



*International Journal of Development and Sustainability*

ISSN: 2186-8662 – [www.isdsnet.com/ijds](http://www.isdsnet.com/ijds)

Volume 13 Number 11 (2024): Pages 958-977

ISDS Article ID: IJDS24080705



# The implications of COVID-19 on food security in Zimbabwe's urban informal settlements: A case study of Killarney Squatter Camp

Promise Machingo Hlungwani \*

*School of Public Management, Governance and Public Policy; College of Business and Economics; University of Johannesburg*

## Abstract

Households in urban communities have been severely affected by the challenges of food insecurity. Food accessibility and affordability in these households has been worsened by the COVID-19 pandemic. The situation is more pronounced in urban informal households where the residents have no access to employment. This paper reports on the findings from a study carried out in Killarney squatter camp in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe). The residents interviewed indicated that their livelihoods were undermined by the lockdown measures outlawing free movement of people to contain the disease outbreak. This disrupted the movement of corn, vegetables and other supplies, important food items contributing significantly towards food insecurity. Using the human security framework as a theoretical base and guideline for the study, the findings demonstrate that individuals and communities in informal settlements were negatively affected by the policy pronouncements made to contain the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. This bred human insecurity for people already marooned by the socio-economic challenges bedeviling the Zimbabwean economy. This study foregrounds the need to cushion such underprivileged communities. This can only be guaranteed through a deliberate policy prescription by the government as well as a multi-stakeholder approach to address the food insecurity challenges.

**Keywords:** Informal Settlements; Poverty; COVID-19 Pandemic; Social Security; Human Security

Published by ISDS LLC, Japan | Copyright © 2024 by the Author(s) | This is an open access article distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.



**Cite this article as:** Hlungwani, P.M. (2024), "The implications of COVID-19 on food security in Zimbabwe's urban informal settlements: A case study of Killarney Squatter Camp", *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, Vol. 13 No. 11, pp. 958-977.

\* Corresponding author. *E-mail address:* [promisehlungwani631@gmail.com](mailto:promisehlungwani631@gmail.com)

## 1. Introduction

The COVID-19 disaster and or pandemic altered the world order with regards to normal social and economic way of life (Hosseinzadeh et al, 2022). The pandemic is not just a worldwide health calamity but has also given birth to a grave economic crisis culminating in critical food insecurity with people in the developing countries mostly suffering the brunt (Mbunge, 2020). Urban dwellers particularly urban squatter (informal) communities have been one of the key populations mostly affected by food insecurity as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic considering that they do not produce their own food and have always been vulnerable and rely on constant market supplies (Ngcamu and Mantzaris, 2021). The COVID-19 calamity has greatly changed global food security and nutrition situation as it has had an impact on global poverty, supply chains, food trade and employment (Laborde et al., 2020). There has been a myriad of cross cutting and buttressing dynamics emerging to affect food security such as disturbances to supply chains, sources of income and livelihoods, growing inequalities, pricing distortions and dwindling social protections programs (Klassen and Murphy, 2020; Clapp and Moseley, 2020; Laborde et al., 2020). Thus COVID-19 has had a serious bearing on food security situation which calls for the need to establish its varying impacts on key populations such as people from urban squatter (informal) communities (Ngamu and Mantzaris, 2021).

The pandemic has greatly affected food access and availability. High Level Panel of Experts (HLPE) (2020) avers that COVID-19 disease which extensively and widely spread in 2019 has witnessed deep and far reaching repercussions for food security and nutrition. HLPE (2020), Ghebreyesus (2020) and Khorsandi (2020) argued that COVID-19 control restriction such as lock downs culminated in reduced income levels, sky rocketing of food prices and placed food beyond reach of many people. This led to destabilizing of the fundamental right to food by affecting largely the supply chains. This development has affected the efforts to meet Sustainable Development Goal number two which is 'Zero Hunger'. The situation has been exacerbated by the fact that before that onslaught of the disease close to two billion people were on the verge of food insecurity at either moderate or severe levels especially in the developing world (FAO et al., 2020).

Notably developing and poor countries have been the most severely hit by the COVID-19 disease with regards to food security issues. FAO and WFP (2020) postulates that in excess of twenty-five countries have suffered significant risk of food insecurity as a result of secondary social and economic implications of the COVID-19 disease (Muir et al., 2024). These countries include Ethiopia, Lebanon, Yemen, Southern Sudan and a number of countries in central and Southern Africa with Zimbabwe included. Elsewhere the number of people in need of food aid has been rapidly growing at an alarming rate (Masuku et al., 2023). According to UN (2020a), in Latin America, the figures of people in need of food aid tripled following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. In this regard it is therefore evident that the COVID-19 pandemic has had scourging implications on the food security status for many communities and or countries across the globe.

In Zimbabwe the food security situation has been pathetic for most urban residents worse still for informal residents (squatters) given that the country was already in economic turmoil before the pandemic (Masuku et al., 2023). According to Mpofu (2012), every city in Zimbabwe has a considerable number of squatters who have been forced into informal settlements by poverty and unemployment. This is also attributed to loss of bread winners through death and divorce (Mwonzora, 2022). Apparently, the measures put in place to contain the COVID-19 spread have affected availability, access, utilization and stability to food due to

strict lockdown and physical distancing policies in many countries (Kakaei et al., 2022). Thus, it became critical for this study to uncover how the informal settlements have been affected by the pandemic.

## 2. COVID-19 impact on food security-an overview

### 2.1. Disruptions of food supply chains

The global food supply chains have suffered major setbacks and disruptions due to adoption of COVID-19 lockdown measures as already highlighted. The lockdowns altered the availability of food, pricing of food and the food quality (Barrett, 2020). For instance, on the occasion of the pandemic, there was a dwindling demand for some perishable food items such as dairy products, potatoes and fresh fruits and meat due to closure of food service facilities such as restaurants (Lewis, 2020; Terazono and Munshi, 2020). This evidence points to the fact that both producers and consumers were affected by this interruption in supplies. When lockdowns were being intensified especially between March and May 2020 there were growing reports that food items were being disposed due to a sharp decline in demand or disruptions in supplying the food stuffs to the markets (Yaffe-Bellany and Corkery, 2020). Other suppliers of food items like rice and wheat were affected by incidences of high speculation as consumers anticipated that there were going to be shortages. This was worsened by the measures introduced to restrict exportation of rice and wheat and such export restrictions disrupted global supplies resulting also in price hikes (Laborde et al., 2020). Thus the COVID-19 disease has had a direct and negative bearing on global food supply chain whose repercussions were felt by the poor residents of informal settlements. Zimbabwe's hyperinflation and other adverse macroeconomic conditions resulted in diminished livelihood outcomes and a lack of income stability for the millions living from hand to mouth (Masuku et al., 2023).

### 2.2. Remittances loss and global economic depression

The COVID-19 disease outbreak witnessed a global economic downward spiral which destroyed the sources of livelihoods and people's incomes across the world (World Bank, 2020). This development culminated in sharply reduced purchasing power of the people especially those who do not produce their own food (Masuku et al., 2023). People in the informal sector bore the brunt especially in countries like Zimbabwe in which approximately 85% plus people eke a living from informal means (FAO and CELAC, 2020). Evidence from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2020) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2020a) indicate that more than four hundred million full time employees lost their jobs in the second quarter of year 2020 when lockdown measures were being implemented on a full and intensified scale. Diaspora remittances also dwindled by at least 20% despite having been an important source of income for many families in the developing countries thereby leaving at least forty-five million people experiencing acute food shortages between February and June 2020 particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia (UNCTAD, 2020b; UN, 2020b, World Bank, 2020). This evidence is critical in exploring the dimensions of human security emanating from COVID-19 induced socio-economic challenges like food insecurity. This study builds on such evidence to examine the implications of COVID-19 on a vulnerable community such as an informal squatter settlement in Zimbabwe. The fact that the settlement is located in the second largest city in the country adds

an impetus on need to explore the experiences of the 'squatters' understanding how they navigated the food insecurity challenge.

### 2.3. Growing societal inequities

A slowed down economic progression as a result of the COVID-19 disease further promoted inequalities in many countries across the globe (Ashford et al., 2020). There has been an outcry that the enhanced inequalities have affected people's rights in many aspects in relation to basic needs accessibility which include food, health care, employment and livelihoods. Notably, food security has a disproportionate effect on people as the people mostly affected by food insecurity are those deep in poverty and those who experience discrimination while at the same time at an enhanced risk of contracting COVID-19 disease (Klassen and Murphy, 2020). The peculiarities of Zimbabweans in Bulawayo is that whilst some residents in the low density suburbs could maneuver their way and could have stocked some food, the situation for the community under study was different. Most of them are people who lead unsustainable lives and survive on a hand to mouth basis (Masuku et al., 2023). Against this background, a human security framework helps to unpack the extent to which their livelihoods were threatened by the pandemic induced lockdowns.

### 2.4. Interruption of social protection initiatives

Social protection programmes which catered for food security needs were greatly disturbed by the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. The World Food Programme (2020a) estimates that about three hundred and seventy million children had their access to feeding through the on school provided meals cut due to COVID-19 induced closure of schools. The pandemic also stretched the budgets normally allocated for social protection programmes as there was an exponential growth in the number of potential beneficiaries of such programmes. In essence, there were many people who were exposed to high vulnerability due to loss of jobs, loss of incomes, loss of breadwinners among other negative outcomes. Without appropriate social protection, individuals and families had their security overstretched beyond imagination. Such shocks and stresses were more pronounced for people with no definite sources of income.

Evidence from the United Nations Commission for Africa revealed that about hundred billion dollars is needed to finance Africa's health and safety net initiatives (Sallent, 2020). In this regard, the COVID-19 outbreak overwhelmed Africa's social protection programmes already claiming huge chunks of funding. For a country like Zimbabwe with poor social protection systems in place, the pandemic brought nightmares for ordinary people. By extension, the outbreak of COVID-19 undermined the capacity of vulnerable families to raise income for meals as their usual fall back was severely undermined.

### 2.5. Altered food environments

The COVID-19 disease outbreak resulted in a number of countries taking an initiative to force the closure of informal food markets. The informal food markets were largely viewed as the hot spots for transmission of the COVID-19 disease indicating a 'formality' bias in public health and food policy (Battersby, 2020). However, in most developing countries there is a huge reliance on the informal markets for food as they are usually cheaper compared to the products found in supermarkets (Matsongoni and Mutambara, 2021). It is also notable that most poor people eke out their living from such informal engagements and therefore their livelihoods were

threatened by the pandemic induced lockdowns (Young and Crush, 2019). Taking an example of South Africa, there was a swift move to shut down informal and open air food markets while the formal food outlets were left open against a fact that open air markets are basically considered safe in light of person to person transmission of the disease (Moseley and Battersby, 2020). This reflects the stereotypes that are associated with poor people and their way of life.

## 2.6. Domestic hikes in food prices

The COVID-19 pandemic resulted in sharp rises in food prices and this was more rampant in the developing world where economies have struggled even before the onset of the COVID-19 disease. In Zimbabwe, the COVID-19 witnessed a surge in prices on the food market a situation exacerbated by the downward spiral in the economy which has been endured for more than two decades. As the spread of the disease intensified there was a shift in pricing trends as key industries closed to try and put a halt on the disease among the working community (Waltenburg et al., 2020). Therefore, the COVID-19 pandemic greatly affected the operations of most industries involved in food supply chain and this resulted in spiking of food prices. Hiking food prices heavily impacted the poor and vulnerable communities especially because they had no savings to fall back on (Bhaiseni, 2020). This evidence is critical in this study which assesses the implications of COVID-19 on an informal squatter settlement. It is insightful that Bulawayo falls under the drier parts of the country and whilst some squatter communities usually depend on urban agriculture to supplement their food, this was difficult if not impossible for the community under study.

## 2.7. Food production changes

COVID-19 was accompanied by food production changes which were witnessed in various food related industries and this affected the food production patterns and food security across the world. These shifts in production are largely attributed to the COVID-19 induced labor shortages and the shutting down of production plants as countries moved to contain the virus. The other disturbing reality in production patterns has been disruption of the supply chain of agricultural inputs which include pesticides, herbicides, fertilizers and seeds as a result of the lockdowns, resulting in the agro inputs being scarce and exorbitant even in countries like China and more in Africa (Arouna et al., 2020; Pu and Zhong, 2020). In this context, it is argued that the pandemic negatively impacted the total aspects of food security giving rise to starvation and food poverty especially for the inhabitants of informal settlements.

## 3. The concept of food security

The concept of food security is complex. A number of scholars have defined the term at various forums yielding various definitions. The Hot Springs Conference on Food and Agriculture (1943) in Napoli (2011) defined food security as a situation indicative of safe, enough and proper supply of food for all the people in a given community. The concept of food security has shifted and encountered additions and diversification and further developed in its meaning. The World Food Summit of November (1996) brought the notion that food security is denoted by a situation whereby all people at all given times have access to economic, physical and social assets to ensure continuous access to enough food choice which is nutritious and safe for a health life.

Sen (1981) through the concept of food entitlement has greatly broadened the understanding of food security. According to Sen (1981) propositions, hunger is not always due to unavailability of food but it is because the people especially the poor have no access to food. FAO (2011) contributes to the concept of food security by stipulating that, “the final objective of World Food Security must be to guarantee that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food they need”. The major concerns in relation to food security should be ensuring sufficient food supply, maintaining stability in food supply distribution process and ensuring accessibility at all the times. In this view food security is guided by interplay of four main dimensions which are access, availability, utilization and stability.

Food availability emerges as an important food security dimension as people and animals depend on food availability for survival. The WFP (2020) postulate that ‘food availability’ is “the amount of food that is present in a country or area through all forms of domestic production, imports, food stocks and food aid.” In the view of previous researchers, food availability is basically associated with food that is available at a national or regional and not restricted to family unit level. In relation to the above views, it can be surmised that ‘food availability’ refers to the sufficient food quantity inclusive of good quality and nature to all the people in a given location despite the source of that food.

Food accessibility emerges as another food security dimension. The WFP (2020) gives an understanding that food accessibility is “household’s ability to find adequate amount of food regularly through a combination of purchases, barter, borrowings, food assistance or gifts”. On the other hand, World Food Summit (1996) propounds that ‘access’ is when individuals have physical, economic and social access to food requirements. In this regard one can describe food accessibility as a situation where people have the capability and some assets as well as the activities needed to ensure food accessibility at household level. Thus, food accessibility as explained by Broca (2002) is guided by a host of factors related to financial or economic capability, socio-cultural and physical factors.

Utilization is an important dimension to food security. The COVID-19 pandemic has affected the issue of food utilization. According to the World Food Summit (1996), food utilization is concerned with the aspect of safe and nutritious food which meets all the people’s requirements nutritionally. This means that issues of accessibility and availability are not complete in their own without utilization in relation to nutrition issues which is important for health and controlling malnourishment (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2020). Thus, utilization is critical as it covers issues on people’s food selection, preparation of food and food storage for a healthy diet promotion.

Another important dimension to food security is food stability. Stability refers to the interplay of all other dimensions mentioned above over time to maintain consistency and sustainability. Broca (2002) posits that food stability is when all other dimensions of food security namely accessibility, availability and utilization can reliably occur and perform over a period of time. According to World Food Summit (1996) food security is only fulfilled when stability is maintained across the dimensions of food availability, accessibility and utilization without which there is no food security to talk about. Having periodic upsets in accessibility, availability and utilization may qualify one to be regarded as food insecure in relation to stability issues.

The lack of food stability exposes people to food insecurity and vulnerability. According to preceding studies the many factors that expose people to food insecurity risks constitutes vulnerability. In this regard disasters place people in a position of vulnerability to food insecurity. The COVID-19 pandemic has placed certain groups of people at an enhanced risk of vulnerability to food insecurity. The people from the informal settlements

have traditionally been poor and economically excluded hence the emergency of the pandemic advances their risk. It was therefore prudent to uncover how the pandemic has impacted on them as a way of bringing their plight to the fore.

#### **4. Trends, challenges and solutions specific to Zimbabwe's informal settlements**

Previous studies have documented the aspect of survivalist entrepreneurs who operated in informal settlements during the COVID-19 pandemic. These studies demonstrate that some individuals had to rely on income and landing schemes to cushion themselves from hunger and starvation (Masuku et al., 2023). Whilst there were varying degrees of fortunes, a common thread is that these entrepreneurs had to fight running battles with lockdown enforcers in their neighbourhoods (Matsongoni and Mutambara, 2021). It is claimed that the national figure of the people who were food insecure during the pandemic rose to eight million (Moyo in Masuku et al., 2023). This situation was more acute in informal settlements because even the government assistance could not penetrate and access these areas.

Individuals living in informal settlements in Zimbabwe generated funds through their own entrepreneurial activities and networks, while also tapping into external sources of social risk reduction, such as donor emergency relief and cash transfers (Masuku et al., 2023). Their research investigated urban survivalists (including individuals engaged in informal cross-border trade, street corner vendors, and hawkers), focusing on their utilization of both internal strategies to manage risks, such as community networks and their impact on economic results, as well as their access to external resources for social risk mitigation, like emergency assistance from donors during the pandemic in the context of rising urban hunger and poverty (Gwatidzo and Mupingashato, 2021). Such evidence is critical in foregrounding a study looking at implications of COVID-19 on food security status of inhabitants of a squatter camp.

#### **5. Theoretical framework**

The human security framework was utilized as the theoretical guideline for the study. Human security has emerged as a model for an informed and complete understanding of humankind vulnerabilities. Human security departs from the limited traditional view of security which relates security only to issues of national and state security. Security should largely place an individual at the centre of security rather than the state (Muguruza, 2007). Security is not only about political security in terms of political persecution and subversion but is extended to security of vulnerable individuals in a given community. It draws attention to a multitude of threats that cut across different aspects of human life. Security covers various aspects such as food security, environmental security, health security amongst other forms. When disasters strike, such as the COVID-19, people become more exposed and vulnerable to food insecurity and health insecurity. People in developing countries suffer more from such insecurities due to their predominantly weak economic positions.

Human security advocates contend that issues such as poverty, disease, hunger, population relocation, environmental degradation, and social exclusion have a direct impact on human security, which in turn affects global security (Muguruza, 2007). These cause significantly more deaths than terrorism, war, and genocide all together. Thus, the idea of human security is thought to encompass the understanding that human rights, peace, and security, as well as development, are intertwined and mutually supportive. This study uses the

development agenda (freedom from want) (Muguruza, 2007) to understand how COVID-19 impacted the aspect of food security on the inhabitants of a squatter settlement in Bulawayo. Prior research has indicated that human security has previously shown to be a useful instrument for policy analysis. Adopting human security as a framework for policy that integrates the security, human rights, and development objectives is now the task. Human security is emphasized as a concern for life, especially the lives of vulnerable people in Zimbabwe. It is crucial to remember, though, that human security is typically more easily recognized by its absence than by its existence. According to the commission on human security, there are two primary components to human security: first, protection against long-term dangers including starvation, illness, and repression; and second, defense against abrupt and harmful disturbances to everyday routines (Muguruza, 2007). The aspect of starvation is in sync with this study which examines the implications of COVID-19 on food security in a squatter community in Zimbabwe.

## 6. Methodology

The study adopted a qualitative research methodology. Firstly, the study adopted a desktop approach to review literature around the implications of COVID-19 on food security and in coming up with theoretical underpinnings of the study. The main sources of literature reviewed were particularly from organizations like FAO, WB, WFP and UN agencies and journal articles. The questions for the study were developed drawing insights from the review of literature particularly on dimensions of food security namely access, availability, utilization and stability with regards to how the pandemic has affected their performance at household level. Face to face interviews were conducted at Killarney squatter camp in Bulawayo province of Zimbabwe. The 15 selected interviewees were randomly sampled from a total of 70 households (shacks) in the camp. Whilst this number could be low for studies using quantitative methodologies, it sufficed for this qualitative study and the idea of saturation was reached where no new information was elicited from interviewees. Most of the interviewees were informally employed and the study constituted both male and female headed households to have a balanced view of how the pandemic affected both in terms of food security. The age range of participants was 15 years and above. The participants below 18 years were in child headed households. Observations were also used during the course of the interviews to ascertain the food security situation in the households. COVID-19 prevention guidelines such as social distancing, sanitizing and masking up were observed during the study. Research ethics such as informed consent, privacy and confidentiality were observed during the course of data collection. The study analyzed the data obtained from the interviews through the thematic approach where central and emerging story lines were grouped and arranged into interrelated themes drawn from the study questions.

## 7. Study area

This study was conducted in Killarney Squatter Camp, located on the outskirts of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second-largest city. Killarney is characterized by informal housing structures and a lack of basic services such as water, electricity, and sanitation. The camp represents a typical urban informal settlement, with residents predominantly relying on casual labor and informal trading for their livelihoods. These conditions made Killarney an ideal location for examining the compounded effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on food security in vulnerable urban populations.





**Figure 1.** Photo taken from the study area

## 8. Findings

### 8.1. Food access at household level

Urban informal settlements have endured serious food shortages as a result of limited access to food supplies due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The people in the urban informal settlements rely on either shops or surrounding communities to provide casual labor in return for food. At the peak of the disease, people were restricted to move from their places of residence (Yaffe-Bellany and Corkery, 2020). This meant that access to shops which supply food was limited. The people were required to produce travelling letters to visit shops or food markets away from their homes. One was liable to a fine for failure to produce police stamped travelling document. One of the participants noted:

*With or without money the COVID-19 pandemic restricted us from accessing the nearby shops where we could access our daily food provisions. For our food you know it is either we buy from the little money we get from casual labor or we work in exchange for food items in nearby affluent suburbs.*

The people from the squatter community also had their source of income disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic thereby undermining food access. It was noted by one of the research participants:

*Personally, I would wake up in the morning to go to the market place to order some fruits like bananas, apples and avocados for resale in the central business district. On bad days I could go and offer casual labor in the nearby affluent suburb of Killarney. Because of this disease my daily routine was disturbed, no one was allowed in town. My family has been starving since then because I literally became broke.*

Therefore, the COVID-19 pandemic has had serious repercussions on the food access dimension. The fact that urban dwellers rely more on buying their food from shops means that travel restrictions resulted in

interrupted access to shops by the informal urban settlers who largely occupy the outskirts of the city away from the shops. The squatter community's access to food was deeply affected by loss of their only sources of incomes which are vending and supply of casual labor which were disturbed by the imposed movement restrictions as informal livelihoods were affected. Literature reviewed suggested that urbanites particularly those in the informal sector faced difficulties in operating their ventures (Muzuva and Hlungwani, 2022). It is clear that families were exposed to starvation because of the said restrictions and this undermined human security for the inhabitants of the squatter camp. Whilst human security got compromised by the threat of diseases, COVID-19 pandemic further compromised their well-being as they had to grapple with hunger and ill-health simultaneously. In essence, food insecurity came at a time when health insecurity was also high due to the pandemic.

## 8.2. Food availability at household level

The COVID-19 pandemic heavily affected the food availability status or level in the informal settlements' households. Critical to note is that informal dwellers have never had surplus as they usually rely on hand to mouth hence the pandemic further worsened their food security with regards to availability. The reason for this worsened situation has been interruption of the food supply chain. For example, the people at Killarney squatter camp had some well-wishers from churches and NGOs whose routine assistance was interrupted by the pandemic hence increased food insecurity in the community. It was noted by one of the participants:

*There was a time before this disease when some church people would come and donate to us some food items like mealie meal, cooking oil, kapenta fish and salt which would take us for a few days. Looks like those people have been affected by the COVID-19 because they no longer come as they used to. The NGOs as well used to extend their giving hand but the supplies have dwindled over this period. Maybe they now have many people to take care of...*

Whilst such revelations could reflect what happened in many parts of the country where people depended on food hand-outs, the observations made in the squatter camp exhibit a dire state where people virtually went the whole day without a meaningful meal. The fact that even social gatherings were banned compromised the social capital upon which the residents could look up to. The Churches could not assemble, weddings could not take place and funerals were to be held under surveillance and for a very limited number. Therefore, human security could not be guaranteed since even the philanthropists were unable to access the squatter camps.

Elsewhere, another respondent noted that:

*Generally, we cannot afford to be having much food for prolonged periods. What I can say is that what we used to at least have we can no longer have because the pandemic has made it worse. We are poor and you know a poor man is always hungry unless someone rescues that situation. The people who used to rescue us are gone; we hear their coffers are dry because of the disease.*

In this regard it is therefore clear that food availability at household level in the squatter community was severely worsened as a result of the pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic has been associated with the economic recession affecting well-wishers and organizations which used to help boost or promote the marginal food availability levels. Preceding studies have documented that globally food prices soared as food processing

industries were interrupted in their production processes (Barret, 2020, Laborde et al 2020). The situation was even worse for residents in informal settlements such as Bulawayo which has been affected by industrialization.

One respondent revealed that whilst there was some social support from non-governmental organisations, it was just limited and could not sustain them for long. The respondent shared that:

*The aid is too little to take us through over a month and we are given cash transfers which have to be used in one big supermarket. It is difficult to get some food items especially if our turn comes after other people in other wards.*

This evidence reveals that whilst the aid given by NGOs could help in improving food availability at household level, the support was insufficient to promote food security. In these light threats to human security remained evident in the community as residents continued to face both starvation and ill health. Therefore, it can be argued that the pandemic had dire implications for the welfare and existence of people in Killarney squatter camp. This is also supported by evidence from literature which says that countries in the developing world have been the most affected by the soaring prices of food commodities as they hardly have any reserves due to dwindling sources of income and interrupted supply chains.

### 8.3. Food utilization in the household

Food utilization has historically been erratic in the informal communities. This research revealed that squatter dwellers have little choices of food hence poor utilization and nutritional requirements adherence. The COVID-19 pandemic has therefore worsened the food utilization situation as even the food stocks previously available have been affected. Food utilization patterns have also been affected by the quest to serve the little food available to the community due to food security uncertainty exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. One respondent said:

*You really do not know if you will be able to get or afford the next meal so the rations have to be limited to avoid risk of having nothing at all. It is difficult but one is forced to adjust to the little available in the face of this disease.*

This evidence resonates with the aspect of insecurity imposed on individuals emanating from uncertainties. It is in this light that the human security theory teases out themes of want and deprivation which is associated with vulnerable communities. The fact that their choices are limited also means that they cannot exercise some liberty in the utilization of food or a bundle of commodities they would have bought using cash transfers.

In a similar way, the idea of quality of food becomes secondary during pandemics because individuals and communities will be unable to access various food stuffs. There is a link on the various components of food security where access affects utilization and the values such as nutritional components are sacrificed. It is in this light that another participant said:

*The choices are limited. One just has to eat what is available. You really need not to bother about the nutritional value but you eat for the sake of filling the stomach. But it is bad especially for the kids because they will suffer from malnutrition related illnesses.*

The fact that respondents noted the shortcomings in the quality of food they consumed reflects the consciousness that the residents of the squatter camp had in how the pandemic threatened their health outcomes. However, the fact that they faced a double menace of disease and starvation made them insecure and could not resist the challenges that could come with consuming sub-standard diets. Households in the squatter communities have had an interrupted food utilization pattern not only due to COVID-19 but due to their economic status which has affected the type and choices of food for them. The research revealed however that the situation has been worsened by the COVID-19 pandemic which has further twisted their food choices. The community has had to alter and adjust their budgets and food choices due to worsened economic status by the pandemic.

#### 8.4. Food stability at household level

The COVID-19 pandemic has affected the household food stability in the squatter community. While it is agreeable that the people in the squatter communities have endured food instability, the research established that the COVID-19 pandemic made them worse off as no single household indicated to be having any form of food reserves to take them over a reasonable period of time. One respondent had this to say:

*Ideally one would not wait for the food in the house to get depleted. I used to get some work around town or in the nearby suburbs so that I buy food provisions in advance. This is no longer the case because sometimes we go for two days on an empty stomach. The situation is really deplorable.*

It is apparent from these revelations that all development related aspects of human security were undermined. Without food, individuals are vulnerable to disease and their immunity become compromised, yet the pandemic was attacking and killing those individuals whose immunity was under strain.

The preceding evidence is reinforced by the fact that households have had no constant supply of food items either through aid or own means such as casual labor supply in exchange for food items. The individual income sources were interrupted hence no means with which to buy food. It also came out during the research that some bread winners also succumbed to the disease having a bearing on the food stability status at household level. One of the research participants said:

*Some bread winners here have actually died due to the disease and they were the ones who worked hard and ensured access to and availability of food in their families. Many factors just affect this food stability issue. With no constant income and the donors no longer coming forth it is all doom for us.*

This evidence reinforces the fact that COVID-19 undermined human security in almost every facet of life. When a bread winner passes on, it means the orphans are even exposed to more risks of food insecurity and in the event that they fall sick, there are little chances of remedies being found due to lack of income. Another respondent said:

*No one here will ever tell you that they have some food stored for future consumption. Where will that food be coming from? It is hand to mouth here. The majority actually are starving that is why*

*you see there is rampant sexual abuse of our children here because they take advantage of the hunger situation.*

Whilst the evidence presented in this excerpt paints a grim picture about food stability, it also demonstrates how food insecurity exposed individuals and families to other insecurities and shocks. Thus, it can be argued that the emergence of the pandemic exposed settlers of the squatter camp to other vulnerabilities which further weakened human security.

Besides, there is evidence that food stability has been affected at household level in the squatter community by a combination of factors. Food access and availability patterns have been disrupted by a change in the supply chains of food characterized by income or livelihood losses which previously aided food purchases in the households. The same sentiments were cemented by Klassen and Murphy (2020) in the studies reviewed. The disease has as well resulted in death of some bread winners hence affecting access and availability culminating in lack of food stability.

### 8.5. Household dietary changes as a result of COVID-19

The households were forced to change their dietary and eating habits by the COVID-19 pandemic. Most households reduced the number of meals they can consume in a single day. Besides the number of meals, the households also changed the size of meals they could consume. The type of food consumed was reportedly changed with the ravaging pandemic. All these changes were necessitated by affordability issues. One of the respondents noted:

*We cannot afford three meals per day. Most of the households eat one meal per day. The quantities have greatly reduced because food is scarce. It is just too expensive for us poor people.*

This evidence gives a typical illustration of poverty and vulnerability which are big indicators of human insecurity. Whilst some people would ordinarily skip meals or reduce the quantity of food they consume, the fact that this was not voluntary signifies the idea that the residents of killarney had to endure food insecurity and devised survival skills to be able to pull through.

In a similar vein of evidence, another respondent indicated:

*The type of food has changed. Special diets are a luxury my brother. You look for the most basic and cheap food items simply for survival. No worry about nutrition issues. Meat is a luxury and a preserve for a few.*

It is in this light that this study agrees with preceding studies that COVID-19 induced lockdowns and their accompanying outcomes were detrimental to the livelihoods of the poor. This is illustrated by the fact that the COVID-19 Pandemic forced the households to shift or change their diet. The shift has been necessitated by the upsurge of food prices against dwindling income base in the face of COVID-19. Evidence from FAO (2020a), FAO and Celas (2020), Battersby (2020) and Ashford et al (2020) buttressed that families have had to cope with disrupted supply chains, rising food prices which affects accessibility and availability of food hence changes in eating habits and family diets. For the people in informal settlements, this was made more precarious by the Covid-19 induced lockdowns and people were forced to go on empty stomachs for some days.

## 8.6. Changes in household size and composition as a result of COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic resulted in changes in family sizes which also exerted pressure on the household food security situation. It was reported that some family members particularly grown up children who had moved away from the family household were coming back to stay with the family as they could not cope with life away from home. Some of the children lost their jobs, for example gardeners and housekeepers who were working in the leafy suburbs in Bulawayo. This came as employers could no longer afford to pay domestic workers due to income pressure imposed by the pandemic. One of the research participants indicated:

*My son used to work as a gardener in Mahatshula. That way he could take care of himself as he stayed with his employers. When this disease broke out, we saw him coming back home. He said his boss was no longer able to give him a monthly salary because his business was not doing well at the height of the disease.*

In this light, the pandemic had ripple effects which even the well-to-do individuals also felt. It is important to note that these knock-on effects were consequential for the poor residents of informal settlements as they had no savings to fall back on (Chipenda and Tom, 2021). That lack of social or economic security is evidence that without social capital, individuals and communities are at a greater risk of dying from poverty, hunger or diseases.

Similarly, another respondent said:

*I was working as a maid in Killarney. I could even assist my parents with a few items where possible. Unfortunately, I lost the job because of COVID-19. The employers have no money to afford domestic workers. I had to come back home to my parents and you can imagine the pressure.*

Therefore, besides affecting so many social dimensions, the COVID-19 pandemic has had ripple effects on the family food security situation in the squatter community. The fact that some family members were coming back exerted pressure on the already poor food security status in the said households. However, it is important to note that some family sizes were reduced as some family members succumbed to the COVID-19 pandemic. The reduction of family size due to death induced by COVID-19 did not serve the food security situation as in most instances the bread winners who provided for the families succumbed to the disease. In both scenarios, it can be concluded that the pandemic had debilitating effects on the food security situation in the squatter camps.

## 8.7. Gender dimensions of food insecurity

Whilst this study did not aim to analyse the gender dimensions of food insecurity in the squatter camp, it was apparent that the COVID-19 pandemic had severe impact on female led households. Although the majority of the eight female respondents were single mothers (five) who operated small open market enterprises, known as *misika* it became clear that such entrepreneurial activities were shut down due to lockdown restrictions. One of the single mothers has this to say:

*I used to sell some vegetables and fruits which I took from Renkin. Now with the outbreak of the pandemic, it is difficult to travel to and from the market place. Initially I used to evade the police and soldiers who monitored lockdown compliance but as the cases rose, there has been notable intensification of rules. My family is struggling a lot and our food reserves are now depleted.*

Whilst the evidence from this excerpt cannot be used to generalize the experiences of women entrepreneurs or female headed households in squatter camps, it points to the grim picture of human insecurities induced by pandemics. It is also clear that male headed households could fare better compared with their female counterparts given that males are risk takers (FAO, 2020b; Dafuleya et al., 2021). This is evident from the confessions made by the male respondents who admitted that they continued to evade police curfews and also ventured into alluvial gold mining. In this light it can be argued that female-headed households were at a much higher risk of starvation as compared to male-headed households in the settlement.

#### 8.8. Households coping strategies in the face of covid-19 induced food security challenges

The study sought to understand various coping strategies used by the families residing in squatter camps in Killarney to address food security challenges at household level. Notably, most people have resorted to illicit survival strategies in the face of the pandemic. Prostitution and transactional sex was reported to be on the increase especially amongst female headed households and the girl child. Thieving or house breaking also emerged as one of the survival strategies being adopted by the people particularly men from the squatter community. Some have resorted to illegal gold panning to try and raise income for their families. One of the research respondents indicated:

*I was a vendor before...I would sell my wares by the roadside but when this disease broke out there were running battles with the police and council as they did not want to see people on the streets. They chased vendors and we had no option but to engage in prostitution for a living or else we would starve.*

This reflects how unethical some members of the squatter community became due to the limited opportunities. This exposed such individuals to diseases and it also means they had to fight with the low enforcement agencies patrolling the streets.

Elsewhere, another participant said:

*With this problem, there is never a decent survival means. The youth are engaged in house breaking and stealing. They can sell the stolen goods at whatever price for them to buy food. Some get caught and as I speak a number of them are serving sentences in jail for house breaking and burglary.*

This revelation underscores the fact that individuals affected by the COVID-19 induced lockdowns were exposed to insecurities threatening their existence (Matsongoni and Mutambara, 2021). The alternative livelihoods that they had to resort to were unsafe and unsustainable. Their human insecurity was worsened by the pandemic.

Another respondent commented:

*There are some disused mining shafts especially in the Hope Fountain area and these are providing a life line to some of us. Young men are going there to do gold panning. But it is dangerous out there as at times the mining shafts collapse and trap them inside. Also, the police are always chasing them because the practice is illegal. But on good days it is something which can bring food on the table.*

Whilst artisanal mining could be seen as a more acceptable alternative, the fact that it is illegal means such people would be unsettled and would be in conflict with the law. It is therefore clear that in the COVID-19 pandemic context, life became unbearable for the poor and vulnerable groups in Bulawayo.

In similar circumstances, another respondent said:

*We reduced our household consumption in order to cope with the rising prices of foodstuff. We prioritise basics like mealie meal and vegetables. We now hardly eat meat and milk. I don't remember the last time I drank tea with bread and butter...*

Thus, the coping strategies by the informal settlement dwellers were largely illegal, criminal and immoral. All the coping strategies cited by the respondents were a proof of desperate means of survival. The survival means adopted subjected the community to confront with law enforcement agencies particularly gold panning and thieving while activities like prostitution exposed individuals to diseases such as HIV/AIDS and STIs.

## 9. Conclusion and recommendations

The COVID-19 pandemic falls within the league of natural disasters which bred a complex of problems and worsened problems to humankind such as food security. The situation is worse in poor communities of the developing world which have endured suffering even before the onset of such disasters (World Bank, 2020). In the informal settlements which are largely and historically marginalized and poor, the COVID-19 disease has immensely altered the food security situation in most households. All the dimensions to food security have been affected by the pandemic namely access, availability, utilization and stability.

Poor communities particularly the informal settlements in this case have endured reduced access to and availability of food as a result of reduced income levels. Most people in the poor communities are in the informal sector which has been interrupted and disrupted by the COVID-19 restrictions such as travel restrictions for combating the spread of the disease. The food supply chain has been affected by the pandemic as remittances and support from well-wishers and aid agencies have been cut as they also struggle to curtail the devastating implications of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The research findings closely tallied with evidence from the previous studies which revealed that food security in the poor communities of the developing world in this case the informal settlements has been worsened by the COVID-19 due to a number of factors. It came out that the COVID-19 disease affected food security situation in informal settlements through challenges to the supply chain, reduced income levels, remittances loss, price hikes, interruption of social protection initiatives and food production patterns.

Restoration of family livelihoods to promote food security to the pre-pandemic levels has been a struggle for many families even though the disease has subsided. The bulk of the people from the informal poor communities are dependent on the informal sector which involves largely petty trading and or vending whose



sustainability also depends on continuous buying and selling. The households lost their capital at the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic and recovering such incomes to recapitalize their business ventures remains a challenge. The households used up the capital for their informal trading activities to cater for other needs. In this regard it has proved extremely difficult for them to recapitalize to the same levels they were before the pandemic.

The study recommends a disaster management plan specifically geared for addressing challenges such as food insecurity specific to the informal settlers in the urban areas. Integration of the informal settlers in the main stream development activities of the formal settlers as they are largely left in such development as people of no fixed aboard. The people from the informal settlements need an evidence based empowerment plan to address their livelihoods needs and transform them into sustainable ones. The empowerment plan should aim to break the poverty chain by addressing needs such as educational needs and income generation adaptable to the formal economy. In this regard the people from the squatter communities will be able to respond better to the ripple effects of disasters like the COVID-19 which leave poor communities in a worse off situation.

### 9.1. Limitations of the study and future research directions

The major limitations of this study is that it is a qualitative case study and its results although illuminating, may not be used to generalize the experiences of different people during the pandemic. Again, what happened in a squatter camp cannot be used to justify the livelihood strategies and outcomes for all people under lockdown restrictions in informal settlements. Even the fifteen randomly selected interviewees may not necessarily share the same experiences with the rest of the seventy households in the squatter camp. There is need for some researches which can build on this study and appeal to a bigger sample. This could be a longitudinal study which can document trends emanating from resilience within the context of the squatter camp. They can also examine the post-pandemic lived experiences and recovery strategies for the families which were affected by the pandemic. Using a quantitative methodology can also elicit diverse insights and document significant statistics to inform policy and also influence practice.

## References

- Arouna, A, Soullier, G, del Villar, P.M. and Demont, M. (2020), "Policy Options for Mitigating Impacts of COVID-19 on Domestic Rice Value Chains and Food Security in West Africa", *Global Food Security*, Vol. 26: 100405
- Ashford, N, Hall, R, Arango-Quiroga, J, Metaxas, K, and Showalter, A. (2020), "Addressing Inequality: The First Step Beyond COVID-19 and Towards Sustainability", *Sustainability*, Vol. 12 No. 13: 5404.
- Barrett, C. (2020), "Actions now can curb food systems fallout from COVID-19", *Nature Food*, Vol. 1, pp. 319-320
- Battersby, J. (2020), "South Africa's lockdown regulations and the reinforcement of antiinformality bias", *Agriculture and Human Values*, Vol.37, pp. 543-544.
- Bhaiseni, B. (2020), "Social protection as a panacea to the containment of COVID-19 pandemic: A case study of Zimbabwe", *AJSW*, Vol. 10 No. 3, pp. 59-66.
- Broca, S. (2002), "Food insecurity, Poverty and Agriculture: A concept paper", ESA working paper No. 02-15, FAO, 2002.

- Chipenda, C and Tom, T. (2021), "Zimbabwe's social policy response to COVID-19: Temporary food relief and cash transfers", *COVID-19 Social Policy Response Series*, 23 Bremen: CRC 1342.
- Clapp, J and Moseley, W. (2020), "This food crisis is different: COVID-19 and the fragility of the neoliberal food security order", *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 47 No. 7, pp. 1393-1417.
- Dafuleya, G, Tregenna, F and Patel, L. (2021), "The role of household networks in mutual assistance and emergency relief: Evidence from Zimbabwe", *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. 55 No. 4, pp. 27-47.
- FAO and CELAC (2020), "Food security under the COVID-19 pandemic", available at: <http://www.fao.org/3/ca8873en/CA8873EN.pdf> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- FAO and WFP (2020), "FAO-WFP early warning analysis of acute food insecurity hotspots", July 2020. FAO and WFP, Rome. Available at: <http://www.fao.org/documents/card/en/c/cb0258en> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO (2019), *The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2019. Safeguarding against economic slowdowns and downturns*, FAO, Rome, available at: <https://openknowledge.fao.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/16480532-17e9-4b61-b388-1d6d86414470/content> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- FAO (2011), *The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2011: How does international price volatility affect domestic economies and food security?* FAO, Rome, Available at: <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i2330e.pdf> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- FAO (2020a), "Migrant Workers and the COVID-19 Pandemic". FAO, Rome, available at: <http://www.fao.org/3/ca8559en/CA8559EN.pdf> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- FAO (2020b), "Gendered impacts of COVID-19 and equitable policy responses in agriculture, food security and nutrition", Policy brief, available at: <http://www.fao.org/policy-support/toolsand-publications/resources-details/en/c/1276740/> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- Ghebreyesus, T.A. (2020), WHO on Coronavirus Pandemic: "The Worst Is Yet to Come", [video]. Available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l-lx6ZYQ\\_vg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l-lx6ZYQ_vg) (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- Gwatidzo, T and Mupingashato, T. (2021), "Remittances, consumption patterns and household investment: The case of Zimbabwe Zepari", available at: <https://zepari.co.zw/sites/default/files/2022-03/Remittances,%20consumption%20patterns%20and%20household%20investment%20working%20paper.Pdf> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- HLPE (2020), "Impacts of COVID-19 on Food Security and Nutrition: Developing Effective Policy Responses to Address the Hunger and Malnutrition Pandemic", Rome. Available at: <https://openknowledge.fao.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/8abcbe13-833e-4658-a339-4e3be593b66e/content> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- Hosseinzadeh, P, Zareipour, M, Baljani, E. and Rezaee Moradali, M. (2022), "Social Consequences of the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Systematic Review", *Invest. Educ. Enferm.* Vol. 40 No. 1, p. e10.
- International Labour Organization (ILO) (2020), "COVID-19 and the world of work", Fifth edition. ILO Monitor. 30 June 2020. Available at: <https://www.ilo.org/media/9156/download> (Accessed 5 Nov. 2024).
- Kakaei, H, Nourmaradi, H, Bakhtiyari, S, Jalilian, S and Mirzaei, A. (2022), "Effect of Covid 19 on Food Security, Hunger and Food Crisis", in: *COVID-19 and the Sustainable Development Goals*, Elsevier, pp. 3-29.

- Khorsandi, P. (2020), "WFP chief warns of 'hunger pandemic' as Global Food Crises Report launched." *World Food Programme Insight*, 22 April 2020. Available at: <https://insight.wfp.org/wfp-chief-warns-of-hunger-pandemic-as-global-food-crises-report-launched-3ee3edb38e47> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- Klassen, S. and Murphy, S. (2020), "Equity as Both a Means and an End: Lessons for Resilient Food Systems from COVID-19", *World Development*, Vol. 136: 105104.
- Laborde, D., Martin, W., Swinnen, J. and Vos, R. (2020), "COVID-19 Risks to Global Food Security", *Science*, Vol. 369 No. 6503, pp. 500-502.
- Lewis, L. (2020), "Coronavirus serves up a surplus of Wagyu beef." *Financial Times*. April 3 2020. Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/bb540839-2f63-43bc-897c-b73b2d9f6dc7> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- Masuku, S., Benhura, A. and Gronbach, L. (2023), "Informality in Zimbabwe's Urban Areas and the Resilience of Indigenous Solutions to Risk During the Pandemic", *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work*, Vol. 8, pp. 230-244.
- Matsongoni, H. and Mutambara, E. (2021), "Challenges faced by the informal small to medium enterprises - A case study of the manufacturing sector in Zimbabwe", *International Journal of Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 25 No 4, pp. 1-17.
- Mbunge E. (2020), "Effects of COVID-19 in South African health system and society: An explanatory study" *Diabetes Metab Syndr*, Vol 14 No 6, pp. 1809-1814.
- Moseley, W.G. and Battersby, J. (2020), "The Vulnerability and Resilience of African Food Systems, Food Security and Nutrition in the Context of the COVID-19 Pandemic", *African Studies Review*, Vol. 63 No. 3.
- Mpofu, B. (2012), "Perpetual 'Outcasts'? Squatters in peri-urban Bulawayo, Zimbabwe", *Africa focus*, Vol. 25 No. 2, pp. 45-63.
- Muguruza, C.C. (2007), *Human Security as a Policy Framework: Critics and Challenges*, Yearbook on Humanitarian Action and Human Rights. Universidad de Deusto. 1-143.
- Muir, J.A, Dheresa, M, Madewell, Z.J. *et al.* (2024), "Prevalence of food insecurity amid COVID-19 lockdowns and sociodemographic indicators of household vulnerability in Harar and Kersa, Ethiopia", *BMC Nutr*, Vol 10 No. 7.
- Muzuva, P and Hlungwani, P.M. (2022), "Impact of COVID 19 on livelihoods of female entrepreneurs in Marondera urban", *Cogent Social Sciences*. Vol. 8 No. 1.
- Mwonzora, G. (2022). "Demolitions of informal business structures in Harare, Zimbabwe under the guise of COVID-19 city clean up", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 57 No.7, pp. 1446-1460.
- Napoli, M. (2011), *Towards a Food Insecurity Multidimensional Index*. Available at: <https://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/ERP/uni/FIMI.pdf> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- Ngcamu, B. and Mantzaris E. (2021), "The effects of COVID-19 on vulnerable groups: A reflection on South African informal urban settlements", *Africa's Public Service Delivery and Performance Review*, Vol. 9 No. 1.
- Pu, M. and Zhong, Y. (2020), "Rising Concerns over Agricultural Production as COVID-19 Spreads: Lessons from China", *Global Food Security*, Vol. 26: 100409.

- Sallent, M. (2020), "External debt complicates Africa's COVID-19 recovery, debt relief needed", *Africa Renewal*, July 2020. Available at: <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/july-2020/external-debt-complicates-africas-post-covid-19-recovery-mitigating-efforts> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- Sen A.K. (1981), *Poverty and Famine: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Terazono, E. and Munshi, N. (2020), "Choc waves: how coronavirus shook the cocoa market", *Financial Times*, July 30. Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/37aa0ac8-e879-4dc2-b751-3eb862b12276> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- UNCTAD (2020a), *The Covid-19 Shock to Developing Countries: Towards a 'whatever it takes' programme for two-thirds of the world's population being left behind*. March 2020. Available at: [https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/gds\\_tdr2019\\_covid2\\_en.pdf](https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/gds_tdr2019_covid2_en.pdf) (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- UNCTAD (2020b), *World Investment Report 2020: International production beyond the pandemic*, UN, Geneva. Available at: [https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/wir2020\\_en.pdf](https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/wir2020_en.pdf) (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- United Nations (UN) (2020a), "The Impact of COVID-19 on Latin America and the Caribbean." Policy Brief. July. Available at: <https://unsdg.un.org/resources/policy-brief-impact-covid-19-latin-america-and-caribbean> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- United Nations (UN) (2020b), *The Impact of COVID-19 on Food Security and Nutrition*. June. Available at: [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/sg\\_policy\\_brief\\_on\\_covid\\_impact\\_on\\_food\\_security.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/sg_policy_brief_on_covid_impact_on_food_security.pdf) (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- Waltenburg, M.A, Victoroff, T, Rose, C.E, Butterfield, M, Jervis, R.H, Fedak, K.M, Gabel, J.A. et al. (2020), "Update: COVID-19 Among Workers in Meat and Poultry Processing Facilities – United States, April–May 2020", *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, No. 69, pp. 887-892. Available at: [https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/69/wr/mm6927e2.htm?s\\_cid=mm6927e2\\_w](https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/69/wr/mm6927e2.htm?s_cid=mm6927e2_w) (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- World Bank (2020), "Global Economic Prospects", World Bank, Washington, DC, available at <https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/global-economic-prospects#overview> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- World Food Programme (WFP) (2020), "Global Monitoring of School Meals during COVID-19 Closures", available at: <https://cdn.wfp.org/2020/school-feeding-map/> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- World Food Summit (1996), *Rome Declaration on World Food Security*. Available at: <https://www.fao.org/4/w3613e/w3613e00.htm>. (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- Yaffe-Bellany, D. and Corkery, M. (2020), "Dumped Milk, Smashed Eggs, Plowed Vegetables: The Food Waste of the Pandemic", *New York Times*, April 11. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/11/business/coronavirus-destroying-food.html?searchResultPosition=1> (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).
- Young, G. and Crush, J. (2019), "Governing the informal food sector in cities of the Global South", *Hungry Cities Discussion Paper 30*. Available at: <https://hungrycities.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/DP30.pdf>. (Accessed 7 Nov. 2024).