



Perspective

“Eating is a hustle”: The complex realities of food in federal prison

Amanda Wilson^{a*}, Julie Courchesne^b and Ghassan Zahran^c

^a Saint. Paul University; ORCID: 0000-0003-3650-5820; ^b Saint Paul University;

^c Saint Paul University

Abstract

Juxtaposing insights from the academic literature with those drawn from lived experience, this *Perspective* article explores the role of food in federal prisons in Canada. Highlighting its multiple meanings and uses, we underscore the complexity of food in prison as well

as its fundamental importance in shaping the overall experience of incarceration. Rather than following the more traditional format of an academic article, our discussion takes the form of a conversation and collective reflection between the three of co-authors.

Keywords: Carceral food systems; prison food; federal prisons; carceral geographies

Résumé

Mêlant des visions issues de la littérature spécialisée et d'expériences vécues, cet article *Perspective* explore le rôle de l'alimentation dans les prisons fédérales du Canada. En nous attardant à ses multiples significations et usages, nous mettons en lumière la complexité de l'alimentation dans les prisons aussi bien que son

importance fondamentale dans l'expérience globale d'incarcération. Plutôt que de se mouler au modèle traditionnel de l'article scientifique, cette discussion prend la forme d'une conversation réflexive entre les trois auteurs.

*Corresponding author: awilson@ustpaul.ca

Copyright © 2023 by the Author. Open access under CC-BY-SA license.

DOI: [10.15353/cfs-rcea.v10i1.607](https://doi.org/10.15353/cfs-rcea.v10i1.607)

ISSN: 2292-3071

In this *Perspective* article we discuss the role of food in federal prisons in Canada, juxtaposing insights from the academic literature with those drawn from lived experience. Our objective is to put lived experience and academic knowledge on equal footing, highlighting areas of convergence, but also dissonance, in how prison food is understood and experienced. Ultimately, we show the complexity of food in prison—its multiple meanings and uses, as well as its fundamental importance in shaping the overall experience of incarceration.

Rather than following the more traditional format of an academic article, our discussion takes the form of a conversation and collective reflection between the three of us. It is not a transcript of an actual verbal conversation; rather the conversation style format was used to create a space for the co-authors to engage in a shared reflection on their own experiences and learnings (drawing from lived experience and academic research). Specifically, we draw inspiration from Snelgrove et al. (2014), among others, who have used the conversational style to foreground reflection and mutual learning within academic writing. Initially, each of the authors prepared written notes and reflections individually, that were then put into conversation with one another through a series of edits undertaken by each author.

The three co-authors are all involved in a research project exploring food as a site of contestation and possibility within federal prisons in Canada (one as the Principal Investigator, and two as Research Assistants). One of us was formerly incarcerated, one of us conducted an extensive literature review on this topic and one of us has been engaged on researching the connections between prisons and food systems for the past two years. Two of us are white women settlers, and a third is a Canadian male of Middle Eastern descent.

Amanda: Ghassan, why don't you start by telling us a bit about your experience of food in prison.

Ghassan: I served two and a half years in federal prison. During that time, I experienced virtually every aspect of prison food. I ate in the cafeteria, I cooked my own food, I had a garden, and I worked in the kitchen. In the four years since I was released, I've reflected on my experiences with food. Every morning, I eat breakfast, pack a lunch, and head to work or school. Once my day is finished, I will go to the gym and finally home. After a long day of work, it is time to relax and replenish my body with a delicious meal. To most people, having a good dinner is not a luxury; I am in a position where I have food security. I often take food security for granted. I can cook at home, go to my favourite restaurant, or eat at my mother's house.

Food is one of the essential elements in my daily life. Without food, I cannot study, work out, or function effectively at work. Last week, we had a tornado in Ottawa that caused us to lose power. I could not cook anything and was extremely grumpy and hungry even though I had not missed any prior meals. I missed just one meal and was a little cranky. This reminded me about some of my time in prison. In prison, you have to get accustomed to the feeling of hunger.

My favourite foods are steak, chicken burgers, shrimp, basmati rice, sushi, smoked ribs, watermelon, and mangoes. Many of the foods I avoid today were frequently served in the prison cafeteria. Keep me away from: roast beef, chicken teriyaki, tuna, and salmon from cans, tuna casserole, apples, and Basa fish. In prison, those were the meals I was fed often, and they were of poor quality. For instance, the Basa fish had no taste and would disintegrate immediately in my mouth. The roast beef was often impossible to chew, and the tuna casserole had an unpleasant smell. Having worked in a kitchen, the tuna casserole and slop (chicken or pork) were the two

meals that were often discarded because prisoners would avoid them. If you were served the pork slop, most people found it revolting because it smelled so bad; nobody ever asked for seconds of the slop. In the case of the chicken slop, some people would wash it in a strainer so they could re-cook it on the prison range.

Amanda: Your experience echoes a lot of what is written in the literature about prison food.

Julie: Definitely. Incarcerated individuals often describe food as tasteless, of bad quality, repetitive, as having a revolting odor, too small portions, and overall, as being unappetizing and as the opposite of ‘proper food’ (De Graaf & Kilty, 2016; Gibson-Light, 2018; Jones, 2017; Parson, 2020; Smoyer & Lopes, 2017; Vanhouche, 2015; Watkins, 2013). Often, food is made to be filling but intentionally disgusting (Jones, 2017). The lack of power over their own consumption of food can leave incarcerated folks so hungry, materially and symbolically, to the point that Smoyer and Blankenship (2017) describe hunger as a geography of prison in and of itself. This shows how food is used as a tool of repression and punishment by the institution (Smoyer & Lopes, 2017; Stearns, 2019).

Ghassan: Neither the staff nor the guards ever ate any of the prison food, and the guards would often say that they would not feed this food to their dogs. In one prison, they would only offer fresh fruit for breakfast because barely anyone would show up. For lunch and dinner, it was always canned fruits that nobody wanted. They also served canned shredded pineapple that nobody ever ate.

Julie: I’ve read of similar things in the literature. Banning certain foods, like coffee or spices (Jones, 2017), reducing the caloric content, hot meals and frequency of meat, relying on soy, processed food and carbs are all cost-

cutting practices, but they can also be seen as a form of mistreatment (De Graaf & Kilty, 2016; Jones, 2017). The many problems of the food service are compounded by high canteen prices and extremely low wages for incarcerated workers (Gibson-Light, 2018). This makes it difficult for incarcerated individuals to supplement their diet with food from the canteen that might be sustaining or pleasurable to them.

In this context, food can easily be used as a tool of punishment and conformity; offering comfort food as a bribe to encourage certain behaviours or refusing access to the canteen or shared kitchen as a reprimand (De Graaf & Kilty, 2016; Earle & Philips, 2012). Control is exercised over when, where, with whom, what and how to eat (Brisman, 2008; Smoyer & Lopes, 2017; Parson, 2020; Ugelvik, 2011). The control over food can go as far as force-feeding people who are on hunger-strike, revoking their political agency in an attempt to seek domination over their bodies (Brisman, 2008).

Amanda: When talking about food in federal prison, it’s important to distinguish between the various types of food service within federal prisons, as the experience is quite different, particularly in relation to what you just mentioned Ghassan in terms of control and autonomy. There are what CSC [Correctional Service Canada] calls Central Feeding where food is served in a cafeteria, either in a line or on pre-set trays. Then there is also Small Group Meal Preparation (SGMP) where individuals are given a weekly budget with which to purchase groceries from a pre-determined list to cook their own food. Finally, there is Tray Service, when food is portioned onto trays and served to incarcerated individuals in their cells. Ghassan, I know you experienced both the cafeteria and the grocery model.

Ghassan: In prisons with a cafeteria, the food is not edible, but you don't have a choice. You will suffer and struggle in this jail because eating is a hustle. The best meals are the days with hot dogs, and grilled cheese. Pizza day was hit or miss, sometimes it was good, other times, it was overcooked. The canteen is very important in these jails because we would use it to supplement our diet. We often use the microwave for cooking meals. We would put some rice in Tupperware, fill it with water and margarine then cook it in the microwave. For the main course, we would empty a can of chickpeas and beans and add onions and green pepper that we either picked from our salads or someone stole from the kitchen. Add whatever spice is available, usually curry, then blast that in the microwave for at least 30 minutes. The rice and curry beans were a nice meal to finish your day.

Amanda: That example really illustrates the creativity of incarcerated folks in the face of really challenging experiences. It shows that food is not just a tool of oppression, it is also tool of adaptation and persistence.

Ghassan: Full grocery prisons are where everyone wants to go. They give you enough weekly budget to buy and cook your food; in some cases, some people may not even use their entire budget. Based on my experience, there is nothing to complain about the food if you are in this prison. For example, I was able to order food and make fried chicken, lentil soup, beef stew, pancakes, and chicken burgers. Some prisons have both a cafeteria and grocery. Some units go to the cafeteria and others can order groceries. You must work your way up to the units with groceries, usually after four months of good behaviour. I remember the day they called my name to come to the unit, I was so happy.

Amanda: The grocery model definitely seems much better, but I have heard complaints about the weekly

budget—that the amount provided isn't keeping up with increasing food costs, meaning folks have less and less purchasing power (Wilson, 2022; Fayter & Payne, 2017). In an effort to create consistency between what is served through the National Menu and what is available through the SGMP, some items have also been removed from the grocery list, reducing the range of choice folks have available to them (Comité des détenus, 2017; National Menu and Recipe Committee, 2019).

Ghassan: In jails with a grocery, there is an underground economy where people with groceries will sell you their groceries or meals. I used to buy a carton of eggs for \$6 worth of junk food, or someone may make me a turkey dinner with rice and vegetables. Purchasing food from others was not permitted, so the guards would sometime raid the fridge and confiscate the raw food.

Amanda: I think we can see this underground economy that you describe as a form of resistance, as you note Ghassan, selling or trading food, even sharing food isn't permitted. Informal collective cooking can also be a way for people to express their culture and identify, or really just to meet their basic nutritional needs.

Julie: Food provides one of the few ways to express and perform one's culture and identity while in prison (De Graaf & Kilty, 2016). For instance, Earle and Philips (2012) speak of the cooking area in prison as the only place where ethnicity can be freely expressed and where ethnic groups can assemble and share food, resources, and conversation. The shared kitchen is one of the only ways for incarcerated individuals to gain access to culturally appropriate meals, which aren't always available or sufficient within the canteen or food service. Further the shared kitchens afford incarcerated individuals a certain level of control over the preparation of these foods. Certain cultural foods, however, remain

inaccessible, such as some traditional foods for Indigenous peoples (e.g., wild meats, foraged food etc.).

Ghassan: We were able to access other cultures mainly through spices. Generally, we obtained spices (Curry, Garam Masala, Jerk seasoning) through cultural food drives, but Curry was available at the canteen. I remember guys from the Caribbean made amazing dumpling. When we had a good meal, we would finish off the sauce by cleaning our plate with the dumplings. There was also an older man, Ali, from Guyana, and he made the most amazing curry fish with that horrible Basa I mentioned earlier. In prison, it was a mood changer to have his food. I always brought him ingredients and he would make me a plate from time to time.

Julie: Transforming meals, the Basa fish into the curry fish to take Ghassan's example, is one of the resistance practices given in the literature. Resistance should be thought of as a continuum of acts that challenge power relationships and resist and contest authority (Vanhouche, 2015; Ugelvik, 2011). These practices can be overt or hidden as well as individual or collective (Godderis, 2006; Smoyer, 2016) and can be directed towards a specific person or an abstraction, like incarceration (Brisman, 2008). For Godderis (2006), collective practices of resistance can be legitimate, like buying groups that are organized for different ethnic groups so that they have access to culturally adequate foods. They can also be illegitimate, such as stealing food (Gibson-Light, 2018; Smoyer, 2015a), foraging (Watkins, 2013), securing more food at the cafeteria (Smoyer, 2016), hoarding (De Graaf & Kilty, 2016), and sharing food and food related items (De Graaf & Kilty, 2016; Smoyer, 2014; Watkins, 2013).

These collected ingredients are then transformed to create food that is more enjoyable and significant, and

importantly, food that can be eaten on their own terms (Cate, 2008; Gibson-Light, 2018; Smoyer, 2016; Smoyer & Blankenship, 2014; Stearns, 2019). Ghassan's example shows many collective resistance practices, where the Basa fish meal is moved from the cafeteria to Ali's cell, and ingredients hoarded and shared in order to be cooked into the tasty curry dish.

Amanda: By engaging in these forms of resistance, incarcerated individuals can exercise agency and gain autonomy over their bodies and their identity, providing a way to resist, sometimes in small ways, the control and authority imposed by the institution.

Ghassan: I mean, we resisted because we were starving, there was no other choice. I was really into following the rules so I could get paroled, but sometimes I stole onions from the kitchens along with spices. Sometimes we stole as a group. To be honest, we were just so hungry, and we just did not want to feel that way before going to sleep.

We also had some people that we could always rely on when we were hungry. It was a support system. I remember this one guy Salim, he was in his cell, and I had just bought two beef sausages from the inmate committee. They were not halal, but we were so hungry that we did not care. I barged into his room and I said, "I GOT FOOD." He made me laugh, saying "I was so hungry, I was moaning, and I was praying to God for something to eat, and [then] you came in."

Amanda: There's a strong sense of solidarity and community in what you describe.

Julie: Agreed. The creation of relationships of solidarity and a sense of community around food is explained in the literature as a reaction to the poor quality and low quantity of food, which echoes what you've just

described (Parson, 2020; Smoyer, 2014; Smoyer, 2016; Watkins, 2013). People come together in order to resist the conditions of incarceration, in this case, through food. This seems to be especially present for women and racialized groups (Cate 2008; Earle & Philips, 2012; Smoyer, 2015b; Stearns, 2019; Watkins, 2013). In this way, prison food is a punishment, but it also brings them together.

Ghassan: I was the president of the Muslim club. I remember the first time I went to the Frontenac cafeteria, I asked for a halal meal and the cook gave it to me in a blue tray. He looked at me weird, but I did not think much about it. Later at night, he knocked on my door and told me he was Muslim as well and had made me a really nice cake. I knew if I was ever hungry, all I had to do was knock on his door for food. There were a lot of inmates converting to Islam in prison; until they got their paperwork to receive halal meals, many of us would donate our meals to them to make sure they got halal meals.

In the Muslim group, there were people from every culture, so this helped us create alliances with everyone else. A lot of the time, we would cook meals and give them to those who are hungry. We also had some people donate their purchases from the Christmas drive to people serving life sentences who had no family. Thinking about it, food was a very powerful bond and we always made sure to look out for each other, but it was not limited to only the Muslim group. For instance, every club also was able to order supplies like different coffees, teas, chips etc. Sometimes non-Muslims wanted a particular item they couldn't get, so we would buy it and they would pay us back at cost.

Julie: In the literature, Smoyer (2019) emphasized that food shapes both physical and social spaces. For instance,

in maximum security or segregation cells, food is usually received on a tray and eaten alone in one's cell. Smoyer & Blankenship (2014) argue that while this may at first bring a sense of security, it can quickly devolve into boredom (Smoyer & Blankenship, 2014). The cafeteria in contrast, is a space where incarcerated individuals can socialize and perform their identities (Godderis, 2006; Valentine & Longstaff, 1998).

Ghassan: Actually, when I was in prison, one of the best feelings was going back to my cell at night and waiting for the lights to be turned off. During the day, you must deal with the prison employees, your personal issues, and the prisoners' politics; it is exhausting. Finally, you don't have to deal with parole officers, corrections officers, other inmates, or prison politics. Now, I felt safe, and all I wanted was to get a decent meal. If I was lucky, I would have a nice dinner in my cell while watching television before bed. It's beautiful to fall asleep with food in your stomach, knowing that that day is over, and it is one day less before going home.

Eating in a cafeteria can also be dangerous. You might sit at someone's table or get into it with the kitchen staff because the servings were small. I remember one guy wanted some of the food that I was not going to eat, he asked me in an aggressive tone, and I would have looked weak if I gave it to him. So, it went into the garbage, and we fought once we went back to our range.

Amanda: This is interesting; I imagine both scenarios can be true for different people at different times depending on the circumstances of their incarceration and their own individual journey. This reminds me of something that comes up a lot in discussions of food in prison, the lack of choice or control. Something as simple as the choice to eat alone or eat with others could have a real impact of the lives of incarcerated folks.

Julie: This connects to something Smith (2002) and Watkins (2013) talk about; when people who are incarcerated have the opportunity to decide and prepare what they want to eat, they experience a heightened sense of pleasure, catharsis, and empowerment.

Ghassan: Definitely. It is common to take comfort from food while in prison as there is not much to look forward to.

Amanda: From what you're saying Ghassan, it sounds like food was a refuge, a way to temporary escape and have a moment to yourself.

Julie: This makes me think of one of the categories of food-related resistance described by Godderis (2006), what they call individual adjustments. Individual adjustments are conscious decisions made in order to soothe the pain of imprisonment. They can be cognitive tricks that use food to transform or temporarily escape the experience of imprisonment (Smoyer & Minke, 2019), or practices that repurpose food to accommodate prison life (Brisman, 2008; Collins, 2009). For example, indulging in comfort food was a common practice amongst the women interviewed by De Graaf & Kilty (2016) to respond to the pain and stress of imprisonment and to re-establish control over their bodies.

Ghassan: One of my favorite moments was when we had a garden, and I grew coriander. One meal that a lot of prisoners have is Mr. Noodle and it gets really boring. But, add fresh coriander to it and it becomes a new experience. So, I would make my soup and watch 'Parts Unknown' with Anthony Bourdain, I remember being so relaxed in those moments, seeing him travel and eat in different parts of the world.

Amanda: Food can provide an opportunity for incarcerated individual to symbolically escape the institution for a brief moment, but also to push back in small everyday ways against the carceral system. It can also build community; I'm thinking of the example you gave earlier Ghassan, of preparing a meal together, using a few basic items purchased at the canteen. There are these small, but important moments to gain autonomy over your food—even if it is just microwaved rice and spices!

One thing that I think is important to remember is that because our relationship to food is so multifaceted, it is impossible to capture the richness and diversity of everyone's experience. Just in talking the three of us, we've seen instances where Ghassan, your own experience isn't quite reflected in the broader literature, just as it is probably fair to say that someone else who was incarcerated at the same time, in the same institution, might have had a similar, but not identical experience of food than yours. What we can do, is highlight common insights to deepen our understanding and identify possible openings for change and collective action.

Ghassan: Food in prison is complicated. It is a hustle that requires significant planning, involving re-cooking food, buying food from others, supplementing with canteen, and sometimes, having a garden. If you want to know more about my prison experiences, I invite you to read my article on the website of the [Research Centre for Social Innovation and Transformation](#), which also has a video of my seminar presentation.

Through this dialogue, our intention has been to highlight the complexities and intricacies of prison food, but also to illustrate the importance of breaking down the barriers and siloes that often structure our understandings (or lack of understanding) of the lived realities within prisons. The mutual learnings that

become possible when we engage in shared reflection are crucial to deepening that understanding and represent a first step in working towards a reimagining of prison food, and indeed, prisons more broadly.

Acknowledgements: The authors gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, and also extend their thanks to the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

Amanda Wilson is an Assistant Professor in the School of Social Innovation at Saint Paul University. Her areas of research include the food movement and carceral food systems, collective organizing, and questions related to prefiguration and enacting a politics of possibility. Outside of academia, she has worked with several non-governmental organizations in the areas of policy analysis, research, coordination and popular education, and is a long-time community organizer in Ottawa.

Ghassan Zahran holds a Master's degree in Social Innovation from Saint Paul University (SPU), and is pursuing a Master's in Psychology and Counselling at Yorkville University and a Master's certificate in Transformative Leadership from SPU. He spent approximately two years in federal prison, during which he gained extensive experience with the prison food system. Ghassan also organized the Islamic Awareness Month activities at the Frontenac Institution, which ended with him organizing a special dinner for 200 prisoners. He is a professional public speaker and a prison consultant in the Ottawa area.

Julie Courchesne is a Master's student in the School of Social Innovation at Saint Paul University and a graduate of Political Science at UQÀM. She is especially interested in agriculture, food systems, social movements and relationships of power. Since 2014, she has been involved with different organizations from civil society in collective gardens, farmers' markets, and with an urban beekeeping collective. She is currently a food systems researcher, studying carceral food systems, participatory food governance as well as urban agriculture in civil society organizations.

References

- Brisman, A. (2008). Fair fare: Food as contested terrain in U.S. prisons and jails. *Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law Policy*, 15(1), 49-94.
- Cate, S. (2008). 'Breaking bread with a spread' in a San Francisco county jail. *Gastronomica*, 8(3), 17-24.
- Collins, C. C. (2009). *Food and performance in the prison system* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- Comité des détenues (2017). Établissement Joliette pour femmes. In J. Shook, B. McInnis, J. Piché, & K. Walby (Eds.), *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons, V26 #1&2: Dialogue on Canada's Federal Penitentiary System and the Need for Change* (pp. 31–33). University of Ottawa Press.
- De Graaf, K. & Kilty, J. M. (2016). You are what you eat: Exploring the relationship between women, food and

incarceration. *Punishment and Society*, 18(1), 27-46.

DOI:10.1177/1462474515623103.

Earle, R. & Philips, C. (2012). Digesting men? Ethnicity, gender and food: Perspectives from a “prison ethnography.” *Theoretical Criminology*, 16(2), 141-156.

DOI:10.1177/1362480612441121.

Fayter, R., & Payne, S. (2017). The impact of the conservative punishment agenda on federally sentenced women and priorities for social change. In J. Shook, B. McInnis, J. Piché, & K. Walby (Eds.), *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*, V26 #1&2: Dialogue on Canada's Federal Penitentiary System and the Need for Change (pp. 10-30). University of Ottawa Press.

Gibson-Light, M. (2018). Ramen politics: Informal money and logics of resistance in the contemporary American prison. *Qualitative Sociology*, 41, 199-220.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-018-9376-0>.

Godderis, R. (2006). Dining in: The symbolic power of food in prison. *The Howard Journal*, 45(6), 255-267.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2311.2006.00420.x>

Jones, M. O. (2017). Eating behind bars: On punishment, resistance, policy and applied folkloristics. *Journal of American Folklore*, 130(515), 72-108.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.5406/jamerfolk.130.515.0072>

National Menu and Recipe Committee (2019). *Meeting Minutes*. October 24. Correctional Services Canada. [Retrieved through Access to Information Request].

Parson, J. M. (2020). Making time for food when ‘doing time’: How enhanced status prisoners counter the indignity of prison foodways. *Appetite*, 146(104507).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2019.104507>

Smith, C. (2002). Punishment and pleasure: women, food and the imprisoned body. *The Sociological Review*, 50(2), 197-214. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.00363>.

Smoyer, A. B. (2014). Good and healthy: Foodways and construction of identity in a women’s prison. *The Howard Journal*, 53(5), 525-541. DOI: 10.1111/hojo.12097.

Smoyer, A. B., & Blankenship, K. M. (2014). Dealing food: Female drug users’ narratives about food in a prison place and implications for their health. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 25(3), 462-568.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2013.10.013>.

Smoyer, A. B. (2015a). Feeding relationships: foodways and social networks in a women’s prison. *Affilia: Feminist Inquiry in Social Work*, 30(1), 26-39.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109914537490>

Smoyer, A. B. (2015b). “It’s the black girls that have the most”: Foodways narratives and the construction of race in a women’s prison. *Food and Foodways*, 23, 273-285. DOI: 10.1080/07409710.2015.1102480.

Smoyer, A. B. (2016). Making fatty girl cakes: Food and resistance in a women’s Prison. *The Prison Journal*, 96(2), 191-209. DOI: 10.1177/0032885515596520.

Smoyer, A. B., & Lopes, G. (2017). Hungry on the inside: Prison food as concrete and symbolic punishment in a women’s prison. *Punishment & Society*, 19(2), 240-255. DOI: 10.1177/1462474516665605.

Smoyer, A. B. (2019). Food in correctional facilities: A scoping review. *Appetite*, 141(104312).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2019.06.004>.

Smoyer, A. B., & Minke, L. K. (2019). *Hygge*: Food and construction of safety among incarcerated women in Denmark. *Appetite*, 141(104319).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2019.104319>.

Snelgrove, C., Kaur Dhamoon, R., & Corntassel, J. (2014). Unsettling settler colonialism: The discourse and politics of settlers, and solidarity with Indigenous nations. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 3(2), 1-32

Stearns, A. E. (2019). Baking bittersweet: Mother’s dessert-making behind bars. *Feminist Criminology*, 14(5), 612-632.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085118769748>.

Ugelvik T. (2011). The hidden food: Mealtime resistance and identity work in a Norwegian prison. *Punishment and society*, 13(1), 47-63. DOI: 10.1177/1462474510385630.

Valentine, G. & Longstaff, B. (1998). Doing porridge: food and social relations in a male prison. *Journal of Material Culture*, 3(2), 131-152.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/135918359800300201>

Vanhouche, A-S. (2015). Acceptance or refusal of convenience food in present-day prison. *Appetite*, 94, 47-53.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2015.04.047>.

Watkins, C. M. (2013). *Cultivating resistance: Food justice in the criminal justice system* [Unpublished senior thesis]. *Pitzer Senior Theses*.

http://scholarship.claremont.edu/pitzer_theses/32.

Wilson, A. (2022). Exploring carceral food systems as sites of contestation and possibility in Canadian federal prisons: The food services modernization initiative. *Critical Criminology*.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-022-09628-x>