we create new partnerships and strengthen existing partnerships on campus at Concordia? What are the barriers to forming partnerships, and how would we overcome these barriers?
5. How can we encourage groups and people to think big about the 'food system' at Concordia? Would people be interested in forming a loose federation of food groups at Concordia? If so, what would it look like?

After the meeting, we used the additional comments to update the resource map. The day after the public discussion (March 23rd, 2017), we published the Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food Groups at Concordia University on our website and shared it on our Facebook page. A year later, we revised the Snapshot to be reflective of the campus-community food system in 2018.

The Focus of This Dissertation

In this dissertation, I provide an in-depth analysis of four questions. Each of these questions is answered by the data we obtained in the three phases of the research project. For each question, the results are immediately followed with a short discussion relating our findings to implications about food sovereign campuses, as well as the strengths and limitations of the methods we used. A larger discussion section follows the analysis of these four questions where I address the main question, how can campus-community food systems contribute to building food sovereign campuses? These are the four research questions that this dissertation answers.

1. What campus-community food organizations exist at Concordia as of 2018? To answer this question, I provide a descriptive analysis of each organization in the Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food System in order to provide a written account of the institutional memory of the campus-community food organizations at

Concordia. Since the pandemic, many of these groups stopped operating, leaving new students wondering how to pick up the pieces. I hope this thesis is useful in safeguarding information about the campus-community food groups above and beyond the online archive (which may not exist in the future). The second part of this section provides a critical analysis of the campus-community food system as a whole. I also explore factors that facilitate and hinder the development and viability of the campus-community food system at Concordia University as well as how the Concordia campus-community food system contributes to or prevents campus food sovereignty.

2. How did the Concordia campus-community food organizations come into existence? To answer this question, I use the data obtained in the video interviews, through the public discussions, and through the news artifacts we uncovered. For this analysis, I address historical and structural forces along with flows of power as suggested by Levkoe, Hammelman, Reynolds, Brown, Chappell, Salvador, and Wheeler (2020) in their work on food sovereignty research praxis. I expand on a report provided by Mikayla Wujec about food services at Concordia (Wujec, 2018) and on the charts of the history of the Hive designed by Nordstrom (Wrobel, 2014) (see Appendix H) and another designed by the Hive themselves (see Appendix I). These charts have historical inaccuracies that are corrected in this thesis. Over and above contributing to the academic pursuit of understanding how to build food sovereign campuses and satisfying the conditions of my PH.D., I would like this document to preserve the institutional memory of the food movements at Concordia. In the discussion section, I explore factors that prevented food activists from replacing multinational foodservice corporations with a local, ethical, social enterprise.
3. What can we learn from the campus-community organizations about building a food sovereign campus? For this section, I use the data obtained at the public discussion about building a food sovereign campus. I also provide a discussion of the implications, limitations and give advice for future research directions.
4. How could previous literature and the case-study of the campus-community food groups help construct a framework for building food sovereign campuses? As previously mentioned, I compare corporate, weak-sustainability and food sovereignty approaches to university foodservices; in terms of who runs food services, approaches to sustainability, the goals of campus foodservices, the business model of food services, involvement of different constituencies and their roles in the campus food system, how campus food security is addressed, how food consultations take place, how employees are treated, how food is procured, and environmental sustainability. I also provide a critique of applying food sovereignty to university foodservices.

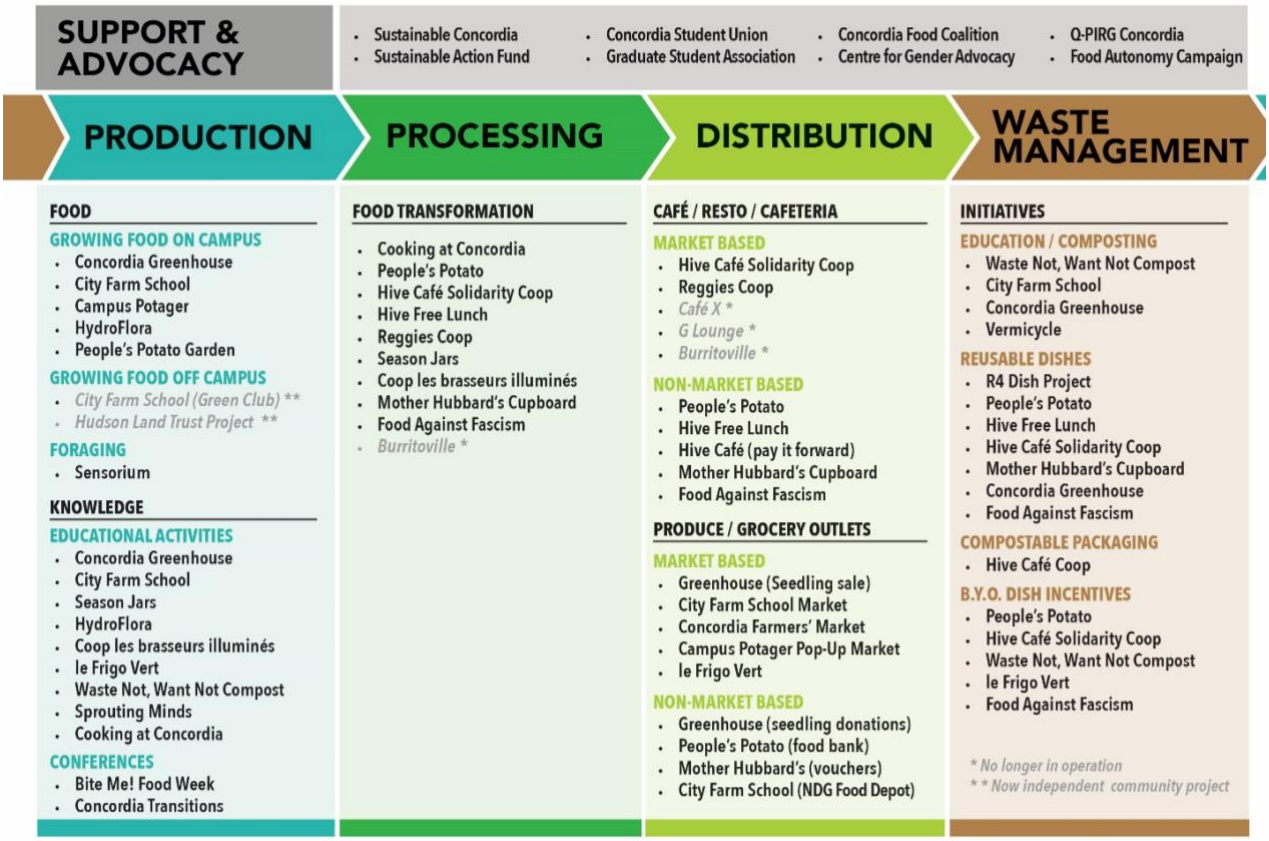
Results and Discussion

Snapshot and Analysis of The Campus-Community Food System at Concordia University

In this section, I provide an analysis of the campus-community food system at Concordia by describing the Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food Groups at Concordia University Map (Figure 13). First, I give a general overview of the food system. Then, I provide a descriptive analysis of each group on the map. I conclude with a critical analysis of the campus-community food system. This section concludes with a discussion about the findings, implications, strengths and weaknesses of the research methods and advice for future directions on campus-community food system mapping.

Figure 13

A Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food Groups at Concordia University as of November 2018



The Campus-Community Food System at Concordia University

There were about twelve campus-community food groups and a variety of sub-projects and sub-groups. These organizations were not all easy to differentiate because some were independent organizations, some were projects of these organizations that were semi-autonomous, some were groups of people who hosted conferences, and some had merged with other groups or separated from their original group.

Here is an overview of the complex and entangled campus-community food system. The Concordia Greenhouse offered an urban farming course via a semi-autonomous group, City Farm School. The Concordia Greenhouse was partnered with HydroFlora. HydroFlora was a working group of the Concordia Food Coalition (CFC) and an independent organization. Other working groups of the CFC had included: The Concordia Farmers' Market, Hudson Land Trust Project, Season Jars, Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés, Mother Hubbard's, Vermicycle, Sprouting Minds, Cooking at Concordia, Food Against Fascism, the Hive and Burritoville (at one time or another). Like HydroFlora, Brasseurs Illuminés, Burritivolle, The Hudson Land Trust Project, and the Hive became independent organizations. The other separate groups included Café X, Waste Not Want Not, R4 Dish Project, the People's Potato, Le Frigo Vert, SensoriuM, and the G-Lounge. Some of these organizations were successful, like the Hive, while others, like Burritoville, no longer exist. I clarify this entanglement by providing a descriptive analysis of each of the food groups/projects in the 'Snapshot of the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups' in Figure 13.

Descriptive Analysis of the Campus-Community Food Groups at Concordia University

The Concordia Greenhouse.

The Concordia Greenhouse (the Greenhouse) was a multifaceted space located on the 13th floor of Concordia's Henry H Hall Building (Hall Building) in downtown Montreal. The Concordia Greenhouse Project (the Greenhouse Project) was the group that managed the Greenhouse and provided students with a sunny study space surrounded by a variety of fruiting and non-fruiting plants, as well as a place to learn about horticulture.

On their website (The Concordia Greenhouse, n.d), they describe themselves as a "collectively run, consensus-based, non-profit organization" that provides "an all-organic space geared towards community, education and sustainable horticulture".

They also…

> …aspire to strengthen the urban agriculture movement at Concordia University and in Montreal by growing local produce using ecological practices, providing experiential learning opportunities through volunteering, internships and jobs, and networking with other like-minded individuals and organizations. (The Concordia Greenhouse, n.d)

The Greenhouse Project managed a variety of other projects, including: City Farm School, The Epic Seedling Sale, Houseplant Propagation, and The Four-Season Growing Program. The Greenhouse Project also provided space to HydroFlora, an organization that produced fruits, vegetables, and other plants hydroponically, as well as offered educational workshops about hydroponic growing at the Concordia Greenhouse.

The Greenhouse Project produced food on and off-campus. They produced seedlings, sprouts, microgreens, houseplants, herbs, spices, teas, local fruits, and tropical fruit. They also provided a variety of educational workshops, including mushroom growing, balcony gardening, aquaponics, hydroponics, and sprout producing, among other topics. Additionally, they sold DIY kits for people to grow food and make compost at home. Members of the Concordia community could volunteer at the Greenhouse to gain hands-on experience growing plants and/or take City Farm School's Indoor Urban Agriculture course (The Concordia Greenhouse, n.d).

Students from the Indoor Urban Agriculture course learned how to grow seedlings by collaboratively producing them for the annual 'Epic Seedling Sale' (The Concordia Greenhouse, n.d) and the City Farm School Gardens. The Greenhouse Project also sold houseplants, fruit trees, berry bushes, and other perennial plants in partnership with other local community organizations, i.e., Neumark Designs (Neumark Design, n.d). Houseplants were sold throughout the year and at the annual sale in May. Sprouts, microgreens, herbs, teas, and spices were sold to Le Frigo Vert, Café X, the Hive and at the Farmers' Market. There were about a dozen tropical fruit-bearing trees, including bananas, grapefruits, figs, among others. The fruits were not produced for sale; they were used to experiment with different growing methods and to provide an outdoor ambiance for students who want a place to study. Furthermore, the Greenhouse did not produce other fruits for sale, exchange, or donation. The Greenhouse atrium had a variety of demonstrative garden beds that were used to show people how to grow and care for indoor plants, like succulents, and teas (catnip, lemon verbena, anise hyssop among others (Concordia Food Groups, 2015). Sheena Swirlz (2015) described what is growing at the Greenhouse…

> … [The Greenhouse has] things like papaya, pomegranate, figs, banana, olives growing…and [it is] an interesting way for people to see how these tropical plants grow…and…what it would taste like, to taste a tropical [fruit] that's ecologically grown, in Montreal, in the winter…is…a special kind of experience. We have an aquaponics unit that has…tomatoes, bananas…In the houseplant propagation room, these are non-edible plants, they are mainly plants that are either tropical, and extra beautiful, or they are plants that do well in Montreal winters…that don't require excessive amounts of heat and light to survive. Those are really great for people that are just getting started with plant growing. Finally, down the hallway in our productive compartment, we have heirloom tomatoes…a variety of herbs such as basil, coriander, dill and a lot of greens. We started doing more this year…things like lettuces, Swiss chard, kale…so all types of very nutrient-rich greens…and then for microgreens, our favourites are things like sunflower, buckwheat, peas, kale and mustard…those are really popular sprouts that we almost always have available down at Le Frigo Vert.

The Greenhouse contributed to campus food sovereignty by providing educational programming in urban agriculture and encouraged the Concordia community to grow their own food. The educational programs offered by the Greenhouse involved experiential-learning and community service-learning, two paradigms that involve place, ecology, and community. These are important in Bieler and McKenzie (2017) to reach transformative, in-depth, holistic sustainability. Furthermore, the educational programs of the Greenhouse focused on food justice and regenerative forms of agriculture, like permaculture. In terms of food production, the Greenhouse didn't supply much of the produce served or transformed on campus. It did provide affordable microgreens and other vegetables to the student cafés and markets, but only on a small scale.

City Farm School.

City Farm School was an urban agriculture initiative of the Greenhouse Project. The City Farm School program focused on SPIN (Small Plot INtensive) farming, market gardening and teaching youth about food production at a variety of elementary schools in Montreal. Their goal was to "promote a cultural shift towards more resilient communities able to meet the challenges posed by climate change by focusing on local food autonomy" (City Farm School, n.d). City Farm School provided experiential learning through organic-based urban agriculture training programs to inspire an emerging urban agriculture movement[83]. It existed to strengthen the food sovereignty movement. City Farm School was located on a small-scale urban plot of land at

Concordia's Loyola Campus. At the time of our interviews, City Farm School also had access to a solar house to store farming equipment, dry seeds and herbs, give workshops and seek shelter. Because of the construction of a new Science Hub on Concordia's Loyola Campus (Baker, 2018), City Farm School has been relocated from the solar house to a section of an apartment owned by Concordia University close by (City Farm School, n.d).

City Farm School followed a consensus decision-based model. Three coordinators collaborated to structure the program and facilitate the school. Since City Farm School was a project of the Concordia Greenhouse, financial decisions and other larger issues were vetted through the Greenhouse Project (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). City Farm School produced food on and off-campus. They grew fruits, vegetables, berries, herbs, and spices and had two beehives that produce honey. City Farm School helped grow the bulk of the garlic for the People's Potato[84] and produced tea for the Hive Café (Concordia Food Groups, 2016); although they only produced a small portion of the food transformed and sold on campus. The majority of their freshly picked produce was sold on-site to the general public at bi-weekly 'pop-up markets' on Tuesdays at lunchtime and again on Thursdays during the late afternoon/early evening. They gave away surplus food to The Depot (The Depot Community Food Centre, n.d), a community food centre in Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (NDG) in Montreal. They also offered produce for sale at other local community organizations and provided fruits and vegetables for campus and community events[85].

The City Farm School gardens included a medicinal herb and tea garden as well as a variety of vegetables, fruits, and berries. Their ‘food forest' emulated a small-scale ecosystem with edible, medicinal, berry-producing, nitrogen-fixing and mulch-creating plants. They also cultivated gardens for annual vegetables[86]. City Farm School also produced knowledge by offering internships for those who want to learn about urban farming. They taught participants how to grow a garden, from seedlings in March until the final harvest in October (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). City Farm School also offered shorter, more intensive workshops designed to address specific urban agriculture areas for each part of the growing season. For example, students first learned about seedling production, then they learned about garden design, planting the garden, maintaining the plants, dealing with pests and soil reproduction. In addition, students gave workshops to their classmates and the community at large. These workshops covered a wide range of food-related topics, from growing food to food justice.

City Farm School also trained schoolyard gardeners who took care of small plots at various elementary schools across Montreal. The elementary school gardens helped educate youth about growing food and provided fruits and vegetables for local communities. Through a program called 'The Green Club,' animators taught youth about gardening, healthy eating, waste management, and how to become responsible citizens of the world. Young participants grew their own food, learned to cook, tasted a variety of (new) vegetables and learned how to compost through lunchtime and afterschool programs. In the summertime, a facilitator maintained the gardens and encouraged the children who planted the garden to continue to make visits.

Like the Greenhouse, City Farm School also provided community-based, experiential-learning programs in urban agriculture. Their urban agriculture programs also focused on food justice and food sovereignty.

HydroFlora.

HydroFlora was a hydroponic growing operation located in the Greenhouse. HydroFlora's mission was threefold (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). First, they wanted to expand their growing operations by producing food for catering services on campus (HydroFlora did not yet produce food for campus food service providers). The second mission was to build hydroponic kits to sell to students to grow plants hydroponically at home. These were available for sale on their website (Hydro Flora, n.d). The third mission was to educate students to understand more about hydroponic farming. HydroFlora gave a variety of workshops at the Concordia Greenhouse, at elementary schools in and around Montreal, and in Haiti. The HydroFlora team encouraged students and faculty to get involved through research; they were experimenting with growing sprouts comparing conventional soil growing methods with hydroponic methods. They also provided consulting services and help set up hydroponic installations. HydroFlora took a holistic, sustainable approach by connecting people with nature. They incorporated hydroponics inside buildings as part of an interior design. They committed to "give back to the community both regionally within Canada and abroad" by partnering with local organizations and communities in Haiti[87]. HydroFlora built aquaponic systems and vertical grow structures (with vermicompost chambers) in partnership with GHESKIO, a centre for infectious diseases, in downtown Port-au-Prince (Hydro Flora, n.d). In addition, they have committed to giving a portion of their profits to Fondation Seguin to help with reforestation efforts in Haiti[88]. At the time of our interview, HydroFlora was a new organization, therefore they haven't had much time to make a significant contribution to campus food sovereignty. Nonetheless, HydroFlora made positive impacts in communities abroad, like in Haiti. Although HydroFlora had a goal of becoming a campus food producer, they were still a long way to achieving that objective.

Le Frigo Vert.

Le Frigo Vert was an anti-capitalist health food store and a place to hang out. They sold a variety of products, especially food items in bulk that are ethically made. Le Frigo Vert described themselves as,

> …an anti-capitalist health and community space located within Concordia university's downtown campus. Some of the services we offer include a waste free store, free programming for students and community members, alternative health services, and by-donation meals (Le Frigo Vert, n.d).

Le Frigo Vert strived to, "provide good quality, ethical and affordable food to students at Concordia and anyone in the downtown core, or anyone who wants to shop at the store." (Concordia Food Groups, 2016) They were also interested in,

> …providing quality vegetarian nourishment to marginalized groups, challenging corporate involvement in food production and distribution, and creating and promoting environmentally and socially sustainable alternatives to the market system of food production, processing and distribution (Concordia Food Groups, 2016)

The team at Le Frigo Vert also provided educational workshops, hosted events, and organized activities that challenge oppressive systems. For example, in collaboration with various local partners, Le Frigo Vert organized an annual anti-colonial dinner in October. The event featured Indigenous speakers who discussed various issues, struggles, and shared wisdom around traditional Indigenous food. The event usually featured a film by an Indigenous filmmaker and took place at the Native Friendship Centre (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). Other

workshops offered by Le Frigo Vert included: Herbalism and Medicinal Plants; Making your own Lotion and Other Cosmetic Products; Politics of the Foreign Temporary Worker Program; and others critical on capitalist food systems (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). These workshops were free, held in physically accessible venues and open to the public. Le Frigo Vert made decisions based on a complete consensus model (Concordia Food Groups, 2017) – the board must all agree on the proposal for it to pass. There were no votes and no majority rule. If someone disagreed with a proposal, it was not adopted. Furthermore, Le Frigo Vert strived to create non-hierarchical relationships amongst workers, board members and volunteers by rotating roles each meeting, i.e., chair, secretary, timekeeper and mood watcher.

Le Frigo Vert has made significant contributions to campus food sovereignty. Being an anti-capitalist grocery store, their practices are transformative and involve social justice, decolonization, anti-racism and the right to food. The ethical principles and practices of Le Frigo Vert resemble those described in the progressive/food justice/empowerment and radical/sovereignty/entitlement categories of Holt-Giménez and Shattuck's (2011) Politics, Production Models and Approaches Table (Table 8). They advocated for dismantling the capitalist system (radical approach) and provided a social economy business model that provides benefit to the community (progressive approach). There are other similarities with food sovereignty models in Desmarais (2017) Key Differences Between Corporate-Led, Neo-liberal, Industrial Agriculture and the Food Sovereignty Framework Table (Table 7), especially the categories related to Food, Gender, Food Security, Hunger, Urban Consumers vs Agricultural Workers, and Corporate Monopolies.

Mother Hubbard's Cupboard (MoHubs).

Mother Hubbard's Cupboard was also known as Mother Hubbard's and MoHubs for short. MoHubs was a collective dining program where people cooked a meal and shared a vegan dinner. Participants were asked to contribute $2 each, but no one was refused entry, even if they didn't have $2 (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). At the time of our interviews, the program was being run by the Multifaith and Spirituality Centre (Concordia University, n.d). The program was more recently being managed by the Concordia Food Coalition (since 2018/19). The Multi-Faith Spirituality Centre continued to provide emergency food funds (Concordia Food Groups, 2016) to students in need by giving them a voucher to a local grocery store (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). MoHubs procured food from various campus-community food organizations, including Le Frigo Vert, the Greenhouse and the Farmers' Market. Because of budget constraints, they could not always afford what was available from campus-community food producers. They mainly purchased fruits, vegetables and legumes on special or for a discount and received donations. MoHubs prioritized affordable food to remain viable and inexpensive. Over and above serving affordable food to the Concordia community, MoHubs created the environment for people to make connections and build community. Ellie Hummel Chaplain & Coordinator of the Multi-Faith Spirituality Centre explained (Concordia Food Groups, 2016),

> Part of what makes MoHubs…special is that there is also a big aspect of community…people come, they meet friends, they come in groups, they hang out. It's very cozy because the space is kind of small, there's a lot of people in there…quite homey… that's from five to seven…they start cooking about noonish… there's also a lot of people in the building cooking that will make this part of their regular schedule to help us out…we eat and feed our bodies but also…our spirits…and find a time away from school stress and just connect with people.

MoHubs has also made important contributions to campus food sovereignty. They were the first soup kitchen style program to provide affordable, healthy, freshly cooked food to students – thus reducing campus food insecurity. MoHubs only provided food in the evenings once a week, therefore, they were only able to reach a limited number of students. MoHubs also contributed to culinary education because participants helped cook the meals. Additionally, MoHubs offered a social space to get to know fellow Concordia students. The Multi-Faith Spirituality Centre founded and organized the MoHubs program for close to two decades. MoHubs attracted many international students with diverse cultural backgrounds. For many of these students, MoHubs became a place to meet other Concordia students and form friendships.

The People's Potato.

The People's Potato was a non-profit, worker-run, vegan soup kitchen at Concordia University committed to anti-oppression politics, social and environmental justice (The People's Potato, n.d.). The People's Potato served about 500 vegan meals every weekday to students, the Concordia community and the community at large.[89] The collective was 'anti-hierarchical,' as every worker took part equally in decision-making at weekly collective meetings. The kitchen tasks and all other roles were also shared in an egalitarian manner.

The mission of the People's Potato was to:

1. Provide quality vegetarian food to Concordia students and community members.
2. Offer an anti-capitalist alternative to corporate food systems on campus.
3. Offer education with respect to food politics, food preparation and social justice issues.
4. Provide an accessible anti-oppressive community space.
5. Mobilize for active involvement in environmental and social justice movements.
6. Support the work of social-justice-oriented community events and projects.
7. Offer all services for free or on a pay-what-you-can basis.

The People's Potato was a major contributor to campus food sovereignty. It helped reduce food insecurity on campus by offering the Concordia community a free daily lunch. Students were not charged per meal; instead, undergraduate students paid a small fee of forty-three cents per credit (full-time students typically pay ten dollars per year – thirty-eight dollars and seventy cents for a ninety-credit program), and graduate students paid two dollars and thirty-five cents per semester (about seven dollars per year) (Concordia Community, n.d). Students could further support the People's Potato by making a donation. In addition to the soup kitchen, the People's Potato also provided an affordable Good Food Box program and a biweekly food bank. Over and above feeding hungry students, the People's Potato also engaged in social and environmental justice by providing free food at events like strikes, squats, gatherings, meetings, protests and other political, social gatherings. In one example, the People's Potato fed activists at the Summit of the Americas uprising in 2001. In fact, the People's Potato had their cooking equipment and food confiscated and thrown out by the police at the protest (Savoie, 2001). Founding member, Zev Tiefenbach, was even arrested for intervening on the police while they were discarding the food (Concordia Food Groups, 2015). The People's Potato also provided free educational workshops that cover a variety of topics related to food justice, cooking, anti-oppression, food production, anti-colonialism, among many others. These workshops were offered at the People's Potato kitchen, garden and/or in other community locations. Sometimes they were organized by the People's Potato collective, and sometimes they were arranged in partnership with other campus-community organizations. The People's Potato produced food on campus – they had a

collective garden at Loyola Campus, beside (and in collaboration with) City Farm School. The garden provided a space for community members to participate in food production and access fresh, organic vegetables [90]. The original intention for the People's Potato Garden was to grow enough food to supply all the vegetables, legumes, spices, and fruits for the People's Potato kitchen. This goal was not achieved; however, the People's Potato gardeners grew and supplied the People's Potato kitchen with a substantial portion of garlic for almost two decades. The People's Potato was located on the seventh floor of the Hall Building. In 2019, the Concordia administration gave them a new kitchen serving area because Concordia renovated the seventh floor to accommodate a Student Success Centre (Concordia University, n.d).

Like Le Frigo Vert, the practice and ethical principles of the People's Potato also resembled the progressive/food justice/empowerment and radical/sovereignty/entitlement categories of Holt-Giménez and Shattuck's (2011) Politics, Production Models and Approaches Table (Table 8) and Desmarais (2017) Key Differences Between Corporate-Led, Neo-liberal, Industrial Agriculture and the Food Sovereignty Framework Table (Table 8).

The Concordia Food Coalition.

The Concordia Food Coalition (CFC) existed to facilitate a transition to a more sustainable food system at Concordia University by bringing together students, faculty and staff. The CFC was,

> … concerned about the economic, ecological, and social implications of the food system at Concordia University. The CFC brings together students, faculty and staff to promote and facilitate a transition to a more sustainable food system in collaboration with organizations at Concordia and beyond (Concordia Food Coalition, n.d).

The CFC envisioned a campus-community food system at Concordia that was,

- outside of the pursuit of private financial profit
- constituted and grounded in inclusivity & cooperation (not hierarchy & competition)
- structured in a way that innovates on successful alternative models
- committed to being affordable, nutritious, and sensitive to cultural needs
- approaches food sovereignty/security from a critical perspective
- built to apply and integrate research in urban farming techniques, and other parts of the food-cycle (Concordia Food Coalition, n.d)

The aim of the CFC went beyond improving campus food systems. The CFC was committed to fostering campus-community partnerships, advocating for social justice, providing food security, educating people about food systems, building a vibrant social economy of food, fighting for food sovereignty, and democratizing the food system locally, nationally, and globally (Concordia Food Coalition, n.d).

The CFC was a non-profit umbrella organization that supported several working groups and brought together and supported a diverse array of campus-community food groups. The CFC was more of an advocacy group than a coalition of food groups at Concordia. The CFC was a coalition of several (semi)autonomous working groups, but they were presently not a coalition of all the food groups on campus.

The Concordia Food Coalition provided seed funding for food projects at Concordia to help them become viable. Organizations could receive about $1000 per year (determined by the

board of directors). The working groups of the CFC were Season Jars, Sprouting Minds, HydroFlora, Food Against Fascism, Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés, Vermicycle and Campus Potager. Some working groups started under the CFC umbrella but eventually became successful, independent projects – the Hive (The Hive Café Co-op, n.d) became a viable solidarity coop café, and the Land trust Project became the Hudson Heartbeet (Hudson Heartbeet, n.d.). Coop Burritoville was also a working group of the CFC but became independent soon after. Unfortunately, Coop Burritoville closed a couple of years after acquiring the restaurant Burritoville and converting it into a solidarity coop.

The CFC organized: a farmer's market (the Farmers' Market), two educational conferences (Transitions and Bite Me!), a weekly soup kitchen (MoHubs), knowledge (through action research), and a variety of campus food campaigns (Food Autonomy Campaign). The CFC offered a Food Memories Collective Kitchen program, a bi-weekly event where the Concordia community cooked food together and engaged in discussion. Food Memories Collective Kitchen eventually merged with (was replaced by) MoHubs. The CFC continued to offer MoHubs, one day a week. Leftovers were put into small jars and were sold for $2 ($3 with the jar) at Le Frigo Vert, the Farmers' Market and were sometimes given away for free to students at campus events and/or to students in need.

The CFC also conducted action research about campus-community food sovereignty. As mentioned in the action research section, the research committee of the CFC now oversees the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project, and I am an active member. Please refer to the action research section for a more in-depth description.

The CFC was actively pursuing campus food sovereignty. In line with the definition of food sovereignty presented by Koc, Sumner, and Winson (2017), the CFC helped students fight for control of their food system. They led an attempt to outbid the three big multinational foodservice providers and helped establish and supported campus-community food organizations at Concordia. They also staged demonstrations and organized campaigns against contracting Chartwells-Compass and Aramark. One such campaign was called the Food Autonomy Campaign.

The Food Autonomy Campaign (FAC).

The FAC (aka the 'Fuck Aramark Campaign') was a group/campaign that was organized as a division of the CFC but was also a separate entity that did not answer to the CFC board. The FAC was given a budget and collaborated with the External Coordinator of the CFC, but The FAC members themselves decided the campaigns, tactics, and goals. This distance was created because the group participated in direct-action and other more confrontational activist tactics. The CFC board didn't want to dilute the tactics of The FAC to avoid liability. The FAC did not have a website, but they had a Facebook page (Food Autonomy Campaign, n.d), which described the purpose of The FAC.

> FAC organizes for food system change at Concordia. We plan on increasing student's control of our food system, pushing corporations off campus.

The FAC launched in September 2018 (Food Autonomy Campaign, 2018) because students wanted to push Concordia to stop contracting the big three university foodservice corporations, Aramark, Chartwells or Sodexo; but instead, implement a campus-community food

system that focuses on the needs of the Concordia community, especially students. The target of The FAC was Aramark – the current food service provider on campus. The FAC ran various campaigns (education, action, etc.) and mobilized students and faculty at Concordia to advocate for better food services at Concordia. In terms of food sovereignty, the FAC was the radical wing of the CFC that uses more aggressive pressure tactics to establish student control over campus foodservices.

The Concordia Farmers' Market (The Farmers' Market).

The Farmers' Market was a weekly market held at Concordia University that brought together a variety of ethical food vendors to sell their products to the Concordia community. Some of the vendors were local, campus-community food groups, like the Greenhouse, and others were regional food producers located in and around Montreal. The Concordia Farmers' Market gave students access to local, fresh produce and gave students an area to meet local farmers and chat about food related topics.

Season Jars.

Season Jars was a group that gave workshops about canning, fermentation, and other food preservation methods. The goal of the project was to promote organic, local, and seasonal food consumption through educational workshops and by collectively experimenting with preservation methods. The vision of the project was to make the organization a viable food transformation cooperative (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). Unfortunately, their goals were not realized, and the project is not currently active. In 2016, when we were conducting interviews, the group became less active and eventually discontinued a couple of years later.

Sprouting Minds for the Food Revolution (Sprouting Minds).

Sprouting Minds was a group that provided educational workshops about food and sustainability to youth. The organization's goal was to inspire youth to develop critical thinking skills and become more aware of the global food system – to sprout young minds to take part in the food revolution. The team gave several workshops at local high schools in Montreal. They also organized gatherings with university students at Concordia and McGill to discuss food-related topics. Sprouting Minds for the Food Revolution were active for about a year, around 2016-2017.

Campus Potager.

Campus Potager was an urban agriculture organization that grew food in and around Concordia's downtown campus. Campus Potager existed to reduce food insecurity by growing fresh, organic fruits, vegetables, herbs and spices and offering them at affordable rates. In our interview with Sebastián Di Poi (2016), former coordinator for campus Potager and the CFC, explained,

> …we want to fortify the food system on campus and alleviate food insecurity by providing fresh locally grown organic and affordable…most importantly, affordable…produce…we noticed that a lot of students have difficulty with getting good quality produce… especially stuff that's grown locally…we strive to make

> that available to students…[*and*]…the Concordia community…staff, faculty and anyone else who comes through.

Campus Potager had three garden areas; two were on Concordia's downtown campus, and the other was on an elderly women's residence building right beside Concordia (Fulford Residence, n.d). At Concordia, one was a small alleyway in the back of the John Molson School of Business (JMSB) building (the MB Building), and the other was in the courtyard of the Grey Nuns student residence building. Campus Potager sold their produce at the Farmers' Market, and they operated a weekly stand in front of the Sustainable Concordia and the CFC building. Campus Potager also provided consultation to those seeking advice with urban agriculture and sold (by donation) seed bombs – a mix of seeds in clay to throw in areas of the city that grow wild plants and flowers. Campus Potager grew their own seedlings in a Sociology laboratory managed by Dr. Satoshi Ikeda and in other areas around the Sociology/Anthropology Department. These seedlings were used in the gardens and were given away to community organizations/members. Campus Potager was only a very small-scale garden that didn't produce enough food to supply the campus-community or corporate foodservice vendors on campus.

Food Against Fascism.

Food Against Fascism was a group that provided free meals and holds discussions every Saturday in front of Concordia's Guy-De Maisonneuve Building (GM Building). The initiative's goal was to organize conversations and actions to counter the anti-immigrant propaganda being promoted by groups like La Meute and the Storm Alliance. We did not interview Food Against Fascism because they only began operating after we concluded the interviews. We included them on the map, nonetheless. An article from the Link suggested that the group was "born in response to the momentum of far-right ideologies…" (Thevenot, 2018) The Link claimed that members of Food Against Fascism have successfully shifted the attitudes of people who had anti-immigration attitudes. According to Thevenot (2018),

> The nature of the free lunches has facilitated discussions with people who share opposing views. Long-time volunteers claim to have seen a shift in attitudes from "Why do refugees come here?" to "How people treat refugees affects how I am treated as a woman/homeless person… We've seen a lot of positive change with a lot of regulars," said a volunteer, who wished to remain anonymous for safety reasons. "It's very encouraging…. They provide anti-fascist literature for further reading, including the group's vision statement, an anarchist calendar of events, and infographics identifying hateful symbolism (Thevenot, 2018).

Vermicycle.

Vermicycle was a group that wanted to begin a vermicomposting program at Concordia. Although they never officially started the composting program, they actively met and discussed plans with members of the campus-community food system and Concordia administration. We did not interview Vermicycle because they formed after we finished our interviews.

Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés.

Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés was a solidarity cooperative specializing in beer brewing and educating people about making beer. The organization's mission was to provide

locally produced, sustainable beer to Concordia and the community at large; to teach people how to make beer; and become the campus beer distributor. According to Jordan Clark, collective member of Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés (2015)

> The overall mission is to…bring the homebrew culture and the real beer culture to Concordia. That's either homebrewing, drinking local beer, supporting local grain, local hops…grow that whole culture and foster it at Concordia. The way we are doing that, for now we are in a period of transition, we don't have a microbrewery set up yet. We are running these workshops. We are doing that by promoting the homebrew culture…here, you come to the brew workshop, you're with people from the university, from the local community, you're brewing beer, we use all local grains…

When the Burritoville Coop was in operation, Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés used the kitchen for beer brewing, education and storage. Part of the long-term plan was to brew enough beer at the Burritoville Coop to supply Burritoville, Reggie's Coop and other campus events. Although Reggie's Coop offered a couple Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés products from time to time, Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés was never a major beer supplier on campus. Instead, members of the coop primarily focused on educating the public about home brewing. Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés offered monthly workshops at the Burritoville Coop; when Burritoville closed down, the group organized a couple, smaller workshops at other locations but didn't fulfill their goal of becoming a campus beer provider.

The Hudson Land Trust Project.

The Hudson Land Trust Project eventually became the Hudson Heartbeet (Hudson Food Collective, n.d) and was managed by the Hudson Food Collective. In 2013, a group of CFC members were interested in developing a farm under the legal structure of a land trust. From 2013 until 2015, members of the CFC and other students (as part of their coursework) gathered research on land trust structures. In 2015, the students and CFC members presented the research to the Hudson (Town of Hudson, n.d) community in hopes of securing land in Hudson, converting it into a land trust, and making sure it's accessible to farmers, thus, contributing to the local food movement in Hudson. In our interview with co-founders Loïc Freeman-Lavoie and Robyn Rees, Robyn (2016) stated that,

> The Hudson Land Trust Project has the goal to secure land in Hudson, to take it off the real estate market and make it into a land trust…this is to protect land for organic agriculture, and to make it more accessible to farmers, also to contribute to the local food movement.

Following the presentation and discussion, the Hudson Food Collective became interested in creating a land trust farm and developed partnerships with local organizations, the Hudson municipal government and other interested community members. The group was able to secure land in Hudson across from Thompson Park, and in 2017, began building infrastructure and preparing the soil. In 2018 the farm became operational and sold CSA baskets, as well as to restaurants, at markets and farm stands.

Loïc Freeman-Lavoie (2016) says that the goal of the project was to,

> …supply Concordia students with food grown locally…in partnership with Concordia and its students…a long-term goal would not only be to secure land and to encourage emerging farmers but would be to help Concordia University become food sovereign and involve students into their food system…through labour, through transformation, or knowledge or research.

Although the original goal of the Hudson Heartbeet was to provide some food to the Concordia community, they, instead, found their niche in Hudson as a community organic farm where they help strengthen local food sovereignty.

Burritoville Coop.

Burritoville Coop was a non-profit, solidarity coop that served organic, vegetarian/vegan food and drinks. According to Erika Licón (2016), one of the co-founders,

> Burritoville Coop was a restaurant, bar and community center for students to gather, eat food, relax, study, have drinks and have fun.

The Burritoville Coop operated a restaurant and a small bar for just over one year. The team hosted public discussions and events, like music, poetry, political gatherings, movie nights, and yoga. Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés used the kitchen to host homebrewing workshops and sold beer at the bar. The coop ran into financial problems and could not secure more funding, and in May 2016, the coop was closed.

The Hive Café Cooperative (The Hive).

The Hive Café Cooperative was a non-profit solidarity cooperative that offered food, coffee, catering services, a free lunch program, and a space to study, relax, socialize and host events. The mission of the Hive Café was to be an environmentally, socially and economically sustainable food provider that empowers members through democratic involvement. The Hive promoted health, social justice, sustainability, representativeness, empowerment, equitability, fair labour relations, accountability, transparency, and safety from oppressive spaces (The Hive Café Co-op, n.d).

> The Hive is committed to providing alternatives to traditional business models that are oppressive, non-inclusive, socially responsible, and environmentally sustainable. They are socially responsible because they are more representative to the community and more democratic with their stakeholders as a solidarity cooperative; they collaborate with local campus-community organizations; they provide a free lunch program despite selling food themselves; they care about equitable employment; purchase socially ethical products and try to maintain non-hierarchal relations. The Hive are also environmentally responsible because they strive for locally sourced food items; use reusable serving containers when possible and compostable ones for single use; compost and recycle waste; encourage people to bring their own coffee mugs and work with procurement partners who respect the same environmentally sustainable values. They are economically sustainable because they provide fair labour practices; offer affordable food items; reinvest surplus back to the Hive and are financially solvent (The Hive Café Co-op, n.d).

To meet some of these goals, the Hive adopted a comprehensive procurement policy in 2015. The policy required that seventy percent of the food was to be organic and that pre-processed items would be purchased from local distributors, like Rise Kombucha (RISE Kobmucha, n.d) and Camino chocolate (Camino, n.d). Purchasing had to be local when possible, and food products had to meet human (fair trade, direct trade) and animal welfare (no animal cruelty) standards. Furthermore, products sold for take-out had to be provided in compostable containers with compostable cutlery; they also encouraged customers to bring their own mugs and receptacles. Finally, the food needed to be accessible to everyone, pricewise, and had to

meet the student population's dietary needs at large. To meet these dietary needs and to lower costs, the Hive decided to serve only vegetarian food (Concordia Food Groups, 2016).

In the kitchen, cooks made bulk items, like soups and chili, as well as prepared the food for the baristas to serve at the counter, like sandwiches, wraps and salads. Baristas did not have to cook the food; they only heated it and added a couple of ingredients when necessary. Each Hive location made orders to the kitchen coordinator at least two days before their order was fulfilled.

The Hive provided a Free Lunch Program at Loyola Campus. Students could go to the Hive on weekdays from 12:30 PM to 1:30 PM to get a meal without paying any money. The program was subsidized by the CSU and the Arts and Science Faculty Association (ASFA). The Hive Free Lunch Team prepared fresh meals from scratch every weekday, feeding about 120 students per day (Wrobel, Loyola's Hive Café Delayed Until Next Year, 2014). This program gave students access to food, especially students on a tight budget and/or limited time for cooking (Concordia Food Groups, 2017). This program was also essential because Loyola Campus is in west Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, where there weren't many food options.

The Hive Free Lunch team offered workshops related to cooking, food preparation and kitchen safety. Ev Daoust (2017) said that the most popular workshop was hot sauce making. She suggested that students were very enthusiastic about learning their hot sauce recipe because they were "addicted to it" (Concordia Food Groups, 2017). The Hive Free Lunch team got some of their produce from City Farm School, located on the same campus, a couple of hundred feet away. Although, most of their produce came from bulk purchasing and restaurant suppliers, like Aubut (Aubut, n.d) and Clic (Clic, n.d).

Since we conducted the interviews with members of the Hive, they moved into their newly renovated and fully equipped kitchen (Morello, 2016) on the 7th floor of the Hall Building - beside the new People's Potato kitchen. The Hive was still operating at Loyola in the Student Centre and downtown on the mezzanine beside Reggie's Solidarity Coop.

The Hive was a solidarity coop owned by anyone who purchases a lifetime membership for ten dollars. It contributed to campus food sovereignty because it was the largest campus-community food vendor, controlled by the membership, on campus. The Hive gave the Concordia community collective control of at least one food distributors on campus. Furthermore, the Hive's procurement policies surpassed the standards set by the FAWG. The Hive also contributed to campus food security by providing free lunches at Loyola Campus.

Reggie's Solidarity Coop (Reggie's).

Reggie's was a campus bar located on the mezzanine of the Hall Building. The bar shared an outdoor terrasse with the Hive. Reggie's offered a variety of food and drinks. Their food consisted of 'pub type' food, like French fries, hamburgers, onion rings, nachos, grilled cheese, etc. These items were mainly fried or heated up on a grill; very little processing or transforming was required before serving the food. Reggie's also served a variety of alcoholic (and non-alcoholic) drinks. When Reggie's became a coop, in 2015, they were buying most of their beer from Unibroue (Unibroue, n.d), a local craft beer supplier, and Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés. The original intention was to eventually turn Reggie's into a brewpub supplied by Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés or a likeminded, student-controlled beer brewing company.

After the first year, Reggie's board had a different vision; they signed an exclusivity agreement with Molson Coors, a large multinational beer company. According to the manager and worker member of the board of Reggie's, Justin McLellan, the reason why they signed the contract with Molson Coors was because the company made an investment to the bar and gave them a great price. Justin informed us that one crucial missions of the bar was to keep costs low so students could afford to purchase drinks at the pub. Justin also admitted that Reggie's did not have ethical purchasing policies, but they did have safe space policies.

The kitchen was in the same space as the bar, separated by a glass window. The bar had a stage for music and other performances, an area with foosball tables, a DJ booth, a central bar area with stools surrounding the bar, and a seating area with chairs and tables, as well as booths on the inside wall and beside large glass windows that look to the terrasse. Reggie's basement was used as storage – although, the space used to be the serving area for the People's Potato and the location for the Coop Bookstore afterwards. At the time of our interviews, Reggie's was the only campus bar at Concordia. After becoming a coop and renovating the bar, their new look and structure gained positive feedback; they even won an award for their unique design (Concordia University, 2016).

Café X.

Café X was a coffee shop and student lounge managed by the Fine Arts Faculty Association (FASA) that had two locations, one in the Fine Arts Building (VA Building) and the other in the Engineering and Fine Arts Building (EV). Café X officially closed in 2018, when the café was no longer financially solvent (Mignacca, 2018).

Café X served beverages (coffee, tea, juice) and various vegetarian, vegan and gluten-free, pre-processed foods (chili, sandwiches, and other homemade baked goods). Café X didn't have a restaurant-grade kitchen; therefore, their food items were bought pre-made or were assembled and not cooked. There were a couple of exceptions, though, staff members pre-made some baked items at their homes to sell at the Café, and the chili was made in a soup heater and kept hot until it was empty. Café X also served salads made up of the sprouts from The Four Season Program at the Greenhouse. An article in *The Concordian* in 2014[91] states that Café X has fourteen local suppliers providing an array of local food options for students (Gamage, 2014).

The Café X space in the Visual Arts Building (VA Building) also hosted Gallery X, (Gallery X, n.d) which showcased students' art by displaying it in the café. They also organized vernissages, open mics, as well as a variety of other performance art shows (Mcgill, 2011). They were a hub for art students, although students from different departments were also welcomed into the space. The VA Building is downtown but a couple of blocks away from the cluster of attached, main buildings at Concordia. Since it is secluded from these other buildings, food options and spaces to hang out are more limited. Café X, in the VA Building, provided art students with a place to congregate and socialize. An article in the Link (Mcgill, 2011) described Gallery X,

> A typical show at Gallery X will feature one to two artists, and work in a variety of mediums. They don't limit themselves to one style, providing an excellent opportunity for anyone to get involved. "We want students to come to us with ideas and we will work with them to put together a show. I see it as much more of a collaboration between myself and the artists than us dictating what is shown," Glenn explained.

The second Café X space was located in the Engineering, Computer Science and Visual Arts Building (EV Building), which is part of the central cluster of connected, downtown Concordia buildings. The building had several places to eat and get coffee; however, these were located on the main floor and basement, connecting to the Metro (subway system). In the EV Building, Café X was situated on the seventh floor, making snacks, sandwiches, and chili more accessible to students. Café X's location in the EV Building was tiny, enough to store and serve food, but was not big enough to congregate or sit; they only served food 'on the go'. Although there was a lounge area beside the Café where students could gather and eat[92].

Café X's mission was to provide art students (and others in the Concordia community) affordable food, meaningful employment, a place to lounge, and a venue for art events. They encouraged students to eat healthy (by providing a vegetarian menu), be environmentally sustainable (by giving reduced prices on coffee when students bring their own mug and using only compostable single-use containers) and have a meaningful impact on the world (by buying off fair/direct trade coffee and chocolate suppliers). Café X run by two managers (one for each location) and about a dozen part-time employees (made up of fine arts students) who reported to FASA.

Guadagni Lounge (G-Lounge).

The G-Lounge was a large space at the top of the Central Building (CC Building) at Loyola Campus where the Interfraternity Council (IFC) ran the IFC Coffee Bar, although the name of both the space and the café all became known as the G-Lounge. Although the area was still there, after our interviews, it was no longer accessible to students because of renovations and because the IFC closed the Coffee Bar. The G-Lounge's mission was to provide students with a good atmosphere for them to work, study and relax. They also had a social mission to provide sustainable food and drinks to students. They offered fair trade coffee, had organic fruits and gave students compostable single-use cups. Despite these efforts, the G-Lounge offered a variety of products sponsored by large companies, like Coke (Coca-Cola, n.d) and Red Bull (Red Bull, n.d). Their food and beverage inventory contained items like coffee, lattes and mochaccinos, soda, energy drinks, eggs, toast, bagels, sandwiches, wraps, Jamaican patties (Lloydie's, n.d), chips and muffins, fruits, and salads. Students used the G-Lounge as a lounge; they were not required to purchase anything to be in the space. There was a foosball table, microwaves, couches, empty space (for dancing, doing yoga and other art), chairs and tables for eating, doing homework and/or hanging out. The room was also used for IFC events from time to time and was lent and rented out to other student groups, charities, non-profit organizations and even Concordia University (during exam period).

Cooking at Concordia.

Cooking at Concordia was a project organized by Arrien Weeks (a Concordia student) that lasted for a couple of years between 2013 and 2015. He created the project to empower people to connect with their food and cook for themselves. The project wasn't attached to any organization; Arrien fundraised money to offer cooking courses to students, faculty, and other interested people. The program began in the Perform Centre Kitchen (Concordia University, n.d) and moved to other kitchen locations downtown and at Loyola. The goal of the workshops was to teach the Concordia community, especially students, how to cook their own meals. The

workshop topics included canning, preparing a complete meal, making lunches in a jar using fresh ingredients available at the Concordia Farmers' Market, and even one about cooking the meals that are served at the Hive Free Lunch Program. Arrien's goal was to institutionalize the project by partnering with existing organizations on campus. The project no longer continued after Arrien no longer had funding. Other programs like Arrien's continued where Arrien left off. Some examples include Season Jars, Mother Hubbard's and Kitchen Memories.

SensoriuM.

SensoriuM was a collaborative artistic platform for performance artists to lead tours through edible landscapes and gave food tastings designed to generate sensory experiences and evoke critical thinking about food consumption. The tours were participatory; the audience was part of the performance. Locations were carefully selected to engage the audience and create playful tensions. The goal of the performances was to generate conversations about food. Dr. Natalie Doonan created sensorium in partnership with various performance artists[93]. Natalie was a Ph.D. student when the project began and had recently graduated when we interviewed her about the project.

In the Concordia Food Systems Map (Figure 13), we put SensoriuM in the category of experiential knowledge production because the value that SensoriuM produces is encapsulated in the description of experiential capital in Roland and Landura's (2013) publication on Regenerative Enterprise, Optimizing for Multi-Capital Abundance. Roland and Landura (2013) describe experiential capital as "actual embodied 'know-how,' built from personal experience." We felt that this form of capital production best describes SensoriuM because the events Natalie and other artists staged were about providing a sensory experience in hopes of evoking learning by engaging with their environments and with others.

At one event, invitees were offered local wine with cheese made from human breastmilk from mothers who donated their milk for the event. This exhibit was hosted at a local café bar, where Natalie and co-host Miriam Simun displayed artistic portraits of the mothers who donated their breastmilk (The SensoriuM, n.d). The goal of the event was to cause participants to critically reflect on eating human breastmilk instead of the milk of a cow or goat. Breastfeeding was still a taboo subject for many people in North America, especially the practice of adults consuming the breastmilk of other human adults. During the event, Natalie and Miriam conversed with participants about why people found it acceptable to eat cheese made from a non-human animal but find it disgusting to eat cheese made from human milk. Other activities curated by Natalie and the other invited artists included foraging and tasting edible plants in different of areas in Montreal, dumpster diving tours, video screenings, performances, and a variety of other artistic events. One of the reoccurring tours involved foraging; therefore, we also included SensoriuM in the foraging category under production (The SensoriuM, n.d) in Figure 13.

SensoriuM was inspired by Natalie's experiences while working as a tour guide in Vancouver, Canada, during the 2010 Summer Olympics. Natalie and some colleagues began giving guided tours (or urban detours, as she called them) showing tourists to bring attention to the problems of gentrification and displacement of residents during the 2010 Olympics. Natalie was invited to New York City in 2011 for six months and became an artist in residence at New York University. At NYU, Natalie met a variety of performance artists and began giving food

tours and tastings in partnership with local artists. When Natalie returned to Montreal to study at Concordia, she continued the tours by inviting artists from New York to Montreal to give similar tours and tastings as they did in and around NYU. In the subsequent years, Natalie worked with Montreal artists instead of visiting artists. Natalie filmed the events, took photos, and published a book about the performance (which was available for sale). Although Natalie collaborated with other artists, she was the main organizer of SensoriuM. According to Natalie, the flexible structure has allowed her to complete her Ph.D. and have a baby without too much pressure. She organized events when it fit into her schedule.

R4 Dish Project (the Dish Project).

The Dish Project was a project that provided dishes to campus and community groups for events on and off-campus. The project's goal was to provide accessible non-disposable dishes to reduce waste, encourage people to think critically about consumer culture, participate in a shared economy, and ultimately, promote widespread adoption of zero waste thinking at Concordia and beyond (The Dish Project, n.d). The R4 Dish Project was located in the basement of the Z Annex 2090 MacKay at Concordia's downtown campus and also had access to space at Loyola (The Dish Project, n.d). The Dish Project was a project of Sustainable Concordia (SC) and worked with many campus partners, student groups and even Hospitality Concordia.

Waste Not, Want Not.

Waste Not, Want Not was an education and advocacy initiative that taught the Concordia community about composting and encouraged the university administration to improve composting infrastructure on campus. The goal of the program was to increase the volume of organic matter being redirected to compost rather than ending up in a landfill. In the long run, Waste Not, Want Not wanted Concordia to invest in composters and make compost available to the food organizations that grow food on campus. The majority of Waste Not, Want Not's efforts have been put into educating students about composting and getting more composting bins at Concordia. Waste Not, Want Not organized multiple events per year, especially during orientation and invited the Concordia community, the other campus-community food groups and the community at large to social events with music, taste testing, games, and other activities. The campus-community groups promoted their organization, and Waste Not, Want Not educated people about composting. In addition, Waste Not, Want Not also attended other campus and community events to educate people about composting. Waste Not, Want Not had an extensive social media presence. They also educated Concordia students by visiting classes and gave ten-minute presentations about how to properly compost at Concordia (and in general).

Discussion about the Concordia Community-Campus Food System and Food Sovereignty

Concordia has a robust campus-community food system. Students, faculty, staff, and community members have co-created a variety of campus-community food groups in and around Concordia University. As shown in Figure 13, these groups produced, processed, and distributed food, as well as managed food waste, on campus and in the community at large. One of the leading sectors of the food system was food distribution. At the time of our interviews, five groups provided alternative cafés and restaurants that are market-based (they sold food) and four

that were non-market-based (they donated food)[94]. There were also five (market-based) alternative grocery stores/farmers' markets as well as four free food distribution centers/food banks. These groups gave students alternatives to the large corporate food providers at Concordia, i.e., Aramark, Chartwells, Tim Hortons, and Starbucks. The non-market-based distribution programs aimed to reduce campus food insecurity by providing free meals daily. Education (knowledge production) was a central part of the food system because most of the food groups provided education in some form or another. Some of the groups (like the Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés, City Farm School, Sprouting Minds, and the CFC) focused on education as part of the organization's vision. Others provided workshops, participated in conferences, and even organized conferences too. The Concordia Food Coalition organized two yearly food conferences (Transitions and Bite Me!) and even partnered with Food Secure Canada to host the Resetting the Table conference in 2018 (Food Secure Canada, 2018). In this section, I discuss factors facilitated and/or inhibited the creation and perpetuation of the campus-community food system, how the campus-community food system contributes to food sovereignty at Concordia, the implications of our findings, limitations to our mapping and advice for future action research. In the next section, I expand on these findings by providing a critical history of foodservices (administration and campus-community run) at Concordia University.

Facilitating the Creation and Perpetuation of the Campus-Community Food System.

The Concordia campus-community food system was created and maintained by four primary factors: student activism, community-based education and research models (community-service learning and community-campus engagement), the fee levy system, and a robust support system.

Student Activism.

The dedication and ingenuity of Concordia students led to the successful creation of the campus-community food system. Student leaders mobilized around food issues and have received a great deal of support from the Concordia community. In one example, in 2013/2014, the CSU asked students whether they wanted to allocate a portion of student space, accessible education and a legal contingency fund, "for the creation and expansion of predominantly student-run food systems projects on campus" (Concordia Student Union, n.d). The referendum was supported by 86% of the voters. Bohunicky, Desmarais, and Entz (2019) recognize the importance of student activism when transforming the food system and moving away from corporate contracts. They state,

> …the ability to [*move away from corporate contracts*] depends on a number of other factors including, but not limited to, political will of the administration, student activism and support from non-university sectors. [*italics added*] (p. 44)

Students have been the primary instigators of the campus-community food system at Concordia. They pushed for food system transformation by becoming builders, warriors, and weavers. Stevenson, Ruhf, Lezberg, and Clancy (2007) stress the importance of these three roles when trying to transform the food system. Warriors actively resist corporate food systems through political action; builders reconstruct and/or create alternative food organizations and

economic models; weavers work to connect warriors' and builders' work. In discussing campus sustainable food projects, Barlett (2011) also highlights the importance of recognizing these three activist roles (warriors, builders and weavers) in developing transformative food systems in university settings.

Concordia students have embraced all three roles. They have staged demonstrations on campus to oppose corporate food systems. For example, Tap Thirst members staged a sit-in with about forty other students to oppose signing a contract with PepsiCo. (Curtis, 2010) Additionally, the CFC was founded by a group of students and faculty who challenged the administration in contracting a large multinational food corporation, especially Aramark, Chartwells-Compass, and Sodexo (Concordia Food Groups, 2015). Concordia students have acted as builders by co-creating a vast array of alternative food organizations (as shown in Figure 13). They were also weavers by forming partnerships and networks to enhance collaboration. The Fee Levy Advocacy at Concordia (FLAC) provided some of the prominent food groups a way to network with each other, including the People's Potato, the Hive, the Concordia Greenhouse, the Concordia Food Coalition, and Le Frigo Vert. The FLAC was also composed other fee levy groups that were not food groups; they also didn't include all the food groups because not all of them received student fee levies. Although the builders were instrumental in creating the campus-community food organizations at Concordia, warriors and weavers were also important. For example, FAC was an advocacy group that based its practices through warrior work; they fought to eliminate Aramark on campus. Furthermore, groups like Le Frigo Vert, the People's Potato and the CFC were built by warriors, builders and weavers. These organizations had social justice missions, were rooted in social/alternative economy, and had vast campus and community networks.

Community-Service Learning and Community-Campus Engagement.

Faculty have also been involved in co-creating the campus-community food organizations at Concordia. Dr. Satoshi Ikeda and I have involved our students in community-service learning by allowing them to complete assignments through community-based action research. Students from Dr. Ikeda's course created the Transitions Conference, the Hive, The Burritoville Cooperative, and the Concordia Farmers' Market. Students from my Food and Culture course and Dr. Ikeda's Food and Sustainability course created Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés. Additionally, students from both of our courses participated with the campus-community food groups through a variety of community-action research-based assignments. Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz (2019) highlight the importance of community-based action research in guiding UBC towards more sustainable food services on campus.

In their paper on community-campus engagement (CCE) in strengthening food sovereignty movements, Andree, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, Brynne, and Kneen (2016) found that CCE resulted in skills and knowledge sharing, maintaining transformative orientations, creating place-based knowledge, and building strong, resilient networks. Through (CSL) and (CCE) students co-created skills and knowledge, created resilient networks, focused on place-based knowledge and maintained a transformative orientation. The Transitions Conference included all of these elements. Alternative learning and research paradigms also contribute to in-depth, transformational, holistic sustainability (Bieler and McKenzie, 2017). Students in Dr. Ikeda's Food and Sustainability course and my Food and Culture course, attended the conference, gave workshops and partook in public discussions about food. The conference was a community effort

organized by the CFC in collaboration with students from our courses and campus-community food groups. The themes of the conference centered around a transformative approached to food systems and helped establish and strengthen partnerships between the campus-community food groups and other interested students., As previously mentioned, most of the campus-community groups offer a variety experiential-learning workshops in food production, processing, distribution, waste management as well as other topics related to food sovereignty and food justice.

Fee Levy System.

The fee levy system was another important factor in securing the viability of some of the campus-community food organizations, especially those that are non-market food distributers, like the People's Potato. Concordia students pay a fee levy, every semester, to groups that have organized a successful referendum campaign during the CSU elections and got students to vote yes to the fee by more than 50% (of the voters, minus the abstentions). Five campus-community food organizations received fee levies, the People's Potato, Le Frigo Vert, the CFC, the Concordia Greenhouse (Concordia Community, n.d) and the Hive (The Graduate Students' Association, n.d). Most non-food-specific support groups (Q-PIRG Concordia, Sustainable Concordia, the Sustainable Action Fund (SAF), and The Centre for Gender Advocacy) received fee levies; FAC received money from the CFC. Besides FAC, other food groups have been funded by (or had projects funded by) the support groups. Union dues paid by the students provide funds for the Graduate Student Association and the CSU. These student unions also helped fund some of the food groups and/or food projects. These fee levies were essential for the viability of some of these organizations and projects. Groups like the People's Potato and the Hive Free Lunch relied on student fees to provide vital food security programs (Concordia Community, n.d).

Robust Support System.

Concordia students have created a robust support system for student-led projects. Organizations like the CFC, Q-PIRG Concordia, the Sustainable Action Fund, Sustainable Concordia, SSAELC Fund, The Gender Advocacy Centre, The Multifaith and Spirituality Centre, The Concordia Student Union (CSU), and The Graduate Student Association (GSA) and other important organizations have provided funding and other support to help establish the campus-community food organizations. Some organizations even helped co-found projects, like Le Frigo Vert came from a Q-PIRG working group project and the Concordia Food Coalition co-founded the Hive. Without these support groups and funds, many of the food initiatives would not have been able to establish.

Impeding the Development and Viability of the Campus-Community Food System.

There were also several factors that impeded the development and viability of the campus-community food system at Concordia. These included challenging fee levies, processing limitations, the gap between production and processing, students are transient, some students lack expertise, relying on volunteers is not always viable, no agriculture school or food studies

program, not always easy to negotiate with the Concordia administration, large foodservice corporations and campus-community food organizations are not always viable.

Challenging Fee Levies.

Fee levies have come under attack several times from politically charged students who want a user-fee model rather than a general tax approach. While compiling the information and writing this dissertation, the CSU were establishing an online opt-out process. Although defunding fee levy groups has been floated around the CSU over the years; in 2019-2020, the CSU council made it easier for students to opt-out of fee levies (Majerczyk, 2020). Although, students could already opt-out of paying fee levies by making a request to the organization they wish to opt-out of and retrieving their money in person. The new fee levy system is currently being discussed but will allow students to get a refund with the click of a button when students pay tuition fees. Online opt-outs concern many fee levy organizations because services like the People's Potato are already at capacity. Defunding these groups threaten their economic viability.

Processing Limitations.

Despite having a vast array of distribution outlets, not all groups had access to a kitchen. the People's Potato, the Hive, and MoHubs had access to a kitchen at the university. Reggie's had a preparation and grill area but not a full-scale kitchen. Burritoville also had a kitchen when it was operational. The other groups (like Café X, the Concordia Food Coalition, Food Against Fascism, Season Jars, and Cooking at Concordia) had to negotiate for kitchen space with the People's Potato and the Hive. In many cases, they were not able to transform food on campus because the People's Potato and the Hive used their kitchen space regularly. These groups could only sell pre-prepared meals, food that was easy to assemble (sandwiches) and grab-and-go snacks. Buying pre-prepared food was more expensive than preparing food from scratch, thus reducing these organizations' ability to remain competitive. Café X and the G-Lounge reported that they were having trouble staying solvent and eventually closed.

Gap Between Production and Processing.

Most of the food produced on campus was not used at the campus dining locations and cafés. One reason was that students were mainly on campus between September and May, and the growing season in Montreal begins around May and ends in October[95]. There were no students on campus when the produce was fresh; therefore, the food was sold at local markets, donated and/or consumed by volunteers/labourers; although, the People's Potato produced their own garlic (in partnership with City Farm School) and stored it to use in the fall and the Greenhouse produced their own teas. Additionally, there was no large-scale attempt at transforming the food produced at City Farm School or Campus Potager to preserve and make available to students in the fall and/or winter. Season Jars didn't have the capacity to handle the campus preservation needs. Furthermore, these organizations' goals weren't producing food for the campus-community food distributors; they mainly focused on education and providing the community with affordable organic fruits and vegetables. In 2014, the CSU was interested in building a productive greenhouse at Loyola to grow food in the fall and winter and supply the

Hive with fresh food. Although there was a lot of interest from students and the CSU, the Loyola productive greenhouse never got built (Concordia Food Groups, 2015).

Students Graduate and Move On.

Students were part of a transient population that typically graduates within three to five years (if they were full-time students). When they graduated, they also took with them the organizations' institutional memory, original visions of the organizations, and even at times, the drive to make these organizations thrive. Many students were not aware of the Loyola greenhouse project, and because it didn't get up and running, the idea has been largely forgotten. From cohort to cohort, students have different visions, political aspirations, and motivations for action. Sometimes a popular political movement becomes less attractive to new students. In the case of food politics at Concordia, there were waves of political motivation from year to year. Like, I describe in more detail in the next section, Concordia students were more interested in food politics around the times that the foodservice contracts between Concordia and the large multinational food providers were about to expire. In years in between foodservice contracts, students had less political interest in food issues.

Some Students Lacked Expertise.

Students didn't always have the expertise to properly establish some of the food organizations and make them viable. Many groups got started because of a common interest in a food topic, but many of these well-intentioned individuals lacked the experience and know-how about the alternative food practice they were promoting. For this reason, many of the groups offered educational workshops led by experts who were external to the organization. Some of these examples include Season Jars, who informed us that they only began experimenting with preservation when they founded the organization. In our interview with campus Potager, we were told that most of the volunteers were new at urban farming.

Relying on Volunteers was Not Always Viable.

A lot of the campus-community organizations relied on volunteer labour from students and community members. Organizations with steady funding and paid labour positions benefit from the extra help of volunteers (like the People's Potato), but other organizations whose labour models were dependent on volunteer labour (like Campus Potager) had more trouble sustaining their organization. Groups that were reliant on volunteers for most of the work were successful when a motivated individual or group guided the organization but had trouble once those motivated individuals were no longer involved.

No Agriculture Schools or Food Studies Program.

Concordia University did not offer an agriculture program, nor did it have a food studies program, limiting the potential for food production on campus. Many departments provide food courses, but there was little coordinated effort to prioritize food studies more formally. There have been discussions about forming a food minor from a multidisciplinary group of professors who teach food-related courses. These professors launched a website promoting the idea as,

> …as an academic food hub as a means of distributing information on Concordia food activities to students, departments, Faculties, and the larger Food Studies community (Concordia University, n.d).

Unfortunately, the food studies program was never established, and the food hub went inactive.

Not Always Easy to Negotiate with the Concordia Administration.

Concordia students have conflicted with the administration over space, the right to distribute food, views on food service providers, food service practices, among many other things. Students have used pressure tactics, negotiation, and direct action to get the administration to concede to student demands. In one instance, the CSU staged a 'cheese in' to intentionally violate the exclusivity agreement between Sodexo-Marriott and Concordia over food distribution on campus. The event included all the campus food groups in 2000, where they all served food against campus regulations. Rob Green, former CSU president, recounted that the event's slogan was 'cheese in Marriott out' (Concordia Food Groups, 2015). There were many other examples of conflicts occurring between the Concordia administration and food activists.

Not all the relationships between food activists and Concordia administrators were combative. Food activists, like the founder of the People's Potato, Zev Tiefenbach, mentioned once the People's Potato became more established, the Concordia administrators eventually found kitchen space on campus (Concordia Food Groups, 2015) and offered some land at the Loyola Campus to grow a garden (Concordia Food Groups, 2015). As you may recall from Bohunicky, Desmarais, and Entz (2019), the ability for foodservice transformation to move away from corporate contracts includes the will of the administration as a contributing factor.

Large Food Service Providers.

The campus-community food system at Concordia developed alongside and in response to the large multinational food corporations. Bohunicky, Desmarais, and Entz (2019) identify dominant corporate food providers as barriers to transformative food systems. In the current case study, we found that the competition was skewed, in that, large multinational corporations were guaranteed a clientele (students in residence) while the campus-community food distributors had to compete with each other and these large food service corporations. Students in residence had to purchase a meal plan and flex-dollars from the big transnational corporations. Student groups were not part of the flex-dollar plan, nor did they have a guaranteed market.

Campus-Community Organizations Not Always Viable.

As shown in Figure 13, not all the campus-community food groups were viable organizations. Café X, the G-Lounge and Burritoville were forced to close because of financial insolvency. Like the food industry in general, not all restaurants and cafés achieve success. The campus-community food organizations were also susceptible to market forces, customer demand and competition. Considering that the campus-community organizations have overarching social missions, contradictions of capitalism affect these organizations more than purely profit-driven entities. Transformative approaches to food are more susceptible to the contradictions in capitalism because food organizations are less likely to externalize negative costs. In '*A Foodie's*

Guide to Capitalism: Understanding the Political Economy of What We Eat', Holt-Giménez (2017) provides an excellent overview of these contradictions and how they affect food systems. By internalizing social and environmental costs, food prices usually increase, thus making food less affordable. Holt-Giménez (2017) identifies two contradictions of capitalism that pertain to food production, the contradiction between labour and capital, and the contradiction between the desires of wealthy food corporations and the biosphere's finite qualities. Decent wages, affordable food prices and profit maximization all work against each other. In order to maximize profits and maintain access to cheap food, food corporations find ways to drive down labour costs and increase productivity. In many places throughout the world, farmers work under subsistence wages and take on massive debt (Qualman, 2011). To increase productivity, farmers try to cheat nature by speeding up natural processes, using chemical fertilizers to replenish nutrients in the soil instead of permaculture or other agroecology, regenerative methods of food production. These time-saving mechanisms are causing adverse effects to our biosphere, like increasing production of greenhouse gasses (from tilling methods), reducing biodiversity (from using GMO seeds and monoculture cropping), and killing pollinators (by using chemical pesticides), among others.

Organizations rooted in transformative approaches typically pay more for food because they don't externalize social, environmental, or economic costs. Therefore, to be affordable, pay decent wages, and practice regenerative farming is more costly to an organization and makes them less viable than non-transformative organizations. If eliminating negative externalities affects food prices, customers may choose cheaper options, especially students on a tight budget. In discussing Le Frigo Vert with a former board member; Helen Simard pointed out contradictions in the views of the organization's social values and their reliance on volunteer, precarious and low wage labour. Helen says

> …obviously this is an organization or a cause that everybody believes in…but if you're working part-time and…being asked to volunteer hours as well, or offering to volunteer hours…what kind of dynamic does that set up? And then even getting into discussions about…how do you negotiate with volunteers…how much they are putting into an organization. I remember there being a lot of discussion about fair compensation…and the importance of creating financial security for people, not just in the food we provide but also the environment as employers.

Lack of economic viability was also an important reason why the Concordia administration didn't agree to a self-operated model of foodservices, a point I return to in the next section.

How the Campus-Community Food System Contributes to Campus Food Sovereignty.

Hindrances notwithstanding, the campus-community food system contributed to food sovereignty at Concordia by developing principles, policies and practices that were transformative, eliminating transnational foodservice corporations and establishing collective food organizations and the right to food.

Transformative Principles, Policies and Practices.

Most of the practices of the campus-community food organizations were based on transformative approaches to food. Food sovereignty and food justice were important factors to groups like the People's Potato, Le Frigo Vert, Reggie's, the CFC and the Hive. The Hive's sustainability policies focus on social justice. On their website, they claim,

> We do not work or buy products from organizations that are socially irresponsible, oppressive, racist, sexist, classist, but rather work with organizations that are in line with our values through the use of our Procurement Policy (The Hive Café Co-op, n.d).

The mission of the People's Potato also focused on social justice. The People's Potato claim to:

- Offer an anti-capitalist alternative to corporate food systems on campus.
- Offer education with respect to food politics, food preparation and social justice issues.
- Provide an accessible anti-oppressive community space.
- Mobilize for active involvement in environmental and social justice movements.
- Support the work of social-justice-oriented community events and projects. (The People's Potato, n.d)

On a similar note, Le Frigo Vert,

> …promotes the following values in all of its initiatives, projects, activities and areas of support: Non-hierarchy, Anti-racism, Anti-sexism, Queer positivity, Anti-poverty, Anti-oppression, Egalitarianism, Anti-anthropocentrism, Ecological sustainability and integrity, Anti-capitalism, Worker self-management (Concordia Food Collective, 2017)

The CFC also incorporated food justice and food sovereignty into its mission (Concordia Food Coalition, n.d). One of the CFC campaigns and the name of a conference on campus was entitled, What's the Goal, Local Control. The name for the Transitions Conference was coined based on the idea of transformative food systems (Concordia Food Groups , 2015). The keynote speaker for the first Transitions Conference was Katherine Gibson, who discussed post-capitalist politics and food systems. In other years, the CFC invited prominent food activists like Malik Yakini and remained committed to educating the public about food justice and food sovereignty (Chant, 2018).

The campus bar, Reggie's Solidarity Coop (Reggie's), also implemented policies to address bar culture and social justice. They developed 'safer space policies' to keep their clients and staff free of harassment, discrimination, and intimidation as problematic behaviours can occur more frequently when people consume alcohol. As a solidarity coop, Reggie's has eight seats[96]; one of them is reserved for a representative of The Gender Advocacy Centre, a group that played a crucial role in developing the safe space policy. Reggie's has gender-neutral bathrooms and the 'no bullshit' policy (where any person who violates the Safer Space Policy must immediately leave the premises – no excuses, no bullshit!) (Reggies, n.d).

Most of the practices of the campus-community food organizations resemble those in the food movement categories of Holt-Giménez and Shattuck's (2011) Politics, Production Models and Approaches (Table 8). Some of the practices resemble those in the progressive (food justice) category: alternative, community benefit, food security, underserved communities, solidarity economies, sustainably produces, local, right to food, etc. Some of the practices also appear like those in the radical (food sovereignty) category: dismantle corporate monopolies, parity, democratization of the food system, rights to water and seed, sustainable livelihoods, wealth

redistribution, mitigate against climate change, etc. In applying food sovereignty models to university foodservices, Holt-Giménez and Shattuck's (2011) table is helpful to differentiate between practices that are corporate led (even reformist) and those that are part of the food movement. It is more difficult to distinguish between progressive and radical food practices because most of the food organizations performed both simultaneously. Most of the food organizations had progressive and food sovereignty-based practices while only some of them had corporate and reformist practices. For example, the G-Lounge carried products from large transnational corporations and Reggie's signed an exclusivity agreement with Molson Coors. While Holt-Giménez and Shattuck's (2011) model is helpful to compare corporate led and food movement practices, a lot of the focus is on international food problems. In the last section of this thesis, I develop a comparative model that directly applies to university foodservices.

As mentioned above, groups like Le Frigo Vert and the People's Potato share similarities between their practices and some food sovereignty categories in Desmarais's (2017) Key Differences Between Corporate-Led, Neo-liberal, Industrial Agriculture and the Food Sovereignty Framework table (Table 7). For example, in the food sovereignty category, Desmarais (2017) considers food as a human right. It should be "healthy, nutritious, affordable, culturally appropriate, and as much as possible be locally produced under socially just conditions". Many campus-community food groups also view hunger as "a problem of access and maldistribution caused by poverty and inequality". The People's Potato and the Hive Free Lunch Program provide meaningful employment for students and community members and feed hundreds of students daily (with no transactional charge) through non-profit and cooperative organizations. These viable alternative models reduce campus food insecurity. Concordia students have also pushed back against the corporate food monopolies on campus. According to Desmarais (2017), the food sovereignty approach regards corporate monopolies as "A systemic and pathological feature of an industrialized international food system". Furthermore, a variety of campus-community food groups have implemented policies to ensure gender equity. Desmarais (2017) writes that the food sovereignty approach to gender "Aims to transform existing unequal gender relations. Recognizes and respects the key roles women play in the production, gathering, distribution, preparation, and cultural dimensions of food and agriculture. Demands equality and the end of all forms of violence against women".

Eliminating Transnational Foodservice Corporations and Establishing Collective Food Organizations.

One main defining feature of food sovereignty is for people to control their own food system (Koc, Sumner, and Winson, 2017), especially to protect them from transnational food corporations (Sélingué, 2007). Students at Concordia have used the term food sovereignty to mean – giving students local control over foodservices. Many of the campus-community food groups have advocated for abolishing large transnational food corporation and were in favour of giving students more local control over foodservices. As described in the next section, Le Frigo Vert, the People's Potato, the Hive and the Concordia Food Coalition have pressured the Concordia administration to build a local, community-based model of foodservices that gives students control over the distribution (and in some cases production) of food on campus. The People's Potato was created by students with the goal of eventually replacing the large food service provider (at the time, Sodexho-Marriott had the food service contract at Concordia). At first, the Concordia administration was skeptical about the viability of the People's Potato and

never considered them for more extensive university food services. The People's Potato has existed for over twenty years and has fed hundreds of hungry students every weekday. They successfully demonstrated that food services could be run by students and the community as an autonomous worker-run collective. The Hive also made a request to become the foodservice provider but was refused because they haven't had business over $5 million in previous years – a stipulation in the request for proposal. The Concordia Food Coalition organized a local cooperative (Coopsco) to bid on the contract with a consortium of local campus food providers. None of these attempts were successful – Concordia has had Sodexho-Marriott, Chartwells-Compass and Aramark serving food to resident students while the Hive and People's Potato serve mainly non-resident students, faculty, and the rest of the Concordia community. I expand on these points below.

Despite a few unsuccessful attempts at replacing transnational foodservice corporations at Concordia, students have founded an array of cooperative and collective organizations to democratize the food system and take control over the food served on campus. The Hive was incorporated as a solidary cooperative, a multi-stakeholder cooperative that allows members (students, faculty, and community), workers, and support members (the CSU, the CFC, and another rotating group) to take part in decision making, vote on policies, decide on budgets, and participate in strategic planning. Reggie's also became a solidarity cooperative from a for-profit bar. Most of the other food organizations (including the People's Potato, Le Frigo Vert, the CFC, and the Concordia Greenhouse) were incorporated as non-profit organizations and acted as non-hierarchical food collectives. Many of the other projects that were not incorporated but still operated collectively.

Right to Food.

Another important feature of food sovereignty is the right to food (Sélingué, 2007; Desmarais, 2017). Alleviating food insecurity was crucial for most of the campus-community food groups; some organizations even had specific missions to reduce food insecurity. The People's Potato and the Hive Free Lunch Program provided students with daily meals in the afternoon, and MoHubs provided a weekly meal at dinnertime. Because these organizations were funded by fee levies and/or by other union support groups on campus, they were able to provide hundreds of 'free' meals per day. The work of these organizations demonstrated that non-market-based food distribution programs with a stable, annual funding source reduces campus food insecurity. Other organizations addressed food insecurity in different ways. One of the Hive Café principles was to provide food to the Concordia community at an affordable price (The Hive Café Co-op, n.d). The Hive also had a pay it forward program, whereby customers can donate money for someone to use at a later point. Other organizations also helped reduce food insecurity. The Concordia Food Coalition hosted events where they served free food; students had access to affordable local produce at the Farmers' Market, and Le Frigo Vert provided some food items and coffee at a low cost.

Most of the campus-community food organizations were in line with the food sovereignty approach to alleviating hunger than a food security approach. The People's Potato, the Hive Free Lunch Program and MoHubs have developed a social economy approach and have become viable organizations. Comparing these approaches through Holt-Giménez and Shattuck's (2011) Politics, Production Models and Approaches (Table 8), the corporate and reformist approaches to food crises, like hunger, is to rely on large corporations to overproduce food, then give charity to

those in need. Progressive and radical movements advocate for eliminating hunger by building a thriving solidarity economy and dismantling corporate monopolies.

Strengths and Weakness of the Research Design.

Using the three phases I described in the methods section, we were able to get a precise map of the practices of the campus-community food groups at Concordia University. In the first phase, the interviews gave us a lot of rich descriptive information about the food system and the roles each group performed. We were able to create the first draft of the Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food Groups (Figure 13) relatively easily. In the third phase we were able to refine the map according to the feedback we received at the public meeting with all the campus-community food groups. The interviews in phase 1 also gave us a narrative history of the campus-community food groups that was used to assess what factors facilitated and inhibited the creation and maintenance of the campus-community food system at Concordia. As mentioned in the methods section, the maps have been useful in instigating conversation with the campus-community food groups about looking beyond their organizations to understand how each group fits into the food system. The Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food System Map makes visible what was largely unnoticed by the Concordia community. It also helps establish the beginning stages of action research. For example, it helps groups understand the practices of each group vis-à-vis the entire food system to see how their actions contribute to the bigger picture. At Concordia, the map has been beneficial in communicating issues about the campus community food system to the administration, faculty, students, and community at large. Although we didn't use Gibson-Graham's (Gibson-Graham & Dombroski, 2020) diverse economies mapping tools, we exposed economic practices that are usually hidden, like those that are non-capitalist and some that are alternative to capitalism.

A weakness of this design was that it took a long time to complete all three phases of the project. Although it is relatively easy to come up with the food system map, conducting video interviews with each group, editing the videos, and uploading them to a web-archive was time consuming. Another weakness of the research design was that, despite getting a lot of descriptive information about the practices of the campus-community food system, we didn't get as much information about the inner-workings of each group. We interviewed members of over a dozen groups and/or projects. If we were to choose a few of these groups, we could have spent more time interviewing members in more detail to find out about decision making, strategic plans, interpersonal relationships, group dynamics, and other important information. For this reason, some of the descriptive information provided in this section lacks depth. In the next section, I provide a historical analysis to provide context as to how the campus-community food system developed.

There are also numerous limitations to digital and visual action research. In Cadieux, Levkoe, Mount and Szanto's (2016) article about visual methods in food studies, they outline four themes that illustrate a range of issues in making food system visualizations: representation, communication, transition, and transformation. They suggest that representations are partially situated in assemblages of experience including, emotions, materials, relationships, and power structures, among other things. Meaning depends on the social context from which these representations derive. In terms of the food system map, we regularly communicated with the research partners at public meetings and in private to verify the accuracy of our digital representation. Despite these limitations, there were also ways in which visual action research

further advanced the goal of transforming foodservices at Concordia. Cadieux, Levkoe, Mount and Szanto (2016) suggest that, through digital and visual action research, transformation can occur as an interactive co-learning process and can generate emancipatory change; these take place through three parallel and interconnected processes. First, visualizations can facilitate emancipatory change. At the public discussion about the campus-community food system map, the food groups became more aware that they had common goals and ways to better collaborate. Secondly, Cadieux, Levkoe, Mount and Szanto (2016) suggest that emancipatory change may come from the viewers of the visual material who are not part of the research project. The Snapshot of the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Map was also able to reach and educate the larger Concordia community of over 50 000 students, faculty, administrators, and staff (Concordia, 2022). The practices of these groups became more visible and got more attention.

Future Directions for Campus-Community Food System Mapping.

Since this research project, a team of student researchers and I have performed two other mapping projects using a modified version of the method used in this study. We expanded the questions that pertain to the practices of the organizations in the food system but did not ask about the history and/or internal workings of each organization (please see Appendix J). We included more categories to include other forms of capital identified by Roland & Landua (2015) in Regenerative Enterprise: Optimizing for Multi-capital Abundance. For example, under production, we included food, knowledge, equipment (means of production), and social capital. For transformation, we included cooking, preparing, fermenting, processing, storing/freezing, dehydrating, canning and other. For distribution, we kept the categories the same, i.e., market, non-market, alternative market. For waste management, we asked if they compost, re-purpose food and save seeds. Finally, for support we looked at money, space, labour and other. To speed up the process of mapping, we didn't record video interviews, although we did create a web-archive[97]. This method allowed us to understand the food system and initiate community conversations in a timely manner; although, we did not get as much information about each community food group.

We have already begun updating the Concordia campus-community food system map with a group of students from my Food and Sustainability course. We are following the modified method, described above. We are not conducting video interviews this time. For those interested in applying this methodology at other universities, using the long version provides a great deal of rich information but takes a lot more time and resources. The videos were extremely useful for mobilizing the community to take part in the food movement at Concordia. It also legitimized projects that were seen as fringe to the administration. If time is a factor and/or artistic expertise are not available, it is best to follow the method we used for mapping the groups in Lachine. Either way, the questionnaire used to map the community food groups in Lachine is more up to date. We hope to inspire other researchers to conduct similar studies at other universities so we can add more case studies and get a better understand of how campus-community food systems can contribute to transformative, in-depth, holistic sustainability, and campus food sovereignty.

Historical Analysis of the Campus-Community Food System at Concordia University

The Concordia campus-community food system was developed by faculty, students, and the community at large since the 1960s. In this section I analyze seven historical trends that explain how the campus-community food system came to fruition. Then, I provide a discussion connecting the findings about the factors that facilitated the creation and perpetuation as well as impeded the development and viability of the campus-community food system with the results from the following historical analysis. Third, I connect the historical analysis with notions of food sovereignty, focusing on the gains made by students and faculty and expand on the process of using critical-participatory-action research to develop food sovereign campuses. I conclude this section by discussing the parameters of the research project: the strengths, weaknesses, and advice for future directions for this research project or for other university foodservice researchers who want to perform a historical analysis of their campus food system.

1. The Beginning – Founding Concordia, the Greenhouse, Food Services, and Student-Run Café/Bar and COOP (1966-1979)
2. Concordia Students Form Associations and Businesses – Foundation of the Concordia University Student Association and CUSACorps (1979-1990)
3. Fighting for Food Justice – Creating Le Frigo Vert and MoHubs (1990-1997)
4. Building a Food Collective – Forming the Concordia Food Collective and the People's Potato (1998-2003)
5. Focusing on Sustainability and Urban Agriculture – Foundation of Sustainable Concordia and Revitalization of the Concordia Greenhouse (2003-2007)
6. Expansion of Urban Farming, Reinvigorating Food Activism and Mass Mobilization (2008-2012)
7. Creating a Vibrant Campus-Community Food System (2012-2018)

The Beginning – Founding Concordia, the Greenhouse, Food Services, and Student-Run Café/Bar and COOP (1966 - 1979)

The first historical trend involved building the Henry F. Hall Building (the Hall Building) and the Greenhouse; founding Concordia University; and establishing campus foodservices through the administration and as student-run organizations. In this period, students and faculty at Sir George Williams University were becoming politically active by organizing strikes and other acts of civil disobedience. Concordia became known for political activism, especially food activism (among other important causes) from the 1990s onward. Furthermore, before the foundation of Concordia, Sir George Williams University had a self-operated cafeteria run by the Concordia administration. The cafeteria was not economically viable, in consequence, Concordia outsourced foodservices from that moment forward. Even early on, students were interested in organizing alternatives to the self-operated and corporate contracted foodservices on campus; they also founded student-run cafés, bars, and a food cooperative.

Founding of Concordia University.

Concordia University was founded in 1974 when Loyola College, a former Jesuit college, merged with Sir George Williams University, a university founded by the YMCA to provide accessible education to the Montreal community members (Concordia, n.d). Since early on,

activism was central to the identity of Concordia (and Sir George Williams) and an important reason why the campus-community food system was developed. Over the years, students and faculty engaged in *development* (community economic development) and *social action* (grassroots organizing, coalition building and advocacy) approaches from *integrative* (bringing people into social movements) and *oppositional* (challenging power relations, building alternative systems) political approaches (Shragge, 2013).There were waves of activism throughout Concordia's history, including oppositional approaches like the large-scale protests in the 1960s (Lambert, 2016) and labour strikes in the 1970s (The Concordian, 1973). In one famous example, about 200 students occupied the Computer Centre and faculty lounge in the Hall Building of Concordia to protest how the university mishandled the complaint made by six black, West Indian students that Biology Professor, Perry Anderson, discriminated against them (Concordia University, n.d) (Shum, 2015). The occupation lasted for about two weeks until negotiations broke down and the Sir George Williams administration asked the riot squad to intervene. When the riot squad arrived, the protesters barricaded themselves inside the building and began throwing computer equipment and other items out the window. During the chaos, a fire was lit, close to one hundred people were arrested, and about 2 million dollars of damage was done (Lambert, 2016). Although the Sir George Williams administrators were forced to re-evaluate their internal procedures, Perry Anderson was determined to be not guilty by the hearing committee (Concordia University, n.d). Many voices still stand in opposition to the ruling (Shum, 2015). There were many other large-scale actions on social issues at Sir George Williams and/or Concordia University; students and faculty had participated in strikes, protests, and other actions on and off campus. Food was an important part of a lot of these movements and even the focal point of student activism from time to time, especially in the 1990s onward.

Establishing the Concordia Greenhouse (the Greenhouse).

The Henry F. Hall Building (the Hall Building) of Sir George Williams University was constructed in 1966, three years before the Computer Center and faculty lounge occupation. The original building was equipped with a greenhouse that contained separate glass compartments with heat control, an automatic watering system, and sunlight control. A graduate student horticulturalist named Herve de la Fouchardiere was the original caretaker for the greenhouse. The Greenhouse was built for the Biology Department, who grew a variety of tropical plants, houseplants and conducted research. The Greenhouse had a pond and outdoor area, used by students, faculty, and researchers to study parasites[98] and experiment with horticulture, plant cells, and tissue[99]. People at the Greenhouse were also involved with commercial contracts, like landscaping and vineyard twig propagation for Concordia, and even sold plants on a word-of-mouth basis. The Greenhouse never produced food to supply the cafeterias, their contribution to food sovereignty appears decades later where the Greenhouse Collective establishes a series of experiential-learning courses and workshops to teach people how to grow food in an urban setting.

Student Cafeterias.

A cafeteria with "ultra-modern facilities" was also included in the Hall Building's original construction. (The Georgian, 1966) Under Mr. McPhie, the Director of Food Services at Sir George Williams, the Cafeteria Advisory Committee wrote a Food Service Policy to guide

the cafeteria and campus food services. At the time, the food service priorities included: providing students affordable prices, meeting the culinary expectations of students, providing an enjoyable environment (The Georgian, 1966) , and especially breaking even (Richman, 1967). From the cafeteria's inception to outsourcing the foodservice contract to Saga Canadian Management Services Limited, Sir George Williams food service directors had a hard time making food services financially viable. In the first year of operation, the cafeteria ran a deficit for a variety of reasons. They used outside caterers, served pre-prepared food items, and couldn't mark up the prices much over their procurement costs; certain food items were even sold at a loss (Richman, 1967). In the second year of operation, Sir George Williams hired a chef and raised the food prices (Richman, 1967). Students were not happy about the increases in food prices and remarked that the food was of substandard quality (The Paper, 1968). Despite raising prices, the cafeteria continued to run deficits. McPhie blamed the losses on students pilfering utensils and dishes (Bovaird, 1970) (First, 1970). Once again, the administration augmented food prices and hired more security to patrol the cafeteria. Students continued to complain about food quality (Bovaird, 1970) and increases in prices (The Paper, 1970).

By 1970, McPhie resigned as the Director of Food Services, and Jim Gowland was hired to replace him (First, 1970). Gowland gave students a stern warning about taking cutlery and dishes from the cafeteria. He threatened to prosecute anyone who was caught stealing (The Paper, 1970). The warning didn't deter students, they continued to take utensils and cutlery out of the cafeteria without returning them (The Paper, 1970) , and the cafeteria continued to lose money. Gowland also blamed the losses on the lack of student lounge space at Sir George Williams, claiming that students used the space a place for social gathering and only spend about 39-cents per visit. In January 1971, Gowland launched a campaign called "bring-back-the-dishes," pleading with students to return dishes that they brought home. He told students that if the campaign was successful, he would start a dish lending program (The Paper, 1971). To make matters worse, a couple of months after the campaign was launched, Gowland discovered that students were using 'slugs' to get food from the vending machines (The Paper, 1971). The Food Services Department was continuously losing money (The Paper, 1971).

Gowland was replaced by Mr. Armand Benny, who inherited a cafeteria with many problems. Soon into his mandate, Mr. Benny had to close the cafeteria because it was not up to the Montreal Health Officials' cleanliness standards (The Paper, 1972). With less than a year on the job, Armanda Benny quit claiming that the administration put a lot of pressure on him to lift the cafeteria out of deficit (Proussaefs, 1972). As he departed, Armanda Benny suggested that the cafeteria be run by a private corporation, like at Loyola College (Proussaefs, 1972). The game of "musical managers" (Jadah, 1972) continued once again. Mr. Claude Boulanger was appointed the Director of Food Services for two months before resigning from the position. Assistant Vice-Principal, Andre Laprade wanted Boulanger to raise food prices in the cafeteria, a condition that student associations and Boulanger opposed (Jadah, 1972). Armanda Benny's suggestion was eventually acted upon, and the foodservice contract was outsourced to a private company.

In 1969, Saga Canadian Management Services Limited was awarded a foodservice contract for Loyola College (The Paper, 1969). In 1974 Saga Canadian Management Services also opened at Sir George Williams campus (The Paper, 1973). Marriott purchased Saga Canadian Management Services Limited in 1986 (www.encyclopedia.com, n.d) (Gellene, 1986), merged with Sodexho in 1997, (Berselli , 1997) and would continue to provide food services at

Concordia food until 2002. Despite requests from students decades later, the Concordia administration have been resistant to re-establishing a self-operated foodservice model, citing concerns with economic viability.

Daytime Student Association of Sir George Williams University (DSA) Student Centre.

Another important event occurred in 1966; the Sir George Williams Student Union obtained their own independent student union building on de Maisonneuve and Crescent's southwest corner[100]. Students developed their own coffee shop in the basement called the Karma Café and would host events in the lounges – like games, theatre, and movies. In 1974, the association was in deficit by about $50 000 and sold the building to the former president of the Daytime Student Association of Sir George Williams University (DSA), Jonathan Wener, for $210 000 (Beeston & Giovannetti , 2011). Jonathan Wener went on to sell the building for a profit and started a real-estate company called Canderel Realty (Concordia University, n.d). Once the student association building was sold, the (DSA) paid $673 000 to Concordia's capital campaign to get a student center in the Hall Building (Concordia University, n.d). Jonathan Wener eventually joined the Board of Governors of Concordia, then became University Chancellor. He was part of the Real-Estate Planning Committee and helped establish the Jonathan Wener Centre for Real Estate as a Concordia program. He also got caught up in a political battle with the students while trying to broker a real-estate deal with the CSU decades later, being accused of potential conflicts of interest in the sale from CSU executives (Noakes, 2010).

Food Coop.

In 1971-72 St. George Co-op Club (The Concordian, 1974) initiated a food cooperative in the Hall Building (The Paper, 1972). The coop also opened a daycare program, arts and crafts center, housing services, and had ideas to open a credit union (The Paper, 1972). The Food Coop had about 80 members and addressed health and food security issues, claiming that they could feed people for only $0.80 a day (The Paper, 1972). The Food Coop ran a lunch program and sold grocery items (The Happening, 1974) (Gersovitz, 1973). Food cooperatives became popular again around 2012.

Loyola Campus Centre and G-Lounge.

Right before SGW and Loyola's merger, Loyola College also expanded the campus to include a Campus Centre. The Campus Centre had a student pub called the Wolf and Kettle that hosted student events, like live music, games, and comedy nights[101]. The place where the Wolf and Kettle existed eventually became the Hive, but the transition wasn't straightforward. A variety of student bars and coffee houses existed in that location, including the Quiet Bar, Oasis Bar, the Pub, and the Disco-Bar. The Quiet Bar existed in the mid-1970s until 1979 and was renamed the Oasis Bar, which was also a coffee house (Concordia's Thursday Report, 1979). The Student Centre also had a Disco Bar and Pub in adjacent/shared locations[102]. Also, in 1973, the Inter-Fraternity Council opened a coffee bar in the CC building at the Loyola campus (Down, 2018). The lounge was named after Professor Frank Guadagni, who was well-liked in the

Concordia community[103]. The G-Lounge was a central hub for the Concordia fraternities, as well as a lounge for students and faculty.

Students form Associations and Businesses – Foundation of the Concordia University Student Association and CUSACorp (1979 - 1989)

In the second historical trend, the Concordia University Students' Association (CUSA) and CUSACoorp (a for-profit wing of CUSA) were formed. CUSACorp was an important part of the campus-community food system because it established a variety of student-run bars and cafés. Most of these initiatives were not economically viable and closed. Although, decades later, some of these projects re-opened under new cooperative governance models, became solvent and are integral parts of the Concordia campus-community food system. Furthermore, once Q-PIRG Concordia was founded, activists had a hub and funding for many social justice campaigns and projects, including Le Frigo Vert.

CUSA and CUSACorp.

In 1979, the former Loyola College student associations and Sir George Williams merged to form the Concordia University Student Association (CUSA). This association was later incorporated in 1982 and then became the Concordia Student Union (CSU) in 1994. Two years after founding CUSA, the union opened a for-profit corporation, CUSACorp, to manage Reggie's Pub and other future CUSA businesses. Reggie's was established in 1977, soon after the DSA moved into the Hall Building. Reggie's was "named by students for the fun-loving and flamboyant Reggie Parry, Maintenance Supervisor for the SGW campus" [104]. CUSA established CUSACorp to generate profit and increase the income of the union; an idea that never came to fruition. Reggie's was not profitable, nor were other CUSACorp businesses (Brennan, 2014). As mentioned in the previous section, the original administration-operated cafeteria was running deficits. The CUSACorp foodservice operations were in similar circumstances; pilfering and mismanagement were also problems for the union-run businesses (Blais, 2018). CUSACorp opened two more businesses, the Mezz Café, a student-run a café in the mezzanine of the Hall Building (in 1994)[105] and the Hive (in 1991), a sports bar at Loyola campus in the space where the Oasis Pub was previously located (Perrella, 1991). The Hive bar operated until 1995 when the CSU voted to shut down the bar because the Hive was in deficit. Three years later, CUSACorp would also close The Mezz Café and rent the space to Java U. Reggie's remained the only (unprofitable) business under CUSACorp.

Café X.

Café X was initiated by an ingenious group of arts students in 1983 to provide their department with a lounge, performance and vernissage space (Mignacca, 2018). Concordia purchased the VA Building from Mid-Town Motors (an abandoned used car dealership)[106] in 1979 to house the Visual Arts Department. The VA building was located a couple of blocks from the main downtown campus; therefore, art students didn't have access to the student association resources, cafés and student lounges. Café X provided students in visual arts a place to socialize, exhibit their projects, get coffee, and have snacks. In 2006 (Concordia University, n.d), Café X opened another location in the newly built EV Building (Herland, 2006).

Q-PIRG Concordia.

Q-PIRG Concordia was founded in 1981 as a student club. In the early 1980s the 'PIRGs' "provided a forum and training ground for students and non-students alike to become critical and engaged community participants" (Q-PIRG Concordia, 2022). Q-PIRG Concordia established many projects, campaigns, movements, and protests. Q-PIRG was essential in orienting students towards social justice activism. Q-PIRG co-created a bike collective, political cinema screenings, and a variety of food initiatives, and host events like anti-colonial dinners, among other things (Q-PIRG Concordia, 2022). Q-PIRG provided student activists a place to meet and organize, then in 1989, they successfully campaigned to get a fee levy to fund activist projects. In the late 1980s students were beginning to become concerned that Marriott had signed an exclusivity contract and wanted healthier options (Fauteux, 1989). In the next decade, students began to challenge the campus foodservice corporations and build alternatives.

Fighting for Food Justice – Creating Le Frigo Vert and MoHubs (1990 - 1997)

In the 1990s, students mobilized around food issues and used food to help mobilize for other social issues by applying development and social action from integrative and oppositional activist approaches (Shragge, 2013). *Radical activism* (focusing on capitalism as the main cause of social problems) (Shragge, 2013), became more common at Concordia in the 1990s until it hit a peak in 2003. Students also began to focus on *oppositional development* "building alternatives that create democratic or non-market economics" (Shragge, 2013, p. 22) and *oppositional social action* "social movement organizing and critical consciousness, challenging the legitimacy of power relations" (Shragge, 2013, p. 22). Furthermore, food justice became a central focus of the campus food movement. Although the term food sovereignty was not used much on campus during this period, students began to push back against food corporations and created alternative food practices. The Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food System at Concordia University began to take shape from this moment forward.

Le Frigo Vert.

In 1992, Elizabeth Hunter published *Hungry for Justice: the Montreal Guide to Socially Responsible Food Choices* through Q-PIRG Concordia. This book inspired food activists to think about adopting socially responsible eating habits. It also motivated them to develop a few interconnected organizations. Student food activists formed a working group of Q-PIRG Concordia called The Eat Your Peel Collective, which became Le Frigo Vert and then eventually became part of the Concordia Food Collective (Concordia University, 2003). The Eat Your Peel Collective wanted to offer food at Concordia that was ethically produced. In 1993, they made their first bulk order for about twenty students, although the demand was much greater. To meet the demand, the Eat Your Peel Collective ran a referendum to receive a fee levy of $1.70 per student per semester. The campaign was successful; the Eat Your Peel Collective was the first food organization in the campus-community food system to obtain a fee levy. Although some of the Concordia Board of Governors were concerned about violating the exclusivity agreement Concordia had with Marriott[107], they unanimously approved setting up an independent account (managed by the dean of students) for the Eat Your Peel Collective. The following year, in 1995, the Eat Your Peel Coop was officially incorporated as a non-profit organization in Quebec. On

the official incorporation documents, the French name given to the organization was Le Frigo Vert, which translates to 'the green fridge'. From that moment onwards, the Eat Your Peel Coop was officially renamed Le Frigo Vert. Students were indeed hungry for food justice on campus.

Le Frigo Vert contributed to campus food sovereignty by challenging for-profit, large multinational food corporations and improving the social and environmental impacts of food distribution at Concordia[108]. Furthermore, Le Frigo Vert provided a place for food activists to debate and discuss campus, local and global food issues. Food sovereignty, as a process, refers to community stakeholders coming together to make decisions about local food systems (La Via Campesina 1996 cited in Patel, 2009). Le Frigo Vert team spent a lot of time discussing and debating a variety of food issues. They were particularly interested in how to define ethical food products[109]. Le Frigo Vert team developed a buying policy adapted to fit the students' dietary needs while meeting the standards negotiated and renegotiated by the Board[110]. Ethically produced, healthy food was hard to come by at conventional supermarkets in Montreal in the mid-1990s; therefore, Le Frigo Vert made these food items available to students (Concordia Food Groups, 2015).

Le Frigo Vert was not a typical grocery store; it was 'an anti-capitalist grocery store' (Concordia Food Groups, 2017) that provided ethical food products to students, opposed corporate presence on campus, fought for social justice and wanted to create alternatives to capitalism (Concordia Food Groups, 2017). The internal contradiction of being an anti-capitalist grocery store caused positive and negative consequences. By adopting an anti-capitalist stance, Le Frigo Vert supported social justice and transformative approaches to food over market sales. Unfortunately, this caused Le Frigo Vert to run deficits from time to time (The Concordian, 2010). Le Frigo Vert became more financially stable after students voted to increase their fee levy in 2012 (CJLO, 2012).

Le Frigo Vert team provided an inclusive space and stressed the importance of building non-hierarchical relations between people (Concordia Food Groups, 2017). The first store was located on MacKay. The building was beside/shared with Q-PIRG Concordia (Quebec Public Interest Research Group, n.d) and had direct access to the street, offices in the back, and a shared space for workshops. The store contained many bulk foods, frigerated prepared foods, cheap coffee, and various other ethical products. In 2016, Le Frigo Vert moved to a new location a block away to be more accessible for people with mobility issues (Fischlin, 2016).

Mother Hubbard's (MoHubs).

Another food program, MoHubs (originally known as Mother Hubbard's Cupboard), began in 1995 as part of a student peer support program run at The Multifaith Chaplaincy at Concordia University (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). The Multifaith Chaplaincy decided to organize a community gathering around food because some students wanted to address campus food insecurity by showing others how to cook with a limited budget. When the program began, volunteers served only vegetarian meals to meet the religious dietary needs (halal, not eating pork, etc.) of the students and be more inclusive; most meat-eaters also eat vegetarian meals, but vegans don't eat animal products.

At the beginning of the program, MoHubs didn't have a kitchen, so they cooked food at the Loyola Campus and brought it all the way downtown for dinner. Food was reheated in a microwave oven at the downtown space. A couple of years after the program began, the cooking

operation was moved downtown to the Erskine and American United Church[111], located near the Multifaith Chaplaincy. Food was transported from the church to the serving area in a big pot with the help of a kid's wagon (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). After demonstrating the program's importance for about a decade, the Concordia administration agreed to build a kitchen at The Multifaith Chaplaincy[112]. The kitchen was equipped with a gas stove, pots, pans, and everything else needed to cook food. Student volunteers originally ran the program with Ellie Hummel's assistance, Multifaith Chaplaincy coordinator. Some of these volunteers were involved with Le Frigo Vert as well. Most of the original group graduated soon after the dinner program began, leaving Ellie to take on a lot more than she expected[113]. Some of the volunteer cooks from MoHubs created a new organization called the People's Potato[114]. MoHubs gave food enthusiasts and hungry students a place to meet, cook, chat about food and politics. It also inspired a group of food activists to initiate similar collective kitchen style programs.

Building a Food Collective – Forming the Concordia Food Collective and the People's Potato (1998 - 2003)

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, CSU politics were progressive/radical (Kirby, 2003) because executives, councillors and student groups were mobilizing for Palestinian human rights, for LGBTQ+ rights, and against the FTAA, war research/investments, the Iraq war, the corporatization of the public sector, racism and discrimination, among many other issues. Food was a central part of these movements for a variety of reasons. First, students mobilized against Sodexho-Marriott and wanted to set up student-run, cooperative food services on campus. Secondly, food justice was an essential issue for many student activists. Regarding campus foodservices, students fought for animal rights, worker rights, fair trade, food security, and ethical purchasing options. Third, activists were hungry, and these organizations were bringing food to strikes, squats, and protests. Finally, the food organizations became a central hub for organizing, recruiting, mobilizing, and educating people about social justice causes. the People's Potato and the Concordia Food Collective became important organizations, eventually picking up the momentum that Le Frigo Vert and MoHubs established.

The People's Potato.

Around 1998, Le Frigo Vert was going through political turmoil; they struggled to keep their clientele. Their constitution was voted down at their general assembly. Some of their board members and managers left to start other projects, including the People's Potato and The Concordia Food Collective (Concordia Food Groups, 2015). The Concordia Food Collective was the parent organization of the People's Potato (although both groups had the same membership). The Concordia Food Collective wanted to shift food production from private interests into the public's hands[115]. Specifically, they wanted to challenge the exclusivity contract that Sodexho-Marriott had with Concordia and replace food services with a collective worker-run organization[116]. The Concordia Food Collective was at the forefront of the food sovereignty movement at Concordia (although they didn't use the term food sovereignty to describe the movement). They advocated for student control over the foodservices, were anti-capitalist, were a central part of radical activism, and provided the Concordia community a place to socialize and discuss food and politics. The original People's Potato and Concordia Food Collective team

consisted of Zev Tiefenbach, Janice Tiefenbach, Marguerite Bromley, Jen Raso, Mike Barkey and Laura Berazadi (Concordia Food Groups, 2015).

At first, the Concordia administration wasn't cooperative with the Concordia Food Collective. Zev and Mike tried to lobby Concordia for a kitchen but were unsuccessful in the initial stages; therefore, they had to look for a kitchen off-campus. Although the collective located a kitchen on the seventh floor of the Hall Building with state-of-the-art cooking equipment, it was used by Sodexho-Marriott (the exclusive food service provider for Concordia at that time). Concordia wouldn't grant the collective access to even a small portion of the kitchen (Concordia Food Groups, 2015).

In December 1999, the Concordia Food Collective launched the People's Potato by cooking at the Erskine and American Church, the same kitchen that MoHubs was cooking their weekly dinner[117]. The collective transported large pots of food a block away to distribute at Reggie's. The People's Potato used the basement of Reggie's to serve food because Sodexho-Marriott had an exclusive agreement with the university to be the sole food service provider on campus. There was a loophole, the administration didn't control the spaces operated by the Concordia Student Union (CSU); Reggie's was owned and managed by the CUSACorp in the late 90s and early 2000s. Students were resourceful despite the setbacks caused by the exclusivity contracts and resistance from the Concordia administration. They were able to find a technicality that allowed them to start a collective food program that has provided hundreds of meals per day for over two decades.

The People's Potato wasn't just a soup kitchen; Reggie's basement was a lively activist gathering place and was especially important in challenging Sodexho-Marriott and the exclusive food agreement they had with Concordia. The People's Potato was founded on the notion of expanding radical politics through food. Zev Tiefenbach makes explicit his intentions to feed students and radicalize politics on campus at Concordia.

> …we wanted to, I think implicitly, have a widespread radicalizing influence. We had an ethic of radical politics, but we wanted it to be able to be popularized (Concordia Food Groups, 2015).

Feeding people became a way to introduce them to radical politics. Furthermore, food security was a political issue shared by various political groups at the CSU and shared with the Concordia administration – feeding people was not a divisive issue. Once students came to eat at the People's Potato, they would find out about social justice issues, especially students who weren't usually involved in student activism.[118]

David Bernans, a student activist and CSU researcher, describes the political atmosphere of the original People's Potato,

> … there'd be these long lineups from the basement that would go all the way up to Reggie's, and people would go down and as they were going down there would be all these interesting conversations, people would be passing out leaflets…it was a really interesting activist space…the serving would happen down in Reggie's, and there were these old booths… and all kinds of artwork…there was always music…it was an interesting community space…totally non-corporate and a free space…people felt safe to do any kind of activist thing that they wanted to do…and it was great for organizing…it was a really key organizing space to…challenge the food monopoly, for one thing…it was in 1999 that students fought back against Sodexho… (Concordia Food Groups, 2014)

In the early 2000s, the People's Potato became an essential hub for social activism, mobilizing students for strikes, demonstrations, and other political action. Students at the People's Potato had discussions and debates about many political issues, especially food and social justice issues. Students would gather, give political speeches, hand out information about political actions, make friendships, plan interventions, and most importantly, be part of a vibrant activist community. If you were a serious activist at Concordia from 1999 onward, you know that effective mobilizing involves handing out flyers and making announcements to people in line for food at the People's Potato.

In the early days of the People's Potato, Zev would announce the day's meal while updating attendees about current political issues; other activists also made announcements, then the team served the food. Zev (2015) recounts,

> …we started in earnest…and we had our kitchen at Erskine and American Church. We brought the food over, everyday steaming hot pots across the street…into the basement of Reggie's there'd be a huge lineup out the door when we'd arrive with the food…we would bring really great food to people…people eating together in these really tight, cramped corridors…it became a hotbed for people to be able to mobilize people…and there were political speeches every day. I think before I ever served a meal, I would proselytize…there would be a lot of political talks, a lot of political organizing out of that space…we wanted to build a movement…

The People's Potato was part of larger social movements in the community[119]. The organization was formed by-and-large because of a CSU conference about activism in the age of neoliberalism. The CSU hired Zev and a team of cooks to prepare food for the conference. As part of the agreement, the CSU gave the collective funds to buy kitchen equipment. At the conference, the team formed strong friendships, had equipment that they collectively owned, and were inspired to develop other food distribution programs,[120] emulating the work of another activist food project, Food Not Bombs[121].

By March 2000, it was clear that the People's Potato needed a better place to serve and store food. The Erskine and American Church didn't have proper storage space for food, and Reggie's basement was tiny and crammed with people, creating line-ups up and down a steep set of stairs (Concordia Food Groups, 2015). In January 2000, the People's Potato even had to stop serving food for a week because the food at the church was beginning to spoil[122].

The Concordia administration were beginning to recognize the People's Potato as an important food program. The founders were awarded the Outstanding Contribution Award in 2000 and the Concordia administration gave the collective a walk-in fridge on the Hall Building's seventh floor, right beside the Sodexho-Marriott kitchen. While presenting the award, CSU VP Internal, Peter Taylor, read a poem he titled, "Ode to a Potato," where he concluded by saying, "Potato, potato, you're made for lovin', we really could use a new convection oven" (Tchir, n.d). Zev responded to Peter by saying, "Actually, it's a six-burner gas range we need" (Tchir, n.d). At the meeting, Michael Di Grappa, the Vice-Rector, Services, promised that the collective would get a new stove (Tchir, n.d). Having a kitchen in the Hall building solved the problem with food rotting; but it was still extremely labour intensive to carry all the food from the seventh floor to the Erskine and American Church, then cook the food and transport the food back to Concordia to serve in Reggie's basement. They needed a kitchen space on campus, close to the fridge and serving area.

The People's Potato also became a fee levy group in 2000. Students voted to give the People's Potato five cents per student per credit; then, in 2001, (The Concordian, 2001) students voted to increase the fee levy to twenty-five cents per student per credit (The Concordian, 2001). While securing funding, the collective finally worked out a deal with the Concordia administration to access a kitchen on the seventh floor; Sodexho-Marriott agreed to allow the People's Potato to use part of their kitchen for food preparation. The Concordia administration also gave the People's Potato a serving station with access to the kitchen. The People's Potato was gaining momentum, over the next two years, they made a serious attempt at becoming the next campus foodservice provider and forming a larger campus food collective.

Revitalization of Le Frigo Vert and Larger Vision of the Concordia Food Collective.

When the People's Potato was launched in 1999, the same group of students used the momentum to re-energize Le Frigo Vert and revitalize the campus food movement at Concordia by reforming partnerships and resolving political conflicts[123]. The People's Potato became the central student food hub on campus, attracting hundreds of volunteers and hungry people with appetites for vegan food. Le Frigo Vert had trouble retaining management and board members. The organization changed politically and began offering different food items, like dietary supplements and processed food. They also became strictly vegan and got rid of the bulk bins, once a staple to the organization. Food activists on campus pushed back on the decision to remove the bulk bins in what became known as the (Bulk)shevik Revolution[124].

The (Bulk)shevik Revolution consisted of a successful attempt to replace Le Frigo Vert board of directors with a new group of twelve members. A larger vision was to form a collective of (semi)autonomous worker-run food collectives that produced, processed, and distributed food on campus[125]. To accomplish the (Bulk)shevik Revolution, members of the Concordia Food Collective recruited a group of people to take over Le Frigo Vert board and bring the organization into the Concordia Food Collective umbrella, ultimately reinstating the bulk bins. The Concordia Food Collective was successful in reorganizing Le Frigo Vert's board of directors in 2001; they then brought both organizations, the People's Potato and Le Frigo Vert, under the umbrella of the Concordia Food Collective (Concordia Food Groups, 2015).

People's Potato Garden.

The Concordia Food Collective also expanded into food production. The original People's Potato Garden was located in the back of the athletics field but moved because the athletics department coordinator wasn't happy that the collective planted cover crops in the garden's first year[126]. With a new space in a field at the back of the Loyola campus, the People's Potato entered a partnership with a network of collective gardeners in NDG called the eco-initiative. Instead of focusing on producing food for the People's Potato kitchen, the garden was used to provide food to the community in and around the NDG area (Concordia Food Groups, 2015). The same year, the People's Potato began using the Greenhouse to grow seedlings for the garden and the eco-initiatives network. The Concordia Food Collective was creating an intricate network of projects and organizations. They ultimately wanted to create a seasonal farm-to-plate foodservice program that would replace Sodexho-Marriott.

Mobilization Against Sodexho-Marriott.

Leading up to 2002, students became aware that the contract between Sodexho-Marriott and Concordia was coming to an end. Students became mobilized to fight for campus food justice and find an alternative foodservice provider; especially after thirty-seven students in residence got food poisoning from eating chicken fajitas (The Link, 2015). The Concordia Food Collective advocated for the People's Potato to take over foodservices on campus. They wanted to operate an umbrella of food organizations, eventually growing food (like the People's Potato Garden and in the Greenhouse) and distributing food on campus (like the People's Potato were already doing). Zev worked with Bilal Hamieh (from the Muslim Students Association (MSA) at Concordia), to create the idea for a Kitchen Mosaic, a cafeteria run by students, in collaboration with the student associations on campus (MSA, Hillel, Caribbean Student Association, among others) to serve a variety of ethnic food[127] (Black, 2002). They didn't want to re-create another 'soup kitchen,' like the People's Potato, but create food justice by producing and distributing an array of culturally diverse foods.

In 2001, the MSA approached the People's Potato and asked for space to prepare large meals to be served on Ramadan. This blossomed into a deeply collaborative relationship with an organization (and person) called Sister Sabrina, who spearheaded the cooking operation of the MSA. Sister Sabrina also used the People's Potato kitchen to serve evening breakfast meals to hundreds of people. Zev states that,

> …the integration of our operations in a single facility convinced us that a single vibrant, culturally diverse, and not-for-profit structure could not only service Concordia's student body with outstanding food, but also build community and forge exciting new models for the delivery of institutional food services. (Zev, 2021)

Tensions between students and the administration were intensifying. In addition to developing alternative food practices, activists also participated in social action by opposing the exclusivity agreement that Concordia had with Sodexho-Marriott by protesting (Black, 1999) and through acts of civil disobedience, like the 'cheese in'[128]. As mentioned in the previous section about the campus-community food system, the 'cheese in' was an event where the CSU, along with many other student associations, clubs, and groups on campus, served food in the mezzanine of the Hall Building to violate the Sodexho-Marriott exclusive food agreement. These student associations formed a united front against the restrictive food contracts and mobilized students on larger social justice issues.

Student politicians were conflicting on issues, especially those related to the Middle East. Hillel, B'nai Brith and Students for Palestinian Human Rights (SPHR) had major conflicts in CSU council meetings, and in public tabling locations. In 2002, the CSU council removed the club status and funding for Hillel Concordia because they tried to recruit students for Mahal "a program that enlists non-Israeli Jews aged 18 to 30 to serve in the Israeli Defence Force" (The Concordian , 2002). Furthermore, the USA launched a war in Afghanistan causing more tensions surrounding discussions about the Middle East.

Radical activism reached a peak in 2002 when activists successfully shut down an event hosting Benjamin Netanyahu (Addelman & Samir Mallal, 2004). Although this was a victory for many student activists, student politics at the CSU changed significantly for several years. In 2003, a CSU slate called Evolution Not Revolution won the election and shifted the union away from radical politics (Faguy, 2009). After the Netanyahu protest, the Concordia administration

put a moratorium on speech related to the Middle East (Peritz, 2002) and suspended several student union leaders and activists (Chauvin, 2012). Additionally, the Concordia administration did not renew the food service contract with Sodexho-Marriott; instead, they awarded the contract to Chartwells, who ran food services for Concordia for thirteen years. Despite the efforts made by Zev, Bilal, and countless other food activists who created the cooperative food organizations and a plan for a worker-run, multicultural food system on campus, Concordia hired another large multinational food service provider.

Focusing on Sustainability and Urban Agriculture – Foundation of Sustainable Concordia and Revitalization of the Concordia Greenhouse (2003 - 2007)

From 2003 to 2007, radical activism lost a lot of momentum, and so did food activism. Chartwells signed a long-term agreement with the Concordia administration, frustrating attempts at creating collective, community-based foodservices. Food activists lost energy until a couple years before the next food service contract was set to expire more than a decade later. In 2003, the Concordia student union moved away from radical activism and embraced *conservative* (attempt to maintain political status quo) (Shragge, 2013) and *liberal* approaches (promotion of limited social changes that do not actively challenge existing social and economic systems) (Shragge, 2013). Student politicians became interested in 'sustainability' and less about anti-capitalist movements. Over the next ten years, activists kept the food organizations going, tried to replace Java U with a student-operated café, slowly converted the Hive space at Loyola, and the Greenhouse into independent community organizations. Furthermore, Sustainable Concordia, and the Sustainable Action Fund were established providing food activists seed funding and organizational support. This was important for the development of new food organizations, especially from 2013 onward. In the late 2000s, students were re-engaging with radical activism and protest politics. Radical activism reached another peak in 2012 during the province wide student strikes.

The Greenhouse.

In 2003, the Concordia administration was going to take down the Greenhouse in the Hall Building[129] because they opened a new greenhouse in the Science Pavilion at Loyola Campus (a.k.a. the Richard J. Renaud building) for research in Biology[130]. A newly formed campus group (Sustainable Concordia, n.d), Sustainable Concordia, began talking to the Concordia administration about saving the greenhouse[131]. In 2004, Sustainable Concordia formed the Concordia Greenhouse Project Working Group and successfully convinced the Concordia administration to spare the Greenhouse from demolition, renovate the space and remove the asbestos from the facilities. Sustainable Concordia partnered with the Geography Department and reopened the Greenhouse in 2006[132]. A year later, a graduate student, Diana Kirkwood, performed a Sustainability Assessment and redesigned the two rooms in the Greenhouse. In partnership with Sustainable Concordia and Facilities Management at Concordia, the Greenhouse was renovated to be more eco-friendly, cleaner, greener, and inviting (Concordia Journal, 2009). Since their inception, Sustainable Concordia was responsible for co-creating and supporting many of the campus-community food groups. Additionally, students voted to start a Sustainable Action Fund (SAF) to provide over $200 000 in seed funding for student projects

(Sustainable Action Fund, 2021). The Sustainable Action Fund has allowed many projects get off the ground and/or become viable.

Bid for Java U.

Tensions between student politicians continued to fester. In 2003-2004, a group of students tried to obtain the foodservice contract from CUSACorp to run the café in the mezzanine of the Hall Building. In 2004, a well-known Concordia activist, Phillip Illijevski, won a bid to open a student-run café by opening a franchise of Café Santropol. Despite Phil having a verbal agreement with the CSU[133] for the space, the CSU awarded the contract back to Java U. Phillip had political conflicts with members of the CSU executive and was prevented from getting the contract. Phillip launched litigation against the CSU, accusing the executive of teaming up with Java U to develop resources (through litigation and campaigning) to prevent the 'progressive' café from coming into fruition. Students wanted to reclaim the space to build a student-owned, student-run community space instead of having an external, for-profit corporation run the café[134]. Although the café never came to fruition, Phil's vision[135] influenced the Hive Coop's development almost a decade later (Harris, 2013). Furthermore, radical activists fought for control over the student union and affiliated student organizations (like the Canadian Federation of Students (CFS) and the Fédération Étudiante Universitaire du Québec (FEUQ) instead of mobilizing against the administration.

Loyola Campus.

While a battle for space was taking place downtown, there wasn't much interest in developing the Hive at Loyola campus until the mid-2000s. Although there was an attempt to 'revive the Hive' in 1998-1999[136], that was somewhat successful at opening a student lounge for a brief period[137]; it took until 2007 to get the space semi-operational (because of a need for significant renovations) and five more years to get the Hive fully functional. Furthermore, student politicians didn't always have the same intensions for the space, leading to a lack of clear long-term vision. In 2007, the Concordia administration allocated $300 000 to the CSU to renovate the "long-defunct club space on Loyola's Campus" so that students could use the space again (The Concordian, 2007). The Hive was reopened as a student lounge and began the Hive Free Lunch, called initially the Loyola Luncheon. This program was important for reducing food insecurity at Loyola, a campus in an area of Montreal with few food options.

Expansion of Urban Farming, Reinvigorating Food Activism and Mass Mobilization (2008 - 2012)

Between 2008 and 2012, four events occurred in the food movement at Concordia. First, there was a significant development in urban agriculture on campus, especially at Loyola. Secondly, student activists were getting renewed energy and even re-engaged in social action to prevent the resigning of the beverage contract between Concordia and PepsiCo. Third, students were becoming more mobilized, gradually leading to a large-scale student strike in 2012. Fourth, Dr. Satoshi Ikeda was hired to teach at Concordia and got students involved with food activism through community-service learning assignments.

Expanding Urban Agriculture at Concordia.

In the late 2000s, the Greenhouse was becoming a hub for urban agriculture. Arlene Throness was instrumental in turning the Greenhouse into a social space that housed a variety of independent horticulture projects[138]. Experiential-learning became more important to the mission of the greenhouse. CRAPAUD from Berri-UQAM inspired the transition of the greenhouse into an education and workshop space[139]. In 2009, Marcus Lobb joined the Greenhouse Project and worked with Arlene to develop a series of workshops and video screenings dedicated to teaching people about indoor food production, like growing mushrooms (Concordia Food Groups, 2015), integrated pest control, four-seasons growing, tea growing, and a vermicomposting program (Concordia University, 2011). Other smaller groups collaborated on projects in the Greenhouse, like growing tea. Eventually, chairs and tables were added to the atrium, and students began to use the space for reading, studying, and socializing (Concordia Food Groups, 2015).

RealiTea Project.

As the Greenhouse was becoming a hub for those interested in urban agriculture, a group of students, in partnership with Graham Calder (P3 Permaculture, n.d.) and Dr. Satoshi Ikeda, developed an urban farm at Loyola Campus. Most of the students involved in building the RealiTea Garden took Food and Sustainability with Dr. Satoshi Ikeda and completed the project as a community-service learning assignment. The initial development of the project was also supported by a grant from the Sustainable Action Fund (Concordia Food Groups, 2015). The RealiTea Garden was part of a vision to make the Hive a fully functional café that supply the tea for the Hive from the RealiTea Garden. Overall, The RealiTea Garden was meant to connect students to their food cycle and educate people about permaculture and homesteading. Graham Calder explains,

> This project started as something small, being able to provide teas for the Hive. The RealiTea project was really about not only providing herbal teas but actually bringing people closer to their food cycle. Understanding how much time it takes to grow that cup of tea…the goal was for us to say, these are teas located fifty meters from your cup…it took us, you know, this much time to produce that cup…we wanted to have information pamphlets that showed people a bit more of the reality of their food cycle" (Concordia Food Groups, 2015).

The RealiTea Garden was located beside a sustainable house (aka. The Solar House) at Loyola campus. The story of the Solar House highlights how unsustainable results can occur from sustainability initiatives. It was built in 2005 by students from the Department of Building, Civil, and Environmental Engineering (Giovannetti, 2011) to be entered into a competition on environmental sustainability. It was built at Concordia, driven down to Washington for the competition, then driven back to Concordia to reside at Loyola Campus[140] – all in the name of sustainability. To make matters worse, when the Solar House was returned from the competition, the panels no longer functioned. On a positive note, the house served as a bunker for the RealiTea Garden and then for City Farm School a couple of years later. The group also saw more considerable opportunities to experiment with sustainable living[141]. The RealiTea Garden was designed via permaculture methods to be self-sustaining, needing less labour and less external inputs, like compost[142]. They designed the tea garden with a circular pattern with level pathways that retain water and irrigate the plants. They also used mulch to reduce weeding, improve the soil's quality, and retain soil moisture[143].

The RealiTea Garden was built in the summer of 2010 and was also destroyed the same year. Graham recalls how Concordia hired a tree removal company to cut down a poplar tree beside the tea garden in a heartbreaking story. Graham states that to save money, Concordia arranged for the tree company to drop the tree in the tea garden. Graham (2015) narrates,

> I remember [*the RealiTea Garden*] ending…and I remember this day very significantly because that day Concordia had paid a tree removal company to cut down a poplar, probably about a fifty-foot poplar, and it was five hundred dollars cheaper for them to drop the tree directly on the garden than it was to make the tree miss the garden…I remember working all summer long. Starting in the spring, getting the garden ready, finding…the plants, designing it, building it, building all the materials that we needed…we were touching it up… We had one bed left to finish…and they dropped the tree in the garden. It was also the last day of my contract, and Lennard was to take it on for the next three weeks. I remember being devastated. They came in, dropped the tree completely on it. And then the tree cutting crew left, and the clean-up crew came, and they couldn't see that it was a garden. So, they came in with their industrial leaf blowers and rakes and started shredding the garden, ripping out plants. This was the same day I was supposed to be interviewed about the project by *The Link*…the woman arrived, and I was just in tears.

Luckily, the plants were perennial, and Graham and his team intervened in time to save some of the plants from destruction. The plants grew back the following year, and at the same time, in 2011, City Farm School began developing the land surrounding the RealiTea Garden. This story highlights a couple important points. First, Concordia has a great deal of bureaucracy, a lot of communication gets lost between administrative departments. Sometimes when promises were made or arrangements worked out, these plans weren't always communicated to the right people and gardens got destroyed. Secondly, it was hard to get administrators to notice and understand the value of important projects. Small perennial gardens may not feed the entire university, but they can produce some items like kale, arugula, tomatoes, and a variety of fruits, vegetables herbs and spices. The goal of the gardens was to produce items for a campus-community café and to educate the community about urban farming. Experiential-learning shifts educational paradigms and is part of transformative sustainability (Bieler and McKenzie, 2017).

City Farm School.

A year after the RealiTea Garden was built, a group of the Greenhouse members/partners (including Marcus Lobb, Arlene Throness, Kim Fox, Ruby Jean Van Vliet in partnership with Concordia's Urban Agriculture Co-Coordinator, Penny Kaill-Vinish) (Giovannetti, 2011) began an urban farm school at the Loyola Campus called City Farm School. The City Farm School was created as part of a five-day, hands-on, educational workshop and speaker series called, Moving Forward[144], centered around urban farming[145]. After the five-day workshops, a group of students continued from where the RealiTea project left off; they cultivated the permaculture garden and developed the soil for the following year. In 2012, City Farm School was officially launched as a project of the Greenhouse and offered an eight-month-long urban agriculture training program, beginning in March (by growing seedlings in the Greenhouse), ending in October (with the final harvests). City Farm School also began selling some of the seedlings for extra revenue.

City Farm School began expanding its programs into the surrounding communities. Marcus Lobb, and a group of interns, built gardens at various schools in Montreal in partnership with the schools, kids, and families. Throughout the school year, Marcus taught youth about sustaining a healthy environment and how to grow fruits and vegetables. The program began at

an elementary school in St. Leonard (a district of Montreal) called École Pierre de Coubertin. Still, it expanded to several English Montreal School Board (EMSB) Schools[146].

Tap Thirst and the Battle Against the Beverage Contract.

In 2007, students were becoming increasingly concerned about the sale of bottled water on campus at Concordia. These students created a Q-PIRG working group called Tap Thirst to fight against the privatization of water and bring about more sustainable beverage options on campus – at the time, Concordia had a contract with PepsiCo. Tap Thirst realized that the beverage contract was set to expire in 2010 and began discussions with the Concordia administration to propose that Concordia provide more local and sustainable beverage choices. They explicitly did not want Concordia to renew the beverage contract with PepsiCo. Members of Tap Thirst were also part of the Environmental Advisory at Concordia. When negotiating the new beverage contract, the committee agreed that the process would be transparent, clear, democratic, and accountable (Concordia Food Groups, 2014). Tap Thirst advised the administration to consult with local stakeholders and provide beverage offerings desired by the Concordia community (Concordia Food Groups, 2014). Tap Thirst also proposed that the new beverage contract exclude the sale of bottled water (Concordia Food Groups, 2014). Tap Thirst successfully got the Concordia administration to agree to ban the sale of bottled water on campus, but dealings with PepsiCo got complicated. In 2014, former Concordia students filed an access to information request and discovered that the Concordia administration participated in secret negotiations with PepsiCo and Nestle despite promises of transparency, accountability, democracy, and clarity. Part of the discussions with the two corporations involved managing student activists once a new contract was signed and educating students about the merits of accepting bottled water on campus (Bernans, 2014). On October 27, 2010, Tap Thirst organized a sit-in in the Concordia administration hallway (the 9th floor of the GM Building) to protest the secret negotiations (Curtis, 2010). Despite protests, Concordia renewed the beverage contract with PepsiCo (CTV News, 2010).

From 2008 to 2012, radical activism was becoming re-energized, like in the late 1990s, early 2000s. The Concordia Graduate Student Association became a key institution for mobilizing student activists. Leading to the student strike in 2012, a group called Free Education Montreal set up a bunker in the basement of the GSA, becoming a new hub for student activism. Furthermore, in 2011, Concordia students elected a progressive team, led by Lex Gill, and re-introduced radical politics and social justice to the CSU.

Creating a Vibrant Campus-Community Food System (2012 - 2018)

In in the spring of 2012, the downtown Concordia campus was a vibrant place for radical activism. In March, the CSU General Assembly voted to go on strike for two weeks in opposition to the Quebec Government's announcement that they were raising tuition fees (Kovac, 2012); graduate students voted for an unlimited strike that lasted about to six months. Concordia students were part of the "Maple Springs", province-wide social movement that included hundreds of thousands of students across Quebec (Sorochan, 2012). Leading to the strike, Concordia students held mass mobilization events, hosted political discussions, organized teach-ins, and participated in sit-ins. During the strike, activists blocked access to parts of the campus and even picketed in front of classrooms. The Concordia administration didn't recognize

the student strike and pretended that everything was business as usual (Concordia University, 2021). Tensions were high between the Concordia administration and student activists. Radical activism was, once again, part of the campus culture at Concordia; students challenged neo-liberal ideology and participated in direct action. The Quebec-wide student strikes and protests lasted for about six months; once the Liberal Government was voted out and replaced by the Parti-Quebecois (PQ)[147] protests and strikes stopped. The end of the strikes created multiple effects: (1) some activists were burned out and discontinued student politics, (2) some activists were divided about what to do next – the PQ government also raised tuition soon after they were elected, but the student strikes and mass protests didn't continue, (3) student activists took the energy they generated from the strikes to other projects. About a year after Maple Springs, food justice became an important issue for the CSU once again. In this historical trend, most of the groups on the Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food Groups Food System Map were formed.

From 2012 onward, students engaged in many forms of social action and community development from integrative and oppositional approaches (Shragge, 2013). They developed a variety of food organizations and continued the fight for control over campus foodservices. Students repeated a similar pattern that occurred in the early 2000s, food activists were mobilized to replace the transnational corporation (Chartwells-Compass) with a campus-community social enterprise. Food activists were using the term food sovereignty to define (part of) the new campus food movement, especially in reference to building food organizations that were run by and for campus stakeholders (students and faculty). Students were also interested in food justice and anti-capitalism, as they did a decade earlier. The difference was that students created financial infrastructure that that allowed them to obtain seed funding for food projects. In this historical trend, students unsuccessfully tried to organize a bid for the foodservice contract, but in consequence, created the Concordia Food Coalition and the Hive – two successful campus-community food organizations. Furthermore, many other smaller food projects were founded, rapidly expanding the campus-community food system.

The Concordia Student Union.

After the Maple Springs, the CSU began to focus on campus food issues as a central concern. In particular, Benjamin Prunty made a major impact mobilizing students to take interest in campus food sovereignty and was responsible for co-creating (directly and indirectly) many of the campus-community food groups that were established between 2012 and 2018. Ben Prunty made food a top priority while serving as VP Sustainability in 2013-14[148]. The following year, his team, Community Matters, swept the entire CSU election, (Stevenson, 2014) running on a mandate to improve the food system at Concordia[149]. One of their election promises was to allocate one million dollars to open the Hive Café on the mezzanine (where Java U was located) and at Loyola, where the former Hive was located. An article in The Link, student newspaper, quotes Ben Prunty for saying that they would use a portion of their space fund for

> …the creation and expansion of predominantly student-run food system projects on campus (Stevenson, 2014).

The CSU had a lot of financial resources to provide seed funding for many campus food initiatives. They had access to over $10 million dollars from a fund that was started in 2003 to build a student center (Concordia Student Union, 2011). Over the years there were many

controversies about building a student centre. Jonathan Wener made a few unsuccessful attempts to get students to purchase the Faubourg Building – right beside the Grey Nuns Residence Building. Students were suspicious of Jonathan Weiner's intentions because he also owned a few properties adjacent to the Faubourg (Beeston & Giovannetti, 2011). Students suspected a conflict of interest and rejected his offers. After the failed attempts at negotiating on a building purchase, the fund was renamed the SSAELC Fund and repurposed to finance CSU capital and legal expenses (Genest, 2018). This fund was very important for the creation of many important food projects, and other social economy programs (the CSU set up a daycare program and a cooperative social housing residents building).

Right before the CSU election in 2014, Ben, members of the CFC and a group of students from Dr. Satoshi Ikeda's Food and Sustainability course organized the Transitions conference about building transformative, community-based food systems on campus and in the community at large (Montgomery, 2014). The Transitions conference helped mobilize students (1) on food issues and (2) to support the Community Matters team in the CSU election – most of the team were involved with creating the conference. The conference was successful in both goals. Community Matters swept all the council and executive seats at the CSU, and they brought food issues to the forefront of campus activism. Many of the CSU councillors and executives, along with Dr. Satoshi Ikeda, created a plethora of groups that produce, process, distribute food, and manage food waste – as seen in the Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food System at Concordia University Map. Food politics was, again, part of a greater social mobilization effort towards social, environmental, and economic justice. Many food activists were also working on other social justice causes, in other student organizations, and/or part of other community organizations (like, Divest Concordia among many others). The CSU provided financing, space, and other resources needed to help create and maintain many of the campus food organizations. Students provided initiative, labour power and motivation to create a more democratic, cooperative food system on campus.

The Concordia Food Coalition.

Following the Maple Springs, a group of students, faculty, and community members (myself included) realized that the foodservice contract between Chartwells-Compass and Concordia was set to expire in 2013 (although the contract was renewed for another two years). We began meeting to plan what we wanted to do about campus foodservices once the contract between Chartwells -Compass and Concordia ended. The first meeting was led by Dr. Satoshi Ikeda, who gave a public talk about the importance of building healthy, resilient food systems rooted in local, social economies[150] [151]. These conversations led to the foundation of the CFC and a variety of other food groups, organizations, and projects.

At the first few meetings (before the CFC was created) there were a lot of discussions about what campus food issues should be addressed and how we would go about addressing these issues. Some people were concerned about who would get the next food service contract and wanted to encourage more ethical food service providers to bid; others wanted to create an alternative food system by founding new food organizations on campus; some wanted to reclaim the Java U space and set up a student-run café, and others wanted to become an advocacy group fighting for just, secure, sovereign, sustainable and ethical food system at Concordia and beyond[152]. The CFC ended up taking on all these directions simultaneously[153].

The CFC was inspired by the success of former student food activists, especially those who established the People's Potato, the Concordia Greenhouse, and Le Frigo Vert (Concordia Food Groups, 2015). Some of the same activists involved in founding the CFC were around in 2002 when the Concordia Food Collective tried to initiate the Concordia Food Mosaic. Some of these people remained skeptical about working with the administration because of their previous experiences[154]. One thing became clear; students wanted to start a food coalition to create the campus food system they truly wanted[155] and replace the transnational foodservice provider. Students and faculty wanted to build a food sovereign campus.

The Concordia Food Coalition officially came to fruition as a legal entity when it was incorporated as a non-profit organization in 2013 as The Community Food Coalition (although the group never used the legal name, only Concordia Food Coalition). The original members of the CFC incorporated the organization to be official, gain legitimacy with the Concordia administration (and in the community at large) and get access to more secure funding[156]. The following year (2014), the CFC successfully ran a referendum asking students to support the organization with eight cents per credit per student (Lafontaine, 2017). Students also voted to increase the fee levy to sixteen cents per credit in 2017.

Over and above being a food advocacy group and an umbrella for food working groups at Concordia, the CFC attempted to organize a bid for the foodservice contract in 2015. The CFC didn't meet the criteria to bid on the contract themselves; therefore, they organized a consortium of social economy organizations to bid on the contract together. The CFC asked Coopsco (Coopsco, n.d) to be the leading company (coop) to spearhead the bidding process. Coopsco collaborates with social enterprises and has operated large-scale food services in post-secondary institutions in Quebec.

Anastasia Voutou was the CFC member who organised the consortium bid by coordinating with Coopsco and other food organizations in and around Concordia. Anastasia Voutou explains,

> …the consortium was going to be bringing together a diverse array of food players…everything from sustainable farmers, students interested in food and sustainable foodservice providers, existing, operating already in the community…operating spaces that we respect, that we cherish in the community because they are…leaders in the field of sustainable food in Montreal…and we're going to take this existing knowledge from the Montreal food scene and bring it to campus (Concordia Food Groups, 2016).

Unfortunately, the consortium was not successfully organized – Coopsco abandoned the project less than a week before it was time to bid on the foodservice contract. The consortium failed for multiple reasons. First, the request for proposal process was delayed multiple times. As mentioned previously, the contract with Chartwells-Compass was extended for two additional years. Furthermore, Anastasia suggests that the timeframe set for bidding on the contract was very short, and organizing a consortium bid within that timeframe was extremely difficult[157]. The other obstacle making it difficult for the CFC to organize a consortium bid was the financial part of the bid. According to Anastasia,

> A corporation like Chartwells, [*and*] Sodexo-Marriott…doesn't exactly divulge their books publicly…and since they are a private entity, there is no legal way to access their books…so we don't know what these contracts are completely worth….meaning that when we are dealing with small providers and student power behind them, this collaboration is…working blindly without knowing what timeframe they are

> working within and without knowing what financial investment is actually going to be required (Concordia Food Groups, 2016).

The Concordia administration also required all foodservice corporations to have an operating budget of over five million dollars and have previously operated foodservices on a higher education campus for at least a year before they qualified to bid on the contract (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). Coopsco fit these parameters; but unfortunately, they did not bid on the contract and only notified the CFC that they were no longer interested in bidding about three days before the deadline (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). Coopsco was in the process of bidding on another foodservice contract at a CEGEP, a factor that may have dissuaded them from pursuing the bid for the foodservice contract at Concordia (Concordia Food Groups, 2016). All in all, the CFC was unsuccessful in putting together a consortium of social economy enterprises to bid and win the foodservice contract at Concordia. In 2015, Aramark won the contract. At the same time as the CFC were coordinating a consortium bid for the foodservice contract, members of the CFC were also helping establish campus-community food organizations, including, Season Jars, Sprouting Minds for the Food Revolution, Campus Potager, Land Trust Project, Burritoville, The Concordia Farmers' Market and the Hive. Students weren't defeated, they were determined to build a parallel alternative campus food system.

The Hive.

Despite many attempts to revive the Hive, it took until 2014 for both the Loyola campus and the Hall Building to become full-fledged cafés. At Loyola, the Free Lunch Program was popular, and the lounge was frequently used, but the space still needed renovations. Leading up to the reopening of the Hive, Sustainable Concordia, the CSU formed a partnership to develop a food vendor that encouraged "healthy eating choices" at Loyola (Wrobel, 2014). In 2010, the Hive kitchen was renovated and equipped with an industrial stove, oven, and dishwasher (Wrobel, 2014). Despite the momentum, the Hive didn't launch right away because the university had to update the electrical infrastructure in the Campus Centre (Wrobel, 2014). Cameron Stiff (Concordia Food Groups, 2015) worked with Sustainable Concordia and a team of partners to write a plan for the Hive. The plan included a farm to grow teas and other food products to be served at the Hive. Part of the plan was realized through the RealiTea Garden, which Cameron helped design and build. After Cameron and Sustainable Concordia completed the initial plan, a working group of the CFC and CSU, led by Benjamin Prunty, brought the Hive to fruition. The Hive committee secured over $100 000 in financing from the CSU (Bauer, 2016) and other special project grants from the Corporation de Développement Économique Communautaire (CDEC) and the Sustainable Action Fund (SAF) (Voronovska, 2014). Once financing was secured, the Hive became an independent solidarity coop.

Ben Prunty and the CSU also developed plans to open a Hive Café downtown in the Hall Building. Through a referendum in 2013, the CSU asked students to support the Hive working group to take over space in the mezzanine after the contract with Java U expired in 2014. The referendum was supported overwhelmingly by the students[158], and the Hive Café was also opened downtown the same year. For the first year, the Hive (downtown) didn't have access to a kitchen; therefore, they sold pre-prepared meals and/or transported food from Loyola. The Concordia administration provided the Hive access to a kitchen on the Hall Building's seventh floor (beside the People's Potato) in 2015 (Bauer, 2016).

The Hive's long-term vision was not just to become a viable café on both campuses but to also become a contender to replace Concordia's foodservice corporation, Chartwells[159]. The Hive was not eligible to bid on the foodservice contract because they did not have a budget of over five million dollars and because they were only becoming established when Concordia launched the request for proposal but were told that they could try again in the future.

Burritoville Coop.

The Concordia Food Coalition and the CSU also initiated another food cooperative, Burritoville, in a building off-campus across from the Hall Building. Unlike the Hive, the Burritoville Coop was not viable and closed just one year after opening. The Burritoville Coop was established when Burritoville (a privately owned organic, vegetarian/vegan restaurant beside Concordia's downtown campus) was bought by the Burritoville Project working group of the CFC. In the first year of operation, some CFC members were interested in creating an organic, vegetarian/vegan restaurant and found out that Burritoville was for sale. Between 2013 and 2015, the CFC worked with local campus and community partners to secure funding to purchase the restaurant from the previous owners. The CFC was interested in Burritoville because the restaurant's values were in line with the vision of the CFC. In 2015, the Burritoville working group acquired the restaurant for $120 000 and incorporated the new group as a solidarity coop with worker, support and consumer members. They also unsuccessfully tried to raise an additional $90 000 for renovations and equipment (Caragay-Cook J. , 2016).

The coop operated for just over a year, hosting political discussions, music events, movie nights, yoga, and provided space to groups in and around Concordia – like Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés. The coop ran into financial problems and could not secure more funding, and in May 2016, the coop was closed. In an article published by *The Link*, Morello (2016) suggests that the Coop team claimed that the restaurant's stocks were inflated before the purchase and the team only found out once the acquisition was official. The original restaurant owners refuted these claims saying that the restaurant was solvent when they were operating it and that the purchase price adequately reflected the business's assets at the time of the purchase. Part of the problem was unforeseen expenses with the building. The coop team were forced to spend money on renovations that were not disclosed during the discussions about buying the business. There were also street renovations, making the front entrance less accessible and less visible. This was a devastating setback for many hard-working students and professors who invested a lot of time, money, and energy to the project.

Establishing CFC Working Groups.

The CFC was an important incubator for many campus-community food projects at Concordia. Between 2014 and 2018, a variety food organizations were established as working groups of the CFC, including Coopérative des Brasseurs Illuminés, HydroFlora, Sprouting Minds, Campus Potager, the Concordia Farmers' Market, and Season Jars. These projects (excluding HydroFlora) were initiated as community-service learning projects in Dr. Satoshi Ikeda's courses, then grew into semi-independent projects working under the CFC's umbrella. These projects were supported by a small allocation of $1000 per year from the CFC and other financing from SAF. Additionally, in 2018, the Concordia Food Coalition took over the MoHubs program because The Multifaith and Spirituality Centre couldn't continue overseeing the

program (Concordia Food Coalition, n.d). Other groups also became working groups of the CFC but were initiated by students and community members, including Food Against Fascism, the and the Hudson Food Collective.

The Food Autonomy Campaign became the radical wing of the Concordia Food Coalition. Two years after Aramark was hired, students were still not satisfied with campus foodservices and decided to let the administration know. Students were also concerned with the way Aramark was treating prisoners in Canada and the USA, especially prisoners in the USA who went on strike in 2016 – 2017, accusing Aramark of providing appalling, magot infested food (Kelkar, 2017). A group of activists and ex-board members of the CFC founded FAC to stage protests, sit ins and mobilize resident students. FAC even staged a protest against Aramark at Food Secure Canada's 10th Annual Assembly, Resetting the Table (Food Secure Canada, 2018). The CFC, Concordia administration, and Food Secure Canada co-organized the assembly. A conflict arose when Food Secure Canada and the Concordia administration asked Aramark to provide catering for the event. The CFC was strongly opposed and suggested that the Hive provide food instead of Aramark. Food Secure Canada and the Concordia administration made a compromise that the Hive could serve food on one day of the assembly and Aramark would provide food on the other day. The CFC did not agree but were not given a choice in the matter. To make things worse, on the day the Hive provided foodservices for the assembly, they were required to serve the food in reusable boxes that were supplied by Aramark, despite the CFC's vocal opposition. After lunch, there were leftovers and the Hive staff wanted to donate the food to student groups and local community organizations. Aramark decided that they wanted their containers back and demanded that the Concordia administration retrieve them immediately. The Concordia administration told the Hive to give back the containers and to throw out the leftover food because they didn't have anywhere to put it except for Aramark's boxes. This angered student activists and the FAC began a series of demonstrations at the Food Secure Canada conference. These protests were also met with frustration and anger by the Concordia administration. The FAC and Concordia administration showed their grievances publicly at the assembly (The Concordian, 2018).

Other Sustainable Food Projects.

Two other projects were developed to improve campus sustainability, the R4 Dish Project and Waste Not, Want Not. These projects addressed waste management, an important and often overlooked sector of the campus food system. These projects also demonstrated that student visionaries could accomplish a lot with access to space and financial resources.

R4 Dish Project.

The Dish Project began as a project of R4 (reuse, reduce, recycle, rethink), a working group of Sustainable Concordia that was founded in 2004. The Dish Project was only one of the activities of R4. Other projects of R4 include a reusable notebook initiative, where the group made notebooks out of recycled paper collected from recycling bins on campus. In 2008, the R4 Dish Project got funding from the Sustainable Action Fund (SAF), and in 2013, Sustainable Concordia allocated funding for the R4 Dish Project to have a part-time coordinator. From 2013 onwards, the R4 Dish Project was able to serve the Concordia community better. The Dish Project continues to provide access to dishes for free, as long as the group retrieves, returns, and

washes the dishes. There is a fee for dishwashing services and/or dish pick-up and drop-off. The activities of R4 were eventually taken on by Concordia Zero Waste (Concordia University, n.d).

Waste Not Want Not.

Waste Not, Want Not began as an idea that came out of a conversation from the Concordia Senate. A student senator pointed out that, although Concordia brags about being sustainable, they don't even follow simple measures that would increase sustainability – Concordia Senate didn't even compost the items served for the Senators. The words of the student resonated with Keroles and sparked an idea to create a campus composting initiative.

The project's original idea was to encourage Concordia to increase the number of compost bins and place them in all areas of the university and educate the Concordia community to use the composters. At the beginning of the project, Keroles was under the impression that Concordia had a composter and all that was needed was a way to increase the volume of compost by informing people and by making sure that compost collection was ubiquitous on campus. Keroles was surprised that Concordia abandoned their composting program and shipped their Compost to Ontario. For that reason, Keroles also advocated for Concordia to invest in a campus composter.

Keroles had meetings with administrators who made commitments to invest in composting infrastructure and asked Keroles to develop a composting education program. Waste Not Want Not was awarded $35 000 from the Concordia Council on Student Life (CCSL) to educate students about composting with the promise that the Concordia administration would make composting bins widespread on campus. (Latimer, 2016)

Concordia students and faculty have co-created an intricate campus-community food system by engaging in social action and social development from integration and action oriented pollical approaches. Some of these organizations have struggled financially and no longer exist, and some continue to feed hundreds of students daily. Students have fought for sustainable campus food services, food justice and for a food sovereign campus. In the next section, we explore the concept of campus food sovereignty in more detail.

The Expanding Urban Agriculture at The Greenhouse.

Between 2012 and 2018, the Greenhouse became more official and initiated a variety of new projects. In 2013, the Greenhouse became a fee levy group (students voted to give the Greenhouse Project a fee levy of 12 cents per credit (Morello, 2017)) and registered as a non-profit organization. In 2017, students voted to double the amount, giving the Concordia Greenhouse 24 cents per credit (Sérandour-Amar, 2017). This allowed the Greenhouse Project team to initiate a variety of food production and education programs. They started The Four Seasons Sprout Growing Program, a seedling growing program, and a seedling sale (The Epic Seedling Sale) (Peden, Shelagh, 2015).

The City Farm School team, led by Jackie Martin and Chesley Walsh, also developed more urban agriculture programs at Loyola and in local neighbourhoods. In 2015, they launched two more urban agriculture programs, schoolyard agriculture and a medicinal herbs and spice growing program. The schoolyard agriculture program grew out of the initiatives developed by Marcus Lobb. City Farm School students cared for the schoolyard gardens during the summer,

when the kids and teachers were on vacation. The medicinal herbs and spice program grew out of the RealiTea Garden. City Farm School became the custodians of the medicinal permaculture garden and began offering workshops about these plants.

The Concordia Greenhouse also made other partnerships. HydroFlora began in 2017 when Dominique Smith proposed converting the aquaponic system into a hydroponic system to grow food, experiment with hydroponic growing methods and educating the Concordia community about hydroponic growing. The aquaponic system was abandoned around 2016, then converted to a hydroponic system soon after. In 2017, Dominique recruited a team of people interested in hydroponics and officially incorporated HydroFlora as a for-profit enterprise in Quebec in 2017. At the same time, HydroFlora became a working group of the Concordia Food Coalition. The Greenhouse was becoming a vibrant urban agriculture community.

Coop Reggie's and the End of CUSACorp.

The CSU was also interested in transforming their bar into a cooperative. Reggie's continued to accrue losses, so the CSU decided to change the bar's organizational structure. In 2013, Reggie's was temporarily closed because it needed significant repairs and because CUSACorp was running a deficit of over a million dollars (Pool, 2013). From 2013 – 2015, Reggie's changed corporate structure from being a for-profit branch of CUSACorp to an independent, non-profit solidarity Coop. In 2014, students approved a referendum question for the CSU to provide $1.2 – 1.8 million dollars to renovate Reggie's (Caragay-Cook J. , 2015). The CSU also allocated close to $100 000 to make sure Reggie's would transition adequately and would have money to establish themselves in their new structure. In 2015, Reggie's officially reopened under their new structure, dissolving CUSACorp in the process.

One of the goals of the CSU in converting Reggie's into a solidarity cooperative was to turn it into a bru pub, where the beer would be made at Burritoville and brought to Reggie's to serve on tap. When Burritoville closed, students involved in restructuring Reggie's lost momentum and abandoned the bru pub idea. As mentioned in the descriptive analysis of Reggie's, the new managers signed an exclusivity contract with Molson Coors, limiting the bar's products to two major multinational beer corporations.

The End of Café X and the G-Lounge.

While the Hive was becoming more successful, other campus-community organizations were having problems. Café X and the G-Lounge struggled financially and eventually closed in 2018. This was not new, Café X was closed briefly in 2005 and reopened in 2006 (Concordia Journal, 2005). In 2015, they ran a successful referendum campaign to have Fine Arts students support them with a fee levy of eleven cents per credit to make sure the Café would be financially viable. Following the fee levy's approval, FASA voted to give Café X $12 000 to get them back on track. Even with the fee levy and money from FASA, Café X continued to struggle. In Mach 2017, Café X asked FASA members to increase the fee levy to thirty-five cents a credit from eleven cents; students voted to support the beloved café. In 2018, the café officially closed for financial reasons[160]. The G-Lounge was run through the IFC and was not part of the CSU and not a fee levy group. Because of this, the IFC didn't have money to invest in infrastructure. They ran with little to no overhead, even going into debt leading up to the IFC closing the G-Lounge in 2018 (Down, 2018). In 2017, the G-Lounge was closed after the

summer semester because a leak in the roof needed to be repaired. The G-Lounge reopened briefly but was closed permanently soon after. In January 2020, the Dean of Students Office at Concordia hosted a visioning event to reimagine the G-Lounge. The event was attended by students, faculty, staff, and other members of the Concordia community (Brisson-Dubreuil, 2020).

Discussion about the Historical Analysis of the Campus-Community Food Groups at Concordia University

Food activists were not successful in changing Concordia's foodservice model from corporate to community-based, but instead, built a parallel, alternative food system that contributes to campus and community food sovereignty. In this section, I begin by explaining reasons why food activists were not successful at preventing Concordia from contracting large multinational foodservice corporations. Then, I focus on how the historical analysis of the campus-community food system at Concordia adds to the understanding of how to create food sovereign campuses. I conclude by discussing the strengths and limitations of the historical analysis and recommendations for future research directions.

Reasons Why Student Activists Were Not Successful in Preventing Concordia from Contracting Multinational Foodservice Corporations.

For over two decades, food activists have been trying to persuade the Concordia administration to stop contracting multinational foodservice corporations and implement a social economy model. Many proposals have been brought to the administration including, replacing multinational foodservice corporations with a local non-profit or cooperative foodservice organization; developing a self-operated (administration-run) cafeteria; allowing a campus-community group to get the contract; breaking apart the foodservice contract into fragments so that smaller, local organizations could bid on parts of the foodservice contract; making the sustainability criteria transformative (not weak sustainability and/or greenwashing); and/or excluding large multinational corporations from bidding on foodservice contracts. The Concordia administration have not agreed to any of these requests and continued to hire multinational foodservice corporations. Although the administration made small improvements to the sustainability requirements, their food plan was (and still is) not transformative. By focusing on the will of the Concordia administration, students, faculty, and large foodservice corporations, I identify factors that prevented food activists at Concordia from successfully achieving their goals. These categories converge with Bohunicky, Desmarais, and Entz 's (2019) findings that the "political will of the administration, student activism, and support from non-university sectors" (p. 44) are important factors that help universities transform their foodservices away from corporate contracts.

Factors Relating to Concordia Administration.

Food activists were not successful in preventing large multinational corporations from obtaining foodservice contracts at Concordia University by-and-large because of the lack of will of the Concordia administration. There are five explanations for why the Concordia administration did not want to transform foodservices away from large multinational

corporations: risk aversion, viability of foodservice operations, corporate model of university foodservices, view of sustainability, and request for proposal process.

Risk Aversion

Food activists have made repeated requests to replace corporate foodservice providers with a self-operated foodservice model. As shown in the study of Canadian university foodservice providers across Canada performed by Velasco and I, one quarter of foodservice providers are self-operated; therefore, this could have been a feasible way to avoid large multinational foodservice corporations. The Concordia administration did not develop self-operated foodservices, mainly because they were not interested in taking on financial risks of the operation. Concordia's concerns were not unjustified. According to a report from the Mohawk College (2017) in Ontario, self-operated foodservices are the riskiest, but also provide the most control over budgets, purchasing, distribution and, most importantly, sustainability missions. Institutions must take risks to make sustainability rewards.

In order to mitigate risk, food activists proposed to develop campus-community (and solely student-run) organizations to manage foodservice operations. These conditions could have reduced risk because the university would not be financially responsible for an external organization. Although, administrators were still concerned about the risk of the operation failing and having to step in to provide Concordia residents with a meal plan. As mentioned in the historical analysis of the history of the campus-community food system, The Concordia Food Collective proposed a project called the Concordia Food Mosaic to replace Sodexho-Marriott. The Concordia administration refused to pursue the idea because they thought it was too ambitious and not viable. To the credit of The Concordia Food Collective, the People's Potato continues to feed hundreds of students per day at a cost of about $10 per year, per student. The Hive was also established to replace the food service provider, Chartwells. The Concordia administration would not accept an offer from the Hive to provide foodservices because they were a new organization and have not had over five-million-dollars of food sales at a university. Instead, Concordia hired Aramark. Since then, the Hive also became a viable foodservice cooperative that practices ethical purchasing, democratic governance, and offers free food at Loyola campus. The main reason why Concordia did not accept offers from campus-community food activists was because they didn't trust that the campus-community groups would run solvent, consistent foodservices operations. Instead, they signed contacts with each of the 'big three providers' – unsustainable, multinational foodservice corporations who have a long history of creating negative externalities and providing mediocre food.

Viability of Foodservice Operations

One of the main risk factors that prevented Concordia from implementing a self-operated and/or campus-community foodservice models was economic viability. As stated in the history of the campus-community food system at Concordia university, many campus-community providers were not solvent and many of them closed. Additionally, the reason why Concordia originally outsourced foodservices was because the cafeteria at Sir George Williams University constantly ran deficits. Factors that led to negative returns include pilfering, students hanging out in the cafeteria without making purchases, and mismanagement. Some of the campus-community organizations also had trouble with viability because many of them didn't have kitchens to cook

food, therefore they relied on expensive, pre-purchased food that didn't generate much overhead revenue. Particularly, Café-X, the G-Lounge, Reggie's Solidarity Cooperative, and the Hive (for the first two years), didn't have a kitchen to prepare food. In the first few years, the Hive struggled financially, but generated more revenue once they gained access to a kitchen. Furthermore, many of these organizations didn't externalize (much of the) social and environmental costs, but instead practiced ethical purchasing, waste management and used environmentally friendly, compostable single-use take-out packaging. Finally, campus-community food groups also experienced similar problems as the Sir George Williams cafeteria: pilfering, students not purchasing items and mismanagement. Although some of these campus-community organizations closed because of solvency problems, many organizations have remained important, stable, campus-community food groups. The People's Potato and Le Frigo Vert have provided value to the Concordia community for over 20 years. The Concordia Greenhouse, the Hive and the Concordia Food Coalition continue to offer education, cooperative food distribution and offers space for students to hang out without having to purchase anything. These organizations have had their struggles but remain resilient and continue to create benefit to the campus and surrounding communities.

Corporate Model of University Foodservices

A third barrier for food activists in preventing large multinational corporations from obtaining foodservice contracts was the corporate model of foodservices adopted by the Concordia administration. Concordia employed a profit and loss model, whereby they contract third party food providers to run foodservices and received a percentage of the profit. Concordia externalized risk but still obtained revenue. A report from the Mohawk College Sustainability Office Report (2017), suggests that profit and loss models are the least risky for universities while having the potential to still generate income. By employing a profit and loss model, Concordia gave up a substantial amount of control over human resources, food procurement, menu options, and food quality. Furthermore, this model provided a financial insentive to not prioritize or enforce sustainability goals or adopt transformative approaches – as described more in detail below. Moreover, the profit and loss model encourages universities to make resident student meal plans manditory because it is also ecommically advantageous (and exploitative) to have a captive market. Although food activists demanded that Concordia allow students in residence to opt out of their meal plans, Concordia administrators viewed foodservices as a necessary component of residence services. Administrators argued that since the dorms didn't have kitchens, they felt obliged to offer mandatory meal plans. Food activists counter-argued by pointing out that Concordia's large campus was located downtown, where food options were plentiful. Furthermore, campus-community organizations, like the People's Potato and the Hive offered more affordable and ethically produced food than the meal plan. Additionally, activists questioned why Concordia didn't build kitchens in the dorm rooms, or at least collective cooking and food storage areas, like other universities and CEGEPs in Quebec. In response to that question, Concordia administrators didn't trust that students would keep the place clean or accidently start a fire. All in all, Concordia administrators viewed foodservices as a business where they hire an external corporation to provide mandatory meal plans to students in residence while obtaining a percentage of the profit.

View of Sustainability

Concordia administrators often referred to the triple bottom line model of sustainability and rarely discussed transformative approaches. Concordia's sustainability policy (Concordia University, 2016) highlights their balanced approach to addressing environmental, social, and economic sustainability. The policy reads,

> "Sustainability" at Concordia is a mindset and a process that leads to reducing our ecological footprint and enhancing social well-being while maintaining economic viability both on and off campus. This process of sustainability is developed through a governance system based on shared vision and responsibility that fulfills Concordia's current needs without compromising the needs of future generations. To be sustainable in our decisions and activities is to take a long-term perspective, recognize resource capacities and balance the interconnected nature of our environment, society, and economy. (Concordia University, 2016)

As noted in the literature review, Concordia did not fit Bieler and McKenzie's (2017) criteria for holistic, in-depth, transformative sustainability. While writing this dissertation, Concordia released a new sustainable food plan (Concordia University , 2020) that emphases local purchasing; reporting and auditing; offering plant-based options; reducing waste; providing fair trade products; and raising awareness of sustainability on campus (Concordia University , 2020). The plan still does not meet, "…higher-order organizational learning about sustainability…[*by*] questioning worldviews in relation to sustainability, reorienting educational purposes and paradigms in alignment with sustainability values, and practicing sustainable forms of community engagement. (p. 17) [*italics added*]" It also does not mention land, community, or alternative paradigms. Although Concordia proudly mentions that they strive to "Become recognized as a leader in sourcing food that supports an environmentally and socially sustainable food system", their food policy and sustainable food plan is not transformative and sets low benchmarks that are not even fully being met. Concordia claims that their "[c]urrent targets, as written in the current Food Service Contract, are: local produce (75% in the summer, 50% in the fall and 25% in the winter/spring)" they currently procure 38% local/sustainable foods in the summer, during peak Quebec farming season, and fall and 34% in the winter and spring (Concordia University , 2020).

Request for Proposal Process

The request for proposal process was also a factor preventing smaller local, social enterprise food service providers from obtaining the foodservice contract. Anastasia Voutou pointed out many problems with the RFP process and the criteria contained in the RFP that worked against the CFC's attempt to get a consortium of local, social economy food providers to bid on the contract. According to Anastasia, the RFP from 2014 was extremely lengthy and complicated to read; it contained legalese and was written in French. A bid had to be submitted within a few weeks from the RFP document being released, a very short window for organizations without legal experts to go over the contract. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, a clause in the RFP prevented any organization or company from bidding that have not managed a five-million-dollar university foodservice account. This clause also worked against students who wanted to develop campus-community foodservice organizations to replace the multinational providers.

The RFP process also kept sustainability criteria minimal because administrators built the proposal to be accessible to the existing, unsustainable foodservice providers on the market. As shown in the literature review, 'the big three' accounted for just under two thirds of the university foodservice market; therefore, if administrators made the sustainability criteria out of

the reach of these corporations, they might not have a bidder. A failed RFP process could have generated negative publicity and cost the university a lot of money with no result. Consequently, sustainability criteria could have been stronger, especially targeting areas that Concordia are currently lacking, according to Bieler and McKenzie's (2017).

Factors Relating to Students.

Factors related to students that prevented food activists from thwarting Aramark, Chartwells and Sodexo from obtaining foodservice contracts at Concordia include, anti-activists, conflict between activists, fast student turnover and lack of experience.

Anti-Activists

Food activists have encountered many reactionary and conservative movements that have made it difficult to adopt transformational approaches to food system change. According to Shragge (2013) counter organizers can be reactionary in an attempt to stop social change and conservative in an attempt to maintain the status quo. At Concordia, some students fought for social justice while others tried to prevent activists from directing resources towards social and environmental issues. Some students campaigned to fund food organizations, while other students pushed back and tried to defund fee levy groups.

Conflict Between Activists

Student activists with similar ideologies were not always allied. Sometimes disagreements about campaign targets, goals and tactics arose. Organizations, like the CFC, Le Frigo Vert, the Hive and the People's Potato, provided places for students to gather and have discussions; this helped form a common mobilization front for food activists. Although the members of these organizations did not always get along or have the same vision. Some activists had more liberal view of social change (addressing symptoms of food crises) while others had a radical approach (addressing root causes of food crises). For example, some activists encouraged Tim Hortons to offer reusable mugs, other activists wanted Concordia to get rid of Tim Hortons from campus, and other activists organized to overthrow the capitalist system, along with Tim Hortons. As described in the historical analysis of the campus-community food system at Concordia University, some activists took development routes, while others participated in social action (Shragge, 2013). Some activists were integrative, while others were more oppositional (Shragge, 2013). Food activists were most effective when they were united, and less so when divided. They were also more successful when a plurality of groups worked on a variety of similar goals, tactics, and targets simultaneously. Although food activists at Concordia developed an alternative campus-community food system, they only made small gains in changing the sustainable food policy (like getting the sale of bottled water banned from campus) and were not successful at preventing multinational corporations from obtaining the foodservice contracts.

Fast Student Turnover and Lack of Experience

Fast student turnover and lack of experience also prevented activists from blocking large multinational corporations from obtaining foodservice contracts. As mentioned in the discussion

about the campus-community food system at Concordia, students were part of a transient community. Many of them graduated after three to five years and took a great deal of institutional memory with them. This gave administrators an advantage because most of the food activists who pushed for food system change in 2002, were not around in 2014 when Concordia relaunched the next RFP. Students and faculty in lacked experience and understanding of what barriers activists faced, what gains were made and how the RFP process worked. Hopefully, this document helps future food activists at Concordia.

Factors Relating to Faculty.

Two factors relating to faculty explained why food activists were not successful in blocking transnational corporations from getting the foodservice contracts include lack of involvement and lack of research. Apart from Dr. Satoshi Ikeda and myself, faculty didn't get involved with the campus-community food groups, nor did they perform any research pertaining to the campus-community food system. With more professors offering community-service learning and experiential-learning opportunities to participate in the Concordia food system, food activists could have become more effective. Andree, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, Brynne, and Kneen (2016) demonstrate that community-campus engagement, community-service learning, and community-based research can strengthen community problem solving and effect social change. Faculty is a key component for universities to become more transformative (Bieler and McKenzie, 2017) because they are the ones who can challenge educational paradigms, present higher-order learning about sustainability, question dominant worldviews about labour, property and other constructs that uphold colonial practices, encourage community-campus engagement, and perform critical-participatory-action research.

As mentioned in the discussion about the campus-community food system at Concordia, there was an attempt by several professors to organize a food studies minor. Despite creating a website that displayed all the food courses offered at Concordia, (Concordia, 2020) the group disbanded. As part of the Concordia Food Groups Research Project, I began organizing meetings for faculty, researchers, and students as part of the Concordia Food Hub. This group eventually became the research division of the Concordia Food Coalition and has begun reconvening after taking a break because of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Factors Relating to Large Foodservice Corporations.

Large foodservice corporations made it hard for smaller, local, social enterprises to compete. These foodservice corporations make surplus because they externalize social and environmental costs and rely on economies of scale; they buy in bulk from large food distributers to reduce the cost of food. Since they had a lot of resources at their disposal, they could better navigate the RFP process, offered more financial incentives to Concordia, have managed a university foodservice operation of over five-million-dollars, and are profitable. Universities make revenue when they employ a profit loss model, and the foodservice corporation is profitable. This was a major barrier to activists when advocating not to hire 'the big three' university foodservice corporations.

How the Historical Analysis of the Campus-Community Food System Advances the Understanding of How to Build Food Sovereign Campuses.

The historical analysis of the campus-community food system at Concordia advances the conversation about building food sovereign campuses in two main ways. First, food sovereignty is not the only term that describes transformative processes, social justice outcomes, and radical frameworks. Concordia students have been pushing for more ethical foodservices since the 1990s. They built an alternative food system that mitigated against negative environmental and social externalities and fought against transnational foodservice corporations, but only began adopting the term food sovereignty from about 2012 onwards. Although, between 1990 and 2012 students advocated for student/community controlled, transformative approaches to foodservices but had different names for the movement. The term food justice was used in the 1990s to describe the movement. Since then, students have described the movement as building sustainable food systems, challenging capitalist food regimes, reducing food insecurity, and creating alternative food providers. Concordia students only gradually began using the term food sovereignty to describe the food movement on campus once it was popularized by La Via Campesina in 1996. From 2012 onwards, food activists made explicit intentions to stop Concordia from contracting multinational foodservice corporations and instead, move towards a student-community controlled, social economy foodservice operation and used the term food sovereignty to intentionally describe the movement.

Secondly, the historical analysis of the campus-community food system demonstrates how critical-participatory-action research can contribute to the process of building a food sovereign campus. The Concordia Campus-Community Food System Research Project allowed activists to come together and impart their knowledge via video interview. By circulating the videos on social media, student food activists were able to understand more about the history of the campus-community food groups, struggles, intentions, goals, and successes of former activists. Furthermore, the research project encouraged campus-community food groups to participate in creating conditions of food sovereignty at Concordia. According to Andree, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, Brynne, and Kneen (2016) participatory action through community-campus engagement can challenge current educational and knowledge paradigms, leading to more transformational models of social change. We also organized public conversations about how to build conditions of food sovereignty at Concordia and discussed creating a federation of student food organizations on campus (like the FLAC but for food groups). This project studied the food movement at Concordia but also contributed to the movement simultaneously. Gubrium, Harper, and Otanez (2015) explain that digital storytelling allows viewers to make-meaning by interpreting and re-interpreting the stories contained in the videos. These videos have been useful to provide food activists an account of the work of their predecessors and to inform them about how to orient new campaigns. The historical analysis and snapshot of the Concordia campus-community food groups was used as a starting point to engage in collective discussions and begin the planning phase of an action research spiral. In the next section, I describe and analyze the results of a public discussion we held about how to build a food sovereign campus at Concordia University. Before moving on, I examine the strengths and weaknesses of the research design and advice for future directions of the historical analysis of the campus-community food groups.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Research Design.

Using the three phases described in the methods section, we were able to provide a rich history of the campus-community food system at Concordia University. Representatives from all

the campus-community food groups from 1990 onwards provided an account of the history of their organizations. We also gathered all the available historical artifacts about each of the campus food groups and Concordia foodservices. This is the most detailed history of the campus-community food system and foodservices at Concordia produced so far, amalgamating all the previous historical artifacts and oral accounts from the students and faculty who built the campus-community food system and even from Concordia administrators. I hope that this document is useful for safeguarding the institutional memory of the food organizations, passing on insights from the food movement at Concordia and inspiring future food activists to keep fighting for campus food sovereignty.

There are many weaknesses to our methodology in accurately reporting the history of the campus-community food system. First, this study does not represent every point of view of the campus-community food groups or incorporate everyone who helped create food organizations at Concordia; nor does it provide a complete analysis of the political landscape of student politics. Our analyses represent the viewpoints of the people we interviewed, the authors of publications cited, and participants who were part of the public discussions. We made involvement as open as possible and sent multiple public callouts for participation, asked the campus-community food organizations to send delegates that spoke on behalf of the group and asked participants to help find other central people who helped establish the food organizations at Concordia. We also targeted founding members of these organizations and other important food activists at Concordia. Despite our best efforts, we could not interview or contact all the important people who contributed to these projects. To take on a task of that magnitude was not possible with time and resource constraints. There were a lot of people who participated in these organizations as board members, employees, support members, volunteers, among many other roles. Readers should keep in mind that there are plenty of other perspectives in describing the goals, intentions, histories, activities of the groups in question, as well as the political climate at Concordia throughout those years. Furthermore, there are multiple points of view within an organization at any given time. Most of the groups sent one delegate to discuss the organization in question. Consequently, different members may have focused on alternative points or given a divergent narrative.

Secondly, we also didn't interview anyone from the first two historical trends (from 1966 – 1990), therefore, this analysis was derived solely from historical narratives in the university archives (mainly from student newspapers). For this reason, this section was more superficial and does not provide much of an account of the political conflicts, struggles, contexts, and interpersonal dynamics of that era. The scope of such a study was over and above the resources available for our research project.

Third, we acknowledge that the reliability of the information provided in the interviews may not be completely accurate. Long-term memory is reconstructive and prone to error (Loftus, 2003). Since we uploaded the videos a week or two after filming them, some participants may have watched some of them before they were interviewed, which may have helped reconstruct their version of events to conform to what they saw/heard. In most cases, participants told us that they did not watch the interviews of other participants. Some of the interviews took place with other people around – in the location of the organization and/or in public settings. We could not control everything about our surroundings, making it challenging to get the ideal sound and video from time to time. Also, this may have affected the accuracy of the interviews – it is possible that the participants highlighted things to 'perform' in front of the others around them.

Fourth, the question about the history of the campus-community food organization was open-ended and part of a list of questions we asked each organization. We may have generated more details about the political and social contexts, structures, and processes of the food movement if we had asked more directed questions. We asked follow-up questions when warranted, but we did not suggest any form of historical narrative; therefore, participants may have missed pieces of the historical puzzle because they didn't know what or how much to report.

Lastly, continuing the discussion from the previous section, Cadieux, Levkoe, Mount and Szanto's (2016) illustrate a range of issues with representation, communication, transition, and transformation when creating digital and visual food systems maps. We recognise that our videos provide stories outside of their social context. To reconcile issues with representation, we provided unedited segments of the video interviews from participants of the food groups on the online archive. Although these responses are still situated within an interview, the participants' stories are available unaltered. We wanted to preserve the authenticity of the responses and provide a reference point for anyone who wants to scrutinize the details of the maps and documentary-style videos of the food groups designed by the project team. Raw data is rarely made public in academic research, especially before the study is published. Above all, the research team is committed to ensuring that the food groups are appropriately represented by making corrections to the video when an interviewee tells us that they made a mistake. We even reshot some interviews when participants did not express themselves adequately the first time. Also, according to Cadieux, Levkoe, Mount and Szanto, (2016), translation of visual representations is subject to be interpreted in ways that disassociate themselves from the actors and practices from which they situate. We included members of the campus-community food groups in interpreting the data. We allowed them to provide feedback about the information they provided in the videos; therefore, translation was a collaborative process. In regard to transformation, emancipatory change can happen by challenging dominant power structures. Concerning the campus-community food groups project, the Concordia administration has seen the videos, website and/or visual maps and is beginning to understand the importance of the food groups on campus. Thus, the visual material has contributed to legitimizing the actions of the campus-community food groups in the eyes of the Concordia administration. As previously mentioned, the FAWG has used our food systems maps to discuss food services on campus. Furthermore, students and faculty have watched the videos for inspiration, learning about how to become more effective food activists.

Future Directions for A Historical Analysis of Campus-Community Food Systems.

Future researchers can improve the accuracy and comprehensiveness of this historical analysis by incorporating more viewpoints from other participants in the food movement at Concordia University, especially from 1966 until 1990. Furthermore, researchers can update this analysis by interviewing new student activists every three or four years – before they graduate and take the institutional knowledge with them. Future researchers who are interested in obtaining a more in-depth history of the Concordia campus-community food groups should ask more targeted questions to generate other useful information, like about the political climate, collective struggles, mobilization strategies, visions for success, targets, tactics, among other follow-up questions.

I also encourage other researchers to document the history of other campus-community food systems at other universities to compare our findings, especially universities who have also fought against multinational foodservice corporations or built a campus-community food system. Most importantly, those who are interested in documenting the history of any campus-community food system through critical-participatory-action research should understand the findings of the first phase allows researchers to create digital and visual artifacts that inform communities about the state of the campus-community food system (as a whole), encourage groups to take a 'systems approach', and make action plans that could be collectively carried out. The next section provides the results of our action planning phase.

What Can we Learn from the Campus-Community Organizations about Building a Food Sovereign Campus at Concordia University?

In the third phase of the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project, we brought the findings (the first draft of the snapshot of the campus-community food system at Concordia, the web-archive, and the videos) to the campus-community food groups for their feedback and approval. We also asked students explicitly to describe what a food sovereign campus would look like to better understand how to create conditions of food sovereignty at Concordia. I begin by discussing the results of the public discussion about building a food sovereign campus at Concordia (held in March 2017), then I discuss the implications, limitations of our findings and provide advice for future research directions.

Question One: How can the archive/website be improved to address the needs of the student food groups?

For the first question, we asked participants about the Concordia Food Groups website by inquiring how the site can address the needs of the food groups on campus. The website was intended to create a central hub to unite the campus-community food organizations, safeguard their institutional memory, and think more about the campus-community food system as a whole rather than just focus on the activities of their respective organizations. Responses centered around three main themes. Some comments addressed the style and/or aesthetic properties of the website, like making the landing page less busy; other comments were focused on ways to build new features for the website to facilitate the needs of the groups, like a calendar; and some comments suggested we also include community partners and/or other food organizations. We took these comments and improved the website accordingly. Building the website was only the first phase of an ongoing critical-participatory-action research project to transform the food system at Concordia University. Building the web-archive was a 'fact-finding' exercise to map the campus-community organizations and get a snapshot of the current 'lay of the land.' This information is intended to start conversations and provide resources to the campus-community food organizations for years to come. Since 2018, we expanded the project to map the needs and assets of the campus-community organizations in more detail and to have other public conversations about food services on campus. The information from the archive has been used by other students; one, in particular, used the information from the website for her master's Thesis (Alt Kecik, 2017). Additionally, professors at Concordia have used the website to teach students about alternative food practices, campus-community food organizations, urban agriculture, and other related topics. Furthermore, the Food Advisory Working Group at Concordia has used the information on the website in reports about campus food services. All in all, the web-archive has been very useful for the administration, faculty, students, and community at large.

Question Two: Food systems consist of six main parts of a cycle: production, processing, transportation, distribution, consumption, and waste management. Is there a way to internalize parts of the cycle at Concordia so that the 'food system' can be more self-sufficient? If so, how can the groups on campus now contribute to this? What other food groups/projects may be needed?

The second question focused on how to make student-run food groups at Concordia more self-sufficient. In response to these questions, participants conveyed two main themes. First,

participants were concerned about a lack of resources on campus to become a self-sufficient food system. They indicated that waste management services were inadequate and that other resources could be provided by the university or developed internally. Participants stressed that the university administration should be providing adequate spaces and better resources for the groups to achieve maximal success, including kitchens, rooftops, gardens, open fields, transportation resources, waste management spaces, distribution areas, among other things. Participants also expressed that collaboration between campus-community groups, faculty and community organizations was also very important. They discussed the need to form partnerships and share resources with one another. Participants communicated that developing a symbiotic relationship with local communities was more valuable than developing a closed-loop food system on campus.

Question Three: How can we imagine a food-sovereign campus at Concordia University? What would the system look like, and how can we create it?

The third question directly focused on how to develop a food sovereign campus. Participants did not respond as expected; they didn't come out with a list of demands, like the Nyéléni declaration. Instead, their responses converged into three main themes. Participants listed new food initiatives that could help fill the gaps in the current food system at Concordia. For example, students expressed the need for a campus bakery and more spaces to grow and distribute food on campus. Participants also expressed a desire to create more connections with faculty and the community surrounding Concordia. Participants envisioned these partnerships manifesting through food-related university courses and programs, as well as community events, like collective dinners. A variety of other interesting points were made that are worth noting. Participants articulated the desire to meet more frequently to discuss common goals and partnership opportunities. Participants also mentioned two other foodservice models used by other universities in Norway and at Université de Montréal that they were interested in exploring further. Lastly, they stressed the desire to replace the corporate food services with local student-led initiatives. Participants were firm on their stance that food sovereignty on campus means liberating the university from large multinational foodservice providers.

Question Four: How can we encourage groups/individuals who are interested in food sovereignty to work together?

Responses to the fourth question converged around two themes. Participants' responses were like those from question three. Participants expressed the desire to meet more frequently to discuss needs and assets, common goals, actionable tasks and would be open to anyone who wants to participate. They also suggested that the meetings be facilitated by a campus group that has the resources and labour-power to make sure the meetings take place. The Concordia Food Coalition was nominated for organizing these meetings. Furthermore, participants expressed that groups should find a way to share resources more efficiently. They could collaborate on funding opportunities, host networking events, and start a needs and asset mapping project. Lastly, participants indicated that there were barriers that prevent groups from collaborating, like lack of time and limits to the capacity of the organizations to get involved in bigger picture conversations. Nonetheless, participants wanted to meet more but not too much.

Campus food group representatives were motivated to form more partnerships with the community at large and with faculty members. They mentioned that if Concordia developed a food program and/or more food courses that engage students into community-service learning and/or participatory-action research, that would help create more partnerships. Furthermore,

participants suggested that the campus-community food groups could partner with the community at large to fill gaps in the food system on campus. One example that was brought up by participants included The Hudson Farm Project (Hudson Heartbeet), which could provide food to campus food distribution groups.

> *Question Five: How can we encourage groups and people to think big about the 'food system' at Concordia? Would people be interested in forming a loose federation of food groups at Concordia? If so, what would it look like?*

The last question directly addressed an idea that was discussed by members of the Concordia Food Coalition – creating a federation of food groups that meet and find ways to collaborate. Participants were enthusiastic about continuing the conversation and starting a loose federation of food groups on campus. They suggested that the purpose of the federation should be to meet on an ongoing basis to discuss common goals, food provisions, needs and assets, partnership opportunities and other issues that relate to the food system on campus. Again, participants suggested that these meetings should be initiated by a group whose mandate is to strengthen the food movement on campus – like the Concordia Food Coalition. They reiterated that meetings should be regular but not too frequent because of the time constraints of the campus food groups. Although there was no consensus about how the federation would be structured, participants were optimistic about figuring this out in the future.

Discussion about the Public Conversation with the Campus-Community Food Groups at Concordia

Although we didn't come up with a clear pathway to creating a food sovereign campus, a few findings are worth discussing. For the campus-community food groups, food sovereignty was about asserting student-control over the food they eat, forming strong partnerships between campus-community food organizations, forming a loose federation of food organizations, and stopping Concordia from contracting multinational foodservice corporations.

The Concordia Food Coalition never officially organized a federation of food groups, but instead led several public conversations about foodservices at Concordia. In one example, in 2018, we hosted another world-café style event where we asked the Concordia community about their experiences consuming food on and around campus (Chevrier E. , 2018). We also asked participants to imagine what an ideal food system would look like on campus and discussed strategies to move from the present situation to their vision of an ideal food system. The main findings were that participants wanted Concordia to provide more resources to prepare, grow and eat food on campus. Furthermore, participants expressed a desire for Concordia to offer more courses and programs on food related topics. Finally, participants indicated that they want Concordia to refrain from contracting large multinational corporations to run food services on campus but instead work in partnership with local, student-run, social economy enterprises and alternative/non-capitalist groups that already exist. We also held public consultations with the campus-community food groups and collectively set up a research project to map the needs and assets of each group. We had to stop the project due to COVID-19 pandemic and have set other priorities. The Concordia Food Coalition went through a process of visioning and restructuring and has now committed to organize the loose federation of food groups.

Another observation is that participants (implicitly) discussed food sovereignty as a process more than specific outcomes. Campus-community food groups expressed a desire to

collaborate more frequently and continue participating in critical-participatory-action research. The current research project helped contribute to campus food sovereignty by connecting food activists, leading action-based research and making visible the practices of the campus-community food groups to the administration, Concordia community and surrounding neighbourhoods. Although it is important to achieve social justice outcomes, the process also provides conditions of food sovereignty. Like mentioned in the literature review, realizing food sovereignty means embarking on an ongoing process of communication amongst community members. Practicing food sovereignty at Concordia means setting up a structure (like a federation) where campus-community groups can meet and discuss collective concerns and systems-based approaches to improving foodservices on campus. Although the FAWG exists, federations and coalitions that are controlled by students and faculty are important to give a voice to food activists. At the FAWG, the administration invites selected students, faculty and support staff and controls the conversation. Remember, Concordia administrators are the main reason why activists at Concordia were not successful in preventing multinational corporations from running foodservices in the residence buildings because they had the final say. I come back to this point in the next section.

Limitations.

There were many limitations to our findings. We acknowledge that groups situations can cause conformity (Asch, 1951), sometimes inhibit good problem solving (Hurley & Allen, 2007), create problematic norms (Pettigrew, 1991), and can cause social influence (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991), create polarization (Aaronson, Wilson, Beverley, & Akert, 2017) among other negative consequences. Groups can also motivate people to perform better, cooperate and solve complex tasks (Aaronson, Wilson, Beverley, & Akert, 2017). Positive meeting outcomes can be created by a compassionate moderator, focus on collective problem solving, elimination of power dynamics and comfortable setting (Aaronson, Wilson, Beverley, & Akert, 2017). Using the world café approach, we tried to create a collaborative, inclusionary, safe space to inspire people to form ideas and generate conversation and mitigate against the potential problems listed above.

Advice for Future Research.

For anyone forming the federation of campus-community food groups at Concordia University, I advise you to employ critical-participatory-action research methods, especially through action spirals that involve preplanning → discovering → collective planning → implementing → evaluating → reflecting → re-planning → implementing, etc. Preplanning refers to gathering information about the issue at hand and can be done by a small group of people. Preplanning is important because sometimes a lot of work on an issue has already been done. We learned a lot about the Concordia Food Collective's and the Hive's efforts to become the campus foodservice provider. Learnings about the shortcomings of these organizations in their efforts can help orient future activists to not repeat the same mistakes. Furthermore, other activists may already be addressing the issue at hand and can form allyships or partnerships. Discovering refers to the findings of the preplanning phase. Before organizing larger collective meetings, it is helpful to have something to present to the group. In the case of the Concordia Campus-Community Food Systems Research Project, the interviews were part of the preplanning

phase. The public conversation was part of the first collective planning phase, where we presented our findings from the preplanning phase. A lot of the planning that was taking place got interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic; therefore, we didn't come up with anything concrete. Hopefully, those who will participate in the federation of campus-community food groups will form an action plan. Based on the learnings of this project, it will likely take a series of meetings. *Tools for Radical Democracy* (Minieri & Getsos, 2007) is helpful guide for campaign planning, setting targets, developing strategies, and measuring outcomes, although many other resources also exist.

As mentioned in the discussion about the snapshot of the campus-community food groups at Concordia, we have used a modified version of the methodology in this thesis to map community food systems in Lachine, Montreal. We presented the map to the Lachine community food groups in February 2021 and discussed ways to form partnerships and strengthen community food security, sovereignty, sustainability, and justice. Like the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project, critical-participatory-action research was key to establishing conditions of community-campus food sovereignty. In the next section, I propose a framework to develop food sovereign campuses.

Discussion about Frameworks for Food Sovereign Campuses

Learning from the case study of the campus-community food system, the history of the food movement at Concordia University, the public discussion about building a food sovereign campus at Concordia University and previous literature on food sovereignty and sustainable food systems, I provide a framework (Table 10) for comparing the key differences between corporate, weak sustainability and food sovereignty approaches to campus food services. The purpose of this framework is to provide a starting point for a larger conversation about how to build food sovereign campuses. Hopefully, future campus food system researchers can improve the proposed framework by incorporating more case studies from other university campuses. The comparative framework builds off the work of Rosset (2003), Wittman (2011), Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) and Desmarais (2017) but is focused on university food services.

Table 10

Key Differences Between Corporate, Weak Sustainability and Food Sovereignty Approaches to University Food Services

Campus Food Issues	**Corporate Approach to University Food Services**	**Weak Sustainability Approach to University Food Services**	**Food Sovereignty Approach to University Food Services**
Who runs food services	External Corporation	External Corporation or self-operated (administration run)	Campus-community stakeholders – partnerships with faculty, students, administrators, staff, and the community at large
Approach to sustainability	None	Weak sustainability or triple bottom line approach	A transformative approach to sustainability that includes social justice, decolonization, and anti-racism
The goal of campus food services	Profit from a captive market of resident students	Provide food to a captive market of resident students	Improve the foodscape on campus and in the surrounding communities
The business model of food services	For-profit (profit and loss)	For-profit or non-profit	Social enterprise or social innovation approach
Involvement of faculty	Faculty are potential customers	Faculty are potential customers and consultants	Faculty are stakeholders and co-create the food system through research and community-service learning projects
Involvement of students	Students are the main customers	Students are consulted about their food preferences	Students are co-creators of the campus food system
Involvement of community at large	The community at large are potential customers or not important	The community at large are not the main focus of food services	Beneficiaries of and partners with a campus food system that creates community value
Consultations about campus food services	Part of a marketing strategy to increase profit	Consultations about food preferences, led by the administration	Led by a federation, coalition and/or network of campus-community organizations
How to address food insecurity on campus	None - Student residents are the primary customer and must purchase a meal plan as a condition living in residence	Food banks and emergency food relief for hungry students	A holistic approach of connecting people to food production, processing and distribution on campus and in the community at large
How food service employees are treated	Driving down the cost of labour is key to maximizing profits	Labourers treated with respect and are paid fair wages – but are excluded from decision making and not paid their true value	Labourers are involved in decision making, are not exploited via wages, and given proper benefits to lead a fulfilling life

Food procurement	Bulk purchasing from large distributers to drive down the cost of produce	Purchasing food from local farmers at the lowest price possible	Purchasing food, at a fair price, from a network of local farmers that hire workers for fair wages and/or where possible, grow food on and around campus through farmers coops of faculty, students and the community at large
Environmental Stewardship	Externalize environmental costs to maximize profits	Reduce waste and procure food locally when possible	Holistic approach that reconnects people to the biosphere through food practices, regenerative agriculture and decolonization

Comparison of Three Approaches to University Food Services

The proposed framework provides a comparison of three different approaches to food services. First, the corporate approach to university food services refers to a profit and loss model whereby the university administration outsources foodservice contracts to external corporations and these corporations are not constrained by sustainability requirements. As mentioned in the literature review, not all universities have sustainability plans (Bieler and McKenzie, 2017). These foodservice corporations make profits by externalizing social and environmental costs (please refer to the literature review and/or Stahlbrand, 2017). Foodservice corporations treat the university community as customers (or potential customers), not as stakeholders in the food system. Across Canada, these corporations make profit from captive markets of student residents, prisoners, hospital patients and military personnel (Stahlbrand, 2017). Universities receive returns if their foodservice provider is profitable. This model is a recipe for non-sustainable foodservices and a reason why transformative approaches to sustainability are rejected by public institutions.

The second approach is the weak sustainability approach to university food services. The goal of this approach is to provide food for students in residence and/or to the university community. In this approach universities outsource food services to external corporations but include sustainability requirements. Some examples of universities that outsource food services and have sustainability requirements include, Ryerson University who had a contract with Chartwells in 2013 and made it compulsory to have 25 percent of the food purchases local and sustainable; and Mount Allison that had a contract with Aramark in 2006, obliging them to purchase 33 percent local, sustainable food (Bohunicky, Desmarais, Entz, 2019). As shown above, Concordia has sustainability benchmarks but use a profit loss model and contract multinational foodservice corporations; therefore, they fit into the weak sustainability category. I also include self-operated food services in the weak sustainability approach because Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz (2019) suggest that food service transformation occurs when moving away from corporate contracts, although self-operated university food services are not always transformative in and of themselves. The weak sustainability approach maintains that the economy, society, and biosphere are on equal levels of importance (i.e., triple bottom line approach). For this reason, workers are paid reasonable wages and waste reduction is important, but food is still kept below its true cost because workers aren't paid their true value and environmental costs are still externalized. Furthermore, workers are not stakeholders and part of any decision-making body; they are merely labourers who receive a wage for their work. Students and faculty are also not stakeholders but customers and sometimes consultants. Finally, food insecurity is reduced through food relief programs like food baskets, and/or soup kitchens,

but there is no real attempt to reconnect people to the means of reproducing themselves or their communities or addressing root causes of hunger.

The food sovereignty approach includes more holistic food systems that are run as social enterprises and governed by an assortment of campus-community stakeholders. The goal of this approach is to transform the campus and community food system to become sovereign, sustainable, and just. Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz (2019) suggest that campus food system transformation occurs best through a collaborative process involving campus support and multiple stakeholders, although they recognize that students generate the greatest degree of change. One example of a multi-campus-community stakeholder model is at the University of Winnipeg, where Diversity Food Services consists of a partnership between the University of Winnipeg Community Renewal Corporation (UWCRC) and Supporting Employment & Economic Development (SEED) Winnipeg (Bohunicky, Desmarais and Entz, 2019).

A central, defining factor of food sovereignty refers to the rights of the people to control their own food economy – to decide how food is produced, consumed, processed, and distributed. In the context of a university, identifying who are 'the people' how they can control their own food economy is complex. 'The people' can refer to one more of a variety of constituencies. Students are a group because they are the primary consumers of food services on campus. As shown in the literature review, resident students are the main customers of food services at universities in Canada, and most of these students are forced to purchase a mandatory meal plan if they reside on campus. Furthermore, many universities, like Concordia, don't have functional kitchens in the residence buildings. Resident students are largely at the mercy of the foodservice corporation and/or administration-run foodservice operation, sometimes not getting dietary, culturally or personally appropriate food[161]. Mandatory meal plans cannot be part of a food sovereignty approach because it removes the most basic form of agency, the ability to choose where, what and when to eat.

Students are not a static constituency; they are transient, usually leaving the university after they graduate. Student-run food organizations depend on renewed interest from new students to keep their organizations vitalized. In the case of Concordia University, community members also work at, volunteer with, and help coordinate campus food organizations. Like mentioned in the literature review, I use campus-community to refer to the food organizations at Concordia because they are not entirely student-run. Community members provide stability because, at times, they are part of these organizations longer than students. Furthermore, sometimes students continue working for a campus food organization after they graduate. Providing a balance between students and the community at large is essential for the viability of the food organizations on campus at Concordia.

Coming back to the question, who are 'the people', university administrators are currently assuming that role. They are sovereign to vet foodservice contracts and/or run self-operated food services. Universities must abide by governmental regulations about contracting service corporations as publicly funded institutions, but they have the freedom to choose the foodservice corporation and terms of the contract or set up self-operated venture. When hiring external food service corporations, universities lose some control of the way food is distributed, procured and processed (Mohawk College & Greenbelt, 2017). Therefore, in hiring an external foodservice corporation, the university administration is voluntarily giving up some of their sovereignty to produce and re-produce the campus food system. While university administrators manage the food system, it is fair to question whether they are 'the people' in a food sovereignty

framework. Usually, a small group of administrators oversee the food contracts, making decisions that impact large groups of students, faculty, and support staff for an extended period of time.

Faculty are less numerous than students but are more numerous than administrators. Faculty also remain on campus longer than students; therefore, they can potentially be long-time customers of campus food services. Faculty are not forced to purchase meal plans but can contribute to the food system by offering community-service learning projects and through their research – especially those that teach about and research food topics. Faculty are an important part of creating a food sovereign campus in that they can engage in critical-participatory-action research, like at Concordia, to improve the foodscape on campus and in the surrounding communities (Levkoe, et al., 2020). By challenging educational and research paradigms, professors and researchers are key constituencies who can help universities achieve holistic, in-depth, transformative sustainability (Bieler and McKenzie, 2017).

Community members are also important. Like previously mentioned, campus food groups employ members of the community to produce, transform and distribute food. More importantly, as mentioned in the literature review, universities can help contribute to local food justice create local, sustainable food chains (Stahlbrand, 2017; Friedmann, 2007), construct food sovereign communities; (Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, & Brynne, 2018; Andree, Kepkiewicz, Levkoe, Brynne, Kneen, 2016), among others. Barlett (2011) writes,

> Campus projects contribute to civic agriculture, which includes the restoration of local foodsheds, strengthening of farmer-consumer ties, and values-based food chains that make more transparent the impacts of production, distribution, and consumption…With attention to clear goals, timetables, accountability, and transparency, campus food initiatives can go beyond demonstration projects and public education to have significant political and economic impact. (p. 101-102)

In a food sovereignty approach, the campus food system creates value to the external community by providing quality food in and around the university, becoming an anchor institution for local farmers (Stahlbrand, 2017), offering meaningful employment, reducing food insecurity, and contributing to food justice.

The food sovereignty approach adopts transformative notions of sustainability. As previously mentioned, transformative approaches involve holistic and in-depth responses and include rethinking educational paradigms in relation to place, land and ecology (Bieler & McKenzie, 2017). It also recognizes that people, the planet and profit are not equally important – specific conditions in the biosphere make it possible for people to live, and people create the economy. Without a habitable biosphere, people could not live and not create economic conditions (or profit). Instead of using traditional sustainable food service report cards, Levkoe and Blay-Palmer (2018) use an integrated systems perspective that makes connections to food movements and is derived from seven core pillars of food sovereignty. These core pillars include: (1) focusing on food for people, (2) values food providers (3) work with nature, (4) localizes food systems, (5) puts control locally, (6) builds knowledge and skills, and (7) food is sacred (decolonize food). By striving towards these outcomes, universities can work towards becoming food sovereign, tracking their progress, and improving from year to year. Traditional sustainability metrics can be limiting because once a target is reached, there is little incentive to improve (Levkoe and Blay-Palmer, 2018). The food sovereignty approach proposed in Table 10 also implements all seven pillars of food sovereignty.

In the literature review, I described food sovereignty as a process because it is a movement, a struggle, a democratic process perpetually in negotiation and always in motion. To build a food sovereign campus, there must be a forum for conversation, debate, discussion to set terms, parameters, and metrics that each constituency strives towards and fights against. At Concordia University, the Food Advisory Working Group (FAWG) organizes meetings to discuss food services, sustainability measures, and food contracts. The FAWG is organized through the Office of the Vice-President Services and Sustainability. Members are chosen by the administrators and do not include delegates from every food group, all food researchers or food studies professors. It is a small group that includes rotating members of some of the larger campus-community food groups, a faculty member, the student unions, and a variety of administrators. The Concordia Food Coalition also organized meetings with the campus-community food groups and professors as part of the Concordia University Food Research Hub. As previously mentioned, we were also in the process of forming a federation of food groups, but when the university shut down because of COVID-19, we were forced to cancel our meetings.

In a food sovereignty approach, coalitions (or federations) of campus food groups are formed and networks exist between the university community and communities at large. The exact composition, purpose and governing methods should vary based on the need of the campus and community. At these meetings, declarations can be made (like the Nyéléni declaration), partnerships formed, and policies can be collectively set. These policies can be measured via food sovereignty approach and through critical-participatory-action research.

Critique of the Food Sovereignty Framework

Before concluding, I would like to address some possible critiques of a food sovereign approach to campus food services. One criticism may focus on the viability of the food sovereign approach, claiming that strong models of sustainability might not be financially viable for a food service operation. While this is a valid point, the underlying issue should address cost externalization. To maximize profits, food distributers don't pay the true cost of food (Holt-Giménez, 2017); they externalize environmental and social costs. Labourers are paid extremely low wages (especially farmers (Qualman, 2011)) and modern agriculture uses methods to decrease production time, that have negative effects on our ecosystem (Holt-Giménez, 2017). In recognizing that the issue of economic viability is actually a question of how to internalize costs without becoming insolvent. Regenerative agriculture techniques are better for the planet (Shiva, 2005) but require more time than industrialized or mechanized methods (Holt-Giménez, 2017). By developing and studying food sovereign campuses, researchers and practitioners can find out how to remain viable in the current economic system, while trying to transform the food system at the same time. As I am writing this dissertation, the Concordia Food Coalition, Concordia Student Union, and Concordia administration are beginning a feasibility study for a social economy provider to take over the next foodservice contract. Concordia administrators have agreed to explore our plan only if it proves to be viable.

Another criticism is that food sovereignty is largely a farmer and peasant movement (Patel, 2009). University communities are usually from privileged strata of people who can afford tuition costs, get paid fairly well and by-and-large students are not farmers. Patel (2009) also points out that food sovereignty cannot be brought about solely by peasants and farmers, especially when they are a minority. Food sovereignty must also be recognized in urban settings by prioritizing fair wages, local sovereignty, environmental stewardship, and social justice

(Patel, 2009). In using the term food sovereignty, I stand in solidarity with the peasants, farmers and Indigenous Peoples and hope to use the resources of the university to mobilize for food justice, food security, and transformative sustainability.

Mentioned above, the question, '*sovereignty for whom?*', is not straightforward. Student residents were the main consumers of university food plans, although they rarely get to provide input into the food plan[162]. The university administration-controlled foodservices, although they couldn't fully control the practices of external foodservice corporations once they were hired[163] and, as previously shown, foodservice providers at Concordia didn't always deliver on their sustainability commitments. Furthermore, food activism was driven, mainly, by students that were not in residence; although, they advocated for better food options and for the emancipation of resident students from the large transnational food providers. They also created a parallel campus-community food system for the rest of the campus. To further complicate matters, these students were part of a transient population; faculty, staff and administrators usually remain at the university for longer periods of time. The question, sovereignty for whom has caused tensions among student activists, and between student activists and the administration. As previously mentioned, student activists have expressed different political orientations; while the majority of student voters approved fee levies, other students wanted more of a business approach to foodservices. Furthermore, many students also liked large multinational foodservice corporations. In a survey of Concordia students and faculty which chain restaurants they frequented most, the top three were Tim Hortons (54% of the 1,262 respondents), McDonalds (34% - McDonalds is a block away from Concordia's downtown campus), and Starbucks (26%). Although, the survey also demonstrated that the Concordia community preferred local independent locations (43%) over large chains (21%) (Waddington, Traini, & Dover, 2021). Can a food sovereign system have McDonalds and Tim Hortons if that's what (some) students in residence really want or does a food sovereign system completely reject working with multinational corporations? The current study demonstrated that food activists at Concordia stood firmly against multinational foodservice corporations.

Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was to shift the academic conversation from '*campus food services becoming more sustainable'* to '*building food sovereign campuses and communities'*. In this thesis, I claim that universities are ideal places to build transformative food systems because they have access to resources, build knowledge and have a civic duty to create value that has a positive impact on the world. While some universities are becoming more 'sustainable', most are still not taking transformative approaches that address root causes of the current food system crises. Sustainability has become a buzzword that has prevented transformative social change from taking place. Since the term sustainable development was popularized in 1987, environmental problems have exacerbated. Universities, especially Concordia, have been pushing the narrative that sustainability is achieved when environmental, social, and economic conditions are equally met. This theory of the triple bottom line of sustainability was developed by Elkington (1997), but no longer has his support. Elkington (2018) explains that economic concerns have overshadowed environmental and social issues. Those interested in achieving strong sustainability must understand that the economy is embedded in society and society is embedded in the biosphere. By taking the triple bottom line approach, no Canadian university has been able to meet the conditions for holistic, in-depth, transformative sustainability (Bieler and McKenzie, 2017). I argued that developing food sovereign campuses is the only way to ensure that foodservices is truly sustainable and not just greenwashing.

In this dissertation, I asked how universities can become food sovereign? I used a case study of the campus-community food groups to answer this question. In short, I found that food sovereignty is a messy, multidisciplinary topic that can be applied to university campuses in eight ways. First, food sovereignty can describe the social justice outcomes on campus, like policies, organizational procedures (reflected through by-laws and constitutions), bans on harmful practices (i.e., selling bottled water), among others. Secondly, campus food sovereignty is an ongoing process of negotiating with others who are actively trying to transform the food system. Adopting a food sovereignty framework is not a blueprint or all or nothing approach. To become food sovereign means to involve stakeholders in discussions about the food system that makes sense for the campus and community in question. These dialogues should allow stakeholders to negotiate terms, conditions and expected outcomes that benefit the university and communities at large. Third, food sovereignty is not a reformist movement, it is transformative. Food sovereign campuses aren't controlled by large multinational foodservice corporations, they are part of a movement to improve community foodscapes. Fourth, a food sovereign campus is controlled by students, faculty, the campus community, and community at large and should create positive value to these constituencies. Fifth, a food sovereign campus does not force students onto a meal plan so that large multinational corporations, and universities (through a profit and loss model) can receive financial returns. Sixth, food sovereign campuses are made up of social enterprises that practice an array of diverse economy practices (Gibson-Graham, Cameron, & Healy, 2013). Seventh, a food sovereign campus is more radical than corporate and weak sustainability approaches and can be differentiated through the framework provided in this thesis. Finally, even though food sovereignty is hard to define and apply to university campuses, sustainability is equally confusing and often used to uphold unsustainable practices. Food sovereignty is transformative and can help universities achieve holistic, in-depth, transformative sustainability (Bieler and McKenzie, 2017).

This is the first thesis to explore the possibility of building food sovereign campuses. I encourage future university food systems researchers to study other campus-community food systems at other universities to provide other comparable examples and make suggestions to improve the food sovereign campus framework. I hope that this document is useful for future food activists at Concordia and at other universities to reclaim their campuses from multinational foodservice corporations. I also hope that university administrators begin to realize that hiring foodservice corporations that cause negative externalities through profit and loss models contributes to social and environmental problems. If universities want to reach higher order sustainability goals, the triple bottom line approach will not accomplish this endeavour. Food sovereignty frameworks can though.

This document also serves to preserve the institutional memory of the campus-community food system so that future activists can be more effective in transforming foodservices at Concordia. Hopefully, the food sovereignty framework can help food activists across Canada (and the world) transform foodservices at their institutions. I also hope Concordia students keep the momentum going. Concordia students have created a vast network of campus-community organizations, but the struggle is not over. Students should keep the administration accountable through social action, but also keep developing new food organizations based on what is needed on campus. Students should also get involved with the organizations that currently exist. Ultimately, they can help pursue transformative approaches to food services as proposed through the food sovereignty framework in this dissertation. I hope that the Snapshot of the Campus-Community Food Groups at Concordia and the history of food services at Concordia serves to inspire future students to continue fighting for a food sovereign campus.

I hope that the faculty at Concordia strengthen our network and collaborate on projects that support the campus-community food system. We can increase the number of community-service learning and/or community-campus engagement projects we assign in our courses. We can also collaborate more frequently by giving students collective projects that focus on improving the campus-community food system. For example, students in the School of Community and Public Affairs can help create food organizations in courses related to social innovation. Students from Geography and Biology can help develop urban agriculture and advise on nutrition for the food organizations. Students from Communications can help with community marketing strategies. Students from Sociology can help bring a critical analysis looking at developing a just, socially responsible food system. These are only suggestions; the sky is the limit. Faculty can also develop a specific food studies program and create more opportunities for research, engagement, and collaboration. As suggested in this thesis, faculty can become leaders in transformative approaches to sustainability by challenging educational paradigms and existing colonial knowledge (Bieler and McKenzie, 2017).

To university foodservice researchers, I provided the starting point for a food sovereignty framework. Please help continue the conversation by providing suggestions for revisions, ideas for applying the framework, and new case studies on campus-community food organizations. Universities can and should create positive values in the world. They can create food systems that solve current environmental and social crises. At a minimum, they should not exacerbate these crises by treating university foodservices as another profit-making business. Economic viability cannot come at the expense of social or environmental sustainability. By controlling food services internally, stakeholders can discuss how to develop a transformative food system by understanding the true cost of food and negotiating ways to internalize costs without

becoming insolvent. Universities can lead food system transformation. We should think beyond sustainability and build food sovereign campuses.

APPENDIX

Appendix A - Dominant model versus food sovereignty model (Rosset, 2003)

Table 5

Dominant model versus food sovereignty model (Rosset, 2003)

Issue	Dominant model	Food Sovereignty model
Trade	Free trade is everything	Food and agriculture exempt from trade agreements
Production priority	Agroexports	Food for local markets
Crop prices	"What the market dictates" (leave intact mechanisms that enforce low prices)	Fair prices that cover the costs of production and allow farmers and farmworkers a life with dignity
Market access	Access to foreign markets	Access to local markets; an end to the displacement of farmers from their own markets by agribusiness
Subsidies	While prohibited in the Third World, many subsidies are allowed in the US and Europe – but are paid only to the largest farmers	Subsidies that do not damage other countries (via dumping) are okay; i.e., grant subsidies only to family farmers, for direct marketing, price/income support, soil conservation, conversion to sustainable farming, research, etc.
Food	Chiefly a commodity; in practice, this means processes, contaminated food that is full of fat, sugar, high fructose corn syrup, and toxic residues	A human right: specifically, should be healthy, nutritious, affordable, culturally appropriate, and locally produced
Being able to produce	An option for the economically efficient	A right for rural peoples
Hunger	Due to low productivity	A problem of access and distribution; due to poverty and inequality
Food security	Achieved by importing food from where it is the cheapest	Greatest when the food production is in the hands of the hungry; or when food is produced locally
Control over productive resources (land, water, forests)	Privatized	Local; community controlled
Access to land	Via the market	Via genuine agrarian reform; without access to land, the rest is meaningless
Seeds	A patentable commodity	A common heritage of humanity, held in trust by rural communities and cultures; "no patents on life"
Rural credit and investment	From private banks and corporations	From the public sector; designed to support family agriculture
Dumping	Not an issue	Must be prohibited
Monopoly	Not an issue	The root of most problems; monopolies must be broken up
Overproduction	No such thing, by definition	Drives prices down and farmers into poverty; we need supply management policies for US and EU
Genetically modified organisms (GMOs)	The wave of the future	Bad for health and the environment; an unnecessary technology
Farming technology	Industrial, monoculture, chemical-intensive; uses GMOs	Agroecological, sustainable farming methods, no GMOs

Farmers	**Anachronisms; the inefficient will disappear**	**Guardians of culture and crop germplasm; stewards of productive resources; repositories of knowledge; internal market and building block of broad-based, inclusive economic development**
Urban consumers	**Workers to be paid as little as possible**	**Need living wages**
Another world (alternatives)	**Not possible/ not of interest**	**Possible and amply demonstrated**

Appendix B – Food Sovereignty: An Emerging Alternative Food Regime? (Wittman, 2011)

Table 6

	Corporate/Neoliberal Food Regime	Food Sovereignty Regime
Feeding the World	Food access/security through intensive production based on principle of comparative advantage and distributed through market mechanisms.	Food access/security through prioritizing local agricultural production and protecting local markets from dumping/subsidized food imports.
Role of Agriculture in Advancing National Development	Increase positive trade balances through increased exports of agricultural commodities. Economically successful communities will invest in infrastructure to improve community well-being (e.g., hospitals, schools).	Sustainable agriculture as part of a diversified economy will improve national well-being through improving food security and ensuring a healthy environment. Fair trade will spur economic growth.
Role of Technology in Advancing Agricultural Development	Increases in productivity come through scientific innovation, adoption of technology, and modern management. Problem solving based on a compartmentalized approach to problems of soil fertility, disease, pest infestation, etc.	Farmers must become efficient and competitive through diversifying production, using alternative technologies, and minimizing use of external inputs. Problem solving is based on a holistic approach to adoption of appropriate technology, including agroecology.
Environmental Stewardship	Protected areas, national parks, and environmental regulations are sufficient, as long as they do not harm the potential for the expansion of agricultural export crops.	Agriculture and environmental policy cannot be separated; sustainable agriculture protects biodiversity and leaves space for conservation areas.

Appendix C - Key Differences Between Corporate-Led, Neo-liberal, Industrial Agriculture and the Food Sovereignty Framework (Desmarais, 2017)

Table 7

Key Differences Between Corporate-Led, Neo-liberal, Industrial Agriculture and the Food Sovereignty Framework (Desmarais, 2017)

Goal	Neo-Liberal Model	Food Sovereignty Model
Trade	"Free" trade in most commodities and services	Food and agriculture exempted from trade agreements. Food geared primarily to domestic needs; excess fairly traded in regulated markets
Production priority	Food and agro-products for export and foreign exchange.	Food for local markets
Crop prices	"What the market dictates" (involves mechanisms that leave intact mechanisms that enforce low prices to producers)	Fair prices that cover the costs of production and allow farmers and farmworkers a life with dignity
Market access	Increase access to foreign markets	Access to local markets. End to the displacement of farmers from their own markets by agribusiness
Subsidies	Some subsidies still allowed in the US and Europe, yet not in the global South. Subsidies directed mainly to the largest farmers	Allow subsidies that do not damage small and medium scale farming in other countries, e.g., grants to family farmers for direct marketing, price/income support, soil conservation, conversion to sustainable farming, research, rural education etc.
Food	Considered primarily a commodity. Increasingly involves processed foods containing high levels of fat, sugar, high fructose corn syrup, and toxic residues	Considered a human right. Should be healthy, nutritious, affordable, culturally appropriate, and as much as possible be locally produced under socially just conditions
Food production and provisioning	An option for the economically "efficient"	A right of peasants and small-scale family farmers, pastoralists, artisanal fisheries, forest dwellers, Indigenous peoples, agricultural and fisheries workers, and migrants involved in food production
Hunger	Caused by high prices and therefore the result of insufficient supply, production and productivity	A problem of access and maldistribution caused by poverty and inequality
Food security	Achieved by importing food from where it is the cheapest	Greatest when the food production is in the hands of the hungry or when food is produced locally
Access to land	Via the market	Via systemic and state-supported agrarian reform and long-term tenure security
Seeds	A patentable commodity	A common heritage of humanity, held in trust by rural communities and cultures. No patents on life.
Rural credit and investment	From private banks and corporations	From the public sector. Designed to support small and medium scale family agriculture
Corporate Monopolies	Rarely an issue	A systemic and pathological feature of an industrialized international food system
Overproduction	No such thing, by definition	Drives prices down and farmers into poverty. Supply management to resolve overproduction

Small and medium scale farmers	**Anachronisms. The inefficient will disappear**	**Guardians of culture and crop germplasm. Stewards of productive resources. Repositories of knowledge. Building block of broad-based, inclusive economic development**
Gender	Policies and programs to integrate food and agriculture into the global marketplace with little consideration of the gender division of labour and women's unpaid labour. Little consideration of how the policies affect women and men differently	Aims to transform existing unequal gender relations. Recognizes and respects the key roles women play in the production, gathering, distribution, preparation, and cultural dimensions of food and agriculture. Demands equality and the end of all forms of violence against women
Urban consumers vs agricultural workers	Since labour is considered a major cost in production, workers paid low wages to keep prices down for consumers	Workers need living wages
Research	Focuses on science and innovation. Depends largely on new technology to fix problems caused by previously introducing new technology into the environment	Led and driven by peasants/farmers and communities
Policy development	Developed by mostly urban "experts" and may involve multi-stakeholder consultants regarding an already defined policy agenda	Led by and driven by peasants/farmers working in alliance with urban-based movements. Participatory. Starts from lived realities of farming families

Appendix D – Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011), Politics, Production Models and Approaches

Table 8

	Corporate food regime		Food movements	
Politics	Neoliberal	Reformist	Progressive	Radical
Discourse	*Food enterprise*	*Food security*	*Food justice*	*Food sovereignty*
Main institutions	International Finance Corporation (World Bank); IMF, WTO: USDA; Global Food Security Bill; Green Revolution; Millennium Challenge; Heritage Foundation; Chicago Global Council; Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; ONE Campaign	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank); FAO; UN Commission on Sustainable Development; International Federation of Agricultural Producers; mainstream fair trade; Slow Food Movement; some Food Policy Councils; most food banks and food aid programs	Alternative fair trade and many Slow Food chapters; many organizations in the Community Food Security Movement; CSAs; many Food Policy Councils and youth food and justice movements; many farmworker and labor organizations	Via Campesina, International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty; Global March for Women; many food justice and rights-based movements
Orientation	*Corporate*	*Development*	*Empowerment*	*Entitlement*
Model	Overproduction; corporate concentration; unregulated markets and monopolies; monocultures (including organic); GMOs; agrofuels; mass global consumption of industrial food; phasing out of peasant and family agriculture and local retail	Mainstreaming/ certification of niche markets (e.g. organic, fair, local, sustainable); maintaining northern agricultural subsidies; "sustainable" roundtables for agrofuels, soy, forest products, etc.; market-led land reform	Agroecologically produced local food; investment in underserved communities; new business models and community benefit packages for production, processing, and retail; better wages for ag. workers; solidarity economies; land access; regulated markets and supply	Dismantle corporate agrifoods monopoly power; parity; redistributive land reform; community rights to water and seed; regionally based food systems; democratization of food system; sustainable livelihoods; protection from dumping/ overproduction; revival of agroecologically managed peasant agriculture to distribute wealth and cool the planet
Approach to the food crisis	Increased industrial production; unregulated corporate monopolies; land grabs; expansion of GMOs; public-private partnerships; liberal markets; international sourced food aid	Same as neoliberal but with increased medium farmer production and some locally sourced food aid; more agricultural aid but tied to GMOs and "bio-fortified/climate-resistant" crops	Right to food; better safety nets; sustainably produced, locally-sourced food; agroecologically based agricultural development	Human right to food sovereignty; locally sourced, sustainably produced, culturally appropriate, democratically controlled focus on UN/ FAO negotiations
	Guiding document: World Bank 2009 Development Report	Guiding document: World Bank 2009 Development Report	Guiding document: International Assessment on Agriculture Science Technology and Development	Guiding document: Peoples' Comprehensive Framework for Action to Eradicate Hunger

Appendix E – Consent form for Interviews

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN

The Student-Run Food Groups Documentary/Research Project

This is to state that I agree to participate in a video documentary and research project being conducted by Erik Chevrier, Kim Gagnon under the supervision of Dr. Satoshi Ikeda.

You can reach Erik Chevrier by phone at 514-998-5889 or by e-mail at professor@erikchevrier.ca

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of this project is to investigate Concordia's student-run food groups by building in interactive, web-based video archive. This project will provide a network of resources for Concordia's student body, those involved in food initiatives at Concordia, and the community at large. This project will also be park of Erik Chevrier's PhD thesis.

B. PROCEDURES

The project involves a series of interviews with individuals who participate in Concordia's student-run food initiatives. The interviews will be video recorded, uploaded to YouTube and linked to the website www.concordiafoodgroups.ca. The data gathered from interviews will also be used as case studies for Erik Chevrier's PhD thesis. The interview process can be stopped at any time by the participant without any negative consequence.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

This study involves minimum risks, all of which can be mitigated through the confidentiality conditions outlined below. Our aim is to promote the activities of the Concordia Student-Run Food Groups; therefore our findings will be widely disseminated. This could bring beneficial attention and exposure for your project and/or organization. Furthermore, we are willing to reciprocate by volunteering our time and skills to your project.

D. CONDITIONS AND PARTICIPATION

1. I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at any time without negative consequences.
2. I, the undersigned, herby grant permission to Erik Chevrier, the producer of the documentary series "Concordia Student-Run Food Groups" the right to use my full name, biography, video image, likeness and audio collected during this production.
3. I also grant permission to record my image, voice and performance, and transfer to the filmmaker/photographer all rights, title, and interest in the interview and video documentary. This includes without limitation, the literary rights and the copyright of my picture, photograph, silhouette, other reproductions of my of physical likeness and my voice collected in connection with the unlimited distribution, advertising, promotion, exhibition, and use throughout the world and in perpetuity and on whatever media is known or here after devised.
4. I agree that I will not assert, maintain or consent to others bring any claim, action, suit or demand of any kind or nature whatsoever against the Producer including but not limited to those granted upon invasion of privacy, rights, or publicity or other civil rights for any other reason in connection with the authorized use of my physical likeness and sound in Concordia Student-Run Food Groups as herein provided. I hereby release the Producer its directors, officers, successors and assigns from and against any and all claims, liability, demands, actions, causes of action(s), costs, expenses, and damages whatsoever, at law or in equity, known, or unknown, anticipated, or unanticipated which I ever had, now have, or may, shall or hereafter have by reason, matter, cause, or thing arising out of the rights granted to the producer herein.
5. The Producer, in return, agrees to retain the integrity of the interviewee's image and voice, neither misrepresenting the interviewee's words nor taking them out of context. I attest that I have voluntarily agreed to be interviewed and that this document contains the entire and complete agreement concerning the use and provision of my interview.
6. I, the undersigned, should not be given any fees for the services provided in this production.

7. I, the undersigned also give permission to Erik Chevrier to use the interviews for his PhD research. I give permission to Erik Chevrier to write about, publish and present the contents of the interview.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print)

SIGNATURE

DATE

E-MAIL ADDRES

PHONE NUMBER

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Erik Chevrier at: erik@collectivevision.ca (514) 998-5889

or Contact Satoshi Ikeda at: Satoshi Ikeda, satoshi.ikeda@concordia.ca (514) 848-2424 ext. 2899

If you have concerns about ethical issues in this research, please contact the Manager, Research Ethics, Concordia University, 514.848.2424 ex. 7481 or oor.ethics@concordia.ca

Appendix F – Consent form for Public Discussion

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN

The Student-Run Food Groups Documentary/Research Project

This is to state that I agree to participate in a research project being conducted by Erik Chevrier, Kim Gagnon, The Sustainable Concordia, the Sustainable Action Fund and CHNGR under the supervision of Dr. Satoshi Ikeda.

You can reach Erik Chevrier by phone at 514-998-5889 or by e-mail at professor@erikchevrier.ca

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of this project is to encourage the co-development of a food sovereign campus at Concordia University by hosting a World Café style discussion with those interested in participating. This is the second phase of the Concordia Student-Run Food Groups Research Project. This project will also be part of Erik Chevrier's PhD thesis.

B. PROCEDURES

Participants will be asked to show up to a meeting on March 22nd at the Center for Teaching and Learning between 3 – 5 P.M. Participants will be seated at a round table and served tea and snacks. Erik Chevrier will lead the discussion by providing a general overview of the food system at Concordia – as he observed while conducting interviews in phase one of the project. He will ask a series of four questions. Participants will have ten minutes to discuss the questions with the other participants sitting at the same table. After ten minutes, the brainstorming process will cease and each table will report back – one (or two) delegates will report back from each table. At each table, there will be a note taker who will provide a summary of the discussion back to the researchers. The data gathered from the discussion may be incorporated in Erik Chevrier's PhD thesis. A participant can decide to drop out of the discussion at any time without any negative consequence.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

We do not foresee risk to anyone who participates in the meeting. There are many benefits to participating. Our aim is to encourage the co-creation of a food sovereign campus at Concordia. This has benefits to the existing food groups, students, professors and administrators.

D. CONDITIONS AND PARTICIPATION

8. I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at any time without negative consequences.
9. I, the undersigned, herby grant permission to Erik Chevrier, the right to use the information collected by the note takers to include in his PhD thesis, publish and/or present.
10. I, the undersigned, should not be given any compensation for my participation.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print)

SIGNATURE

DATE

E-MAIL ADDRESS

PHONE NUMBER

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Erik Chevrier at: erik@collectivevision.ca (514) 998-5889

or Contact Satoshi Ikeda at: Satoshi Ikeda, satoshi.ikeda@concordia.ca (514) 848-2424 ext. 2899

If you have concerns about ethical issues in this research, please contact the Manager, Research Ethics, Concordia University, 514.848.2424 ex. 7481 or oor.ethics@concordia.ca

Appendix G – Interview Questions

Please introduce yourself and explain what your role is in _____(organization).

What is _____(organization)?

What is the mission of _____(organization)?

What is the structure of _____(organization)?

What is the structure of _____(organization)?
- Board of directors
- Division of labour
- Economic model
- Income
- Expenses

Please recount the history of _____(organization). How did the project start and how has it become what it is today?

What events/activities does _____(organization) have?

What are the long-term and short-term goals of _____(organization)?

What partnerships does _____(organization) have?

What are the strengths of _____(organization)?

What are the weaknesses of _____(organization)?

What does _____(organization) bring to the Concordia community?

How do people get involved with _____(organization)?

How do people contact _____(organization)?

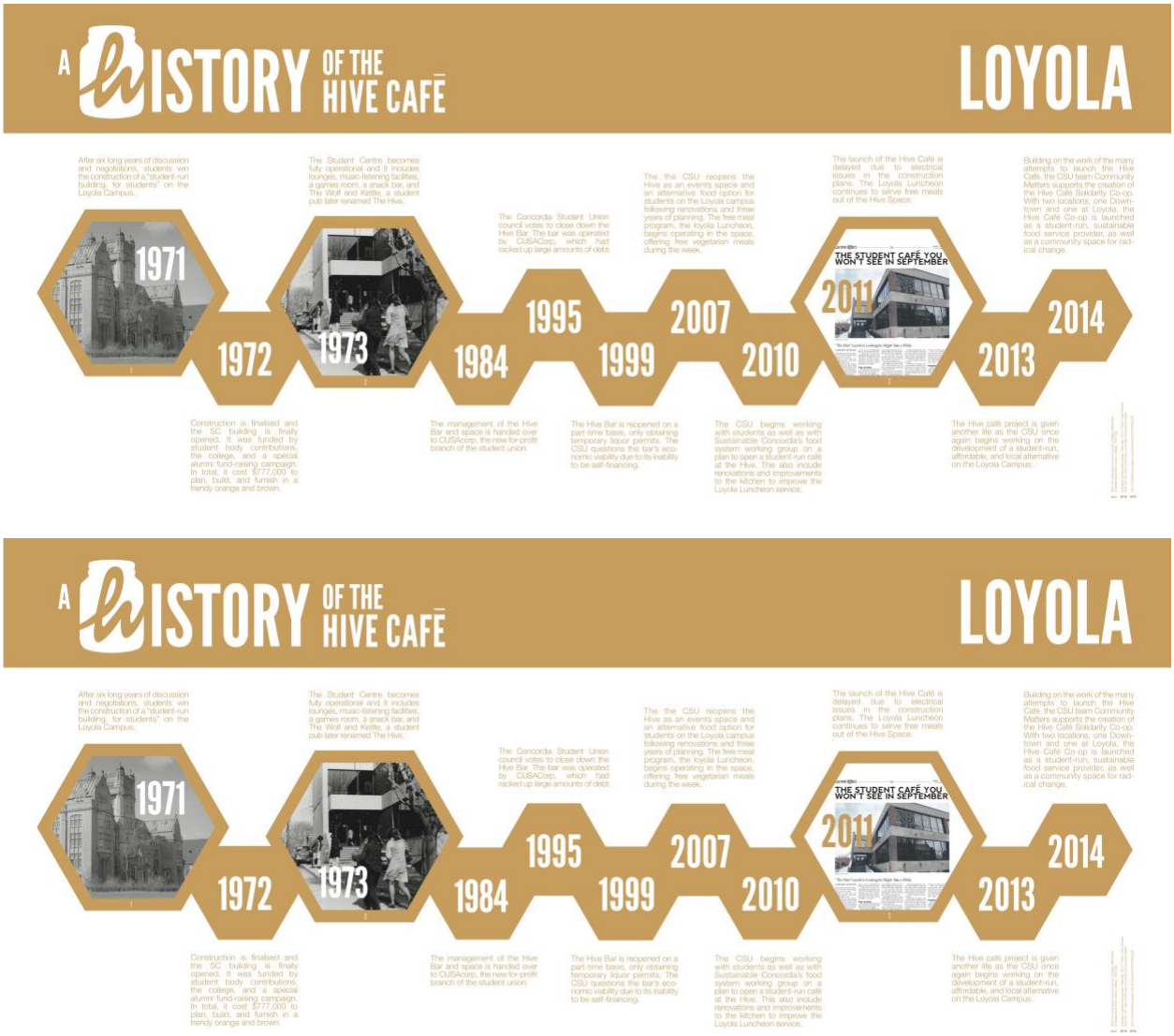
Please recount a personal story about your organization.

What is an ideal model for food services at Concordia University?

What advice would you give someone who wanted to get involved in the food movement at Concordia for the first time?

Appendix H – A History of The Hive in the Link

Appendix I – History of The Hive from The Hive



A HISTORY OF THE HIVE CAFÉ
LOYOLA

Appendix J - Questionnaire for Lachine Food Systems Mapping

What is the name of your organization?
What is your name and your role within the organization?
What is the mission of your organization?
Is food the primary focus of your organization? Yes – No
What food issues does your organization address?
Does your organization contribute to a sustainable food system in Lachine? Yes – No
If so, how does your organization contribute to a sustainable food system in Lachine?
What types of food practices does your organization partake in (see below)?

Food Practices

Production
Does your group produce food?
Does your group produce equipment to produce food?
Does your group produce knowledge about food – declarative and experiential?
Does your group produce social capital – community building, networks, partnerships, etc.
Other?

Transformation
Do you transform food?
Cook
Prepare
Ferment
Preserve
Process
Freeze/store
Dehydrate
Can
Other

Distribution

Does your group distribute food (market and non- market transactions)?

Does your group donate food?

Where does your group procure your food?

Other?

Waste Management

Do you compost?

Do you re-purpose food?

Do you save seeds?

Support

Do you provide support to a food organization?

– If so, what kind of support

Money?

Space?

Labour?

Other?

SUSTAINABLE FOOD SYSTEM

How do you envision a sustainable food system in Lachine?

How would your group fit into that vision?

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ENDNOTES

[1] You can find our website here: www.collectivevision.ca

[2] You can read about my involvement with Divest Concordia on this website: https://thelinknewspaper.ca/article/what-does-the-future-of-sustainability-look-like

[3] You can find our website at: https://cultivaction.ca

[4] I am using the term campus-community intentionally to emphasize that the food groups in question reside on campus and primarily focus on the needs of students. I understand that recent publications (i.e., Levkoe, Andree, Bhatt, Brynne, Davidson, Kneen, and Nelson, 2016) have focused on community-campus partnerships. Throughout this dissertation, I use the term 'campus-community' to describe the food initiatives at Concordia University. The relationships between these groups are complex; therefore, categorizing these organizations is a difficult task. Initially, we referred to the food organizations as 'student-run'. Recently, I have been referring to the groups as campus-community organizations because they are on campus and run mainly by students; but also have connections (i.e., staff and managers who are not students) to the community at large. I do not use the term community-campus, because unlike Levkoe et al (2016), the organizations we are referring to are on campus and serve the Concordia community primarily. This paragraph appears again in the body of the text when discussing research about community-campus engagement. I felt it necessary to include this endnote for researchers who may question my use of "campus-community" from the onset. Hopefully readers are not annoyed by this redundancy.

[5] According to Holt-Giménez (2017), "Calls to "fix a broken food system" assume that the capitalist food system used to work well. This assumption ignores the food systems long, racialized history of mistreatment of people of colour. The food system is unjust and unsustainable, but it is not broken. It functions precisely as the capitalist food system has always worked, concentrating power in the hands of the privileged minority and passing off the social and environmental "externalities" disproportionately to racially stigmatized groups". (Holt-Giménez, 2017, p. 160)

[6] Here are a few examples, Stahlbrand (2017) wrote, "Food services are dominated by three transnational corporations (Compass, Sodexo, and Aramark) …Together, this food-service oligopoly had combined revenues of USD 80 Billion in 2015. They employ more than one million people at colleges and universities, schools, hospitals, sports facilities, workplace cafeterias, airlines, railways, remote mining camps, offshore platforms, the military and prisons… (p. 84). Bohunicky, Desmarais, and Entz (2019) wrote, …approximately 70 percent of foodservices operations are contracted out at Canadian Universities… Further, these contracts are highly concentrated among three companies: Compass Group PLC, Aramark, and Sodexo… These "Big Three" are the highest growing food service management companies in the world … (p. 45)". Martin and Andree (2012) wrote, the institutional food sector in North America is dominated by three large foodservice corporations: Compass Group, Aramark, and Sodexo. These transnational corporations (TNCs) are part of a surprisingly large food service sector. Two of them are among the largest private employers in the world, with Compass ranked eleventh with 482, 202 employees and Sodexo ranked twenty-second with 379, 137 employees... (p. 162)"

[7] In a paper about the history of Aramark and Chartwells-Compass, Martin and Andree (2012) suggest that Aramark (originally Automatic Retailers of America) and Chartwells-Compass (formerly Canteens Ltd) food services came into existence through the help of governments not by market forces of supply and demand (p. 165). Sodexo (originally Société d'Exploitation Hôtelière - Sodexho) began in France in 1966 and became a dominant food service corporation. From the late 1960s onwards, these three corporations purchased other food service corporations and consolidated their oligopoly worldwide, mainly being contracted by governments and private industries for large scale food production.

[8] I acknowledge that some university foodservice researchers (i.e., Martin and Andree, 2012; Bennell, 2008; Friedmann, 2007) claim that large multinational corporations can be reformed because they are all competing with each other for contracts. I address this point later.

[9] According to neoclassical economic views, companies are motivated and disciplined by competitive pressures from other companies (Stanford, 2008). According to Stanford (2008) "…companies in the modern economy…are motivated, and indeed enforced, by competitive pressures from other companies. This pressure leads companies to do dramatic, innovative, often painful and even destructive things…because they desperately want to stay in business. Competition is thus the disciplining force that compels companies to act in particular ways. And in so doing, competition ensures that the whole system behaves in particular ways (Stanford, 2008, pp. 129-130)." The neoclassical view of competition has been challenged by many authors, including Stanford (2008), because in the real-world 'perfect competition' doesn't exist. Large companies can influence prices and dominate a sector of the economy (Stanford, 2008). University foodservices provide a great example of the shortfalls of neoclassical economic theories of competition. Stahlbrand (2017), suggests that "Oligopolistic domination of food service means that new entrants find it very difficult to gain a foothold because the three main players [Chartwells-Compass, Sodexo, and Aramark] drive prices down using their enormous aggregate purchasing power, and by externalizing any social and environmental costs (italics added, p. 84)

[10] For example, Compass-Group own Chartwells to manage university foodservices; Morrison, Crothall and Marquise for hospital foodservices, Restaurant Associates and Gourmet Cuisine for catering services; ESS for remote sites like mining, military and oil and gas extraction facilities; Eurest for facilities management; Canteen for vending and refreshment services; and Foodbuy for purchasing (Compass-Group Canada, 2021).

[11] Martin and Andree (2012) explain, "…Compass uses product differentiation to leverage sales by creating brands for different service sectors. In North America alone it operates Chartwells for education, Morrison for healthcare, Wolfgang Puck Catering, Eurest for business, and Canteen Services for prisons. Often nested within these outlets, TNCs buy and operate franchises, such as Starbucks and Tim Horton's, side-by-side, which further expands the market in the same campus or hospital. At the same time as fostering the illusion of qualitative differences between cups of coffee, the corporations benefit from the economies of scale that come with centralized management of supplies and labour." (p. 167).

[12] The report states, "Chartwells is Concordia's newest food service provider, and a division of one of the world's largest food providers, Compass Group. Compass Group has a somewhat unsavory history as a 'corporate citizen', one of union busting, making use of prison labour, aggressive competition with not-for-profit student services, and providing oil giants like Chevron Texaco, Australian refugee detention centers, the US Pentagon, and military bases with their services. Compass Group is known for planting themselves in establishments where the employees are in no position to unionize themselves, such as in prisons and the US Navy. Using prison labour is quite a profitable venture for Compass Group, as wages are low, without benefit packages. In schools both here and abroad, Compass Group has ousted local student-run food services with their 'food-opoly'. At McGill and Carleton Universities student space has been expropriated to Chartwells. In 2001, a school in Scotland threatened to boycott Compass subsidiaries, Scolarest and Chartwells because they cannot afford the prices Compass Group caters to. "Lunches are smaller and more expensive. Dinner ladies have also said that they have been told to cut portions and use lower quality ingredients" (Concordia, 2003; p. 44).

[13] The Corporate Research Project, whose goal is to "assist community, environmental and labor organizations in researching companies and industries…[*and*] identifying information that can be used to advance corporate accountability campaigns" (Corporate Research Project, 2021), explain that since 2000, Sodexo has amassed $103,190,454 in penalties: $80,943,877 for employment discrimination, $20,000,000 related to the false claims act, $1,393,580 for wage violations, $494,934 for labour relations violations, and $301,909 for work health and safety violations (Corporate Reserach Project, 2021).

[14] Since 2000, Aramark has received $19,871,364 in penalties (Corporate Reserach Project, 2021) and Chartwells-Compass has received $28,086,934 (Corporate Research Project, 2021).

[15] The Food and Agriculture Organization states, "After steadily declining for over a decade, global hunger appears to be on the rise, affecting 11 percent of the global population. In addition to an increase in the proportion of the world's population that suffers from chronic hunger (prevalence of undernourishment), the number of undernourished people on the planet has also increased to 815 million, up from 777 million in 2015" (The Food and Agriculture Organization, n.d).

[16] Shiva (2005) describes the problem of food dumping for small farmers in India. Shiva (2005) writes, "…we now have a world where the grain giants take our food at half the price that the poor pay for it and dump it on someone else's market. Simultaneously, they import food from somewhere else with a $400 billion subsidy that goes not to farmers of the world but to a handful of corporations and dump it on India's market." Shiva, 2005, p. 31)

[17] Menser (2014) writes, "As a goal, food security seems admirable, but its lack of a specification of the means has caused hardships for farmers and consumers throughout the world. For example, food security permits and even encourages below-market-price agricultural goods "dumping," genetically modified seeds, and other expensive inputs. All undermine the economic position of small farmers, and the endorsement and promulgation of GMOs threaten biodiversity and undermines consumers choice. (Menser, p. 58)

[18] In 2020, Bayer settled in court to compensate victims of Round Up related health effects over ten-billion dollars (Bayer, 2020).

[19] Vandana Shiva (2016) provides a concise summary of the violent nature of agribusiness, "The scientific paradigms of violence paved the road for intensified warfare. During World War II, large companies made even larger sums of money from the deaths of millions of people. After the wars ended, an industry that grew and made profits by making explosives and chemicals for war, including concentration camps, remodeled itself as the agrochemical industry. Faced with the choice of closing down or "rebranding," explosives factories started to make synthetic fertilizers, and war chemicals began to be used as pesticides and herbicides. At the heart of industrial agriculture is the use of poisons; the system of industrial agriculture is necroeconomy – its profits are rooted in death and destruction." (Shiva, 2016, p. 7)

[20] Pothukchi and Molnar (2015) suggest that urban universities can provide leadership in building sustainable food systems in three ways (1) as public institutions with the responsibility of teaching students about social justice, critical thinking, and democratic engagement, (2) as resources for local development and (3) as economic actors that can improve their ecological footprint though their own consumption habits and as research institutes that discover new innovations.

[21] In their article about the SEED Wayne project (a faculty-led initiative to develop a sustainable food system on campus at Wayne State University), Pothukuchi (2012)argues that Wayne State University has a responsibility to become a leader by enhancing food projects in the surrounding communities. Pothukuchi (2012) writes, "SEED Wayne's arguments for Wayne State University's leadership in building SFS [sustainable food systems] are based on the following rationales: one, as a civic institution with an urban mission, the university has a responsibility to the surrounding community and region; two, as one of Detroit's larger employers it is endowed with significant human and material resources with which to leverage broader gains; and three, the university's engagement in SFS has the potential to address a not-insignificant portion of the food needs that exist in its neighbourhood while creating one path (among many) for a resurgence of a city decline." (p. 104)

[22] Barlett (2011)suggest that, "Sustainable food initiatives have expanded rapidly in higher education in North America, joining green building, energy, water, and waste as foci of campus sustainability efforts." (p. 101)

[23] Levkoe, Andree, Bhatt, Brynne, Davidson, Kneen, and Nelson (2016) write that, "The topic of food systems provides an opportunity to investigate the ways that diverse groups come together around common goals, specifically the engagement between community groups and academic institutions." (p. 33)

[24] Himmelheber (2016) writes, "Over the past century, IHEs [Institutions of Higher Education] have increasingly taken on the role of addressing social ills such as food security" (p. 78)

[25] Holt- Giménez (2011) writes, "The increasing social, economic, and environmental contradictions of the corporate food regime fueled the growth of the organic food sector and gave rise to grassroots movements for food justice, sustainable agriculture, urban gardening, localization, and health and lifestyle-based trends for quality food and food 'authenticity'. Many family farmers in the industrial North began to see their fates intertwined with the struggling peasants of the global South. Via Campesina, an international federation for smallholder-peasants-fisher-pastoral organizations. Launched a cry for food sovereignty that quickly spread to both northern and southern small-scale producers. Food sovereignty is essentially a political demand, one that cuts through reformist proposals to address power structures at the root of the corporate food regime." (p. 218).

[26] Bennell (2008) writes, "…challenging these underlying structures can occur from the inside out. With farm-to-university, the institution must be aware of its power to shape food purchasing through contracts with large food service companies. In this way, the institution acknowledges that systemic change takes time and that there are no shortcuts to sustained improvement. If Concordia University were to demand that local sustainable food be purchased on its terms, then, as witnessed at the University of Toronto, Chartwells will likely oblige due to market pressures (p.114)"

[27] Meal Exchange is an organization that exists to "…coordinate the student movement to transform food on Canada's campuses. Students get involved through our national programs supporting campus kitchens, gardens and farms, food banks, food sovereignty and food procurement. We provide mentorship and resources, connect students with their peers across the country, and provide a single point of contact for provincial and national stakeholders in business, civil society and media." (Meal Exchange, n.d)

[28] Meal Exchange claims that they are proud of the following accomplishments: "Empowering student leaders through campus food banks, gardens, and applied student research projects on over 40 post-secondary campuses; Raising $1.8 million worth of food donations for community and campus food banks, and engaging over 40,000 student volunteers in 100 communities across Canada in our annual Trick or Eat campaign; Capturing the voices of over 2,600 students in our Student Satisfaction Survey through the Campus Food Report Card project; Promoting procurement of local, sustainable food in foodservice contracts with combined food budgets of more than $10 million annually; Supporting the creation of Canada's first national policy for campus foodservice to purchase food from campus gardens and farms; Bringing student leaders together at our National Student Food Summit, running for the last 13 years; Adapting and piloting the Good Food Challenge at 14 campuses in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, and Manitoba." (Meal Exchange, n.d.)

[29] Meal Exchange define Real Food as "Good Food is food which truly nourishes producers, consumers, communities and the earth. It is a food system – from seed to plate – that fundamentally respects human dignity and health, animal welfare, social justice and environmental sustainability. Some people call it "local," "green," "slow," or "fair." We use "Good Food" as a holistic term to bring together many of these diverse ideas people have about a values-based food economy." (Meal Exchange, n.d.)

[30] According to Barlett (2011) "Some schools have found progress with food service contractors too slow and have changed their corporate contractee to gain desired results (Friedmann 2007). Kenyon College, Yale, and UC Santa Cruz are examples of campuses where efforts to "green" the food system ended in a termination of contracts with corporate providers in favor of self-operated dining. Independent food service operation can allow for greater flexibility such as direct purchases from farmers with payment "at the back door" (rather than requiring 90-day invoicing) and farmer insurance requirements below the standard $5,000,000 (p. 107)"

[31] According to Stahlbrand (2017), this is one of ten necessary criteria.

[32] Stahlbrand (2017) derived the term "infrastructure in the middle" from "agriculture in the middle" a phrase referring to mid-sized farms that are at risk of failing because they are too big to sell to small local vendors and too big to compete with large scale farms (Kirschenmann, Stevenson, Buttel, Lyson, & Duffy, 2008). Infrastructure in the middle can provide "agriculture in the middle" with reliable, large scale food procurement. Stahlbrand (2017) remarks that infrastructure in the middle is also at risk of being held at the mercy of an oligopoly-dominated food industry that produces food in environmentally and socially destructive ways.

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[34] Bieler and McKenzie (2017) provide a content analysis of the strategic plans of fifty higher education institutions in Canada, concluding that forty-one of the fifty addressed sustainability in one form or another.

[35] Sumner (2012) writes, All in all, sustainability can be a confusing term that few can explain. On one hand, many people have warm, fuzzy feelings about what it means, and they project those feelings onto the term. On the other hand, some criticize the term as too vague, overly compromised, or undefinable, and reject it altogether. (p. 322)

[36] Grober (2010) wrote the following about the term sustainability, The game of confusion sets in when the levels overlap, when the discourse in general is non-political but it is suggested that the full political meaning of the term is being employed. By this means a straightforward expectation of profits over a two- or three-year timescale is transformed into a financial return which is sustainable – that is, generated in an ecologically and socially responsible way. Worst of all, is when 'sustainability' is turned around against the supposed exaggerated or unrealistic demands of environmental campaigners: for example, the construction of a coal-fired power station is trumpeted as 'sustainable' because it is cleaner than the old one and preserves jobs. In the same way 'sustainable forestry' became the battle cry of international timber companies when taking over large areas of the tropical rainforest from the indigenous populations. Once the term has been hijacked and robbed of its substance, there's not much you can do with it. Or rather, nothing you can't do. The most mundane of activities, even the most ruthless pillaging of the planet, can be sold under the hollow label of 'sustainability' or 'sustainable development.' (p. 18)

[37] The terms 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' have been around since the early 1970s (Wu & Wu, 2012).

[38] The Brundtland Commission (WCED, 1987) states, "Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The concept of sustainable development does imply limits - not absolute limits but limitations imposed by the present state of technology and social organization on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities. But technology and social organization can be both managed and improved to make way for a new era of economic growth. The Commission believes that widespread poverty is no longer inevitable. Poverty is not only an evil in itself, but sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations for a better life. A world in which poverty is endemic will always be prone to ecological and other catastrophes… Meeting essential needs requires not only a new era of economic growth for nations in which the majority are poor, but an assurance that those poor get their fair share of the resources required to sustain that growth. Such equity would be aided by political systems that secure effective citizen participation in decision making and by greater democracy in international decision making…Sustainable global development requires that those who are more affluent adopt lifestyles within the planet's ecological means – in their use of energy, for example. Further, rapidly growing populations can increase the pressure on resources and slow any rise in living standards; thus sustainable development can only be pursued if population size and growth are in harmony with the changing productive potential of the ecosystem…Yet in the end, sustainable development is not a fixed state of harmony, but rather a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs. We do not pretend that the process is easy or straightforward. Painful choices have to be made. Thus, in the final analysis, sustainable development must rest on political will."

[39] In a literature review about the Triple Bottom Line, Alhaddi (2015) illustrates how integrated the theory is in understanding sustainability, Referred to as "a brilliant and far-reaching metaphor" (Henriques, 2007, p. 26), the TBL [*Triple Bottom Line*] construct was coined by Elkington (1997). Prior to the late 1990s, the term was not significantly known. Today, a basic Google search returns over three million web pages with the notion of TBL, up from 52, 400 web pages in 2004 (Norman & MacDonal, 2004). In essence, TBL is another construct that expresses the expansion of the environmental lines (Goel, 2010). The term has also been referred to as the practical framework of sustainability (Rogers & Hudson), 2011. Targeted toward corporations, the TBL agenda puts a consistent and balanced focus on the economic, social, and environmental value provided by the organizations *[italics added]*

[40] As Shiva (2005) explains, "…natures economy is the first economy, the primary economy on which all other economies rest. Nature's economy consists of the production of goods and services by nature, the water recycled and distributed through the hydrologic cycle, the soil fertility produced by microorganisms, the plants fertilized by pollinators. Human production, human creativity shrinks to insignificance in comparison with nature (p. 13)." "…Frequently, growth is generated by converting resources from nature's economy into market commodities. Economic growth takes place through the exploitation of natural resources. Deforestation creates growth. Mining of groundwater creates growth. Overfishing creates growth. Further economic growth cannot help regenerate the very

spheres which must be destroyed for economic growth to occur. Nature shrinks as capital grows. The growth of the market cannot solve the very crisis it creates…In nature's economy and sustenance economy the currency is not money, it's life (p.29)".

[41] Wu and Wu (2012) suggest that, …empirical data show that GDP is often negatively correlated with environmental quality, and its positive correlation with social well-being measured disappears after GDP reaches a certain level. (p. 80)

[42] In *The Affluent Society*, Galbraith (1998) writes, "There is another respect in which our concern for production is traditional and irrational. We are curiously unreasonable in distinctions we make between different kinds of goods and services. We view the production of some of the most frivolous goods with pride. We regard production of some of the most significant and civilizing services with regret. Economists in calculating the total output of the economy – in arriving at the now familiar Gross Domestic Product – add together the value of all goods and all services of whatever sort and by whomsoever produced. No distinction is made between public and privately produced services. As increased supply of educational services has a standing in the total not different in kind from an increased output of television receivers (p. 109)".

[43] As described by Gowdy and O'Hara (1997), "This view recognizes that the market economy is a subset of a larger world containing all human institutions, customs, and historical contexts…humans are part of a larger biophysical system that the long-run sustainability of our species depends on the stability of that system (p. 241)". Wu and Wu (2012) also echo similar sentiments "Because of the increased scarcity of natural resources and pressures on the environment imposed by a growing human population, the environmental dimension is increasingly recognized as a fundamental basis for sustainability. A simple yet compelling argument for this is that, without an adequate level of biodiversity and ecosystem functioning and services, no economic or social development is sustainable (p. 69)"

[44] Bieler and McKenzie (2017) conclude by suggesting that for universities to be genuinely transformational, they need to meet, "…higher-order organizational learning about sustainability…[by] questioning worldviews in relation to sustainability, reorienting educational purposes and paradigms in alignment with sustainability values, and practicing sustainable forms of community engagement. (p. 17) [italics added]"

[45] According to Levkoe and Blay-Palmer (2018) food sovereignty frameworks,

…moves considerations from narrow focus on production, economics, or food nutrition security to include interrelationships between the environment and social justice…" (p. 55)

[46] Edelman, Weis, Baviskar, Borras Jr, Holt-Giménez, Kandiyoti, and Wolford (2014) write, "Food sovereignty is inherently a multidisciplinary concept. The only way to be food sovereign is to develop networks of aggregation, processing, commercialization and distribution that are themselves linked to other sectors of the economy…Food sovereignty will not offer a sustainable vision for the future if these activities and options are not part of the larger picture." (p. 924)

[47] Here is another example. Arrow for change (2014) provides a dictionary type definition for food sovereignty, "The concept was defined and brought to the public debate by a grassroots movement La Via Campesina at the World Food Summit in 1996. It represents an alternative to neoliberal policies and is defined as "the right of people to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems." It is based on the principles that recognizes: food as a basic human right; value for food producers, their knowledge and skills and the need for them to be part of all food-related decision making; the imperative for agrarian reforms that reinstates control over all resources of production; protection of natural resources; food as a source of nutrition for consumption and not as a commodity for trade or as a weapon to control people; and the need to oppose multinational corporations and agencies that have taken control over global agriculture and food production. It also acknowledges the central role of women in food production and the creation of new social relations free of oppression and inequality. Food Sovereignty along with the Rights of Peasants is seen as new human rights, those that go beyond individual food and nutrition security. It is a collective right claimed by communities, states, people or regions. Food sovereignty is an essential pre-requisite for food security. (p. 31)"

[48] Alonso-Fradejas, Borras Jr., Holmes, Holt-Giménez, and Robbins (2015) write, "The term has become a challenging subject for social science research, and has been interpreted and reinterpreted in various ways by

different groups and individuals. Indeed, as it is a concept that is so broadly defined, it spans issues such as food politics, agroecology, land reform, pastoralism, fisheries, biofuels, genetically modified organisms (GMOs), urban gardening, the patenting of life forms, labour migration, the feeding of volatile cities, community initiatives and state policies, public health, climate change, ecological sustainability, and subsistence rights. (p. 443)"

[49] Qualman (2011) writes "Food sovereignty…is many things depending on place, time, culture, needs and so on. As with many forward-looking ideas, it is difficult to predict exactly what food sovereignty will look like in practice – to provide an exact blueprint of food sovereignty is not only difficult but also counter-productive. So it might be easier to define what it isn't. (p.20)" According to Qualman (2011), food sovereignty is not:

- a set of policies simply aimed at maximizing production and exports;
- a disregard for the destruction of family farms and rural communities;
- a push toward a high-input, high-cost, high-energy-use model of food production that generates chronic negative returns for the farm families who work the soil;
- a concentration of land ownership into the hands of fewer and fewer owners, many of them non-farmers;
- a corporate takeover of a growing number of agricultural sections (hog production and cattle fishing;
- a push towards massive production units that concentrate potential pollutants;
- the transfer of key food processing facilities to foreign companies to foreign lands;
- economic policies that make foreign-based transnationals the primary beneficiaries of wealth created by the farm families working our land;
- a system that makes citizens ever more dependent on food supplied further and further from their homes.

[50] According to Edelman, (2014) the following four elements reoccur and are the most prevalent in the literature describing food sovereignty. Edelman (2014) writes, "1.'Food sovereignty' was first discussed by Via Campesina at its Second International Conference in Tlaxcala, Mexico, in 1996. 2.Via Campesina and its allies' launched' or went public with a call for food sovereignty at the FAO-sponsored World Food Conference in Rome in 1996. 3.They juxtaposed 'food sovereignty' to 'food security', which was seen contrary, deficient and 'mediocre' concept…4.The idea and practice of food sovereignty were refined at various international conclaves of peasant and farmer movements and other civil society organizations, including those in Havana, Rome, Selingue, Mali, and Mexico City. (p. 961)"

51 An group composed of Friends of the Earth International, Via Campesina, the World March of Women, ROPPA, WFF and WFFP has come together to organise Nyéléni 20071, the World Forum for Food Sovereignty. (Nyéléni, 2007)

[52] "…more than five hundred representatives from more than 80 countries, of organizations of peasants/family farmers, artisanal fisherfolk, indigenous peoples, landless peoples, rural workers, migrants, pastoralists, forest communities, women, youth, consumers and environmental and urban movements have gathered together…to strengthen a global movement for food sovereignty… Most of us are food producers and are ready, able and willing to feed all the world's peoples. Our heritage as food producers is critical to the future of humanity. This is specially so in the case of women and indigenous peoples who are historical creators of knowledge about food and agriculture and are devalued. But this heritage and our capacities to produce healthy, good and abundant food are being threatened and undermined by neo-liberalism and global capitalism. Food sovereignty gives us the hope and power to preserve, recover and build on our food producing knowledge and capacity. (La Via Campesina 1996 cited in Patel, 2009)"

[53] Edelman, Weis, Baviskar, Borras Jr, Holt-Giménez, Kandiyoti, and Wolford (2014) remarks that, Over the course of more than two decades, visions of 'food sovereignty' have inspired (and been inspired by) a wellspring of social movements, on-the-ground experiments, policy innovations and – increasingly – heated debates. (p. 911)

[54] At the 2007 World Food Summit in Nyéléni, delegates agreed to fight for a world where, "…all peoples, nations and states are able to determine their own food producing systems and policies that provide every one of us with good quality, adequate, affordable, healthy and culturally appropriate food;...there is recognition and respect of

women's roles and rights in food production, and representation of women in all decision making bodies;…all peoples in each of our countries are able to live with dignity, earn a living wage for their labour and have the opportunity to remain in their homes, if they so choose;...food sovereignty is considered a basic human right, recognized and implemented by communities, peoples, states and international bodies;…we are able to conserve and rehabilitate rural environments, fish populations, landscapes and food traditions based on ecologically sustainable management of land, soils, water, seas, seeds, livestock and all other biodiversity;…we value, recognize and respect our diversity of traditional knowledge, food, language and culture, and the way we organize and express ourselves;…there is genuine and integral agrarian reform that guarantees peasants full rights to land, defends and recovers the territories of indigenous peoples, ensures fishing communities' access and control over their fishing areas and eco-systems, honours access and control by pastoral communities over pastoral lands and migratory routes, assures decent jobs with fair remuneration and labour rights for all, and a future for young people in the countryside;...where agrarian reform revitalizes inter-dependence between producers and consumers, ensures community survival, social and economic justice, ecological sustainability, and respect for local autonomy and governance with equal rights for women and men...where agrarian reform guarantees rights to territory and self-determination for our peoples;...share our lands and territories peacefully and fairly among our peoples, be we peasants, indigenous peoples, artisanal fishers, pastoralists, or others;…in the case of natural and human-created disasters and conflict-recovery situations, food sovereignty acts as a form of "insurance" that strengthens local recovery efforts and mitigates negative impacts... where we remember that communities affected by disasters are not helpless, and where strong local organization for self-help is the key to recovery;... peoples' power to make decisions about their material, natural and spiritual heritage are defended;...all peoples have the right to defend their territories from the actions of transnational corporations; (Sélingué, 2007)

[55] The declaration reads, *"*We have arrived at a number of collective actions to share our vision of food sovereignty with all peoples of this world, which are elaborated in our synthesis document. We will implement these actions in our respective local areas and regions, in our own movements and jointly in solidarity with our movements. We will share our vision and action agenda for food sovereignty with others who are not able to be here with us in Nyéléni so that the spirit of Nyéléni permeates across the world and becomes a powerful force to make food sovereignty a reality for peoples across the world. (La Via Campesina 1996 cited in Patel, 2009)"

[56] Edelman, Weis, Naviskar, Borras, Holt-Giménez, Kandiyoti, Wolford (2014) write, "Readers of this collection will find that food sovereignty is a dynamic process after all, and one that increasingly intensifies its praxis includes a much more profound process of self-reflection and broad interrogation of key premises and therefore unexamined assumptions. Much of the early literature on food sovereignty involved a considerable dose of idealistic righteousness – and rightfully so, since the concept had contributed beyond anybody's initial expectations to galvanizing a broad-based and diverse movement around the need for radical changes in the agro-food systems. (p. 912)"

[57] Please see the research methods section for a more detailed explanation.

[58] According to McMichael, "The 'food regime' concept historicized the global food system: problematizing linear representations of agriculture modernization, underlying the pivotal role of food in global political economy, and conceptualizing key historical contradictions in particular food regimes that produce crisis, transformation and transition. In this sense, food regime analysis brings a structured perspective to the understanding of agriculture's role in capital accumulation across time and space…Its examination of the politics of food within stable and transitional periods of capital accumulation is therefore quite focused, but nevertheless strategic. It complements a range of accounts of global political economy that focus, conventionally, on industrial and technological power relations as vehicles of development and/or supremacy. It is also complemented by commodity chain analyses, dependency analyses, and fair trade studies, questions of hunger, technology, cultural economy, social movements, and agribusiness that inform dimensions of food regime analysis, once positioned historically within geopolitical relations. The difference made by food regime analysis is that it prioritizes the ways in which forms of capital accumulation in agriculture constitute global power arrangements, as expressed through patterns of circulation of food." (p. 140)"

[59] Holt-Giménez (2011) writes, "The [*radical trend*] discourse is framed by the concept of food sovereignty and the democratization of the food system in favor of the poor and underserved. The model advanced is one of local and international engagement that proposes dismantling the monopoly power of corporations, in the food system and

redistributing land and the rights to water, seed, and food-producing resources. [*italics added*] (Holt-Giménez, 2011)".

[60] Aerni (2011) writes, "...Food Sovereignty activists have a hard time explaining this greenish alternative apart from using fuzzy terms such as 'system-oriented' and arguing that we should produce food with nature and not against nature… (p. 24)"

[61] Patel (2009) writes, "One way to balance these disparities is through the explicit introduction of rights-based language. To talk of a system of a right shape food policy is to contrast it with a privilege. The modern food system has been architected by a handful of privileged people. Food sovereignty insists that this is illegitimate, because the design of our social system is not the privilege of the few, but the right of all. By summoning this language, food sovereignty demands that such rights be respected, protected, and fulfilled, as evinced through twin obligations of conduct and result…It offers a way of fencing off particular entitlements, by setting up a system of duty and obligation (p. 667)".

[62] Barlett (2011) writes,…campus food projects can begin as incubators, pioneering new nodes in an alternative food chain for local regions…They also evaluate, disseminate, and legitimize critiques of the conventional food system, both inside the classroom and in co-curricular activities. With attention to clear goals, timetables, accountability, and transparency, campus food initiatives can go beyond demonstration projects and public education to have significant political and economic impact on the agri-food system. (p. 102)

[63] According to Andree, Kepikiwicz, Levkoe, Brynne, and Kneen (2016), Community-campus engagement, can, and in many cases, already does strengthen the food sovereignty movement, especially when [community-campus engagement] challenges traditional assumptions about the role of academics – including both professors and students. (Andree, Kepikiwicz, Levkoe, Brynne, and Kneen, 2016, p. 135)

[64] To satisfy the conditions of completing my Ph.D., I was requested to be explicit about my role in the project. The first draft of my dissertation did not include a section of my individual contributions because I didn't want to diminish the work of other collaborators. Nonetheless, here is a description of how I developed the Concordia Campus-Community Food Groups Research Project.

[65] McNiff (2013) writes, "…it is important to remember that there is no such 'thing' as 'action research'. It is a form of words that refers to people becoming aware of and making public their processes of learning with others, and explaining how this informs their practices. Furthermore, no one can learn on behalf of anyone else; we all have to learn for ourselves. Often, however, people write about action research as if it were a 'thing', a self-contained area to be studied, separate from themselves. I am doing this right now, in that I am speaking about an object called 'action research' but not doing anything other than talk about it. Many people speak like this all the time, as if action research were something abstract, a set of procedures to be applied to practice, rather than a living experience. This perspective tends to distort the underpinning values of action researchers such as autonomy, independent thinking and accountability. So when we speak and write about action research, it is important to remember that we are speaking of real-life experiences of real-life people. The meaning of action research is in the way people learn to negotiate ways of living together and explaining how they do so, emphasizing the problematics such as the success. Yet while there might be no such thing as action research, there are people who are action researchers. They might not always call themselves by that name, but if they wished to give their work a theoretical framework, or some underpinning organizing principles, they could well call these 'action research'...The idea of action research refers to the theoretical framework and organizing principles that guide practice, as well as its procedures, which is why it comes under the broad heading of 'practice-based research. Action research is not a thing in itself: the term always implies a process of people interacting together and learning with and from one another in order to understand their practices and situations, and to take purposeful action to improve them." (p.24)

[66] According to Kemmis, McTaggart, and Nixon, "[Action research]…has been practiced in many fields – for example, the women's movement, Indigenous land rights, green and conservation activism, disease prevention, and in professional fields such as education, nursing, medicine and agriculture." (p.4) [Italics added] (Kemmis, McTaggart, & Nixon, The Action Research Planner: Doing Critical Participatory Action Research, 2014)

[67] According to Argyris and Schon (1989) "Action research takes its cues – its questions, puzzles, and problems – from the perceptions of practitioners within particular, local practice contexts. It bounds episodes of research

according to the boundaries of the local context. It builds descriptions and theories within the practice context itself, and tests them there through intervention experiments – that is, through experiments that bear the double burden of testing hypothesis and effecting some (putatively) desirable change." (pp. 612-613)

[68] Kemmis, McTaggart, and Nixon (2014) write, "[two key features of action research]…are apparent: the recognition of the capacity of people living and working in particular settings to participate actively in all aspects of the research process; the research conducted by participants is oriented to making improvements in practices and their settings by the participants themselves." (p.4) [Italics added]

[69] Kemmis, McTaggart, and Nixon (2014) write, "…Each of the approaches described in the literature of action research rejects conventional research approaches where an external expert enters a setting to record and represent what is happening." (p.4)

[70] Thiollent (Thiollent, 2011) writes, "Among the supporters of action research and participatory action research, some researchers radicalise their choice, turning these methods into a procedure of cultural activity, or a policy solely dedicated to popular ends in accordance to the view of stakeholders, with no account of scientific or academic entities. Without denying the possibility of affirming the popular preference, other researchers adopt a more professional perspective, in which the methods are used in professional activities of social, educational and other areas, and the results of the research, apart from responding to the demand of the stakeholders, may generate academic works and papers published in scientific journals." (pp.160-163)

[71] Heated debates about scientific paradigms are pervasive in food studies, and one, in particular, illustrates the points made by Kemmis, McTaggart, Nixon (2014). In 2000, Borlaug antagonistically attacked food activists for being politically opportunistic, pseudo-scientific, extremists. Borlaug (2000) writes, "The world has or will soon have the agricultural technology available to feed the 8.3 billion people anticipated in the next quarter of a century. The more pertinent question today is whether farmers and ranchers will be permitted to use that technology. Extremists in the environmental movement, largely from rich nations and/or the privileged strata of society in poor nations, seem to be doing everything they can to stop scientific progress in its tracks. It is sad that some scientists, many of whom should or do know better, have also jumped on the extremist environmental bandwagon in search of research funds. When scientists align themselves with antiscience political movements or lend their name to unscientific propositions, what are we to think? Is it any wonder that science is losing its constituency? We must be on guard against politically opportunistic, pseudo-scientists…" (p. 488) Academic food activists like Vandana Shiva have taken issue with these views. Shiva points out that science does not have a single set of beliefs; there are many theories of knowledge and methods of inquiry. GMO research is based on positivistic, competition-based evolutionary theories, where the researcher attempts to be 'objective' by removing themselves and other extraneous variables from the study. While trying to remain 'objective,' the discoveries have a real impact on the world. The implementation of GMO science and monoculture farming has caused various adverse effects to the ecosystem, like loss of biodiversity, the decimation of large quantities of the Earth's natural resources, to name a few. The chapter on social reproduction and food system/practices provides other examples. In her book, Who Really Feeds the World. Failures of Agribusiness and the Promise of Agroecology, Shiva (2016) suggests, "When poisons are introduced into agriculture to control pests, or when GMOs are introduced under the argument of "feeding the world," the justification given is always "science". But "science" does not have a singular entity, and it did not come into existence within a vacuum. Today, what we generally refer to as "science" is in fact Western, mechanistic, reductionist modern science, which became the dominant practice of understanding the world during the Industrial Revolution and has continued as the dominant paradigm…To shape the industrial system in the form of new, violent technologies, and to shape the capitalist system in the form of new, profit-driven economics, a certain type of science was promoted and privileged as the only scientific knowledge system. Two scientific theories came to dominate this new, industrial paradigm, and they continue to shape practices of food, agriculture, health, and nutrition even today. The first is a Newtonian-Cartesian idea of separation: a fragmented world made of fixed, immutable atoms…The second significant theory that has framed the knowledge paradigm for industrial agriculture is Darwin's theory of competition as the basis for evolution…The Newtonian-Cartesian theory of fragmentation and separation and the Darwinian paradigm of competition, have led to a nonrenewable use of Earth's resources, a nonsustainable model for food and agriculture, and an unhealthy model of health and nutrition. An emphasis on the legitimacy of these arguments as the sole "scientific" approach has created a knowledge apartheid by discounting the

knowledge of Mother Earth." (pp. 4-7) As mentioned in the literature review of this dissertation, since Borlaug wrote his statements in 2000, hunger problems have exacerbated.

[72] McNiff (2013) defines ontology as "the way we view ourselves, a theory of being. You ask, Who do I think I am? How you think about yourself influences how you see other people, and how you position yourself in the research." (p. 27)

[73] McNiff (2013) states, "Epistemology is the name given to the study of what we know and how we come to know it. Traditional scientific and social scientific researchers tend to see knowledge as a free-standing unit, to be found 'out there' in books and databases. Knowledge therefore becomes separated from the people who create it. Action researchers see knowledge as something they do, a living process. People generate their own knowledge from their experiences of living and learning. Knowledge is never static or complete; it is in a constant state of development as new understandings emerge. This view of knowledge regards reality as a process of emergence, surprising and unpredictable. There are no fixed answers, because answers become obsolete in a constantly changing present, and any answers immediately transform into new questions…Learning is rooted in experience. It involves reflecting on practice (a process of critical discernment), deciding whether this practice is in line with your espoused values, and deciding on future action." (pp. 28-29)

[74] Although McNiff (2013) suggests that the work of Collier is the first identifiable starting point of action research with his work with Native American communities.

[75] Lewin (1946) writes," The research needed for social practice can be characterized as research for social management or social engineering. It is a type of action research, a comparative research on the conditions and effects of various forms of social action, and research leading to social action. Research that produces nothing but books will not suffice. This by no means implies that the research needed is in any respect less scientific or 'lower' than what would be respired for pure science in the field of a social event. I am inclined to hold the opposite true. Institutions interested in engineering, such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Have turned more and more to what is called basic research. In regards to social engineering, too, progress will depend largely on the rate with which basic research in social sciences can develop deeper insight into the laws which govern social life. This 'basic social research' will have to include mathematical and conceptual problems of theoretical analysis. It will have to include the whole range of descriptive fact-finding in regards to small and large social bodies. Above all, it will have to include laboratory and field experiments in social change." (p. 35)

[76] Lewin (1947) writes, "Planning usually starts with something like a general idea. For one reason or another it seems desirable to reach a certain objective. Exactly how to circumscribe this objective and how to reach it is frequently not too clear. The first step, then, is to examine the idea carefully in the light of the means available. Frequently more fact-finding about the situation is required. If this first period of planning is successful, two items emerge: an "over-all plan" of how to reach the objective and a decision in regard to the first step of action. Usually this planning has also somewhat modified the original idea. The next period is devoted to executing the first step of the over-all plan…reconnaissance or fact-finding has four functions: It should evaluate the action by showing whether what has been achieved is above or below expectation. It should serve as a basis for correctly planning the next step. It should serve as a basis for modifying the "overall plan." Finally, it gives the planners a chance to learn, that is, to gather new general insight…The next step again is composed of a circle of planning, executing, and reconnaissance or fact-finding for the purpose of evaluating the results of the second step, for preparing the rational basis for planning the third step, and for perhaps modifying again the over-all plan. Rational social management, therefore, proceeds in a spiral of steps each of which is composed of a circle of planning, action, and fact-finding about the result of the action." (p. 200)

[77] For example, Elliot (1991)revised Lewin's original idea to allow the general idea to change from cycle to cycle. He also believed that reconnaissance should occur more often in the reflexive process. Calhoun's (1994) model of an Action Research Cycle includes identifying a problem, collecting data, organizing data, analyzing and interpreting data, and taking action. Wells's (1994) Idealized Model of the Action Research Cycle includes observing, interpreting, planning change, acting, interpreting (thought the practitioner's personal theory informed by the action research cycle. Kemmis (1998) constructed a spiral, action-reflection type, model similar to Lewin that includes reconnaissance, planning, first action, monitoring, reflecting, rethinking, and evaluation. Sagor's (2000) seven step process includes selecting an area of concentration, developing theories, identifying research questions,

collecting data, analyzing data, reporting results, and taking informed action. Stringer's (Stringer, 2004) Action Research Helix is made up of looking, thinking and acting. This process is repeated over time. Crestwell's (2005) model includes determining the best research approach, identifying the problem, locating resources to help with the problem, identifying information sources, collecting data, analyzing the data, developing a plan for action, implementing the plan, and reflecting on the impact on the plan. In each example, the action research process is reflexive and involves planning, acting, researching, interpreting the effect of the action, then reflecting on the plan and reorganizing a new action.

[78] Grgyris and Schon (1989) writes, "Participatory action research (PAR) is a form of action research that involves practitioners as both subjects and coresearchers. It is based on the Lewinian proposition that causal inferences about the behaviour of human beings are more likely to be valid and enactable when the human beings in question participate in building and testing them. Hence it aims at creating an environment in which participants give and get valid information, make free and informed choices (including the choice to participate), and generate internal commitment to the results of their inquiry (p. 613)".

[79] Kemmis, McTaggart, and Nixon (2014) write, "…participatory research and critical-participatory-action research share the central aspiration that the research should be the responsibility of participants alone, though participants also remain open to receiving assistance from outsiders where it is useful. A key question here is whether and the extent to which the self-interests of such outsiders coincide or conflict with the self-interests of the other participants. In our view, this is a question to be asked by and of all outside researchers and consultants working with participant researchers (pp. 9-10)".

[80] Lawson (2015) writes, "People other than formally trained researchers have good ideas to offer about the research question(s), the actual design, the interpretation of the findings, and how the findings should be used. This participatory need-as-opportunity is especially apparent when the researcher ventures into unfamiliar conceptual territory and possesses limited knowledge and understanding. Under these circumstances, the researcher needs help, particularly from the persons with local knowledge. Such a frame of reference for the three defining features of participatory research. They are best presented as action-oriented, procedural guidelines for this kind of research. First: Consult local experts, including some persons whom you will recruit and engage as research participants before you finalize decisions about your research. Second: Return to the local experts when you are striving to interpret your research findings. Third: If you want your research used in a timely manner, again consult local experts on how to best facilitate the use of research knowledge." (p, xv-xvi)

[81] In another example, Chevalier and Buckles (2013)view participatory action research is an expression of science that is focused on self-experimentation and reflectivity. They stress the importance of reconnecting democracy and science by rooting both theory and technique back to the level of the human scale. Chevalier and Buckles (2013) built a model in which there are three equal sized circles that overlap – as a Venn diagram. These circles represent participation (i.e. life in society), action (i.e. experience, emotions, sensations, technique and practice) and the last circle represents research (i.e. mind, thought, science, reasoning, meaning, and epistemology). Participatory action research is reflected in the middle of the Venn diagram where each circle overlaps. Therefore, participatory action is equally understood as participation, research, and action.

Chevalier and Buckles (2013) discuss two research tools for meaningful inquiry, action research and training (ART) and planning, inquiry and evaluation (PIE). The goal of these tools is to facilitate communication between researchers and participants and to better understand the research priorities. In the ART method, researchers and participants indicate on the Venn diagram which activities the project should encompass – mostly action, mostly training, mostly research, combination of action and training, combination of research and training combination of action and research or the combination of all three, action research and training. This method is used to identify where effort should be focused. Furthermore, it allows researchers and participants to plan the project based on the activities that they designate as most important.

The PIE method incorporates planning, inquiry, and evaluation. By identifying how much weight the researchers and participants want to allocate to either planning, inquiry, and evaluation, together they can develop meaningful actions. In the PIE approach, researchers and participants rate whether grounding, mediation, tooling, timing and scaling are in the phase of inquiry, planning or evaluation. Furthermore, each criterion is given a value between 0 and 3 depending on the strength significance. For example, regarding grounding, if the project is heavily grounded

in the practices of those who are participating in the research project, a score of 3 would be given. It there is no significance between grounding and the project, a score of 0 would be given. These two methods are great starting points for participants and researchers who want to embark in participatory action research. Once this process is finished, participatory action researchers are encouraged to map the research process, then implement a reflexive strategy to maximize achieving the goals and priorities set out by the group.

Chevalier and Buckles (2013) provide two methods for embarking on a participatory action research project; however, there are other many ways to perform participatory action research.

[82] Kemmis, McTaggart, and Nixon (2014) write, "Only participatory research creates the conditions for practitioners, individually and collectively, to transform the conduct and consequences of their practice to meet the needs of changing times and circumstances by confronting and overcoming three kinds of untoward consequences of their practice, namely, when their practices are, (a) irrational because the way participants understand the conduct and consequences of their practices are unreasonable, incomprehensible, incoherent, or contradictory, or more generally because the practice unreasonably limits the individual and collective self-expression of the people involved and affected by the practice. (b) unsustainable because the way the participants conduct their practices are ineffective, unproductive, or nonrenewable either immediately or in the long term, or more generally because the practice unreasonably limits the individual and collective self-development of those involved and affected, or (c) unjust because the way participants relate to one another in practice, and to others affected by their practice, serves the interests of some at the expense of others, or causes in reasonable conflict or suffering among them, or more generally because the practice unreasonably limits the individual and collective self-determination of those involved and affected…it makes critical participatory research 'critical' (pp. 5-6)."

[83] The City Farm School website states, The City Farm School project is founded with the same principles and goals of the Concordia Greenhouse, to facilitate education through an experience-based model. The primary goal of this project is to respond to a growing interest in issues around food sovereignty and the practice of urban agriculture as well as to provide an opportunity for students and community to collaborate. A major component of the program is our urban agriculture training program designed to prepare participants to become leaders in the emerging urban agriculture movement. To achieve this, the school will address three main areas: (1) Organic food growing – learning how to grow food in the city, (2) Food Politics – understanding and addressing food security and food sovereignty, (3) Creating sustainable communities and engaging in community engagement. (City Farm School, n.d)

[84] According to Jackie Martin (2016) "We also have a large plot, where we have garlic, which we are growing for the People's Potato, a soup kitchen at Concordia University…the goal with this project is working in collaboration with People's Potato to grow all the garlic that they need for a whole year, right here on the campus".

[85] Jackie Martin (2016) describes, "…we also…provide food for almost any group that asks. If someone is having an AGM and need a bunch of kale to make kale chips…we'll often get an email or phone call…and we can provide that…as long as it's not for like, two-thousand people, we can usually provide something."

[86] Jackie Martin (2016), the City Farm School Coordinator (at the time of our interview), describes the City Farm School food forest… "We also have a large medicinal plants garden…we harvest these plants to make tinctures, make transformations, make teas, and ... learn how to use the plants as medicine…as their meant to be used. We have also been working on a food forest…for five years…since we first started…it's a small-scale ecosystem that we are trying to create with all the levels of a forest in it, but a lot of them are edible plants, or plants we've selected to do different services within that ecosystem, like nitrogen fixing or mulching…"

[87] The HydroFlora website states, "Hydroflora is a Montreal based community of diverse entrepreneurs united by a vision of city life wholly infused with nature. This vision we aim to realize through a holistic approach: By creating artistic, innovative, and educational growing installations, designing interior vegetation decor and providing plant care services, by teaching educational workshops, and conducting research and development in alternative growing practices and community wellness. Our collaboration with Concordia and McGill University allows us to research sustainable methods of urban agriculture. Through science and engineering we are developing technologies that combine hydroponic agriculture and food waste processing to close urban nutrient cycles and alleviate food deserts in underdeveloped regions. Hydroflora is committed to direct its growing assets towards ecologically and socially sustainable development. Our mission as a social enterprise is to give back to the community both regionally within Canada and abroad. Our first project took us to Haiti where we began an urban agricultural initiative employing

aquaponics to increase food security and share knowledge of alternate forms of agriculture in the face of a changing climate." (Hydro Flora, n.d)

[88] According to HydroFlora's website, "Hydroflora set up an urban farm on the GHESKIO campus to supply the adjacent school cafeteria with fresh fish and vegetables and to serve as an educational demonstration unit. Part of the urban farm project was the setup of an aquaponic system. Aquaponics combines a fish farm with a hydroponic vegetable garden, an efficient way of farming without the use of soil. This creates a closed loop system which only requires the addition of fish food. The fish convert the food into fertilizer for the vegetables, which in turn purify the water for the fish. Our main goal at Hydroflora is to promote sustainable urban agriculture and healthy living. To this end we use our installations at GHESKIO centres to teach the construction and maintenance of these systems to the students and the rest of the community. In the long run we hope to nurture the growth of a new agricultural paradigm in Haiti. Hydroflora is collaborating with Fondation Seguin to work towards Haiti's reforestation. The non governmental organization is dedicated to the preservation and regeneration of Haiti's natural resources. A portion of our profits are dedicated to Fondation Seguin. With each product you purchase from Hydroflora, you will plant trees in Haiti and contribute to the revitalization of Haiti's ecosystem. Hydroflora also set up several vermicomposting garden towers. The systems are easy to assemble from cheap and readily available materials. The garden towers recycle food waste and turn it into organic fertilizer with the help of diligent earthworms. The unit can grow 50 different fruits, herbs and vegetables at the same time in only one square foot, allowing for optimal use of space in the tightly packed slums of Portau-Prince. Water is poured from the top, drains through the enriched soil and is collected at the bottom, which allows for recycling of both nutrients and water." (Hydro Flora, n.d)

[89] According to the People's Potato website, "The People's Potato is a vegan soup kitchen at Concordia University - a student initiated project that was founded in 1999 in order to address student poverty and the lack of affordable food options on campus. We offer by donation meals every weekday during the fall and winter semesters, excluding holidays. With the help of our dedicated volunteers, we serve more than 500 meals daily to students and community members. We are committed to education around food politics and anti-oppression, and to the broader goals of social and environmental justice. (The People's Potato, n.d)

[90] According to the People's Potato website, "Located at Concordia's Loyola Campus in Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (NDG), the community garden is the People's Potato's main summer project. Its goal is to provide a space that encourages volunteer participation while providing community members with access to fresh and organic vegetables. Although coordinated by People's Potato collective members, the garden is the result of the input and dedication of many volunteers. Everyone who participates in the project is encouraged to implement new ideas and undertake new initiatives. (The People's Potato, n.d)

[91] In addition to coffee, Café X offers an ever-changing variety of baked goods and hot plates. Over 14 local businesses and Concordia students cater for the café, giving it a selection you won't soon bore of. All items on sale are vegetarian, with many vegan and gluten free options as well. (Gamage, 2014)

[92] The article in *The Concordian* from 2014 mentioned above described the ambiance at Café X, "The Café can be found at two locations on the SGW campus, one in the Visual Arts building (VA-229), the other in the EV building (EV 7.750). The Visual Arts location features a small serving counter and a large sitting area. The cozy lounge boasts comfortable seating and lots of natural light—ideal for getting some work done or relaxing with friends—not to mention there is also an art gallery next door where you can take in the latest exhibit. The EV location is a little out of the way and is better suited as a take-out counter than a café. The Café is usually filled with a steady stream of regulars who make this homey spot their own". (Gamage, 2014)

[93] On the Sensorium website (The SensoriuM, n.d), the project was described as, "… a collaborative artistic platform founded by multimedia and performance artist Natalie Doonan in Montreal, Canada in 2011. In this project, Natalie curates a series of tours and tastings led by artists. Natalie looks for artists whose work engages critically and playfully with food and consumption. She sites performances in evocative and meaningful locations, and works with artists to create participatory situations. The SensoriuM presents participatory art performances with the aim of generating conversation. Through tours and tastings led by artists, participants are engaged viscerally, creating spaces for discussion. Tours and tastings are two major forms through which stories about place proliferate and the SensoriuM offers chances to unsettle staid narratives."

[94] I excluded the Hive pay it forward program as a separate entity because it is a program of the Hive Café but count the Hive Free Lunch Program because although they are both run via the Hive, the programs are run complementary, yet independently.

[95] Although the growing season can be extended from April to December if the garden was winterized.

[96] Five user member seats (1 seat per faculty & 1 seat for a community member), 2 support member seats (1 seat reserved for the CSU & 1 seat reserved for the Centre for Gender and Advocacy), 1 worker member seat (Concordia Student Union, n.d)

[97] The web-archive is located at: https://communautealimentairelachine.ca

[98] The technician grew tropical plants in one room (now the atrium lounge) and ferns in the room adjacent. These plants were sold on a word-of-mouth basis to help finance the operations of the greenhouse. Another room at the far end was used for studying parasites in water fowl, and included an indoor pond, and outdoor fenced in area. The Greenhouse worked on several commercial contracts, including growing the plants for the Concordia campus landscaping and vineyard twig propagation. (The Concordia Greenhouse, n.d)

[99] According to Sheena Swirlz, “The Greenhouse was built in the 1960s when the Hall Building was originally constructed. It was built for the Biology Department to use for different types of experiments…such as experimenting with flower tissue or cells…and they also had a horticulturalist at that time that was producing tropical plants, for sale to the students and faculty…” (The Concordia Greenhouse, n.d)

[100] “…in 1966 the day students voted a special levy to finance a student union building. The Union had lounges and a basement coffee house (later named Karma Coffee House), and programming eventually included films, theatre, and games tournaments.” (Concordia University, n.d)

[101] According to Concordia’s Records Management and Archives, The ground-breaking ceremony took place on December 14, 1971. The building was built in 1972-73, of reinforced concrete with brick facing. It was funded by student body contributions, the college, and a special Alumni fund-raising campaign. The building was on the west edge of the campus, near the Vanier Library and it cost $777,000 to plan, build, and furnish in trendy orange and brown. The Campus Centre was in full operation in November 1973, and it included lounges, music-listening facilities, a games room, a snack bar, and The Wolf and Kettle, a student pub, named after elements in the Loyola crest. The pub was later renamed the Hive. In 1998-99, renewed use of the Campus Centre was part of a program to revitalize the Loyola campus, including a “Revive the Hive” campaign. (Concordia University, n.d)

[102] Concordia’s Thursday Report published an article in 1983 about the ten-year anniversary of the Student Centre at Loyola and mentions the Wolf and Kettle Pub as well as the Oasis Bar. The article says, “The Campus Centre has several facilities that offer services to the University community: the Main Lounge for relaxation and studying; the Oasis Bar with its large television screen; the Games Room for recreation; the Cafeteria and Sandwich Bar; the Sheehy, Fedele and Malone conference rooms and the Wolf and Kettle Pub. These facilities and services have catered to diverse groups, providing areas for lectures and workshops, parties and conferences. Weekly programming at the Centre includes a variety of activities, such as "Monday Night Football" in the Oasis and Tuesday Night Movies in the Main Lounge. On Wednesdays, there is a jazz night in the Main Lounge 'or a Pub Night in the Wolf and Kettle Pub. Thursday and Friday nights are for partying, with profit sharing events held in the Wolf and Kettle Pub and weekends in the Campus Centre can be booked for catered events. (Concordia’s Thursday Report, 1979)

[103] Concordia’s website says the following about Frank Guadagni and the naming of the Guadagni Lounge.

The Guadagni Lounge in the former library space is named for Franco Guadagni, Loyola professor from 1942 until his death in 1964. He was the only Engineering faculty member from 1942 until 1959, and also taught all the Chemistry courses between 1942 and 1953. He was a dedicated and respected teacher, appreciated by both colleagues and students. Loyola College graduation photographs line the second-floor hallway of the Central Building. (Concordia University, n.d)

[104] By 1974 the Union had a $50,000 deficit. It closed and the building was sold. In 1975, the student association donated $673,000 from its student union funds to the University‘s capital campaign, in exchange for a student centre on the downtown campus. Reggie's student Pub opened on the seventh floor of the Hall Building in 1977, named by

students for the fun-loving and flamboyant Reggie Parry, Maintenance Supervisor for the SGW campus from 1964 until his retirement in 1979. (Concordia University, n.d)

[105] According to Concordia's website, "In June 1988, there was a formal agreement that Concordia would use this money to build a student-run centre on the Hall Building mezzanine. In 1994 the newly-constructed Reggie's and a student-owned café opened on the mezzanine, taking space previously occupied by the Bookstore and the Art Gallery, both of which had moved across the street to the new McConnell Building." (Concordia University, n.d)

[106] When Concordia purchased the building, it was abandoned and needed $5 million in repairs (Concordia University, n.d).

[107] Some governors were concerned about them competing with the dining service provider, Marriott. Since the Eat Your Peel Collective was a grocery service, they did not violate Marriott's food service contract. This was taken from the Concordia Board of Governors meeting minutes from Wednesday, 15 February 1995 ,

"…A Governor asked if the "Coop" would be in competition with Marriott Food Services. He was told that the "Coop" would be a grocery store, and therefore, would not compete with the existing food service...Upon motion duly moved and seconded (Carruthers, Giles), it was unanimously RESOLVED:

R95-12 WHEREAS a group of Concordia students known as the "Eat Your Peel Food Buying Group" conducted referenda during February and March 1994 to establish students' willingness to contribute financially to the creation and operation of a food cooperative, and the results of those referenda were positive for all undergraduate student associations;

WHEREAS, based on the success of the referenda, the Buying Group created the "Eat Your Peel Student Food Coop", a non-profit, student-run organization committed to providing an environmentally conscious selection of affordable food products to Concordia students; and

WHEREAS the Dean of Students, who has recognized the "Eat Your Peel Student Food Coop" under the policies governing student groups and holds observer status on the Food Coop's Board of Directors, has agreed that fees collected for the purpose of operating a food cooperative may be deposited in an account established under the authority of the Dean of Students Office;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Board of Governors approve collection of a fee of $1.70 per semester from all undergraduate students, for Fall and Winter semesters beginning with registration for the Fall 1995 semester, to be deposited in an account dedicated exclusively to financing the establishment and operation of the "Eat Your Peel Student Food Coop" in accordance with provincial regulations governing cooperatives. (Board of Governors of Concordia University, 1995)

[108] Philip (2015) said, "One of the big problems with food…is food is done for profit…it's all about making profit, big farms and big agribusiness, seeds…everything. It's all…a monopoly…this was more about how we can access…good quality food and…liberate ourselves from these big supermarket chains that develop this food and process the food so much, that has way too much packaging…we wanted to reduce the packaging. We also wanted to talk about fair trade chocolate, fair trade coffee, fair trade food in general, and some alternatives to dairy…for example we had things like soymilk…"

[109] Helen Simard, former board member of Le Frigo Vert, mentioned that, over and above discussing purchasing policies, their team wanted to create a community and address larger political issues. Helen Simard (2017) said,

"Everything was really, up for discussion, at that point, and everything was being figured out…there had been this idea of…starting a store…but then, it was like,, no, it shouldn't just be a store…it should be something beyond a store…or is our mandate just to provide low cost food. Is it just a store…I really feel at the time there was a lot of still trying to figure out how we can best serve a community…and I remember a lot of discussion about the importance of offering affordable, quality food and sometimes affordable and quality come into conflict…because one of our mandates was to address questions of student poverty and access to food, but we also wanted to be providing, obviously, organic, or ethical or free range foods as well. So I remember there being a lot of discussions about how to negotiate that balance….because organic foods can become financially inaccessible very quickly but at the same time we didn't want to be offering shitty food….or low quality I should say.

…if basically all we were doing in the end, was making a store, were we just adding into a capitalist system. What could we do beyond run a store? And that running a store seemed like we were just…another cog in the machine of selling stuff to people…and even if what you are trying to do is sell things you believe in are you still just participating in a system that sells to people.

[110] According to Zev, "…[Le Frigo Vert] was based in the idea of trying to have a meaningful relationship to product. Trying to re-envision how a store is run and what a store means…they had a very specific buying policy…any product that they'd bring in the store…they'd do a certain amount of research to understand the genesis of the product, if it was tied to a larger corporate entity, if the product was actually healthy or not healthy…they were very careful not to bring in competing brands…there's no reason to have this brand but not that brand…or have four different kinds of soy milk…they really wanted to have an austere but meaningful selection of goods. Local if possible. Everything that was in the store was a deliberate reflection of a value system and a dialogue, because there was a group of people who would sit down and talk about it. What do we want to have in the store? …customers would write down on their list, things that they would like to see the store bring in. And [Le Frigo Vert team] would consider it and reflect upon it and they would group together this deliberate selection of products. Not so austere that you couldn't shop there". (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

[111] Where The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts is currently located.

[112] Ellie estimates that the kitchen was built about ten years ago from our interview in 2016, (Concordia Food Groups, 2016)

[113] Ellie coordinated the program and admitted that it became a big part of her job, saying that,

[when] I was in charge of the program, I found it a big job…to find volunteers…to phone them…to find cooks…I'd find a cook and have to confirm…the day before, being students they'd realize that their paper wasn't done, so they can't cook and I'm stuck…so it was a huge thing…we also realized that people would sign up to cook that actually didn't know how to cook….they were like, I've never cooked chili…how do you cut an onion? (Concordia Food Groups, 2016)

[114] According to our interview with Ellie, the MoHubs program was the precursor to the People's Potato. Ellie claims that, "I think it was in the early 2000s, that there were a couple of students who came every week to MoHubs and loved it. So they actually approached us, my colleague, Daryl Ross, who was a chaplain and myself, and wanted to know if he could do it everyday, and we just couldn't…if we did MoHubs everyday, that would be our department. So, we said, sorry, it's not possible…so they actually took the idea and the People's Potato was started." (Concordia Food Groups, 2016)

[115] According to Zev, "…there's this really imbedded corporate culture within our university structure…there's such an emphasis on corporate research funding within a university structure, but how can we take some of that space back? How can we go back and say no…the buck stops here. We live in a neoliberal world. Paul Martin is our prime minister but we are going to take back our university and it's possible…and we saw it not being just our universities, look at food services in hospitals, right, you have the most vulnerable people eating garbage provided by corporate service providers. So we saw this as like, let's do it in one place first, and just do it so we know it can be done. We can take over a food service within a university. We can take over this massive investment that this public institution has put into this food service equipment, and bring it back to the people in the most simple, straightforward way…and provide them food…and it was cheap and it was easy to do…I mean we put a lot of work into it, but it worked." (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

[116] Zev stated that one of the original ideas from the Concordia Food Collective was to "[Shift] food production into the hands of the people…using a space that's public, this is Concordia University, it is paid for by public money…and saying, how can we use public spaces for the public utility.…at the same time, within the CSU, we had this radical climate of saying no to corporate food, no to Sodexo…and people at that time were talking about Sodexo's involvement in the military industrial complex…and people didn't like the monopoly that Sodexo had in the context of the university…these things were all coming together and we were starting to think…hey…this could be really, really neat to do this everyday." (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

[117] Although MoHubs and the People's Potato didn't use the kitchen at the same time.

[118] Zev (2015) says, "At the time that we started it, the CSU was fractured between different factions…the commerce and administration student association, the engineering and computer science [association]. We went in there and said, we want to feed all of you guys. There are hungry students who are commerce students, there are hungry students that are fine arts students. We'll feed any of them. There isn't a radical element to that…but what we wanted to do was, draw people on board, get people excited about it… implicit in what we did, were the radical politics.)"

[119] According to Zev, "Not only did we serve everyday at Concordia, but every time there was a squat that opened up, we would be at the squat, and we would serve. Every time there was a major demonstration, we wanted to be there to serve food…to strengthen our movements, to strengthen radical politics in the city, to strengthen the student movement and the student strikes. Any time we felt like we needed a lot of people at an event, we would serve at that event, and people would be there. It was great for us to be able to mobilize. It was great for us to create a culture of sharing. (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

[120] Zev (2015) recounts, "Over the course of those three or four days [catering the conference], we had a lot of fun…and the group of us who worked together, just had a blast together…and we kind of left that catering event…thinking jeez, how can we do this again? And part of our budget for that catering event, we bought some really big pots and pans…and we started to really dwell on those pots thinking, how can we restructure our lives to do this everyday?"

[121] According to Zev, "…really important to the whole ethic of everything that we did, was the history and background of food not bombs. More than anything that informed our work…I'd always volunteered with Food Not Bombs in various cities…the lessons of Food Not Bombs are deeply ingrained in me and my ethic. (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

[122] Zev (2015) explains, "…we had problems…in January 2000, when we started the food service, it was really cold in Montreal and this kitchen at the Erskine and American Church had a domestic fridge and that's where we stored our produce…or some of our produce…that's where we stored the more perishable stuff…but the majority of our produce, and we would probably be going through, in the ballpark of seven hundred to eight hundred pounds of produce a week…was stored in the pantry…and when it was very cold, we would crack the window open a little bit…and when it was less cold, we would crack the window a lot, and obviously, for food service purposes, we are looking to get a temperature of between zero degrees and four degrees Celsius…and based on how much we opened the window, we would try to achieve that. By March 2000, we were no longer able to keep our produce cold…and we had literally, hundreds of pounds of rotting food in this pantry and we actually stopped service for a week in March…"

[123] Zev Tiefenbach, co-founder of the People's Potato, former education coordinator for Le Frigo Vert and occasional volunteer for MoHubs recounts, "I worked [at Le Frigo Vert] from September 97, until May 98, thereafter, The Frigo Vert started to, sort of, stop becoming quite as relevant…and some of the board members moved on…manager moved on…and in many ways, it struggled to keep its clientele. It was still funded by the fee levy. so that subsidized the food and help them do it. But more and more…it struggled to keep its clientele and to keep its interest…there was a sort of shift that was happening away from Le Frigo Vert. So when we decided to launch the People's Potato in…the fall 1999, we really wanted to try to enliven that community as well. We actually offered it as a joint launch as well and…the very first meal we served in December 99, as a big community introduction to the People's Potato…we cooked it at Le Frigo Vert's kitchen. We brought it from Le Frigo Vert into the basement of Reggie's, where we were going to serve the food…and we really wanted to kickstart Le Frigo Vert at that time." (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

[124] Zev Tiefenbach expressed that, "…there was a distinctive shift…the manager who came in had a different expectation about what the store was and was going to be. So, for the first time, Le Frigo Vert started to carry supplements and different kinds of pharmaceutical products, frozen and prepared meals…all these things were from a different ethic, this wasn't the ethic of the old Frigo Vert, this was the new ethic. They decided to get rid of the bulk bins…which had been a huge achievement for us in 1998 to acquire. Being able to go from a selection of …150 products…to….we doubled our product line. We were carrying bulk millet, bulk amaranth, bulk quinoa, bulk adzuki beans, bulk buckwheat groats…all these beautiful products that, to us, were the core of what eating was…and teaching people how to cook and teaching people how to use these products….the thing that was most

noticeable and was the removal of the bulk bins. most characteristic of the change…and out of the removal of the bulk bins came the idea of a (Bulk)shevik Revolution (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

[125] Zev (2015) explains, the People's Potato operated as the People's Potato, but we were actually self-identified as the Concordia Food Collective…and the Concordia Food Collective operated the People's Potato. Which was the worker run collective. So we, kind of had this parent organization, that was us…but…we always envisioned the Concordia Food Collective being an umbrella for the People's Potato, which we operated, but other potential projects…the constitution of the Concordia Food Collective was to be a non-profit organization that housed different…worker run collectives that had a vision of radical food politics.

[126] Zev (2015) says, "…one day, the athletics coordinator walked by our garden…and said, what are you guys growing? What's going on? We had tons of cover crop of clover…he didn't like that at all. He just thought, you're going to kill my athletics fields here people. So, the next year we had to move the garden." (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

[127] Wujek, M., (2013) A Research report prepared for the Concordia Food Coalition analyzing food service providers, student groups and administrative actors involved in the food system at Concordia University and comparing Concordia to other Canadian University food systems in order to determine successful actions for a healthy, just, sovereign food system, Concordia Food Coalition, Unpublished Report.

[128] According to former CSU President Rob Green, We basically engaged in a campaign of civil disobedience. We saw that the exclusivity agreement was illegitimate, in that it was harming student life on campus. As so we invited all the clubs and associations to come here, on the mezzanine and have what we called the 'Marriott Cheese In'. Instead of a sit in, it was a cheese in, and our slogan was cheese in, Marriott out. This was just a really fun, positive event, all the student groups came out on campus, and they were giving away free food. (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

[129] The Concordia Greenhouse website states that…"In 2002 Concordia announced that the Hall building greenhouse would soon be dismantled. The building of the Richard J. Renaud Science Complex on the Loyola Campus was well underway; this state-of-the-art teaching and research facility would house the physical sciences under one roof, and it would include a new greenhouse for the Biology department. The Renaud Complex opened in September 2003 and over the following months the Biology Department greenhouse operations moved from the Hall building to the new facilities on Loyola Campus… By 2003 the greenhouse was vacant, except from clandestine sprouting of vegetables by the People's Potato (The Concordia Greenhouse, n.d).

[130] Concordia's website states that…"The $85 million pavillion wraps around and integrates the Bryan Building, which has been renovated for faculty offices and teaching facilities. It completes the west side of the campus quadrangle, although not quite as it was envisioned in the architect's master plan of 1913. It completely changes the face of the west side of the campus. The complex houses the natural sciences and has laboratories and graduate student space. There is also a new Biology greenhouse with adjacent incubators adapted for current research needs. These purpose-built science facilities are an important upgrade of what were aging installations for research and teaching, creating one of the top natural sciences university facilities in Canada." (Concordia University, n.d)

[131] According to Sheena Swirlz "[the Greenhouse] was saved by Sustainable Concordia and a few passionate students…who…campaigned…[for]…the university to keep the Greenhouse open….it received a renovation…and became an open community space…with [an] atrium lounge…"

[132] The Concordia Greenhouse website provides a more detailed account of this history… "In September 2004 the Sustainability Coordinator and a Sustainable Concordia student coordinator opened dialogue with Concordia administration about the greenhouse. They proposed that Concordia halt plans for demolition and suggested instead rejuvenating and repurposing the greenhouse. The Concordia Greenhouse Project was formed under the umbrella of Sustainable Concordia. After considerable follow-up and lengthy discussions Concordia paid for pesticide decontamination, asbestos removal and an architectural assessment of the facilities.

Through 2004-2005 the greenhouse working group, composed of many dedicated students and the Sustainability coordinator, created an interdisciplinary and environmentally responsible vision and mandate for the space, explored funding opportunities and sought groups interested in collaboration. They worked with many individuals in Facilities Management to coordinate asbestos removal, decontamination of the space and the architectural

assessment of the greenhouse. In 2005 the environmental architectural firm l'OEUF presented its final report evaluating the greenhouse systems, structure and envelope. In January 2006 the Concordia Greenhouse Committee entered into partnership with the department of Geography, Planning and Environment, under whose stewardship the physical aspects of the greenhouse were for a number of years following. The preliminary opening of the greenhouse occurred in April 2006 and in November 2006 there was a formal launch of the revitalized greenhouse, an organic space for education and research, sustainable horticulture and community building. At the same time, the indoor Greenhouse composting operation was launched, part of a campus-wide composting project. In the Greenhouse alone, about five million worms composted up to 24 metric tons per year of organic waste generated by food facilities in the Hall Building." (The Concordia Greenhouse, n.d)

[133] According to an article in the Concordia Link (2013), "In 2004, Concordia student Philip Ilijevski won a bid to open a new café in the space, holding a franchising contract with Café Santropol. At the time, The Link reported that Java U had their lease renewed for four more years despite Ilijevski having a verbal agreement with CUSACorp. After eight months of what Ilijevski described as a game of cat-and-mouse with CUSACorp, Santropol issued a letter saying they could no longer commit to a franchise in the space."

[134] We interviewed Phillip Illijevski who, at the time, was in litigation against the CSU because of the alleged breach of contract mentioned above. Phillip could not mention specific details that could hurt his case, but did share some insights, nonetheless. According to Phillip Illijevski, "Java U was just straight up, let's make money, let's make as much money as possible…it was a long time ago and you walk in [to Java U] and you buy a sandwich and a drink and it's ten dollars. It was a long time ago and usually it was like seven dollars or six dollars…and the staff was getting paid minimum wage. Whatever they could get away with…it was not a community space at all. I feel one of the greatest disasters at the Concordia Student Union was giving up that space, that prime space…that could have been great community space and selling it out…The CSU president basically sold out the students and sold out to this corporation, it wasn't a big corporation at the time but you can see it now, it's in the airport…I think it was a big disaster and a mistake." (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

[135] Phil (2015) wanted to build a coffee shop that was more equitable and healthier by carrying fair trade products and food items that were made in house (not preprocessed). He also wanted to create a coffee shop that believed that paid workers fair wages and included them in the governance. Phillip also wanted to use the café to educate people about food production, especially coffee production – whereby the café would have a direct relationship with the coffee producers and have educational 'field trips' for students and staff, once a year, to visit the coffee plantation. Phillip blames the CSU for playing politics and preventing him from developing a progressive café. He accuses the CSU of teaming up with Java U to come up with resources (through litigation and campaigning) to prevent the 'progressive' café from coming into fruition. Java U retained the space until 2014, when the Hive was opened downtown and at Loyola campus.

[136] According to an article in Concordia's Thursday Report (1998) a group of volunteers were successful in their attempt to revive the Hive. The article reads, "Loyola staff members, in conjunction with the Concordia Student Union (CSU), are resurrecting the Hive as a gathering-place for students. Run by the student association and located on the third floor of the Campus Centre on the Loyola Campus, the Hive has been closed for three years…The need for a place for students was pointed out in the final report of the Task Force for the Revitalization of the Loyola Campus. Bennett, who was part of the task force, is working with CSU president David Smaller and Hive Operations Director Rick Stom on the project…Starting this month, the Hive will be used as a lounge for students to hang out, days and evenings. The CSU is providing a TV, VCR and cable. Student clubs can hold such events as casino nights, dance parties and film showings. The space will also be rented out for seminars, wedding receptions and any internal or external events. Smaller said all money generated would stay in the Hive…"

[137] The campaign was successful in getting the Hive to re-open on a part time basis for events and activities – no café or bar was reopened. The Hive was only semi-functional in the early 2000s because the space needed repairs and renovations and was eventually closed (The Concordian, 2006)

[138] Marcus Lob (2015), Co-Founder of City Farm School and former Education Coordinator for the Greenhouse says, "When I came into the picture, I started in 2009. At that time…Arlene was managing it….She was essentially trying to take it from a space that was…not being used, or had a lot of houseplants and turn it into…a social space…and a space of learning.

The Greenhouse website states…"…during the 2007-2008 school year under the hard work of Arlene Throness, the re-vitalized Greenhouse atrium was opened to the public, and compartments began to be rented to groups interested in working on independent projects." (The Concordia Greenhouse, n.d)

[139] According to Marcus Lobb (2015), "…the atrium…began to be a study space. We started to get chairs up in there. It became a kind of a social environment…and before that, it was like, only certain people could go up in there, and no one was really using it that much, and it seemed like the space…was going to be condemned. Like it wasn't really going to be used. That's how it felt when I first came around. We started doing that educational series. But then we got this idea…it was…based off… CRAPAUD from Berri-UQAM. Their…school that they have…every year. We saw that, and we were interested in it, but we wanted to try to make it for…English speaking, but also trying to get it more hands-on. We thought that, that's really great, the theory component, and it's important, but we wanted to create a school that…was more hands-on and practical and was directly working with the community. We didn't know exactly how to do these things in the beginning, we just had ideas, and there have been so many people involved in the project…who all had input, it slowly developed to what it is now." It came slowly.

[140] Maeve Haldane (2017) from Concordia University's Magazine writes, "This isn't the first Solar Decathlon for Lee, TeamMTL's Concordia faculty lead. He participated as a student in the 2005 competition in Washington, D.C. Back then, the team just built the house on Loyola Campus, put it on a truck and drove it to the National Mall in Washington."

[141] Graham Calder (2015) says, "…we saw this as an opportunity to really be demonstrating and showing people, not only local food production, but local energy production, local tea production and so much more. So, our goal was strategically to build the garden and slowly envelop the house with gardens to a point that they couldn't refuse us and they would allow us to occupy the space and begin teaching and using it as an educational hub. My goal at the time was to work with Satoshi and develop a permaculture course within Concordia so we could actually start teaching from that solar house"

[142] Graham Calder (2015) recounts, "We got the funding to…create a sustainable, permaculture designed, tea garden that, once planted would…maintain itself, self-fertilize, and even self-irrigate…so that it was a low maintenance perennial production system".

[143] Graham (2015) discusses how de designed the tea garden, "…the principles we were using…designing the pathways so that they are leveled and you end up having self-irrigation, so when it rains, they flood and irrigate the whole garden. The same system was done in the mandala gardens that the tea garden was made of…these are circular gardens that have paths that are dug deep but level, so when rain comes, they fill up, it stays there and slowly soaks back into the garden instead of running off into the sewers…we also put mulch on the garden so it…cools the soil and keeps a better habitat for microorganisms, which in turn produce fertilizers, which help the plants grow."

[144] In an article published on Concordia's website, Karen Herland (2011) makes reference to the Moving Forward Event, Moving Forward is the precursor to the City Farm School (CFS), a week-long practical project that will teach community members, educators, volunteers and facilitators the basics of agriculture in small, urban spaces. "CFS was inspired by the desire to respond to the demands of the garden-crazed community at Concordia," according to greenhouse coordinator Arlene Throness, citing the 600 potential volunteers who have contacted her to learn about urban farming. The CFS takes the PBSL model seriously. "Community members will benefit from the skills of the student and, in return, the student will have the opportunity to use both theoretical and practical knowledge to assist community partners," according to the project proposal. After CFS, students will apply their new knowledge in internships at a variety of local colleges and high schools. "CFS is practicing experience-based models of education and exercising principles of social responsibility and community engagement," says Throness.

[145] According to Marcus Lobb (2015), "There was a team of us who…planned this…we had been awarded the President's Strategic Fund…to…raise awareness…for urban agriculture on the campus…and how it can connect into the community and how these two things can be tied together…so, we created a conference and a speaking series event that happened in that spring…and that led up to a five day training program, which was City Farm School, in the first year…and in that year we brought in a whole bunch of educators from in the city and outside of the city, some farmers to come in…like full day workshops…with theory and hands-on…and it culminated in a few

individuals along with myself, working on developing the gardens out at Loyola Farms at Loyola Campus, which is…the main site for City Farm School…in the beginning it was really small…in the first year there was a garden that had been built by…it was the RealiTea Garden…I think it might have been through Satoshi's working group…that created an herb tea garden there that was supposed to be in partnership with the Hive…where the herbs are grown there and sold to the Hive in order to create a position for a coordinator.

[146] Marcus Lobb (Concordia Food Groups, 2015) recounts the genesis of the schoolyard gardens, the Green Club programs and their partnership with City Farm School,

In 2011 or 12, I was…approached by a school in St. Leonard…Pierre de Coubertin, and they were looking to build a garden there. I…took on this part-time job, while doing City Farm and built this garden at that school…and got kids involved in it, they helped out…when I finished up that year, I learned a lot and came through these different steps…my contract was just for the spring…two month job. Just build a garden…and then when it came to the summer, who is going to take care of this, and nobody had any answers...and so they said, can you stay on and help just a little bit in the summer…by the time it got to the end of the year, I thought it might be interesting to work in the gardens with interns from City Farm, because at that point they were only at Loyola...so, I approached the head of daycare services, who…hired me to do the contract about possibly creating a small position in which I just manage these gardens along with the interns and she was into it…and I talked to Jackie and she was into it…The following year it was a whole new stream of education happening…I think there's been four gardens…by City Farm interns. Then a position opened up that was essentially running green programming at the schoolboard. And I applied for it and got it…and then I just…kept going.

[147] Jennifer Beth Spiegel (2016) Performing "in the red": transformations and tensions in repertoires of contention during the 2012 Quebec student strike, Social Movement Studies, 15:5, 531-538, DOI: 1147 0.1080/14742837.2016.1196126

[148] In a The Link article about Ben Prunty's Platform, Worbel (2014) writes, "Prunty said he's "not satisfied" with the university's consultation process ahead of the expiration of its contract with food service provider Chartwells. But he acknowledged "a higher level of communication than there has been in the past between the university and the students on this issue." He said he wants to see the university take "clear steps" towards a more localized food system. Although administrators have told student representatives that "what students are pushing for is in line with the vision of the university," Prunty says they will have to "put their money where their mouth is." He acknowledged the university's help getting student initiatives like the Hive off the ground by prioritizing their construction but added that Concordia's next contract with a food service provider could hamper the growth of future student-run food initiatives. "We want this contract to be transitional, and this means easing off, not increasing, the embedded control of key locations on campus," he said. "We want students to be able to take on spaces that are currently administered by Chartwells, as per the current contract."

[149] Community Matters were committed to opening the Hive at Loyola and Downtown, in a *The Link* article about the election 2014 CSU election results, "This is a really positive step, as myself and the entire Community Matters team is committed to the development of the Hive Solidarity Co-op Café, and with that the positive transformation of student space as well as food systems on the Loyola campus," said Velasco of his new executive position. (Stevenson V. , 2014)

[150] Jessica Cabana (2015), who co-founded the CFC, remembers how Satoshi Ikeda inspired a group of people to take action and get involved in creating their own food practices on campus. Jessica (2015) recounts that after Dr. Ikeda's presentation, participants formed into groups and were encouraged to find ways to address food issues on campus, form groups and continue meeting even after the conference was done. Jessica (2015) identifies that two issues that participants converged on was to replace Chartwells as the food service provider, and to create a café that would obtain the space managed by the CSU and contracted to Java U. Jessica (2015) says, "The coalition started when there was a conference…where professor Satoshi Ikeda had a conversation and brought awareness to a lot of the food issues on campus…after this talk we were made aware of the food contract coming up…we were about…60 people in the room…and as soon as the talk was over, we divided up…there were three different committees…communications, research and probably mobilization or something of the sort…out of those groups, some of the people kept meeting…that's how the Concordia Food Coalition came about. "…there were two main things that were important for the food coalition. At the same time the food contract was up for renegotiation, the

main food contract of the university, that provides for all the residencies. There is also the Java U space, which is on the second floor of the H Building…we wanted to start by taking back student space that has been lent out to these other organizations…that space was given to the CSU and passed over to CUSACorp, the for-profit branch of the CSU, they were managing it…they had leased it out to Java U, and it was their tenth year contract, so it was up for renegotiation. That was at the same time the food…provider of the university. So these two things were happening at the same time…from my understanding ,.that was the main ideas…why it was created."

[151] Lauren Aghabozorgi explains, "Discussions about forming an organization like this came after a professor that works…closely with us, Satoshi Ikeda gave a talk about nutrition, and food politics and through that conversation there were discussions happening around major food issues on campus that we felt we should organize around…and so the major corporation that was contracted at the time was something that we really wanted to tackle…but there were also other food issues that came about…" (Concordia Food Groups, 2015)

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[153] Ben Prunty (2015), one of the co-founders of the CFC suggests that, "The CFC was started…by a meeting that was called and professor Satoshi Ikeda was facilitating a discussion…and that broke out into different groups….eventually one of those groups became very consistent and continuously organized and that turned into what eventually became the CFC…and that was a direct response to the contract…As the CFC was meeting…we realized that the contract was…inaccessible to us at the time. Some members of the CFC still tried to put a consortium bid together to take it over…but other parts of it, and myself I was one of these other parts, focused on creating an alternative locally so that we can take it on ourselves at the community level….so we had a multi-pronged approach. "

[154] Anastasia Voutou was also a co-founder of the CFC also recounts how the CFC began. She expresses that there was a lot of distrust between students and administrators at Concordia about the choices they have previously made about food services. "…there's a mistrust about their choices…as much as people from the community approach them, voice their concerns, a lot of times, there's a lot of lip service paid to what the community thinks the strategic directions that we should be taking are…at the end of the day, their decisions are often not very ethical ones…" (Concordia Food Groups, 2016)

[155] Anastasia Voutou (2016) also expresses that the group was interested in building their own ethical food system and that people formed multiple working groups to address a variety of concerns about the food system at Concordia University and beyond. Anastasia says, "Around the summer of 2011, we got together and started brainstorming [about] the possibilities for a community solution to this food service provision problem…how could the community tackle building an actually responsible, ethical, sustainable food system…one that's built by the community for the community… The Concordia Food Coalition became a non-profit organization with multiple working groups, each tackling a different aspect of the food system."

[156] One reason why the group was officially incorporated. Lauren (2015) says, "…we formed the coalition and in that first year, what we really thought was valuable was incorporating ourselves as a not-for-profit so we were recognized and acknowledged outside of the university…or outside of the campus environment as well…"

[157] Anastasia (2016) says, "…a document that was well over…two thousand pages came out in…French legalese, narrowing who could apply for it…you had twenty days to react to the document. Twenty days is a very short time to put together…your proposal answer their criteria and place your bid in the public tendering process…all within twenty days.

[158] According to the CSU's website, "In March 2013, a referendum passed by roughly 90% of voters mandating the CSU to support "affordable, sustainable, and student-run food service initiatives on campus." The CSU has taken this mandate to heart and has been moving forward in partnership with other on-campus groups to improve Concordia's food systems… During the same by-elections, 87% of students voted in favour of mandating the CSU to establish and help found a cooperative café on the second floor of the Hall building on the SGW campus. In Fall 2014 the Hive Café Co-op was successfully launched in two locations; one at the Loyola Campus on the second floor of the Student Center building and the other at the SGW campus on the second floor of the Hall building. Over the years this project has taken many shapes and forms, but we are happy with its final successful launch! Food Systems Reform – Concordia Student Union. (Concordia Student Union, n.d)

[159] In our interview with Shylah Wolfe (2016), the former Kitchen Coordinator for the Hive Café, she describes the long-term vision of the organization, "Long term goals are to become a real contender and rival the corporate food system and just join forces with as many student-run food initiatives on campus to do that."

[160] In a *Link* article about the closing of Café X, Mignacca (2018) states, "In a previous statement released in October, the café explained that their VA location was no longer "financially viable" due to an increase in food options around campus and the food sold at the café not being priced to indexation and inflation, an ongoing issue for the café…In 2016, the café learned it had been undercharging students unknowingly for years, having not considered the costs of production and inflation. There had also been an issue with communication between generations of management, in which information about finances was not properly passed down." (Mignacca, 2018)

[161] There are many examples across Canada: (The Carillon, 2019; Caragay-Cook, 2014)

[162] One student representative from residence sat on the FAWG, but they were not democratically elected, they were hired Resident Assistants (RAs).

[163] A research report published by the Mohawk College Sustainability Office (2017) looked at three types of contracts, corporate, management fee and self-operated food services in Colleges in Ontario. Of the three types of food services, the report states that self-operated food systems have a variety of advantages, including having more control over food service (making them more aligned to the sustainability goals of the university), more flexibility in food procurement, and more likely to purchase locally. Although, the report postulates that colleges hire third-party food service providers because they have the expertise in foodservices, that they are better at managing food costs, they are better at managing labour costs, and carry less financial risk to the institution in question. In short, these 'benefits' also highlight the criticisms provided above, external parties drive down labour costs and will purchase the cheapest food available – externalizing environmental and social costs. It is interesting to highlight that Chartwells-Compass was a partner in the Mohawk College study.