



Two Years into the Pandemic, Charitable Food Remains a Key Resource for One in Six Adults

Findings from the December 2021 Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey

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Despite federal stopgap policies and a substantial charitable food response to mitigate the effects of food insecurity during the pandemic, hunger remains a reality for many across the US struggling to make ends meet. Although charitable resources, such as food banks, were highly visible in the early months of the pandemic, they continue to be a crucial resource for families two years later. We analyze data from the December 2021 round of the Urban Institute’s Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey (WBNS), a nationally representative survey of more than 8,000 adults ages 18 to 64, and compare those data to results from the December 2019 and December 2020 rounds to examine the trend in free-grocery or free-meal use. We also examine the characteristics and circumstances of people who sought charitable food during 2021, and we ask people who reported they had not used charitable food if they knew how to find these resources in their community and how comfortable they would be seeking this assistance.

We find the following:

- Nonelderly adults’ reported household use of charitable food in the past 12 months decreased by about 10 percent between December 2020 and December 2021, from 19.4 percent¹ to 17.5 percent. That translates to about 4.0 million fewer nonelderly adults who reported accessing charitable food in 2021 than in 2020.² However, rates of charitable food use remain significantly more elevated than prepandemic rates (12.7 percent of nonelderly adults reporting use in 2019).

- Black and Hispanic/Latinx* adults were almost three times more likely than white adults to report accessing charitable food during 2021 (30.1 percent, 31.2 percent, and 11.1 percent, respectively), and saw no significant decline in use between 2020 and 2021, reflecting the recession’s ongoing impact on these households and persistent disparities in food hardship when compared with white adults.
- Adults experiencing food insecurity,³ especially very low food security (the most severe form), reported high levels of charitable food use. Two in five adults (40.1 percent) reporting low food security and about half of adults (48.0 percent) reporting very low food security accessed charitable food in the 12 months prior to December 2021.
- Families with children show a continued need for charitable food services, especially as access to school meals was tenuous during school closures and quarantine periods. Adults living with children under the age of 19 were 50 percent more likely to report use of charitable food than adults who were not living with children in 2021 (21.4 percent and 14.1 percent, respectively), which was particularly more pronounced for Black (30.8 percent) and Hispanic/Latinx (38.3 percent) adults with children than the 12.5 percent of white adults with children reporting use.
- Approximately one in three adults with a disability or who live with a household member with a disability reported household use of charitable food (32.6 percent) in 2021, compared with about one in seven adults with no household members who have a disability (14.2 percent).
- Adults who are noncitizens or who live with noncitizen relatives were twice as likely to seek charitable food assistance in 2021 (31.9 percent) than adults living in households in which all family members were citizens (15.6 percent), likely reflecting the challenges and perceived risks of accessing public safety net programs.
- Among low-income adults who reported not using charitable food in 2021, more than half (54.1 percent) did not know of a community resource for charitable food, and half (47.4 percent) reported they were not at all or not too comfortable seeking assistance if they had a need. Additionally, three in five adults (60.5 percent) experiencing food insecurity who did not receive charitable food in 2021 said they did not know of a community resource, and three in five (60.9 percent) were not comfortable seeking assistance.

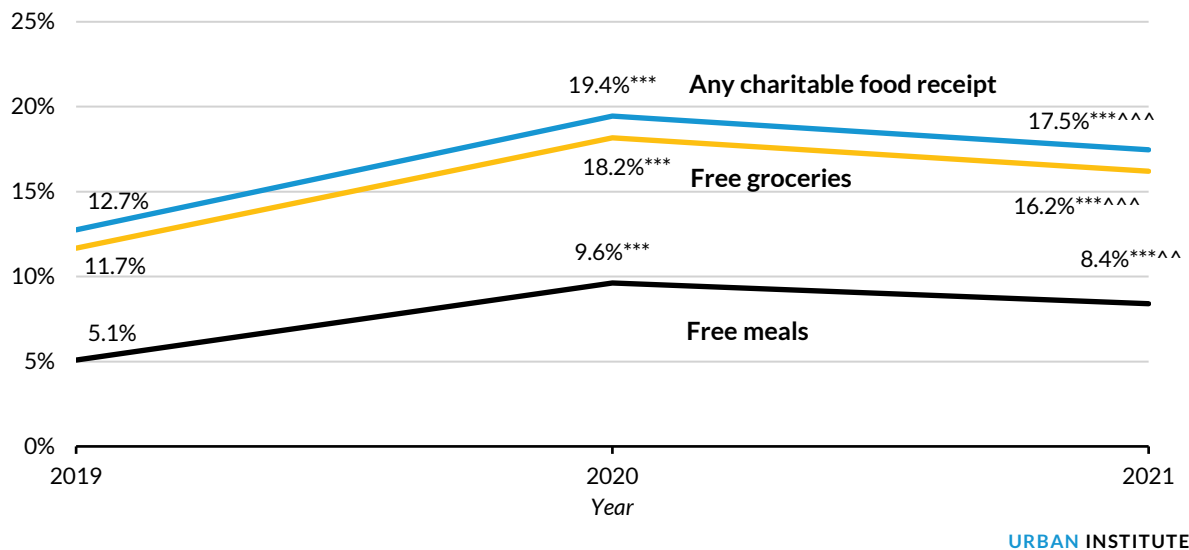
Results

Between December 2020 and December 2021, self-reported household use of charitable food in the 12 months prior to the survey among adults ages 18 to 64 decreased by about 10 percent, but levels remained higher than in 2019, before the pandemic.

* We use the term “Hispanic/Latinx” throughout this brief to reflect the different ways in which people self-identify. The US Census Bureau uses the term “Hispanic.” Also, the terms “white” and “Black” in this report refer to adults who do not identify as Hispanic/Latinx.

Nonelderly adults' reported household use of charitable food in the past 12 months decreased by 9.8 percent between December 2020 and December 2021, from 19.4 percent to 17.5 percent (figure 1), which translates to about 4.0 million fewer nonelderly adults who reported accessing charitable food in 2021 than in 2020. Charitable food use in the 30 days prior to the survey followed a similar pattern, with a decrease of 14.5 percent between December 2020 (15.9 percent) and December 2021 (13.6 percent; figure 2). However, rates of charitable food use still remain higher than 2019: reported use in 2021 is 37.8 percent higher than use in 2019 (17.5 percent compared with 12.7 percent), and reported use in the prior 30 days is similarly 33.3 percent higher than use in 2019 (13.6 percent compared with 10.2 percent). This indicates that in an uneven recovery, elevated charitable food use persists two years into the pandemic (Karpman and Zuckerman 2021).

FIGURE 1
Share of Adults Ages 18 to 64 Reporting Household Charitable Food Use in the Past 12 Months
December 2019, December 2020, and December 2021



Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2019, December 2020, and December 2021.

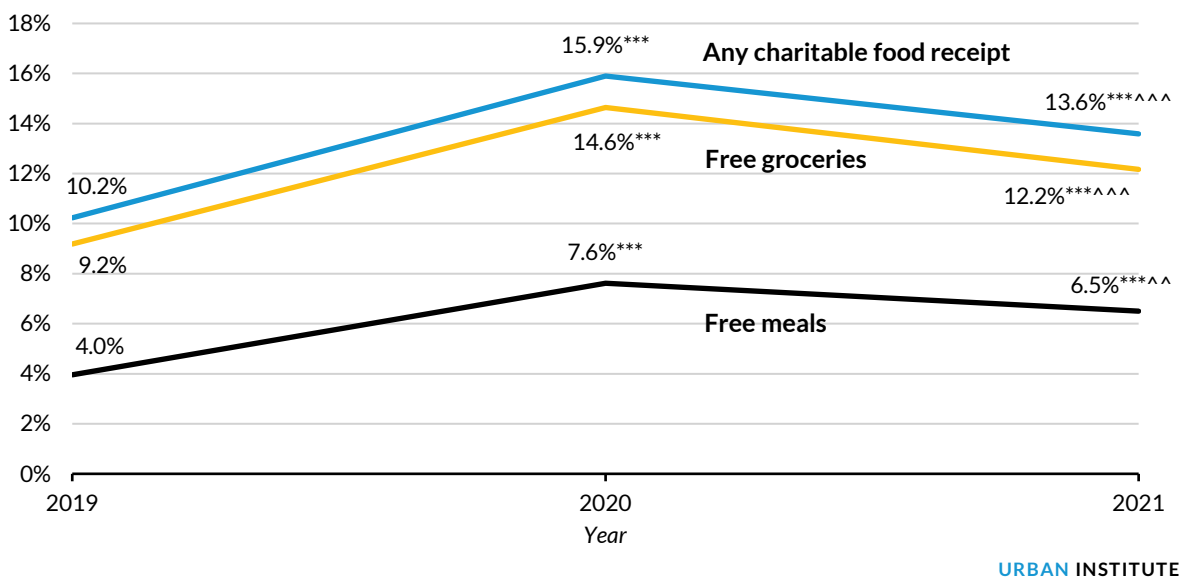
Notes: Adjusted estimates control for gender, age, race and ethnicity, primary language, educational attainment, family size, chronic health conditions, residence in an urban or rural area, internet access, homeownership status, family composition, and census region; presence of children under age 19 in the respondent's household; whether respondent participated in multiple survey rounds; and how long respondent has been a member of the KnowledgePanel. Charitable food estimates in 2019 are based on responses from the randomly selected half of the 2019 sample who received charitable food questions that are consistent with the questions in 2020 and 2021.

*/**/***: Estimate differs significantly from 2019 estimates at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

^^/^^/^^: Estimate differs significantly from 2020 estimates at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

FIGURE 2

Share of Adults Ages 18 to 64 Reporting Household Use of Charitable Food in the Past 30 Days
December 2019, December 2020, and December 2021



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Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2019, December 2020, and December 2021.

Notes: Adjusted estimates control for gender, age, race and ethnicity, primary language, educational attainment, family size, chronic health conditions, residence in an urban or rural area, internet access, homeownership status, family composition, and census region; presence of children under age 19 in the respondent’s household; whether respondent participated in multiple survey rounds; and how long respondent has been a member of the KnowledgePanel. Charitable food estimates in 2019 are based on responses from the randomly selected half of the 2019 sample who received charitable food questions that are consistent with the questions in 2020 and 2021.

*/**/***: Estimate differs significantly from 2019 estimates at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

^^/^^/^^^: Estimate differs significantly from 2020 estimates at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

Although charitable food use decreased overall, Black and Hispanic/Latinx adults were still almost three times more likely than white adults to report accessing charitable food during 2021, reflecting the pandemic’s and recession’s ongoing impact on communities of color.

Although overall use of charitable food decreased by 10 percent between 2020 and 2021, rates of use remain elevated for Black and Hispanic/Latinx adults. Approximately 3 in 10 Black adults reported using charitable food in 2021 (30.1 percent), and a similar rate was seen among Hispanic/Latinx adults (31.2 percent).⁴ Black and Hispanic/Latinx adults were almost three times as likely as white adults (11.1 percent) to have accessed charitable food in 2021. Moreover, we find that the gap between Hispanic/Latinx and white adults increased significantly between 2019 and 2021—from 8 percentage points in 2019 to about 20 percentage points in 2021—while the gap between Black and white adults remained unchanged (data not shown). The disproportionate impact of the pandemic and ongoing recession on communities of color continues two years into the pandemic as we see consistently elevated rates of charitable food use.⁵

Because of data limitations, we cannot assess the change over time among Asian, Native Hawaiians or Pacific Islanders, American Indians or Alaska Natives, or those who identify as a different race or more than one race.⁶ Additional literature does show that rates of food insecurity are elevated among some of these populations, including indigenous communities (Jernigan et al. 2017; Stanger-McLaughlin et al. 2021), Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders (Long et al.2020), and some Asian communities (Becerra, Mshigeni, and Becerra 2018).

TABLE 1

Share of Adults Ages 18 to 64 in Selected Racial and Ethnic Groups Reporting Household Use of Charitable Food in the Past 12 Months

December 2019, December 2020, and December 2021

	December 2019 (%)	December 2020 (%)	December 2021 (%)	Percentage-point change, 2020 to 2021	Percent change, 2020 to 2021 (%)
White	9.5	12.4**	11.1*	-1.3	-10.5
Black	24.5	32.2**	30.1*	-2.1	-6.5
Hispanic/Latinx	16.4	32.8***	31.2***	-1.6	-4.9

Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2019, December 2020, and December 2021.

Notes: Adjusted estimates control for gender, age, primary language, educational attainment, family size, chronic health conditions, residence in an urban or rural area, internet access, homeownership status, family composition, and census region; presence of children under age 19 in respondent’s household; whether respondent participated in multiple survey rounds; and how long respondent has been a member of the KnowledgePanel. Charitable food estimates in 2019 are based on responses from the randomly selected half of the 2019 sample who received charitable food questions that are consistent with the questions in 2020 and 2021.

*/**/***: Estimate differs significantly from 2019 estimates at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

^/^^/^^^: Estimate differs significantly from 2020 estimates at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

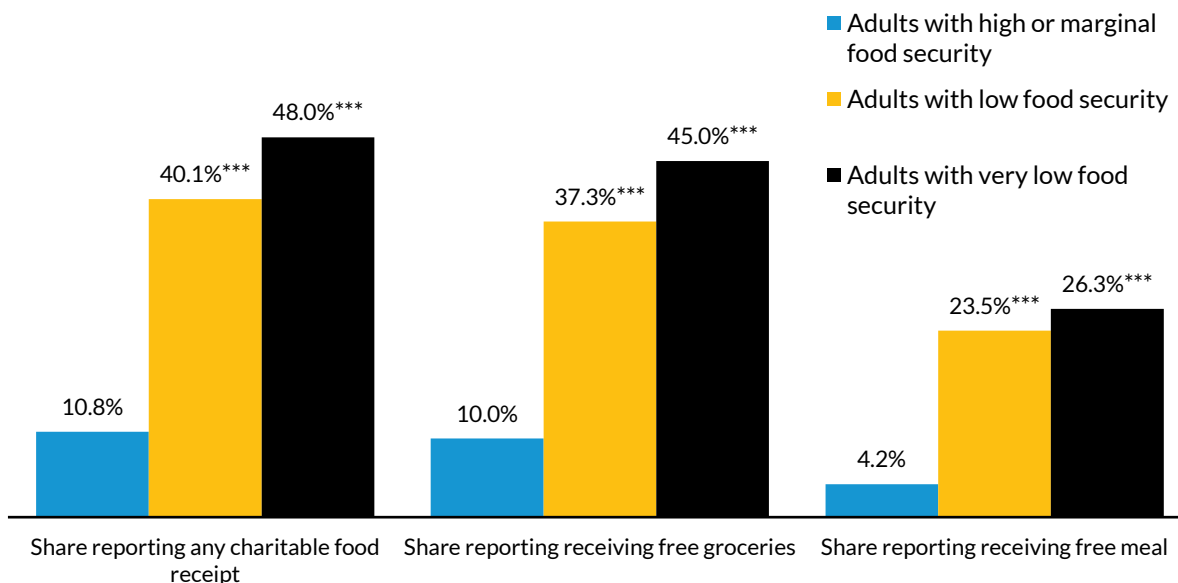
Adults in households experiencing food insecurity, especially the most severe form of insecurity, reported higher levels of charitable food use than adults in food-secure households.

About two in five adults who report experiencing low food security and about half of adults who report very low food security used charitable food in 2021. These numbers are higher than the rate of usage among households with high or marginal food security (10.8 percent; figure 3).⁷ Although federal supports such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program or the National School Lunch Program aim to be the first line of defense against hunger for low-income, food-insecure families, charitable assistance is still a key resource for food-insecure families, including those who do not qualify for federal nutrition programs or for those who need more program benefits than available.

FIGURE 3

Share of Adults Ages 18 to 64 Reporting Household Use of Charitable Food in the Past 12 Months, by Food Security Status

December 2021



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Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2021.

*/**/***: Estimate differs significantly from adults in households with high or marginal food security at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

Families with children show a continued need for charitable food services. Adults living with children under age 19 were 50 percent more likely to report use of charitable food than adults who were not living with children in 2021. Black and Hispanic/Latinx adults living with children are more likely to seek charitable food assistance than white adults, reflecting persistent disparities.

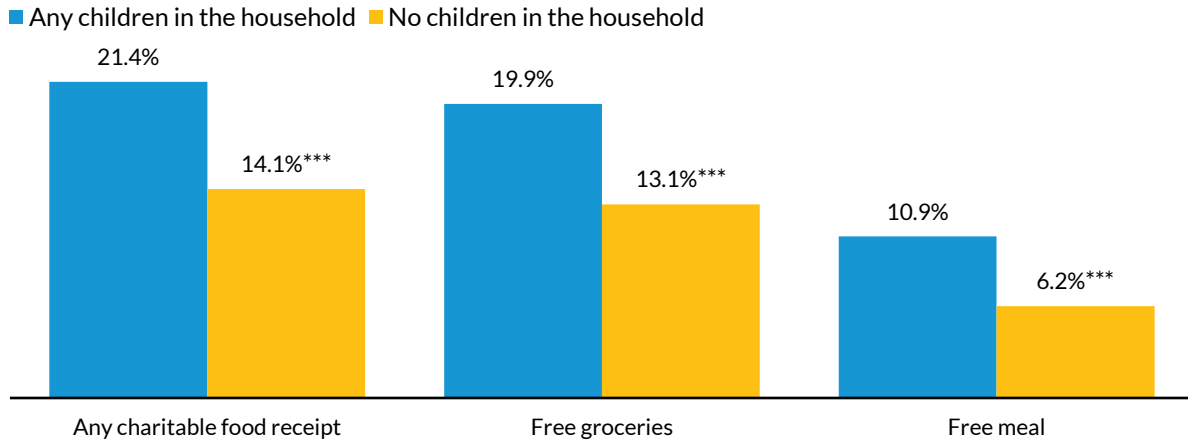
Adults living with children were still more likely than those without children to report accessing charitable food assistance in 2021 by a steep margin (21.4 percent versus 14.1 percent; figure 4). The continued school closures, quarantine periods, and inconsistent after-school or day care programs cut off a vital source of food offered to children, exacerbating the material hardship families with children faced due to the pandemic and ongoing recession (Poole, Fleischhacker, and Bleich 2021).

Additionally, Black adults (30.8 percent) and Hispanic/Latinx adults (38.3 percent) with children were nearly three times more likely than white adults with children (12.5 percent) to report accessing charitable food assistance in the past 12 months (data not shown). We also find that the gap in the share receiving charitable food between Hispanic/Latinx and white adults is larger among households with children than in households without (data not shown). Hispanic/Latinx households have experienced higher rates of food insecurity before and during the pandemic (Schanzenbach and Pitts 2020), and these results highlight the higher level of need among families of color.

FIGURE 4

Share of Adults Ages 18 to 64 Reporting Household Use of Charitable Food in the Past 12 Months, by Presence of Children under Age 19 in the Household

December 2021



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Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2021.

*/**/***: Estimate differs significantly from adults with any child in the household at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

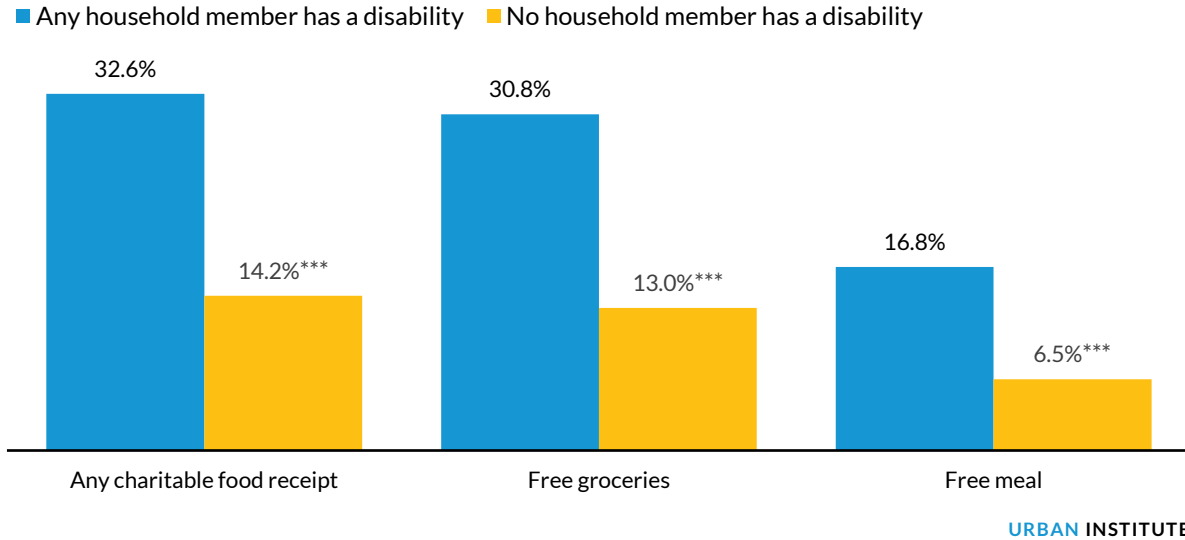
Approximately one in three adults with a disability or who live with a household member with a disability reported household use of charitable food in 2021 compared with about one in seven adults with no household members who have a disability.

We find that adults with a disability or who live with a household member who has a disability are twice as likely as adults in households without a disability to report accessing charitable food assistance (32.6 percent versus 14.2 percent; figure 5). Adults who have a disability experienced higher unemployment rates than people without a disability during the pandemic, reducing their financial means of purchasing food.⁸ Lack of accessible transportation and increased risk of contracting COVID-19 further diminished access to food among people with disabilities (Ives-Ruble and Sloane 2021).

FIGURE 5

Share of Adults Ages 18 to 64 Reporting Household Use of Charitable Food in the Past 12 Months, by Presence of a Household Member with a Disability

December 2021



Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2021.

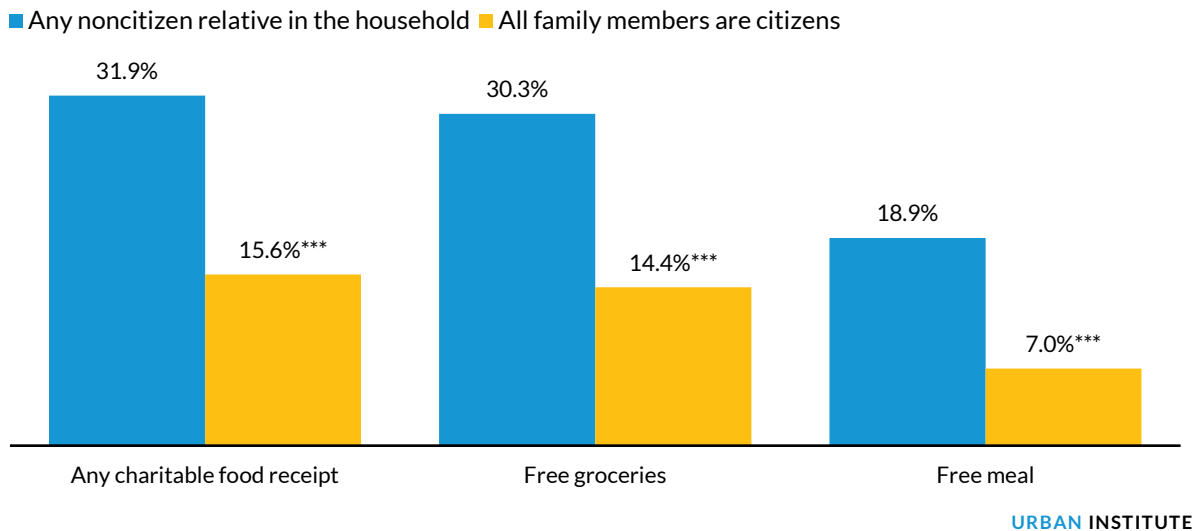
*/**/****. Estimate differs significantly from adults in households where someone has a disability at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

Adults who are noncitizens or who live with noncitizen relatives were twice as likely to seek charitable food assistance in 2021 than adults living in households in which all family members were citizens. Throughout the pandemic, noncitizens faced disproportionately higher unemployment rates and were not eligible for many governmental income relief programs, and many worked in jobs that increased their exposure to COVID-19, all of which reduced their access and ability to be food secure.⁹ In 2021, we find that 31.9 percent of adults who are noncitizens or lived with any noncitizen relatives reported use of charitable food assistance, compared with 15.6 percent of adults living in households in which all family members are citizens (figure 6).

FIGURE 6

Share of Adults Ages 18 to 64 Reporting Household Use of Charitable Food in the Past 12 Months, by Household Citizenship Status

December 2021



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Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2021.

*/**/***: Estimate differs significantly from adults living in households with any noncitizen family member at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

The year 2020 included long lines at food banks and a significant increase in people who sought out charitable food assistance for the first time. It is useful to examine whether adults learned of resources to access charitable food assistance and how comfortable they feel doing so. We examine responses among adults who did not receive charitable food assistance in 2021 and had low incomes, defined as below 200 percent of the federal poverty level, who may be particularly at risk for food insecurity in the event of an economic shock, as well as adults who reported experiencing food insecurity.

Over one in three low-income adults (34.6 percent) reported charitable food use in 2021 (data not shown). Among low-income adults who reported not accessing charitable food in 2021, a little more than half (54.1 percent) were not aware of a place in their community to obtain charitable food (table 2). Furthermore, a little less than half (47.4 percent) of those low-income adults who did not report accessing charitable food assistance felt not at all or not too comfortable in accessing assistance if needed (table 2), compared to more than half (55 percent) of high-income adults. This is similar to the rate in 2020 (data not shown).

Additionally, despite efforts at the federal and local level to mitigate food insecurity, in 2021, three in five adults (60.5 percent) who identified as food insecure but had not accessed charitable food said they were not aware of a place in their community to turn to for free groceries or meals, compared with about two in five (49.2 percent) of adults in food secure households. About three in five adults in food insecure households did not feel comfortable accessing assistance if needed (60.9 percent; table 3). This

rate was also similar to 2020 (data not shown). The feelings of not being comfortable accessing charitable food assistance may allude to stigma in accessing these kinds of resources, which we find is more pronounced among those who are food insecure and higher income.

TABLE 2

Share of Adults Ages 18 to 64 Reporting Awareness and Comfort in Using Charitable Food among Those Reporting No Charitable Food Use in the Past 12 Months, by Family Income

December 2021

	Adults with incomes below 200% FPL (%)	Adults with incomes above 200% FPL (%)
Awareness of place in community to obtain charitable food		
Yes, is aware	45.8	49.5*
No, is not aware	54.1	50.3*
Comfort in getting charitable food		
Not at all/not too comfortable	47.4	55.0***
<i>Not at all comfortable</i>	14.8	19.7***
<i>Not too comfortable</i>	32.6	35.4
Somewhat/very comfortable	52.3	44.6***
<i>Somewhat comfortable</i>	36.8	31.5***
<i>Very comfortable</i>	15.5	13.2**
Total adults reporting no charitable food use	2,205	4,075

Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2021.

Notes: FPL = federal poverty level.

*/**/***: Estimate differs significantly from adults with incomes below 200% FPL at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

TABLE 3

Share of Adults Ages 18 to 64 Reporting Awareness and Comfort in Using Charitable Food among Those Reporting No Charitable Food Use in the Past 12 Months, by Household Food Security Status
December 2021

	Adults in food insecure households (%)	Adults not in food insecure households (%)
Awareness of place in community to obtain charitable food		
Yes, is aware	39.4	50.7***
No, is not aware	60.5	49.2***
Comfort in getting charitable food		
Not at all/not too comfortable	60.9	51.9***
<i>Not at all comfortable</i>	25.4	17.2***
<i>Not too comfortable</i>	35.5	34.7
Somewhat/very comfortable	38.4	47.8***
<i>Somewhat comfortable</i>	29.9	33.4
<i>Very comfortable</i>	8.5	14.4***
Total adults reporting no charitable food use	1,045	5,184

Source: Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey, December 2021.

*/**/***: Estimate differs significantly from adults in food insecure households at the 0.10/0.05/0.01 levels, using two-tailed tests.

Discussion

Though unemployment rates¹⁰ are decreasing and much of the economy is approaching “back to normal,”¹¹ the results from this analysis confirm the need for charitable food remains elevated across the country. This can likely be attributed to a variety of factors in 2021, such as widespread school and day care closures during the surge of the Omicron variant of COVID-19 and loss of access to meals,¹² unprecedented rises in food prices caused by inflation¹³ and mounting supply chain disruptions, the end of certain federal government assistance programs like enhanced unemployment and stimulus checks, and the end of the eviction moratorium and delays in rental assistance,¹⁴ among others. Despite some reduction in use, these data suggest that charitable food continues to be an important resource for households facing financial hardship and food insecurity.

Though food insecurity often intersects with other material hardships such as poverty and financial instability, it is not entirely explained by household income (Gundersen, Kreider, and Pepper 2011). As a result, not all food-insecure families have access to or are eligible for federal supports, such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program; even for those that do have access, the level of benefits may be inadequate.¹⁵ We see almost half of households experiencing the direst form of food insecurity using charitable food in 2021, demonstrating how much of a lifeline these resources can be.

Finally, although we noted a nationwide downward trend in using charitable food resources, it is important to note that rates of charitable food use are significantly higher among Hispanic/Latinx and

Black adults than among white adults, reflecting historical and ongoing disparities in food insecurity. We see similarly elevated rates of use among households with noncitizens, who may have fewer options for relief because many were excluded from most pandemic relief and may be fearful of applying for other federal assistance because of concerns around public charge rules (Bernstein et al. 2021).

Data and Methods

This brief draws on data from nationally representative samples of adults ages 18 to 64 who participated in the Urban Institute’s WBNS, including 7,694 adults who participated in the December 2019 round of the survey, 7,737 who participated in December 2020, and 8,142 who participated in December 2021. The WBNS is an internet-based survey designed to monitor changes in individual and family well-being as policymakers consider changes to federal safety-net programs. For each round of the WBNS, we draw a stratified random sample (including a large oversample of adults in low-income households) from the KnowledgePanel, a probability-based internet panel maintained by Ipsos that includes households with and without internet access. Survey weights adjust for unequal selection probabilities and are poststratified to the characteristics of nonelderly adults based on benchmarks from the Current Population Survey and American Community Survey. Participants can complete the survey in English or Spanish. For further information on the survey design and content, see Karpman, Zuckerman, and Gonzalez (2018).¹⁶

We estimated changes between December 2019 and December 2021 in the share of adults reporting that their households received charitable food in the past 12 months and in the past 30 days. Estimates for 2019 are limited to the randomly selected half of the 2019 survey sample (3,863 adults) who received charitable food questions that were consistent with the charitable food questions asked in 2020 and 2021. The remaining half of the 2019 sample (3,831 adults) were asked charitable food questions that have been used in the Current Population Survey Food Security Supplement; we exclude this group when estimating charitable food receipt in 2019 for this brief.

Estimated changes between 2019 and 2021 for all adults and within each racial or ethnic group included in this study are regression adjusted to control for any changes in the demographic characteristics of the adults participating in each round of the survey. We control for a respondent’s gender, age, race and ethnicity, primary language, educational attainment, family size, chronic health conditions, residence in an urban or rural area, internet access, homeownership status, family composition, and census region; the presence of children under age 19 in the respondent’s household; whether the respondent participated in multiple survey rounds; and how long the respondent has been a member of the KnowledgePanel. Estimated differences in awareness and receipt of charitable food in 2021 by household food security status, presence of children in the household, presence of household members with a disability, and household citizenship status are not regression adjusted.

Notes

- ¹ Because estimated changes over time are regression adjusted, estimates of reported use of charitable food in 2019 and 2020 in this brief may vary slightly from previously reported estimates from the WBNS. We use regression adjustment to control for changes in the composition of the survey samples across years that are not fully captured by the survey weights. The basic patterns shown for the regression-adjusted estimates in this brief are similar to those based on the unadjusted weighted estimates and to regression-adjusted estimates from earlier analyses.
- ² We multiplied the estimated 2.0 percentage-point change in charitable food use between December 2020 and December 2021 by the projected number of adults ages 18 to 64 in 2021. We used national population predictions available from the US Census Bureau. These files give population projections by race, ethnicity, and sex of all ages from 2016 to 2060 based on estimated birth rates, death rates, and net migration rates over the period. Using the “Main Series” file, we summed the 2021 population projections for all 18- to 64-year-olds to arrive at 203,018,143 nonelderly adults in 2021. See “2017 National Population Projections Datasets,” US Census Bureau, Department of Commerce, last updated October 8, 2021, <https://www.census.gov/data/datasets/2017/demo/popproj/2017-popproj.html>. The 95 percent confidence interval for the estimated decrease in the number of adults receiving charitable food (4.0 million) between 2020 and 2021 is 2.0 million to 6.1 million.
- ³ Our estimate of household food insecurity is based on the six-item short form of the US Department of Agriculture’s Household Food Security Survey Module. Respondents with two to four affirmative responses are defined as having low household food security, and respondents with five to six affirmative responses (the most severe form) are defined as having very low household food security. These groups are jointly defined as food insecure. Affirmative responses include reporting that it was often or sometimes true that the food the household bought did not last, and the household did not have money to get more; it was often or sometimes true that the household could not afford to eat balanced meals; adults in the household cut the size of meals or skipped meals because there was not enough money for food at least once; household meals were cut or skipped for almost every month, or some months but not every month; the respondent ate less than they felt they should because there was not enough money for food; and the respondent was ever hungry but did not eat because there was not enough money for food.
- ⁴ Due to smaller sample sizes, it is more difficult to detect statistically significant changes between 2020 and 2021 among racial and ethnic subgroups.
- ⁵ Shena Ashley, Alena Stern, Steven Brown, Yipeng Su, Ajjit Narayanan, Megan Randall, Tomas Monarrez, and Margery Austin Turner, “Tracking COVID-19’s Effects by Race and Ethnicity: Questionnaire Two,” Urban Institute, April 2022, <https://www.urban.org/features/tracking-covid-19s-effects-race-and-ethnicity-questionnaire-two>.
- ⁶ Small sample sizes and the administration of the WBNS in English and Spanish are among the survey’s limitations in analyzing data for these additional racial and ethnic groups. The Urban Institute is currently exploring strategies to produce representative estimates for some of these groups in future survey rounds.
- ⁷ We find that over three times as many households with marginal food insecurity (defined as one affirmative response, see note 3) reported accessing charitable food in the past 12 months (27.8 percent) compared with households with high food security (defined as 0 affirmative responses; 8.9 percent). Literature shows that marginally food insecure households are often more similar to food insecure households, which may explain their higher use of charitable food receipt (Cook et al. 2013).
- ⁸ “Persons with a Disability: Labor Force Characteristics — 2021,” Bureau of Labor Statistics, US Department of Labor, February 24, 2022, <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/disabl.pdf>.
- ⁹ Megan Carney and Teresa Mares, “How the Pandemic Made it Harder for Immigrants to Access Food,” *Civil Eats*, April 29, 2021, <https://civileats.com/2021/04/29/op-ed-how-the-pandemic-made-it-harder-for-immigrants-to-access-food/>.
- ¹⁰ “The Employment Situation — March 2022,” Bureau of Labor Statistics, US Department of Labor, April 1, 2022, <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/empisit.pdf>.

- ¹¹ “Tracking America’s Recovery: The Back-to-Normal Index,” CNN, last updated April 15, 2022, <https://www.cnn.com/business/us-economic-recovery-coronavirus>.
- ¹² Lauren Camera, “School Closures Mount as Omicron Spreads, Staff Shortages Swell,” *US News*, December 20, 2021, <https://www.usnews.com/news/education-news/articles/2021-12-20/school-closures-mount-as-omicron-spreads-staff-shortages-swell>.
- ¹³ “Summary Findings: Food Price Outlook, 2022,” Economic Research Service, US Department of Agriculture, last updated March 25, 2022, <https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/food-price-outlook/summary-findings/>.
- ¹⁴ Adam Liptak and Glenn Thrush, “Supreme Court Ends Biden’s Eviction Moratorium,” *New York Times*, August 26, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/26/us/eviction-moratorium-ends.html>.
- ¹⁵ Elaine Waxman, Craig Gundersen, and Olivia Fiol, “Does SNAP Cover the Cost of a Meal in Your County?” Urban Institute, November 2021, <https://www.urban.org/features/does-snap-cover-cost-meal-your-county>.
- ¹⁶ The WBNS instruments are available at “The Well-Being and Basic Needs Survey,” Urban Institute, accessed April 11, 2022. <https://www.urban.org/policy-centers/health-policy-center/projects/well-being-and-basic-needs-survey>.

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