

MONITORING POVERTY AND WELL-BEING IN NYC

# SPOTLIGHT ON FOOD HARDSHIP IN NEW YORK CITY:

Lessons learned during the pandemic  
and where we go from here

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# Introduction

Rates of food hardship in New York City were persistently high *before* the COVID-19 pandemic, with more than one in three New Yorkers<sup>1</sup> sometimes or often running out of food or worrying that food would run out before they had money to buy more. The pandemic brought new and devastating challenges in quick succession, with half of New Yorkers losing work-related income at the peak of the pandemic, not knowing how they would make rent or keep food on the table, or when things would get back to “normal.”

In the face of uncertainty, actions were taken at federal, state, and local levels to stabilize income and provide a buffer against new experiences of material hardship. These included the substantial expansion of the unemployment insurance program, stimulus payments, the increase in Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP) payments, and eviction moratoria. 2020 also saw community-based organizations across the city quickly adapt to meet needs and deliver services while maintaining public health guidelines. This included the substantial expansion of emergency food assistance programs, with food pantries changing their hours, protocols, and delivery mechanisms. Data from the Poverty Tracker show that these supply-side changes aligned with an increased demand for food – **between 2019 and 2020, the number of families in the Poverty Tracker sample receiving food from a food pantry more than doubled. And among foreign-born New Yorkers, who were less likely to benefit from the federal policy expansions, the number of people using food pantries nearly tripled.** This sharp increase suggests that the role of pantries in the lives of New Yorkers changed over the course of the pandemic, and many of these changes may continue to play a role in fighting food hardship through the pandemic recovery.

The response to the economic insecurity brought on by the pandemic, in terms of both social policy and the city’s emergency food distribution network, appears to have been remarkably effective at stabilizing rates of food hardship. Counter to expectations, the latest data at the national level show the rate of food insecurity remaining stable between 2019 and 2020.<sup>2</sup> The latest data from the Poverty Tracker also show relatively consistent rates of food hardship, with 37% of New Yorkers in our sample facing food hardship in 2019, and 39% in 2020. In light of the large increase in the number of people visiting food pantries and the robust expansions to social policies, these steady rates of food hardship are a testament to the efforts of emergency food providers and the efficacy of policy reforms made through the pandemic.

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<sup>1</sup> The Poverty Tracker sample is representative of adults in New York City, and thus when we use the term “New Yorkers,” we are describing adults in the Poverty Tracker sample.

<sup>2</sup> Coleman-Jensen, Rabbitt, Gregory, and Singh (2021).

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But the rate of food hardship in our representative sample of New Yorkers – 39% – remains dire. The policy reforms and the extensions to the city’s emergency food distribution network made in 2020 provide insights into how to address this persistent hardship faced by a substantial share of New Yorkers today. In this report, we document the increase in the use of the food pantries in 2020 and the steady rates of food hardship between 2019 and 2020, showing how instrumental the expansions to the emergency food distribution network and the policy reforms of the pandemic appear to have been in offsetting a substantial increase in food hardship. We then examine the current state of food hardship in New York City and the rates among certain subgroups – documenting the new challenge faced by the city and discussing how lessons learned from the pandemic can inform the recovery.

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# Key Findings

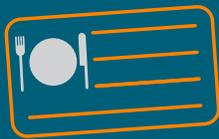


Reforms were made at all levels of government and across the city's **EMERGENCY FOOD DISTRIBUTION NETWORK** to address the threat of growing food hardship brought on by the pandemic.

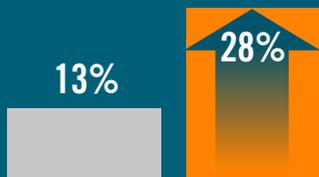
New York City's emergency food provider network made substantial changes to service delivery in anticipation of and response to the pandemic. Food pantries across the city undertook the challenge of launching **home-delivery programs** and **increasing hours of operation** while serving a **record high number of clients**. Providers worked tirelessly to make these supply-side changes that expanded their reach, accessibility, and the amount of food

they could deliver, while also encountering several obstacles along the way.

These expansions complemented the historic legislation passed at the federal level to keep families across the country afloat through temporary reforms to expand the **unemployment insurance program** (UI) and **Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program** (SNAP), and the delivery of **stimulus checks**.



**THE PANDEMIC BROUGHT A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN DEMAND FOR EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE.** This demand would have likely been substantially underserved absent the robust supply-side changes made by the city's emergency food distribution network in this time of crisis.

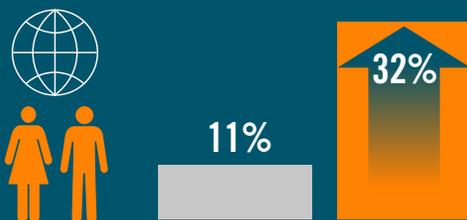


The share of New Yorkers in the Poverty Tracker sample who received emergency food assistance doubled between 2019 and 2020 – rising from **13% to 28%**. New Yorkers facing food hardship were also significantly more likely to receive emergency food assistance in 2020 compared to earlier years.



**EMERGENCY FOOD DISTRIBUTION SITES** also played an outsized role in supporting immigrant New Yorkers.

Some New Yorkers born outside the U.S. may not have had access to the additional supports provided by the federal government in response to the pandemic.<sup>3</sup> Emergency food distribution sites, on the other hand, were accessible regardless of immigration status.



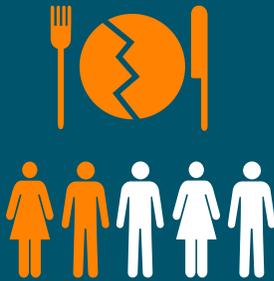
The share of immigrant New Yorkers who received food from an emergency food provider nearly tripled between 2020 and years prior (**rising from 11% to 32%**).

<sup>3</sup> There were eligibility requirements tied to immigration status that barred some foreign-born New Yorkers from accessing these supports, while others may have forgone these supports due to personal concerns regarding immigration status. See Gonzalez et al. (2021).



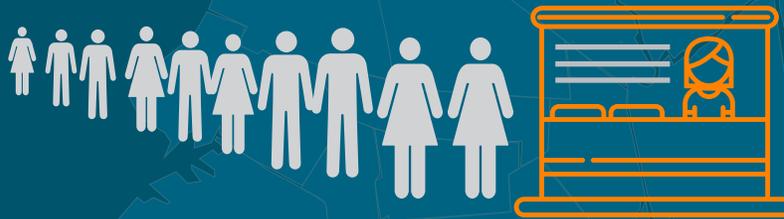
Together, the **POLICY REFORMS** made at all levels of government and the **PROGRAMMATIC CHANGES** made throughout the city's emergency food distribution network appear to have guarded against a sharp rise in the rate of food hardship in New York City in 2020.

Counter to expectations, the share of New Yorkers facing severe food hardship did not rise between 2019 and 2020, and the share facing food hardship only rose by 2 percentage points, from **37% to 39%**, a testament to the power of policy and pantry programs.



However, **FOOD HARDSHIP REMAINS** far too common in New York City.

Nearly **two in five** adult New Yorkers continue to face food hardship. Black and Latino New Yorkers are also disproportionately burdened with this hardship, as are foreign-born New Yorkers and those in households with children.<sup>4</sup>



**EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE PROVIDERS** across New York City need continued support in order to meet New Yorkers' needs; but these expanded services must be complemented by policies that continue to address a root cause of food hardship – economic insecurity.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix A for information regarding how we identify and discuss the race and ethnicity of the Poverty Tracker participants.

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## Reforms were made at all levels of government and across the city's emergency food distribution network to address the threat of growing food hardship brought on by the pandemic.

As nearly half of New Yorkers lost some of their employment-based pay during the onset of the pandemic,<sup>5</sup> New York City's emergency food providers made significant operational changes to meet increased need. City Harvest, one of the city's largest food banks, reports that from March to June 2020, there was a 72% increase in the amount of food delivered to emergency food distribution sites.<sup>6</sup> The Food Bank of New York City also found that 46% of food pantries and soup kitchens increased their hours or days of operation in 2020, and 45% started running home delivery programs.<sup>7</sup> But these expansions were not easy – they were the product of tireless efforts made by providers across the city who saw the number of families they served wrap around city blocks.<sup>8</sup> Further, they required additional supports in terms of funding and donations.

Policy reforms at city, state, and federal levels also targeted the local and national emergency food distribution network and, in part, supported its expansion. The city established the Pandemic Food Reserve Emergency Distribution Program (P-FRED) and the Emergency Food Assistance Program (EFAP), which together provided funding and fresh and shelf-stable food to emergency food providers across the city.<sup>9</sup> The city also established the Emergency Home Food Delivery program for those who could not visit pantries and the grab-and-go meal hubs at 400 city schools where anyone could pick up three meals a day and a pantry box on Fridays.<sup>10</sup> The state developed Nourish New York, a program that provided funding to food banks across New York to purchase surplus products (fruits, veggies, dairy, etc.) from farmers and dairy producers across the state.<sup>11</sup> At the federal level, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) operated the Farmers to Families Food Box Program from May 2020 to May 2021,<sup>12</sup> and the funding for The Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP) was increased several times.<sup>13</sup> Overall, the changes discussed thus far increased the supply of emergency food available in New York City and broadened accessibility to the emergency food assistance network. Emergency food distribution centers in New York City were also accessible regardless of immigration status – as discussed in the text box below.

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<sup>5</sup> Collyer, Huq, Washington, and Wimer (2020).

<sup>6</sup> City Harvest (2021).

<sup>7</sup> Food Bank for New York City (2020).

<sup>8</sup> Stewart and Heisler (2020).

<sup>9</sup> Learn more about P-FRED and EFAP here at: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/hra/help/food-assistance.page>.

<sup>10</sup> New York City (2020).

<sup>11</sup> Learn more about Nourish New York Initiative at: <https://agriculture.ny.gov/news/new-york-state-provides-additional-details-25-million-funding-food-banks-through-nourish-new>

<sup>12</sup> Learn more about the USDA Farmers to Families Food Box Program at <https://www.ams.usda.gov/selling-food-to-usda/farmers-to-families-food-box>, and the TEFAP at <https://www.fns.usda.gov/tefap/emergency-food-assistance-program>.

<sup>13</sup> Funding for this program was increased in the Families First Coronavirus Relief Act; the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act; and the American Rescue Plan.

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Ensuring that people had enough resources to meet their basic needs was also a key priority at the federal level. Under the Families First Coronavirus Relief Act (FFCRA), benefit levels from SNAP were raised such that all SNAP recipients received the maximum SNAP benefit.<sup>14</sup> FFCRA also established the Pandemic-EBT (P-EBT) program, which automatically delivered benefits to families with children eligible for free and reduced lunch to compensate for the school meals missed because of remote learning. There were also policy reforms made to bolster economic stability – including the expansion of the unemployment insurance program through the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act (CARES), the delivery of stimulus checks, and the eviction moratoria put in place.<sup>15</sup>

Altogether, there were substantial reforms and expansions made to buffer against the growing threat of food hardship and hunger – nationally and in New York City.

## Immigration status and access to pandemic-related assistance

While there were large expansions to federal policies in 2020 under the FFCRA and the CARES Act, New Yorkers who were born outside of the U.S. were less likely to benefit from them than their U.S.-born peers. For example, some immigrant New Yorkers are ineligible for SNAP and unemployment insurance because of their documentation status and therefore could not benefit from the expansions to these benefits.<sup>16</sup> Further, mixed-status families where at least one member of the family did not have a valid Social Security Number were ineligible for the first round of federal stimulus checks delivered in the spring of 2020.<sup>17</sup>

For immigrant communities, the emergency food distribution sites across the city had the advantage of being accessible regardless of documentation status – making the work of these organizations even more imperative. But the lack of federal supports for immigrant populations at this time of crisis reveals one way in which policy decisions can exacerbate inequality.

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<sup>14</sup> One shortfall of this reform was that the lowest income families already received the maximum benefit and thus did not benefit from this expansion. Under the American Rescue Plan of 2021, however, benefits for all SNAP recipients were increased by 15%.

<sup>15</sup> Parrott et al. (2020).

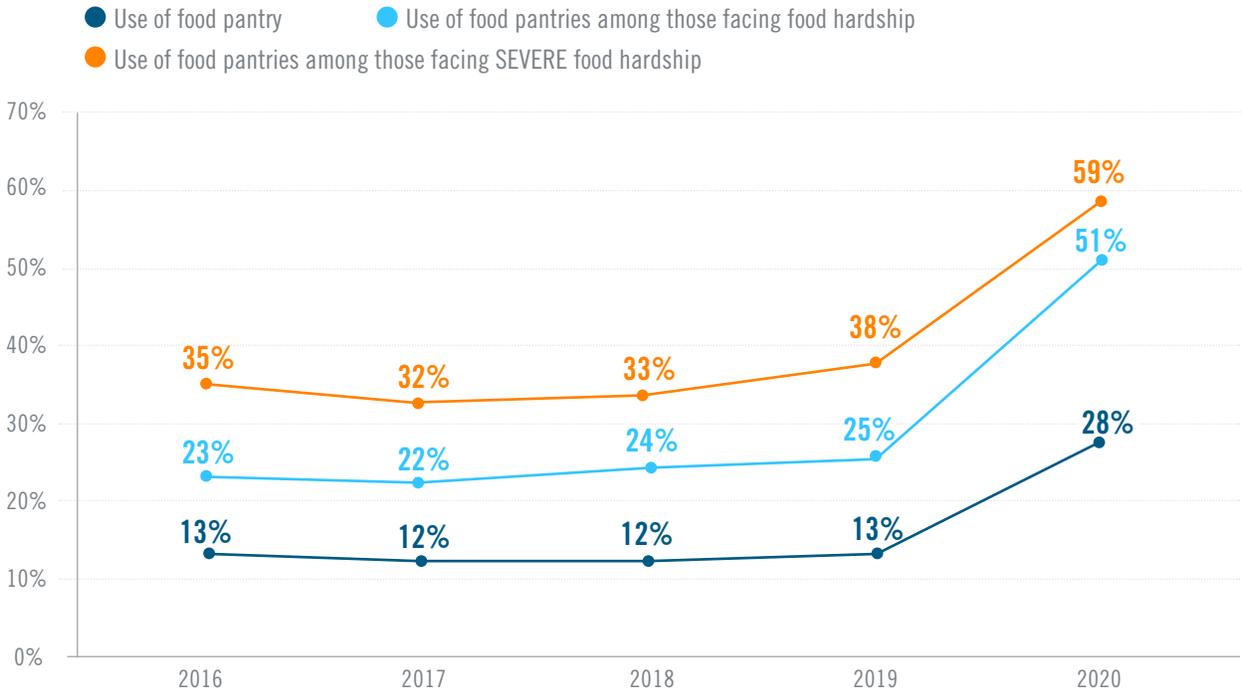
<sup>16</sup> Additional information on social policies that exclude individuals based on immigration status is covered in Acevedo-Garcia et al. (2021). A summary of who is and who is not eligible for federal public programs based on immigration status is made available by Protecting Immigrant Families; access here.

<sup>17</sup> See Chishti & Bolter, 2020. Mixed-status families were retroactively given access to these stimulus payments under the H133 if one adult family member had an SSN, though these payments were not delivered until the early 2021. Under the American Rescue Plan, everyone with a SSN or an Individual Tax ID Number (ITIN) received a stimulus payment of \$1,400 per qualifying person in the family, but these payments were distributed in the spring of 2021.

The pandemic brought a significant increase in demand for emergency food assistance. This demand would have likely been substantially underserved absent the robust supply-side changes made by the city’s emergency food distribution network in this time of crisis.

In the face of growing unemployment and economic insecurity, use of food pantries more than doubled (Figure 1). Among New Yorkers surveyed in 2020, 28% reported having received free food from an emergency food provider in the previous 12 months versus 13% in 2019 (Figure 1). Those who were facing food hardship were also more likely to use food pantries in 2020 than prior years. Food hardship is defined as sometimes or often worrying food would run out before you had money for more, and before 2020, roughly a quarter of New Yorkers in our sample who faced food hardship used a food pantry. In 2020, that number jumped to 51%. And we see a similar trend for those facing severe food hardship (Figure 1; see textbox for definition of severe food hardship).

**Figure 1**  
Share of New Yorkers in sample who received free food from a food pantry, 2016 to 2020



Source: Annual Poverty Tracker survey data; second, third, and fourth panels.

Note: These results are based on a question asking Poverty Tracker respondents, in the past 12 months, did you or anyone in your household receive free food from a food pantry or food bank? Results from each year come from surveys conducted in those years.



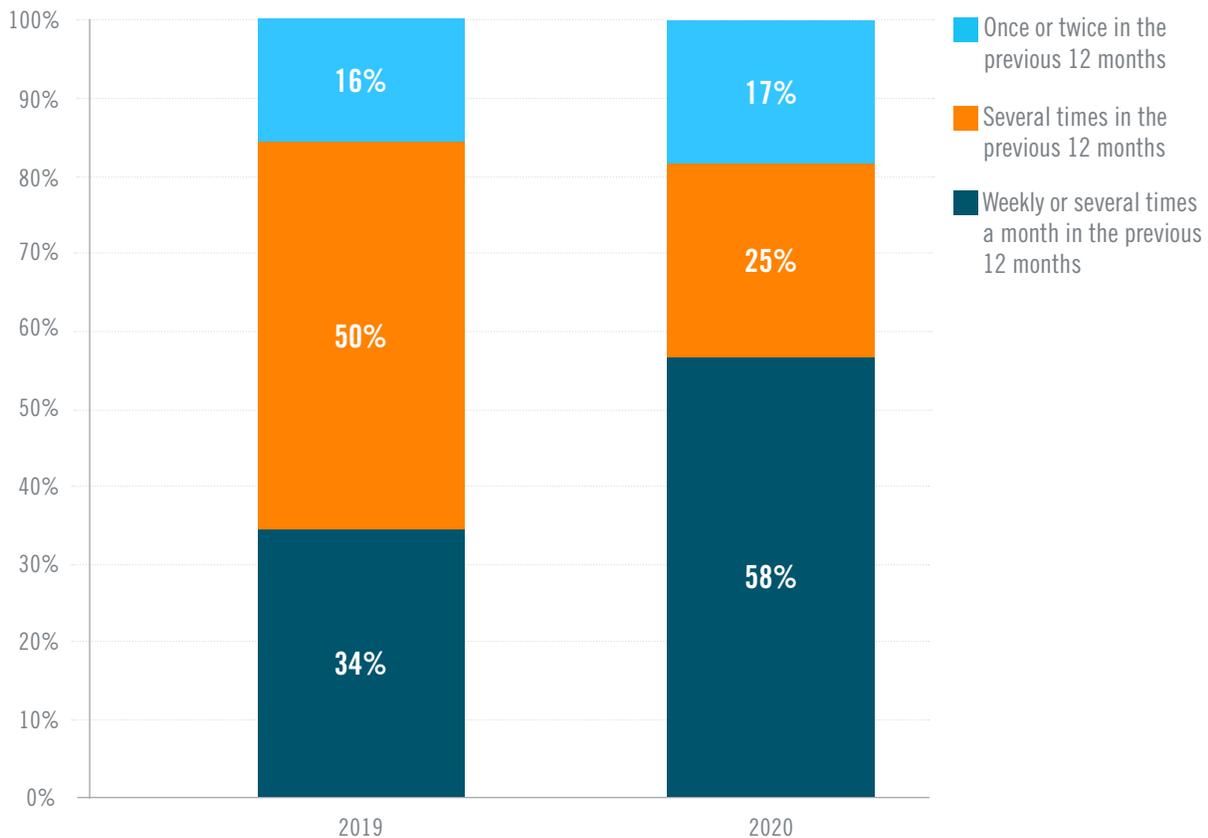
### FOOD HARDSHIP DEFINED

Food hardship is defined as sometimes or often running out of food or worrying food would run out before they had money to buy more; severe food hardship is defined as often facing these situations.

New Yorkers who turned to the emergency food distribution network in 2020 also did so more frequently than those who had in years prior. In Figure 2, we see that in 2019, roughly 34% of New Yorkers in our sample who had used a food pantry did so weekly or several times a month. In 2020, that number grew to 58%, meaning that more than half of New Yorkers who were visiting pantries were doing so repeatedly throughout the month in order to secure enough food for themselves and their families.

Figure 2

### Frequency of visits to food pantries, 2019 and 2020



Source: Annual Poverty Tracker survey data; second, third, and fourth panels.

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The increase in the use of food pantries and the frequency at which families used food pantries point to the impact of greater accessibility to emergency food assistance programs. Before the pandemic, many food pantries and emergency food providers faced funding constraints that affected their hours of operation and the amount of food they could distribute. For example, a 2017 study of 80 pantries in the Bronx found that many pantries serving the community had insufficient supply to meet client demand and that, at times, they could not open during scheduled hours.<sup>18</sup> The study also found that most were open once a week for two hours on a weekday and did not have weekend distribution times, and roughly a quarter ran out of food in the first hour of service. The study concluded that there was an “overall mismatch between supply and demand” with regards to what food pantries could offer and what was needed. It suggests that, before the pandemic, those facing food hardship may not have made use of these services because they were too difficult to access – either in terms of location, hours of operation, or the amount of food they could receive during a visit. The increased funding and food made available to pantries in 2020 increased the supply of services that they could deliver, and the Poverty Tracker data show that New Yorkers made use of these new services. Absent the supply-side changes, the emergency food network would have likely been unable to meet this demand.

### Emergency food distribution sites played an outsized role in supporting immigrant New Yorkers during the pandemic.

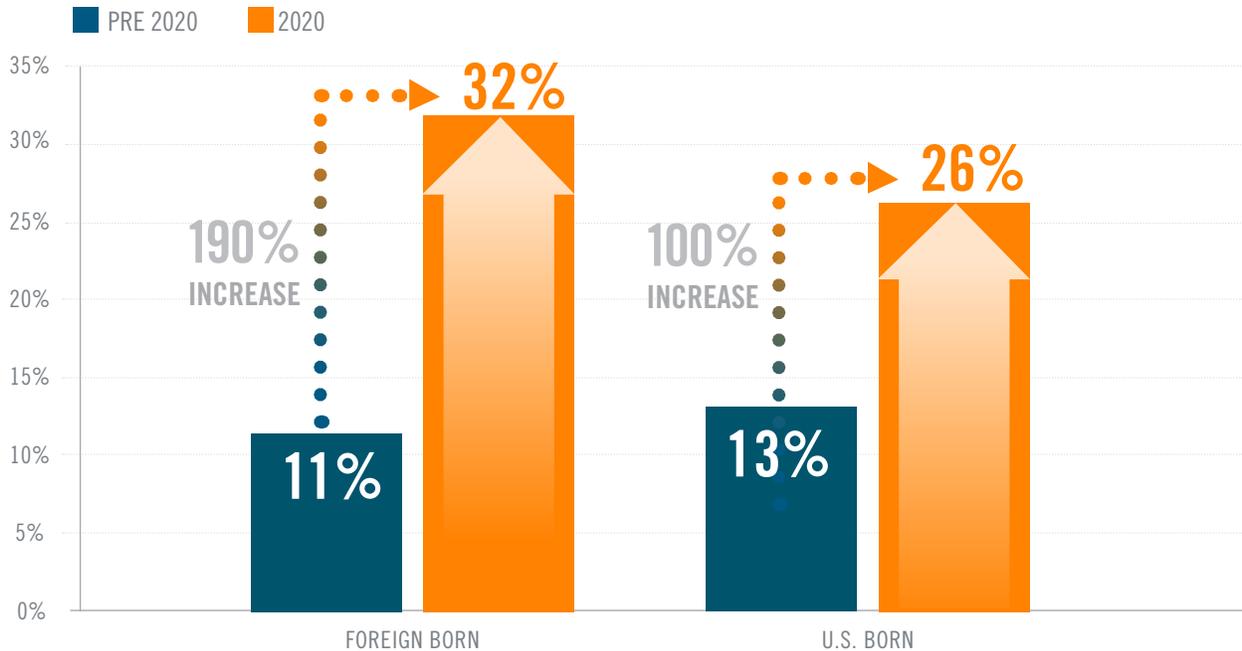
New Yorkers in all five boroughs and all demographic groups were more likely to use food pantries in 2020 than in prior years (see Appendix B, Table B1), but there were groups where the change was more pronounced. Among immigrant New Yorkers, the use of food pantries nearly tripled in 2020 compared to prior years – rising from 11% of foreign-born New Yorkers using food pantries to 32% (see Figure 3). For comparison, the use of food pantries among U.S.-born New Yorkers in our sample doubled in 2020 compared to earlier years. These findings point to the vital role that these services play in immigrant communities where access to other benefits (like SNAP and unemployment insurance) may be compromised by documentation requirements, as discussed earlier.

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<sup>18</sup> Ginsburg et al. (2019).

Figure 3

### Increase in the use of food pantries among foreign-born and U.S.-born New Yorkers.



Source: Annual Poverty Tracker survey data; second, third, and fourth panels.

Note: To calculate pre-2020 rates of pantry use, we averaged the rates of pantry use from 2016 to 2019 for both foreign born and U.S. born New Yorkers.

Together, the policy reforms and programmatic changes made by emergency food providers in 2020 appear to have guarded against a substantial rise in the rate of food hardship in New York City.

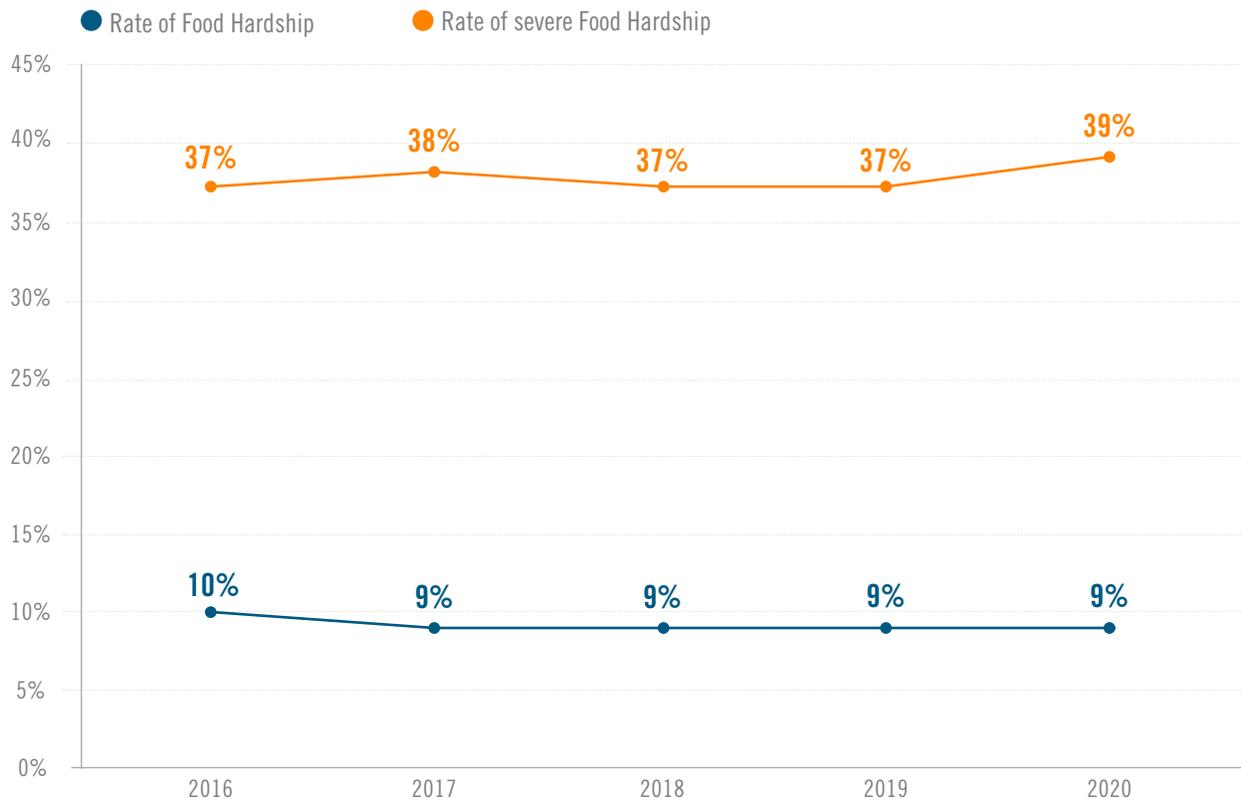
At the onset of the pandemic, many expected that the rate of food hardship would rise sharply as it did with the Great Recession.<sup>19</sup> But the data tell a different story – the rate of food hardship and severe food hardship remained relatively stable between 2019 and 2020 among New Yorkers in our sample (Figure 4). In 2019, 37% of New Yorkers in our sample faced food hardship, and in 2020, this rose to 39%, while the rate of severe food hardship was 9% in both years (see Figure 4). This is not the outcome that many hypothesized at the beginning of the pandemic, and the picture would have likely looked different absent the robust response by emergency food providers and across all levels of government. During the Great Recession, on the other hand, the government response did not include as significant an amount of support for individuals and families as we saw with the COVID-19 response, and there was a significant increase in the rate of food insecurity across the country in that period.<sup>20</sup> The actions taken in response to the economic challenges brought on by the pandemic provide better instructions for what needs to happen in a time of crisis to guard against hardship, and they also tell us about what needs to be done in the continued fight against food hardship in the city.

<sup>19</sup> Andrews & Nord (2009).

<sup>20</sup> Coleman-Jenson, Gregory & Singh (2016).

**Figure 4**

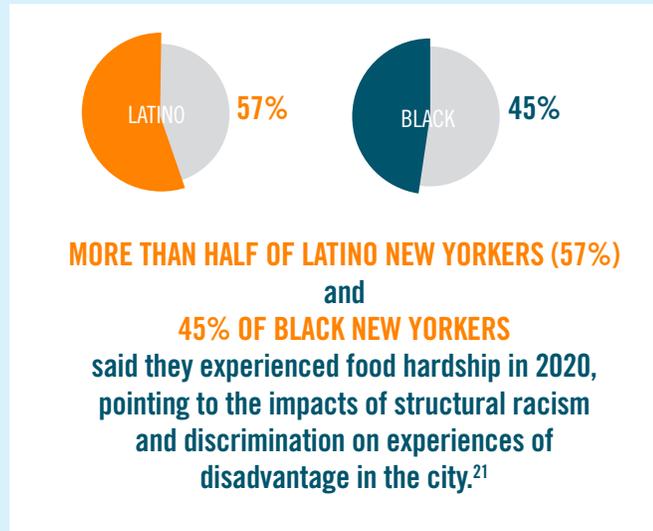
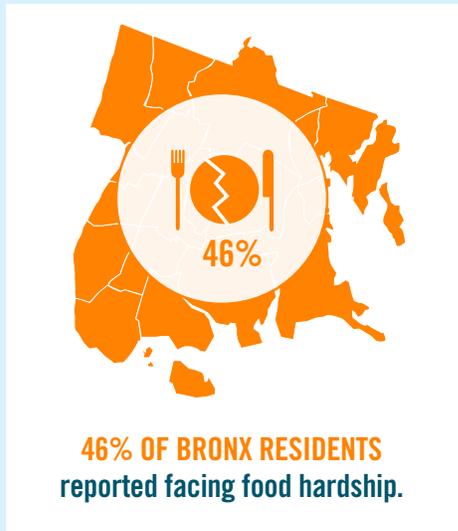
### Rates of food hardship and severe food hardship among New Yorkers in the Poverty Tracker Sample, 2016 to 2020



Source: Annual Poverty Tracker survey data; second, third, and fourth panels.

## Food hardship remains too common among New Yorkers.

While policy reforms and emergency food providers appear to have helped steady rates of food hardship in New York City during the pandemic, the state of food hardship in New York City remains dire. In each year from 2016 to 2020, between 37% and 39% of New Yorkers in our representative sample faced food hardship. Further, in 2020:



<sup>21</sup> We discuss the intersection of structural racism and economic disadvantage further in *The State of Poverty and Disadvantage in New York City, Volume 3*. See Poverty Tracker Research Group at Columbia University (2021). See Appendix A for information regarding how we identify and discuss the race and ethnicity of the Poverty Tracker participants.

2020 rates of food hardship by subgroup are reported in Table 1.

**Table 1**

## Rates of food hardship by subgroup, 2020

	RATE OF FOOD HARDSHIP
<b>CITYWIDE</b>	<b>39%</b>
<b>BOROUGH</b>	
Brooklyn	34%
Bronx	46%
Manhattan	37%
Queens	36%
Staten Island*	33%
<b>RACE</b>	
Asian, non-Latino	31%
Black, non-Latino	45%
Latino	57%
Multiracial or another race, non-Latino*	46%
White, non-Latino	29%
<b>IMMIGRATION STATUS</b>	
Foreign Born	43%
U.S. Born	36%
<b>CHILDREN (UNDER 18) IN HOUSEHOLD</b>	
No	39%
Yes	47%
<b>EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT</b>	
High school degree or less	53%
Some college	47%
College+	31%
<b>GENDER</b>	
Male	38%
Female	43%

*\*Interpret with caution due to sample size constraints*

*Source: Annual Poverty Tracker survey data; second, third, and fourth panels.*

As the city recovers from the pandemic, it confronts the long-standing hardships that were far too common among New Yorkers before 2020. But the actions taken to mitigate the devastation brought on by the pandemic provide insights into what can be done to address the widespread food hardship that preceded it.

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Emergency food assistance providers across New York City need continued support in order to meet New Yorkers' needs through the pandemic recovery; but these expanded services must be complemented by policies that continue to address a root cause of food hardship – economic insecurity.

Before the pandemic, emergency food providers faced numerous constraints that affected service delivery, but the additional supports they received in 2020 allowed them to substantially increase their capacity. Our data show that these additional services were quickly turned to as the number of New Yorkers visiting food pantries doubled in 2020 relative to earlier years. New Yorkers facing food hardship were also substantially more likely to use food pantries in 2020 – suggesting that they might have used these services in earlier years had they been more accessible. Altogether, the city's emergency food delivery system needed additional support before the pandemic and it will continue to need this support in years to come in order to meet the needs of New Yorkers facing food hardship or trying to avoid it.

But emergency food assistance programs alone will not address the persistent experiences of food hardship in New York City, and the broader goal of many policymakers is to prevent New Yorkers from having to rely on the emergency food distribution network. Food hardship is one of many forms of material hardship experienced by families facing economic insecurity, and policies that bolster their economic position address food hardship in turn. In response to COVID-19, the federal government filled large holes left by social policies in order to bolster and stabilize incomes. These reforms – including subsidized unemployment insurance payments, increased SNAP benefits, and more recently, the expanded Child Tax Credit – have all been found to be associated with or to play a significant role in preventing or reducing food hardship and food insecurity.<sup>22</sup>

Moving forward, the reforms made during the pandemic show how policies that bolster economic security by increasing and stabilizing incomes have a direct effect on reducing food hardship, and thus provide insights into how policy can be used to address the high levels of food hardship in New York City today. Ensuring that all New Yorkers, regardless of documentation status, have access to the benefits provided by different policy reforms is also essential to any plan targeting food hardship.

As the city recovers from the devastation of the pandemic and continues to manage the ongoing public health crisis, it must continue to advance policies that promote economic stability for all New Yorkers and to ensure that the emergency services are sufficiently supported for those facing crisis. These goals are central to an effective agenda aiming to reduce food hardship across New York City.

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<sup>22</sup> See Parolin, Ananat, Collyer, Curran, and Wimer (2021); Raifman, Bor and Venkataramani (2021); Collyer, Bannerman, Charles, and Friedman (2020); Pilkauskas, Currie, Garfinkel (2012).

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# Appendix A

## How do we identify race and ethnicity?

Throughout this report, we discuss race and ethnicity in the context of socioeconomic disparities among New Yorkers. We identify the race and ethnicity of adults in the Poverty Tracker sample using questions asked by the Census Bureau on various population-level surveys.<sup>23</sup> These questions allow us to better understand the needs of communities within New York City and to ensure that we are surveying a representative sample of New York City's racial and ethnic groups.

The questions read:

### Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

1. Yes
2. No

### What is your race? Are you...<sup>24</sup>

1. White
2. Black or African American
3. Asian
4. American Indian or Alaska Native
5. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
6. Or something else

### We combine responses to these questions into the following racial and ethnic groups:

1. Asian or Pacific Islander, non-Latino
2. Black, non-Latino
3. Hispanic, Latino, or of Spanish origin<sup>25</sup>
4. Multiracial or another race or ethnicity, non-Latino
5. White, non-Latino

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<sup>23</sup> Historically, the Census asks race and origin questions to gain an understanding of the makeup of the population and to help construct civil rights protections for all. These questions have helped to reveal gaps within various social policies and to address the economic, educational, and infrastructural needs of different communities. See Brumfield, Goldvale, and Brown (2019).

<sup>24</sup> Respondents could check all that apply.

<sup>25</sup> With these groupings, New Yorkers who indicate that they are of "Hispanic, Latino, or of Spanish origin" are grouped together, regardless of their response to the question about their race. The majority of New Yorkers who identify as Hispanic, Latino, or of Spanish origin (62%) do not identify with a particular racial group (i.e., they respond "something else" when asked about their race). Roughly 25% identify as white and 13% identify as Black.

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There are, however, limitations to this methodology. This type of classification is one-dimensional while one's identity is often much more robust and intersectional. In addition, our results present averages for groups of people, but averages do not reflect the experiences of all individuals. One's personal experiences may diverge significantly from the results we present. And while our questions are relatively specific, each person might interpret them differently, resulting in subjective answers. Our examinations in this report in the context of race and ethnicity are intended to help explain how disparities across groups take shape with respect to food hardship and use of emergency food assistance.

## Terminology in This Report

The Poverty Tracker uses the question from the Census Bureau listed above to identify if individuals are of “Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin.” We must use this question in order to weight the sample to Census Bureau data and to make it representative of the city's population. When identifying New Yorkers who say yes to this question, we use the term Latino instead of Hispanic or Spanish origin. Hispanic is a term originally used in the U.S. by the Census Bureau to refer to a very diverse group of people who were linked by their history of colonization by Spain or by their Spanish origin. The term is thus thought to exclude many people with origins in Latin America who do not speak Spanish — including people with origins in Brazil and/or within many indigenous groups. The term Latino, on the other hand, is more inclusive of all people with origins in Latin America. Because the Poverty Tracker is weighted to Census Bureau data, and because the term Latino is more consistent with the Census Bureau's question wording, we have chosen to use the term Latino in this report.

With regards to capitalizing the names of different racial groups, there has been a general consensus among organizations, publications, and news outlets that Black should be capitalized, as a recognition of the racial and ethnic identity that so many claim. However, such a consensus has yet to be reached regarding whether or not the same should be done for white. Those in favor of capitalizing white argue that designating it as a proper noun assigns accountability to the white race, and invites white people to contemplate the role that their whiteness plays in society. The main argument against capitalizing white is that white people do not have a shared culture or history, and that capitalization has been used throughout history to signify superiority and white supremacy. In this report, we leave white uncapitalized, though we note that societal and editorial discussions on this topic are ongoing and unresolved.

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<sup>26</sup> Gershon, L. (September 2020).

<sup>27</sup> Latino is also gendered, and many people choose to identify as Latinx to remove the gender binary implied in the term. There is also a debate around the term Latinx, with some identifying with the term and others not, or doing so only use in specific settings. See Salinas Jr. (2019).

# Appendix B

**Table B1**

## Rates of pantry use in 2020 and pre-2020, by subgroup

	OVERALL		
	PRE 2020 4-YR AVERAGE	2020	RELATIVE INCREASE
	12%	28%	124%
<b>BOROUGH</b>			
Brooklyn	12%	27%	124%
Bronx	13%	31%	143%
Manhattan	14%	36%	160%
Queens	11%	23%	109%
Staten Island*	14%	17%	21%
<b>GENDER</b>			
Female	13%	32%	150%
Male	12%	23%	99%
<b>RACE / ETHNICITY*</b>			
Black, non-Latino	17%	30%	81%
Latino	16%	41%	154%
White, non-Latino	7%	17%	157%
<b>IMMIGRATION STATUS</b>			
Foreign Born	11%	32%	190%
U.S. Born	13%	26%	100%
<b>MARITAL STATUS</b>			
Married/cohabitating	9%	27%	187%
Single	15%	30%	102%
<b>CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD</b>			
No	12%	27%	127%
Yes	14%	30%	131%
<b>EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT</b>			
High school degree or less	16%	38%	137%
Some college	13%	32%	144%
College+	9%	20%	130%

\*Due to sample size constraints, we do not produce these results for other racial and ethnic groups. Interpret results for Staten Island with caution due to sample size constraints.

Note: To calculate pre-2020 rates of pantry use, we averaged the rates of pantry use from 2016 to 2019.

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