

Anne Hatløy and Tone Sommerfelt

Rethinking emergency school feeding: A child-centred approach



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Foreword

School feeding programmes are the most common safety net worldwide and are largely owned and managed by national governments. It can be tremendously challenging for governments to maintain or initiate school feeding in emergency contexts, particularly in conflict emergencies. WFP has been an important partner to governments in these contexts, implementing school feeding programmes in fragile contexts and hard-to-reach areas.

Evidence of the benefits of school feeding is well-established for stable settings, when a nutritious meal can be delivered to children consistently. Less is known about the impact of school feeding in emergency contexts, and about how the role of school feeding plays in these contexts in meeting children's needs.

WFP's Safety Nets and Social Protection Unit commissioned Fafo, an independent research foundation based in Norway, to review existing evidence and practice of school feeding in emergencies and draw out the key issues for WFP and other actors to consider.

WFP does not have a mandate for education, but for eradicating hunger. Among the most vulnerable to hunger are children. School feeding has delivered on hunger and nutrition in stable contexts where universal access to primary school is guaranteed, but in contexts where access is compromised by insecurity, violence, recurrent or protracted crisis and poverty, how does WFP help countries to ensure that all children have access to food year-round, regardless of their capacity to access a school?

The review promotes a child-centred approach to emergency school feeding that intensifies the focus on food security and nutrition benefits, along with protection for the child population affected by an emergency. It emphasizes children's access to food and protection from deprivation as elementary and primary functions of emergency school feeding and argues that, unlike in more developmental settings, its contribution to education access and as a household safety net should be seen as significant but secondary objectives.

Designing school feeding interventions to improve children's access to food, child nutrition and educational access has implications for targeting,

coverage and monitoring of programmes as well as for coordination with education and protection actors.

WFP appreciates the aim of the approach, which is to bring a concern for children's protection against deprivation to the forefront. The work is an important contribution to future policy design, aimed at securing a future in which every child can access school and is free from hunger.

Rome, December 2017

Sarah Laughton

Head of Social Protection and Safety Net unit

World Food Programme

Acknowledgements

In 2016, Fafo Research Foundation was commissioned by the World Food Programme to contribute to the knowledge base of school feeding programmes in emergency settings. WFP facilitated contacts with different UN country offices for Fafo's researchers and provided technical feedback after the inception phase.

We wish to thank WFP for the opportunity that the assignment has provided. We also wish to thank the WFP staff in Rome for devoting the time to discuss the research with us as it progressed, and for providing valuable input on a draft of the report. Particular thanks are due to Charlotte Cuny, Omar Benammour, Sarah Laughton and David Ryckembusch.

An important part of this work has consisted of interviewing representatives in WFP, other UN offices, and representatives from NGOs around the globe about existing programmes for school feeding in emergency contexts, and about humanitarian and other needs in emergency settings. We greatly appreciate the thoroughness and sincerity with which all parties engaged in the discussions. We have made a conscious choice not to cite these participants by name.

It should be particularly emphasised that our recommendations are a result of our own interpretations. Under no circumstance should any weaknesses in these interpretations be ascribed to the staff that were so kind as to assist us in our endeavour. Needless to say, Fafo is responsible for the final text.

A reference group was set up to provide input on the work as it progressed. It consisted of Ellen Kjøsterud (Statistics Norway), Sidsel Roalkvam (Centre for Development and Environment, University of Oslo) and Liv Elin Torheim (Faculty of Health Sciences, Oslo and Akershus University College). Their input has been thought-provoking and inspiring, and we thank them for all the time they have put into the work. Jon Pedersen in Fafo has worked in a similar advisory role. His experience spans research on fertility, child mortality, and child labour and productivity, and the feedback he has provided has been crucial.

We would like to thank Hanne Voje at Fafo for her assistance in setting up interviews and contributing to the desk study, and to research staff at Fafo for giving feedback on different parts of the text.

Anne Hatløy and Tone Sommerfelt, Fafo
Oslo, December 2017

List of abbreviations

ALNAP	The Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action
CAAFAG	Children associated with armed forces and armed groups
CCT	Conditional cash transfer
Child Protection AoR	Child Protection Area of Responsibility under Global Protection Cluster
CO	Country Office
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ESF	Emergency School Feeding
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IASC	The Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced People
INEE	The International Network for Education in Emergencies
L1	Level 1 emergencies as defined by IASC
L2	Level 2 emergencies as defined by IASC
L3	Level 3 emergencies as defined by IASC
MRM	Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism on grave violations against children in situations of armed conflict (UN)
n.d.	Not dated
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
RB	Regional Bureau
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SF	School Feeding
THR	Take-home rations
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USG/ERC	Under-Secretary-General and Emergency Relief Coordinator
WFP	World Food Programme

Executive summary

This desk study is the first part of a broader research project that aims to improve the understanding of the potential role of WFP's school feeding programmes in humanitarian crises, and the particular challenges for school feeding posed by humanitarian emergencies.

More particularly, the desk study aims to i. produce an overview of existing policies, assessments and research on school feeding interventions in emergency contexts; ii. describe the coordination mechanisms in emergency contexts by mapping out the stakeholders in the field, and finally; iii. assess trends and existing practices of school feeding in emergency settings in WFP.

To address the objectives of the project, two main data collection methods were used for obtaining the required information: a desk review of relevant policies and literature; and interviews with key stakeholders within WFP (headquarter and different country offices) and in other UN agencies and NGOs.

School feeding, originally a food aid tool, was redefined in 2009 as a broader safety net tool for national governments, with a particular emphasis on school feeding as an educational incentive (cf. Bundy et al. 2009). Local procurement was emphasised in WFP's (2013) revised school feeding policy. It was also reasserted that school feeding is an educational intervention to support attendance, increase enrolment, strengthen children's learning capacity and achieve gender equity in education. The multiple benefits of school feeding were also reemphasised, and summed up as:

1. Providing social safety nets and social cohesion
2. Supporting educational benefits (enhanced learning capacity and improved access)
3. Enhancing children's nutrition by reducing micronutrient deficiencies
4. Strengthening local economies and agriculture through local procurement and employment

In 2016, through its school feeding programmes, WFP provided emergency school meals to approximately 1.7 million children in 14 countries affected by so-called Level 2 and Level 3 crises (see Table 1). WFP also provided school meals in post-emergency settings. As such, WFP's emergency school feeding is an integral part of recovery operations and safety nets that aim to save lives, promote recovery, and empower and reinforce the self-sufficiency of the people and communities affected by emergency situations.

In their (2004) guidelines, *School feeding in an emergency situation*, the WFP's overall emergency operations were primarily focused on helping to cover the basic food needs of the most vulnerable; rehabilitating cases of acute malnutrition; and restoring livelihoods and long-term national and household food security (WFP 2004). Since then, WFP has promoted emergency school feeding in terms of its multiple benefits and role as a safety net (points 1–4 above), but has increasingly emphasised emergency school feeding as an *educational* intervention (see e.g. WFP 2007). By the same token, communication to donors has focused on Emergency Education (see e.g. WFP n.d.).

In contrast, although they address poverty and livelihoods as barriers to children's access to education, the stated needs within the field of 'Education in Emergencies' do not include school feeding (see, for instance, the International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) 2010). Instead, the global emergency education agenda focuses on teacher availability and skills, educational materials (like books and school buildings), and providing safe learning environments. Moreover, there is a discrepancy between WFP's promotion of school feeding as covering an educational need and the global educational sector's view of school feeding as a food security and nutritional implementation tool. This poses a challenge to the WFP's current emphasis on education in emergency school feeding, in several respects.

WFP's shift from a focus on school feeding as a food aid tool to conceptualising it as a tool that offers multiple benefits—chief of which is education support—created a set of concerns. These concerns are among the themes raised and discussed in the current report. The other set of concerns this report addresses relate to the particularities of emergencies and differences between school feeding programmes in both development settings and emergencies. Specifically, in which emergency settings can school feeding be a valuable tool, and how should WFP school feeding programmes be shaped to properly address the needs of children in emergencies?

This report intensifies the focus on food security, nutrition benefits, and child protection. It argues for the following definition of emergency school feeding:

Emergency school feeding should be defined as an intervention to ensure children's protection and food access, in support of educational goals.

The programme design of emergency school feeding as an intervention contributing to *child protection, food security for the child population by improving children's access to food, child nutrition and educational access* is more child-centred than school- or household-centred. It defines the intervention as education-supportive rather than education-specific. In comparison, programme policies in development settings emphasise school feeding as an education-specific intervention strictly linked to schooling and children who are in school, and stress the role of school feeding as a social safety net for *households*.

Our approach to emergency school feeding entails a shift from an activity-centred to a beneficiary-centred intervention: in other words, where the needs of child and youth beneficiaries in emergencies guide the ways that activities and modalities are directed and adjusted, rather than the activity determining the identification of beneficiaries and modalities. The programmatic and operational elements and implications of a child-centred approach can be summed up in the following 10 points.

Firstly, preventing deprivation and ensuring food and nutrition security must be recognised as a core aim of emergency school feeding. With school feeding's redefinition in 2009 as a safety net and educational intervention rather than a food aid tool, school feeding as a food security intervention is under-communicated. This is particularly unfortunate in emergency contexts. Both slow-onset natural disasters and conflict emergencies lead to disrupted livelihoods, thus resulting in a certain degree of food insecurity. Research on the ways in which food is allocated to children in households during emergencies is scarce. However, children are among the most vulnerable in intra-household allocations of food. Indeed, existing research demonstrates regional variation in intra-household food allocation, with negative effects on school children when this allocation is imbalanced (due to the child's age or gender, relative to other household members).

Protecting children from malnutrition and hunger, as part of promoting Zero Hunger, should be reemphasised as a core aim of emergency school feeding. Supporting children's and adolescents' access to food also secures the

continuation of positive results from nutritional interventions in early years. A high-quality diet during childhood and adolescence, ensuring sufficient amounts of minerals and vitamins, is vital for pubertal development and increasing skeletal mass, body size and body density—oft-neglected issues in nutritional discourse that limits the focus of nutrition to the first two years of life. Moreover, the child protection perspective in emergency school feeding must emphasise the need for children’s protection against deprivation: In conflict emergencies, for instance, the majority of children and youth suffer and die from deprivation rather than from deliberate personal violence.

Secondly, limiting modalities of emergency school feeding to in-school snacks and meals should be considered. In line with an approach to emergency school feeding that aims to improve children’s access to food and to compensate for uneven intra-household food allocation in contexts of food insecurity, modalities of emergency school feeding should be reconsidered. Take-home rations—an important element in many current WFP school feeding programmes—should be avoided in emergency contexts, in order to privilege the concerns of children and youth and to avoid the duplication of (parallel) household-level interventions. In-kind, in-school modalities (snacks and meals, both) should therefore be encouraged.

Third, the child protection perspective in emergency school feeding must be strengthened. School feeding—as a tool to increase enrolment rates by promoting school participation—may also contribute to the protection of children against threats of recruitment into armed forces and groups, forced/early marriage and other forms of child labour (included worst forms of child labour). It may also work as incentive to draw children to safe spaces that offer additional support, in line with WFP’s Emergency Programming Framework and their 2012 Policy on Humanitarian Protection (WFP 2012). At the same time, protection considerations must take into account the constraints of the protective potential of education: for example, the targeting of schools in armed conflict, the risk of violence on the way to school and the effects of trauma (among teaching personnel as well as pupils) on the learning environment. The targeting of emergency school feeding must be preceded by a conflict analysis, in order to prevent conflicts from arising or being exacerbated by in-kind or cash incentives. Conflict sensitivity is an explicit element of WFP’s Emergency Programming Framework—when selecting particular geographical areas for school feeding, it is imperative that the programme does not provide fuel for conflict or strengthen it along ethnic, class, or other lines.

Fourth, the value of school feeding to lower the barriers to education is greater in emergencies where lack of food prevents children from attending school. In cases when food insecurity is severe, lack of food is a barrier to education. Many children therefore stay at home in order to contribute to food production, or they work, beg or do other activities in search of money. Some are simply too hungry to go to school. In these situations, school feeding can reduce the economic stress on households, and benefit the school performance of children who would not otherwise get nutritious meals at home. A robust body of research demonstrates that lack of food and situations where children must help support their households both act as barriers to education; a finding further emphasised by our interview respondents, especially those in El Niño-stricken countries. As such, this report reemphasises children's access to food as a fundamental dimension of emergency school feeding, and promotes its value as an intervention to mitigate barriers to education in crises characterised by food shortages and the destruction of livelihoods.

Emergency school feeding should therefore continue to support efforts to encourage children's school participation, to help prevent specific age cohorts—hit by emergencies—from developing poor livelihood opportunities. School feeding in emergencies primarily addresses issues pertaining to lowering the barriers of *access* to education, and thus represents an intervention *in support* of education, rather than a direct educational intervention. This should be properly reflected in the articulation of the aim of education in emergency school feeding programmes. Clearer communication regarding this point reduces the risk of competition over scarce resources in the poorly-financed emergency educational sector (such as the need for teachers and *school materials*).

Fifth, coverage of emergency school feeding should be reconsidered. Out-of-school children who participate in Child Safe Spaces should be included among beneficiaries, and distribution of meals during holidays should be considered. Safe spaces for children below school age are often located in the vicinity of schools. The distribution of school feeding only to students makes visible the unequal assistance between in- and out-of-school children. Out-of-school children (potentially also below school age) in safe spaces should be considered as additional beneficiaries of school feeding programmes in emergencies. The inclusion of out-of-school children—and encouragement of their participation in safe spaces—would also prevent drop-out among school children obliged to care for younger siblings, and would potentially benefit the most vulnerable children who, for different reasons, do not attend school. Given the child-centred approach to emergency school feeding promoted here, with its goals of improving children's access to food and promoting

child protection, reconsiderations of coverage should encompass distribution during school holidays to avoid gaps in delivery. Decision-making on this issue should be made in cooperation with the Global Protection Cluster (Child Protection Area of Responsibility).

Sixth, emergency school feeding should be better coordinated with the global food security emergency cluster, the nutrition cluster and the Child Protection Area of Responsibility within the Global Protection Cluster. In most non-emergency contexts, school feeding is organised by the Ministry of Education. In emergencies, school feeding is an activity coordinated under the Education Emergency Cluster Mechanism. In order to secure transitions from emergency to normalcy, coordination should remain in the educational sector. However, as an intervention directed at food security and nutrition to secure children's protection against deprivation and violence, emergency school feeding should be better coordinated with the global food security emergency cluster, the nutrition cluster and the Global Protection Cluster. This also conveys the role of school feeding as an intervention directed at food security and nutrition within the emergency relief structure (i.e. UN organisations apart from WFP and NGOs).

Seventh, monitoring practices at the country level must reflect the food security benefits of school feeding and the aim of child protection. According to WFP country office representatives, emergency school feeding targets the poorest, most food insecure areas. At the same time, they claim that there is a marked discrepancy between the practice of targeting and the practice of monitoring, as monitoring focuses primarily on school participation, not on improvements in food security. Better alignment of monitoring practices and targeting strategies should be an overall aim. Monitoring in emergency contexts should be kept relatively uncomplicated, with a focus on monitoring protection from deprivation through food access in schools and safe spaces, on child protection indicators and a limited set of indicators regarding education. The formulation of indicators for child protection outcomes should be coordinated with the Child Protection Area of Responsibility within the Global Protection Cluster.

Eight, comparative studies of intra-household food allocation, school participation and the effects of school feeding in emergencies should be encouraged. Systematic research on intra-household allocation and the effects of different kinds of emergencies on children's access to food within households is very poor. The effects of children's gender and their participation in school feeding should be particular areas of focus in research on intra-household allocation. Systematic research is also scarce on the effects of school feeding on school participation in emergencies, which

reflects a general lack of representative data on barriers to education and the ways in which crisis and conflict affects boys' and girls' school participation in more general terms. More specifically, additional research is needed on the effects of school feeding in non-conflict emergencies. In terms of knowledge gaps, the scientific literature on education in emergencies—which is scarce overall—shows a bias towards conflict emergencies over natural disasters. Barriers to education in non-conflict emergency contexts thus remain particularly poorly understood. However, insights from the research literature on barriers to education in slow-onset natural disasters should be made more explicitly relevant to the overall knowledge base on emergency school feeding. Many of these contexts (e.g. El Niño emergencies) are presently referred to as contexts of “development” or “poverty” rather than emergencies. Finally, experiences and research on the value of feeding programmes in schools and safe spaces on protection outcomes should be encouraged.

Ninth, emergency school feeding programmes must focus on prevention as well as recovery. The role of school feeding in emergency preparedness should be reconsidered. In terms of international media attention, conflict emergencies attract more headlines than slow-onset food insecurity emergencies. Crises presently identified as so-called Level 3 emergencies by OCHA (in Iraq, Syria and Yemen) are all commonly understood as conflict emergencies. Emergency school feeding is operating in areas of each of these three countries. In addition, school feeding has an important role to play in small- and large-scale food insecurity emergencies, especially in preventing aggravation of food insecurity or drop-out due to poverty. School feeding is a scalable intervention that can relatively easily be adjusted to cover higher portions of children's diets (e.g. by increasing from one to two meals a day). With respect to emergency preparedness, to avoid seasonal hunger and reduce vulnerability towards possible disasters, the role of school feeding in tailor-made social protection programmes should be considered.

Tenth, as a means to restore a sense of normalcy during crises and ensure that local nutrition know-how remains intact or is strengthened, local procurement should be an aim in the transition from emergency school feeding. Many emergencies are characterised by transition away from infrastructure and daily livelihood strategies. In the immediate aftermath of a rapid-onset crisis, therefore, the use of imported foods (such as multi-fortified snacks) can ensure important nutritional benefits, are easy to distribute and have long shelf-life. In the long run, however, emergency school feeding programmes should plan for a return to normalcy, reinstitute people's knowledge about a balanced and well-composed diet from available resources, and stimulate local markets and agricultural production.

1 Introduction

This report is the result of a project commissioned by the World Food Programme as part of its global work on school feeding. The main purpose of the project is to understand the particular challenges posed by humanitarian emergencies, and to explore the ways in which school feeding can play a role in emergency contexts.

To support this purpose, the current project is a desk study that includes the following, more specific, aims: a. to produce an overview of existing policies, assessments and research on school feeding in emergency contexts and related subjects; b. to describe the coordination mechanisms in emergency contexts by mapping out the stakeholders in the field; and c. to assess trends and existing practices of school feeding in emergency settings in WFP (see Terms of Reference in Annex 1).

Emergency school feeding: A child-centred perspective

We define *emergency school feeding* as an intervention to ensure children's protection and food access, in support of educational goals. As we discuss in chapter 3, humanitarian emergencies entail a fundamental hazard to human life in a manner which challenges a society's ability to cope. People's everyday livelihood strategies are also disrupted, both short- and long-term. *Emergency school feeding* refers to school feeding programmes operating in settings where the normal routines of daily life, economic activities and societal services are disrupted as a result of natural hazards and/or the onset of man-made crises.

This report brings a child-centred perspective to *school feeding in emergency settings*. A child-centred approach in this context implies that children's rights and needs are the primary focus of the intervention. This is *not* to say that children's best interests are not at the heart of WFP's non-emergency school feeding. However, it is matter of emphasis: School feeding in developmental settings—especially following policy shifts in 2009 (see Bundy et al. 2009)—links school feeding to the broader goal of

establishing or strengthening social safety nets for households. Thus, school feeding in development settings has as much a household perspective as one focusing on the child population. The motivation of take-home rations in cash or kind, for instance, is to lower the household's net cost of sending children to school, thus indirectly benefitting children's educational access but not directly contributing to their food intake. Furthermore, the aim of lowering barriers to education—an emphasis also strengthened following the rethinking of WFPs policies in 2009—linked school feeding, not surprisingly, to in-school children. The emphasis following a new policy shift in 2013 (see Chapter 2), which underscored the potential of school feeding programmes to contribute to social cohesion and support local economies, similarly draws attention to sustainability on other levels—in this case, on societal and local community levels.

We fully acknowledge the broader benefits of school feeding from the point of view of the society and local community, as well as the household. However, we argue that the disruption of normalcy at the onset of a crisis places children in a particularly vulnerable position. We stress that, in these settings, the positive outcomes of school feeding for local communities—at household, society and government levels—should be regarded as secondary objectives.

We promote a child-centred approach to emergency school feeding that shapes programmes' positive outcomes for children as the first priority. Concretely, this implies programmes designed as interventions contributing to protection and food security for the child population by improving children's access to food, child nutrition and educational access. This has implications for the targeting, coverage and monitoring of programmes. This approach to emergency school feeding intensifies the focus on food security and nutrition benefits, along with child protection. It defines the intervention as education-*supportive* more than -*specific*. In comparison, school feeding policies in development settings emphasise school feeding as an education-*specific* intervention (strictly linked to in-school children and schooling) and stress the role of school feeding as a social safety net for *households*.

In line with a broader agenda, the protection of children in this context encompasses: universal *personal protection* needs, which take on heightened relevance in emergencies; particular *age-specific child protection* needs; and the children's protection needs against *deprivation* (see Chapter 3). The approach to emergency school feeding promoted here seeks to bring a concern for children's protection against deprivation to the forefront. The approach to emergency school feeding promoted here seeks to bring

a concern for children’s protection against deprivation to the forefront—i.e. promoting Zero Hunger, which is a principal goal in WFP’s Emergency Programming Framework (see WFP 2017c). By deprivation, we refer to the ‘impoverishment, dispossession, destitution, disease and ... exhaustion’ (cf. Slim & Bonwick 2005: 25) that occurs in natural disasters and complex emergencies (cf. WFP 2012), as well as in conflict emergencies, where the protection of children against deprivation merits far more attention. Note, for instance, that deprivation is not included among the child protection risks in emergencies listed by the Child Protection Area of Responsibility within the Global Protection Cluster (Child Protection AoR 2016:111–112, and Table 2).

Protection from deprivation links protection issues closely to food security and nutrition concerns. Our usage of the concept of *food security* in relation to the child population reflects changes in development debates that, from the 1980s onwards, shifted focus from food production to food access (cf. Hatløy 1999: 15ff). Amartya Sen’s use of the concept of *food entitlement* in 1981 reflects this shift towards vulnerable groups and individuals’ failure to access resources over a focus on the overall supply of food (Sen 1981). In line with the focus on individuals and groups rather than food supply at a societal level, FAO links food security to individuals within households (2003: 28-29).

The aim of employing this conceptualisation of *food security* with respect to the *child population* is to direct attention to children’s vulnerability and to intra-household allocation patterns that are poorly understood; a further aim is to link the discussion of children’s vulnerability and protection from deprivation to broader concerns with allocation, production, and families’ and children’s adaptive strategies in times of crisis. We wish to bring insights from research on gendered patterns of intra-household food allocation (cf. Haddad et al. 1996; Torheim & Arimond 2013) to bear on children in emergencies, and school feeding in emergencies (see Chapter 3).

With respect to the latter, in her seminal article, *In good years and in bad: food strategies of self-reliant societies*, Elizabeth Colson (1979) provides ethnographic examples from a broad range of societies that demonstrate ways in which households responded to drought and hunger, not only by adjusting their types of crops but their practices and norms of sharing: Within many households, food resources were allocated only to productive household members. In some contexts, this way of coping with vulnerability and building “resilience” (1979: 18) entailed that children and the elderly were underprivileged or placed in new households.

Similarly, an extensive literature on children’s mobility and relocation and child labour demonstrate how households rely on temporary or longer-term

strategies of placing children in new homes during times of crisis (see for instance Sommerfelt, ed., 2015, for examples from Haiti). Parents' motives for relocating children are often to lower the cost of their household during economic shocks. Taking intra-household allocation strategies into account is not meant to under-appreciate the intention of parents or families to care for their children; rather, it is to take seriously the ways crises affect parental and familial ability to deliver that care, or the impact failing to develop (with regards to both health and education) can have on the future livelihood opportunities of children and youth.

In line with the focus on future livelihoods, the educational objectives of emergency school feeding are to lower the barriers to education by both improving access and supporting efforts to promote boys' and girls' equal school participation (enrolment and attendance). We refer to emergency school feeding as an education-*supportive* rather than an education-*specific* intervention, in the sense that the educational objective, while significant, is not the principal objective. In the case of emergency school feeding, education is an important and deliberate objective, but not the principal reason for undertaking the programme. The education objective of the programme relates to securing equal *access* to education, and it forms one of several objectives.

Methodology

Two main data collection methods were used for obtaining the information required for this study: i) a desk review of relevant policies and literature; and ii) interviews with key stakeholders.

Documents from WFP on school feeding and safety nets, including past evaluations and policy papers, were reviewed as part of the desk review. Relevant documents on school feeding, social protection and safety-nets from both UN and non-UN organisations were reviewed, as well. These documents were identified through WFP headquarters, in individual interviews, and by internet search.

In addition, a thorough search of the scientific literature was carried out. We included scientific literature on school feeding in emergency settings, and added publications on school feeding in development settings when relevant to the type of emergency in question.

With regards to the interviews, a list of potential key informants was developed in collaboration with WFP. The informants sought were WFP personnel, as well as representatives from the emergency clusters in the

following emergency-affected countries (as identified by WFP): DR Congo, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Pakistan, South Sudan, Syria and Tunisia. WFP initiated contact with their offices in these countries via an introductory e-mail, which presented the project and the group of researchers (see Annex 3a); WFP also introduced us to representatives of these countries' education clusters (see Annex 3b). Additionally, we contacted the international representatives of the humanitarian response cluster headquarters in Education, Nutrition, Food Security and the Child Protection Area of Responsibility under the Global Protection Cluster.

Two generic interview guides were developed: one for WFP-personnel and one for non-WFP personnel (Annex 4a and 4b). During the interviews, we drew on these guides, but tailored conversations to the specific context of each interview. As such, individual interviews did not cover identical themes, as the foci depended on the informants' particular expertise and experience.

The bulk of the interviews were carried out from August to October 2016, with a few occurring in early 2017. The interviews were generally conducted over Skype or by phone, with two of the researchers present. Notes from the interviews were merged in joint transcriptions. The views and experiences expressed by respondents during interviews provided important background information and inspired specific lines of investigation. Where appropriate, we included relevant information from the interviews in the report, though none of the interviewees are directly quoted.

The interviews were complemented by country reports provided by WFP headquarters.

Outline of the report

Chapter 2 provides a context for the discussion of emergency school feeding by briefly outlining current school feeding modalities in non-emergency development settings, and by accounting for recent policy shifts of school feeding. Chapter 3 outlines the particular characteristics of protection needs in emergencies, and the potentials and challenges of school feeding in emergency response. It further links the discussion of school feeding to the global reform of emergency response, which has been accompanied by new coordination mechanisms that shape how school feeding in emergencies is currently carried out. In response to these particularities, Chapter 3 also suggests an alternative emphasis for school feeding in emergency settings (compared to development settings). Chapter 4 addresses the operational implications of the change of emphasis that we suggest, in

terms of modalities, coverage of school feeding in emergencies, distribution strategies, targeting and monitoring practices and coordinating mechanisms. Finally, chapter 5 presents policy recommendations and suggests future research agendas.

2 Context: School feeding, development and current trends

What is school feeding?

School feeding can be defined, in broad terms, as “the provision of food to school children” (Bundy et al. 2009:7). Different modalities of school feeding are used, each adapted to particular situations with regards to practicality and for the purpose of targeting. School feeding is food given *in schools* and/or as *take-home rations*.

In-school	Take-home
Meals	In-kind
Snacks	Cash (as complementary to in-school, in-kind feeding)

In-school meals are meals prepared and given to children while they are attending school. The frequency of in-school meals varies from once a week to two times per day or, in the case of boarding schools, all meals during the day. In-school meals require a minimum standard of water, sanitation, cooking and storage facilities. They are usually not targeted at specific groups, but instead are distributed equally to all children in a school, or to a specific age group.

In-school snacks are snacks given to children during school in the form of simple food items like fruit, milk, pastries, etc., or any kind of fortified biscuits or bars. Snacks are used mainly to alleviate short-term hunger and micronutrient deficiencies, in order to improve learning (Bundy et al. 2009) when cooking facilities are absent or the environment is inadequate for storing and cooking meals.

As with in-school meals, in-school snacks are usually not targeted at individuals but are instead distributed to all children in the school (or, in some cases, to certain age groups).

Take-home rations (THR), on the other hand, are often targeted on the basis of gender, health, socio-economic, or other statuses (Bundy et al. 2009). THR programmes function similarly to any kind of conditional transfer programme; in this context, the transfer of food resources to families is conditional upon enrolment and regular attendance (as described by Bundy 2009: 8–9). In-kind take-home rations are typically provided as snacks (e.g. fortified biscuits), cereals or cooking oil.

In WFP’s (2013) revised school feeding policy, they encouraged their country offices to use new tools like cash and vouchers as part of their school feeding programmes (in the context of THR, cf. WFP 2013: 21). Similar to in-kind take-home rations, conditional cash transfers (CCTs) tie conditionality to education. The aims of CCTs are similar to THRs, as well: If the value of the transfer is high enough, it reduces the household’s net cost of sending the child to school (Bundy 2009: 9). There are obvious advantages to using cash instead of in-kind transfers in many contexts: increasing a household’s flexibility and stimulating the local economy, for example. Note that in the case of school feeding programmes, take-home rations in the form of cash are not given in isolation, but are a complementary modality to in-school meals or in-school snacks.

School feeding, development and the SDGs

The World Bank defines school feeding as “targeted social safety nets that provide both educational and health benefits to the most vulnerable children, thereby increasing enrolment rates, reducing absenteeism, and improving food security at the household level” (World Bank 2012: 1). School feeding programmes have three primary objectives (Bundy et al. 2009: 13):

- Address social needs and provide social safety nets during crises
- Improve learning and educational outcomes
- Enhance nutrition

An additional aim of WFP is to build the sustainability of school feeding by encouraging national ownership of programmes (cf. Bundy et al. 2009: 33ff). WFP thus works to strengthen national capacity to integrate school feeding in social protection schemes (WFP 2013: 19). Sustainability is also encouraged

by local procurement of commodities for school meals and take-home rations, and by linking school feeding to local agricultural production and the use of school gardens and “home-grown school feeding” (Espejo, Burbano & Galliano 2009). In low-income countries, school feeding programmes depend on external sources of food aid more than local procurement of commodities (Bundy et al. 2009: 45ff.).

The multiple benefits of school feeding programmes listed above potentially support several of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) to be implemented from 2016 onwards, particularly SDG1 No poverty; SDG2 Zero hunger; SDG3 Good health and wellbeing; SDG4 Quality education; SDG5 Gender equality; SDG8 Decent work and economic growth; SDG10 Reduced inequalities; and SDG17 Revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development. With respect to SDG4, specifically, school feeding can contribute towards ensuring access to education and quality environments for learning.

Policy shifts: From food aid tool to safety net and educational incentive

Originally conceptualised as a food aid tool, school feeding was redefined in Bundy et al.’s (2009) report *Rethinking school feeding* as a broader safety net tool for national governments, with a particular emphasis on school feeding as an educational incentive. The objective of national ownership of school feeding programmes, and transfer of competence and responsibilities from multilateral organisations to national governments also became an explicit aim.

In WFP’s revised (2013) school feeding policy, the element of local procurement was emphasised (WFP 2013:6). It was also reasserted that school feeding is an educational intervention to support attendance, increase enrolment, strengthen children’s learning capacity and obtain gender equity in education. The multiple benefits of school feeding were also reemphasised (2013: 17ff), and summed up as:

1. Providing social safety nets and social cohesion
2. Supporting educational benefits (enhanced learning capacity and improved access)
3. Enhancing children’s nutrition by reducing micronutrient deficiencies
4. Strengthening local economies and agriculture through local procurement and employment

These policy shifts play out in programmes for school feeding in *emergency* contexts, as well. In 2015, WFP “provided school meals to 6.5 million children in emergency and post-emergency areas in 24 countries” (WFP n.d.). WFP figures for 2016—which provide specific numbers of school meal beneficiaries in those countries affected by so-called Level 2 and Level 3 crises (see description of crisis levels in chapter 3)—show that approximately 1.7 million children received emergency school feeding in 2016. The figures are listed below (source: WFP 2017):

Table 1 Numbers of children receiving school meals in countries affected by L2 and L3 emergencies in 2016

	WFP school meals beneficiaries	WFP emergency school meals beneficiaries
Countries implicated in L2 crises		
Burkina Faso (affected by L2 Mali)	127 149	2 762
Central African Republic	169 141	169 141
Chad (affected by L2 CAR and L3 Nigeria)	79 586	15 199
Congo, Democratic Republic of	169 500	173 855
Congo, Republic of (affected by L2 CAR)	67 776	-
Ecuador	17 840	-
Mali	180 157	-
Mauritania (affected by L2 Mali)	24 561	4 903
Niger (affected by L2 Mali and L3 Nigeria)	253 538	253 538
Countries implicated in L3 crises		
Egypt (affected by L3 Syria)	666 050	-
Jordan (affected by L3 Syria)	371 248	20 079
Lebanon (affected by L3 Syria)	4 214	4 214
Lesotho (El Niño Southern Africa)	300 000	50 000
Madagascar (El Niño Southern Africa)	290 992	-
Malawi (El Niño Southern Africa)	979 246	70 327
Mozambique (El Niño Southern Africa)	194 709	84 753
South Sudan	264 535	264 535
Syria	485 450	485 450
Zambia (El Niño Southern Africa)	977 904	-
Zimbabwe (El Niño Southern Africa)	77 477	77 477
Total beneficiaries in 2016	5 701 073	1 676 233

As such, WFP's emergency school feeding is an integral part of recovery operations and safety nets in emergency situations, which aim to save lives, promote recovery, and empower and reinforce the self-sufficiency of the people and communities affected.

In their 2004 guidelines, *School feeding in an emergency situation*, the WFP's overall emergency operations were primarily focused on helping to cover the basic food needs of the most vulnerable; rehabilitating cases of acute malnutrition; and restoring livelihoods and long-term national and household food security (WFP 2004).

Since then, WFP has promoted *emergency school feeding* in terms of its multiple benefits and role in safety nets (points 1–4 above); and, in parallel to non-emergency school feeding (Bundy et al. 2009), it has increasingly emphasised its significance as an *educational* intervention (see e.g. WFP 2007). Similarly, communication with donors about the value of emergency school feeding has focused on emergency education (see e.g. WFP n.d.). Our interviews with WFP country offices also show that de facto monitoring practices of school feeding in emergency contexts primarily include educational outcomes, despite intentions to reflect school feeding's multiple objectives (see the recent framework for monitoring, WFP 2017). Moreover, the anticipated educational benefit of school feeding has been foregrounded, while the food security and nutritional motivations have receded into the background.

In contrast, though they address poverty and livelihoods as barriers to children's access to education, the stated needs within the field of "Education in Emergencies" do not include school feeding (see for instance the International Network for Education in Emergencies, INEE 2010). Keeping in mind the importance of supporting access to education (cf. Nicolai et al. 2016), this may be due to a lack of engagement on the part of WFP. Nevertheless, the global emergency education agenda focuses on teacher availability and skills, educational materials (like books and school buildings), and providing safe learning environments.

Moreover, the way that WFP promotes school feeding in emergency settings—specifically, its emphasis on the educational benefits—does not cohere with the understanding of school feeding within the global educational sector, in which school feeding is understood as a food security and nutritional intervention. This poses a challenge to the current formulation of the objectives in WFP's emergency school feeding programmes.

WFP's shift from a focus on school feeding as a food aid tool to conceptualising it as a tool with multiple benefits—including (from 2009 on) an educational programme—created a set of concerns. These were

related to discrepancies between this shift and the promotion of educational frameworks in emergencies by other actors, and are among the concerns that the current report address. Additionally, we argue that the WFP's policy change (in 2009), and the further shift in emphasis towards social cohesion and support of local economies (in 2013), did not sufficiently take into account the particular needs in emergency settings, nor the importance of combatting short-term hunger. The other set of concerns we raise relates to the differences between school feeding programmes in development settings and in emergencies: In which emergency settings can school feeding be a valuable tool, and how can WFP school feeding programmes properly address the needs of children in emergencies?

3 Rethinking school feeding in the context of emergencies

This chapter accounts for the particular protection needs that arise in humanitarian crises. This account lays the basis for a discussion of the potential role of school feeding in emergency response. We suggest an alternative emphasis for school feeding in emergency settings, as compared to development settings, in response to the particularities and principal aims of *emergency school feeding*. We begin with a brief description of the reformed humanitarian response system.

The humanitarian reform agenda

In 2004, WFP summarised guidelines for carrying out school feeding programmes in emergency settings (WFP 2004). Since then, the international humanitarian response system has undergone profound changes. In 2005, the Humanitarian Reform Agenda was introduced, with the aim of enhancing predictability and accountability in emergency response. This took place as a follow-up to the 1992 adoption of Resolution 46/182¹ that aimed to strengthen the coordination of humanitarian emergency efforts in the UN. The *cluster approach* became one of the new means through which the aims of the Humanitarian Reform Agenda are met. It entails humanitarian emergency response to be coordinated in sectors that involve clusters of UN and non-UN organisations. At the global level, there are currently 11 clusters, including clusters for nutrition, health, water and sanitation, food security, education and protection.²

Within the UN system, the Under-Secretary-General and Emergency Relief Coordinator (USG/ERC) is responsible for the oversight of all emergencies requiring United Nations humanitarian assistance. The USG/

1 <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/46/a46r182.htm>

2 See for instance the UN OCHA site: <https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/coordination/clusters/global>.

ERC, which heads OCHA, works as the central focal point for governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental relief activities, and also leads the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC³), an inter-agency forum for coordination, policy development and decision-making involving key UN and non-UN humanitarian partners. The IASC was established in 1992, following the adoption of Resolution 46/182.

The cluster approach is both a fundraising and coordination mechanism in emergencies. The USC/ERC and IASC operate within a system of levels of humanitarian emergency response, defined in order to structure activities through the different clusters. At present, WFP is soliciting funding for its school feeding programmes in emergencies primarily within the Emergency Education Cluster. Furthermore, OCHA country offices assess humanitarian needs in emergencies. The type of needs and the number of people affected are assessed according to sector (and other indicators).⁴ The funding needs of WFP school feeding operations have thus far been listed under the education sector.

Given the coordinating role of these organisations, and the fact that WFP must coordinate its programmes in emergency contexts through them, this chapter outlines the notion of ‘emergency’ with reference to the emergency response framework defined by the IASC and operationalised by the UN organisations. First, however, we turn to an outline of some key characteristics of different crises that distinguish emergencies from other settings.

Characteristics of emergencies

A humanitarian emergency entails a fundamental hazard to human life in a manner that challenges a society’s ability to cope. A basic distinction often drawn to describe different risks that causes emergencies differentiates between *natural* or *physical* emergencies and *man-made* emergencies.

In emergencies caused by NATURAL / PHYSICAL hazards (e.g. typhoons, hurricanes, earthquakes, tsunamis, floods and drought), livelihoods are disrupted in the short-term, and if the situation persists, food insecurity follows. Large-scale natural hazards may also cause the sudden destruction of livelihoods, fields and assets, and generate displacement, which

³ <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iasc/>

⁴ See for instance: <https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/programme-cycle/space/documents/document-type/humanitarian-needs-overview>.

immediately affects the food security situation. Large-scale destruction of buildings (e.g. private homes, school buildings and health facilities) may cause longer-term challenges in several sectors, and affects opportunities for preparing and storing food in private homes and in communal facilities. Sudden-onset physical hazards also include BIOLOGICAL hazards. The 2014 Ebola epidemic outbreaks in West Africa and the DRC are examples of the latter, as are sudden-onset infectious diseases that spread rapidly, like the Haiti 2010 Cholera outbreak. Both of these biological threats require renewed emergency response at the time,⁵ and negatively affected people's livelihoods and thus their food security.

Time is an important dimension in emergencies, in terms of *onset* and *duration*—both of which affect the nature of impact on human life and the emergency response.

SUDDEN-ONSET or RAPID-ONSET emergencies include the *physical emergencies* caused by earth movements (e.g. volcano outbreak, earthquake) and some meteorological hazards (e.g. typhoons and hurricanes). Sudden-onset disasters have an immediate effect. However, the effects of climate change are not evenly distributed, and developed countries in the north have been less dramatically affected by natural disasters than poorer countries. In developed countries, the effects of natural disasters also tend to wear off quickly, which illustrates how the scale of an emergency is a result of the region's capacity to handle crisis, as well as the magnitude of the crisis in itself. Europe's response to the so-called refugee crisis, for example, clearly demonstrates the importance of political climate on crisis-handling, and that humanitarian response is not simply a function of structural capacity.

SLOW-ONSET emergencies include natural hazards caused by meteorological conditions—droughts are the typical example. The detrimental effects of droughts often increase gradually in a manner that causes longer-term crises in food security and nutrition.

In one of its studies, OCHA has defined a slow-onset emergency as 'one that does not emerge from a single, distinct event but one that emerges gradually over time, often based on a confluence of different events'. As examples, the authors emphasise that 'global challenges—such as climate change, food and energy price spikes, macroeconomic trends, irregular migration, rapid population growth, and urbanisation ... in combination ... may result in more slow-onset emergencies in the future' (OCHA 2011: 3).

⁵ The natural biological hazards that cause infectious disease emergencies provide reminders of why the term 'man-made' is a problematic antonym to natural hazards, but we will leave that point aside.

Large-scale population movements, like the current refugee crisis, is another example of a slow-onset crisis brought about by a complexity of factors.

So-called MAN-MADE disasters include *conflict emergencies*—civil war, larger scale violent conflict and inter-state war.⁶ Conflict emergencies differ in several respects from sudden-onset physical disasters, both in terms of duration and the need for protection needs of civilians against human rights abuses. Man-made emergencies also include crises caused by *technological* (or ‘technical’, see e.g. WHO/EHA 1998) hazards, such as large-scale industrial, nuclear and chemical disasters.

Some emergencies result from several hazards or a combination of both man-made and natural causes, as well as by structural factors of underdevelopment (cf. OCHA 2011). These COMPLEX EMERGENCIES are characterised by a breakdown of authority due to internal or external conflict (IASC 1994).⁷ They are typically associated with armed conflict (civil war, foreign aggression, or both), political circumstances restricting the provision of humanitarian assistance to local populations, displacement, high civilian casualties and loss of life (cf. IASC 1994). These situations create particular protection needs and cause acute disruptions in people’s livelihoods and local food production, thereby contributing to food insecurity.

CONFLICT EMERGENCIES are often classified as sudden-onset emergencies in spite of early warning. Even so, the waves of Syrian refugees to neighbouring countries also began as a large-scale and rapidly unfolding crisis, as a response to the acceleration in frequency and space of armed hostilities and attacks on civilians. Moreover, the pace of conflict emergencies’ onset varies.

As mentioned above, time is an important dimension in emergencies, with regards to the duration and onset characteristics of the emergency. In PROTRACTED CRISES, unsustainable livelihoods and conflict contribute to the longevity of the emergency, as conflict contributes to livelihood crises and vice versa. Conflict emergencies tend to turn into protracted crises, while natural disasters, for example, usually have a more linear recovery curve.

For the purposes of this report, a final dimension is the degree to which an emergency is characterised by DISPLACEMENT. DISPERSED DISPLACEMENT occurs when an emergency forces people on the move within a country or

⁶ Man-made emergencies also include crises caused by technological (or ‘technical’, see e.g. WHO/EHA 1998) hazards, e.g. large-scale industrial, nuclear and chemical disasters.

⁷ They thus resemble later operationalisations of circumstances calling for a so-called Level 3 corporate response (IASC n.d.).

across borders, and requires different considerations regarding emergency facilities for IDPs and refugees than LOCALISED DISPLACEMENT. Localised displacement usually implies the concentration of IDPs or refugees in camps, whereas dispersed displacement involves the continued movements across geographical space or the integration of refugees/IDPs into local communities (Syrian refugees in Lebanon being one example of the latter). The DRC represents yet another situation: *multiple displacement*, in which people are displaced multiple times in multiple directions or locations, making emergency response programming particularly challenging.

Humanitarian emergency response levels

As mentioned above, the USC/ERC and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) operate within a system of levels of humanitarian emergency response. The designation of a crisis as an L3, L2 or L1 emergency does not reflect the severity of the crisis itself, but rather reflects its scale, understood as the relation between its magnitude and the government's capacity to respond. Risk factors also affect emergency response level decision-making, including the complexity of the crisis, urgency, and organisational reputation for the UN and the humanitarian system.

Classification of an emergency response is done in order to meet the particular needs of staffing, funding and leadership (see IASC n.d.). The main focus in materials published by IASC is on Level 3 (L3) emergencies. Each UN and non-UN organisation that takes part in the Cluster Response System has developed their own operational definitions of Level 3 and Level 2 emergencies.

According to the IASC, a LEVEL 3 EMERGENCY response 'is activated when a humanitarian situation *suddenly and significantly changes* and ... it is clear that the *capacity to lead, coordinate and deliver humanitarian assistance and protection on the ground does not match the scale, complexity and urgency of the crisis*' (IASC n.d., emphasis in original). The decision to designate an L3 emergency is thus based not only on the severity and complexity of humanitarian needs but also on 'the lack of domestic capacity to respond and the reputational risk for the humanitarian system'.⁸

In WFP's Emergency Response Operations outline, an L3 emergency is defined as a situation that requires 'mobilisation of WFP global response

⁸ See <http://educationcluster.net/country-coordination/high-priority-countries/>.

capabilities in support of the relevant CO(s) and/or RB, i.e. a Corporate Response' (WFP 2014b: 1).

In 2013, there were three L3 response designations: the conflicts in Syria and the Central African Republic (downgraded to L2 in May 2015) and the typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines (downgraded to L2 in February 2014). Additionally, South Sudan and Iraq were declared L3 emergencies in 2014, as was Yemen in July of 2015. Ideally, the declaration of an L3 response should not exceed a period of three months, during which the appropriate capacities and arrangements should be put in place in a manner that allows for a transition to an L2 response. However, this has not been possible in several of the above L3 declarations, and there are currently several protracted L3 response operations.

LEVEL 2 EMERGENCY situations are described by UNICEF as situations that 'can be country-specific, cover a region or many regions within a country, multi-country and/or sub-regional in nature or potentially span more than one region... They could be sudden-onset emergencies, a significant deterioration in an ongoing complex emergency which is not sufficiently addressed through the regular UNICEF Country Programme' (UNICEF 2013: 1). In this same vein, the UNHCR describes L2 situations as those in which: 'The capacity of the country/regional office combined with that of its partners and the concerned state or states require significant additional support and resources from Headquarters in order to address the magnitude of the crisis' (UNHCR 2015: 7). Similarly, WFP's outline for an L2 Response reads: 'Emergency Response operations requiring regional augmentation of country-level response capability' (WFP 2014b: 1).

A situation requiring a LEVEL 1 EMERGENCY response is defined by the UNHCR as follows: 'The capacity of the country office combined with that of the regional office (as applicable), as well as with that of its partners, is sufficient to address the magnitude of the crisis with targeted support from Headquarters in terms of resources, and the response can normally be handled/managed within the Bureau' (2015: 6).

The WFP operationalisation of an L1 response similarly mobilises country office coordination: 'Level 1 Response: Emergency operations within the response capabilities of the relevant WFP Country Office (CO), with routine support from Regional Bureaux (RB)' (WFP 2014b: 1).

Protection needs in emergencies

Emergencies raise particular protection issues. In 2005, an ALNAP guide for humanitarian agencies regarding protection outlined protection needs in different crises (Slim & Bonwick 2005). The guide focuses largely on conflict emergencies, but the distinctions drawn are useful for the current discussion. The three main dangers in war and emergencies that require people's protection, are defined as follows:

1. *Deliberate personal violence*: Murder and violence against civilians, deliberate use of sexual violence, coercion/recruitment of children to soldiering or sex work, personal injuries caused by torture, landmines, and 'signature' atrocities like amputation (Slim & Bonwick 2005: 24). Direct personal violence is typical in war and armed conflict, post-conflict and protracted conflict. In the current report, we refer to protection from deliberate personal violence as *personal protection*.

2. *Deprivation*: Death and injuries *from war* rather than *in war*, caused by 'impoverishment, dispossession, destitution, disease and sheer exhaustion' (ibid.: 25). The destruction of personal property and public facilities, pillaging, the destruction of fields, herds and jobs threatens livelihoods and education, health, and religious and cultural autonomy. Deprivation results from the indirect effects of war and, in some cases, from deliberate acts of actors in conflict. We would like to add that protection from deprivation is a protection need also in natural disasters and complex emergencies (cf. WFP 2012).

3. *Limited movement and restricted access*: Deliberate restriction of people's movements, the destruction of schools, hospitals and other public facilities and the forced return to unsafe areas. Force as well as fear may drive people to restrict their movement or to become IDPs or refugees, increasing the risk of deprivation (ibid.: 26).

WFP's own humanitarian policy (WFP 2012) reflects the dual nature of the duty to protect in programming: first in its do-no-harm principle, by designing and carrying out 'assistance activities that do not increase the protection risks faced by the crisis affected populations receiving assistance' (2012: 7); and second, by contributing to protection as an objective of the intervention, protecting the 'safety, dignity and integrity of vulnerable people' (ibid.). The latter principle can be seen as an additional dimension of the obligation to protect.

Additionally, the Child Protection Area of Responsibility under the Global Protection Cluster has developed *Minimum Standards for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action* (see Child Protection AoR 2016). This handbook

specifies the particular protection needs of children in emergencies. We include them below in their entirety (see Table 2).

Child protection and emergency school feeding

The necessity of child protection in emergency situations must be emphasised. This report's child-centred perspective suggests a 'child protection approach' to school feeding in emergencies. Child protection in this context embraces universal personal protection needs; particular age-specific protection needs (Table 2); and children's need for protection against deprivation and protection of children's dignity. The objective of protection in emergency school feeding, as conveyed in WFP's own humanitarian policy (WFP 2012), should be a mainstreaming element to prevent interventions from doing harm. The protection element of school feeding should also constitute a primary objective, in its contribution to the protection of children from the threats discussed above. As such, emergency school feeding can be seen as an example of integrated protection programming. It should be emphasised that protection cannot be a stand-alone objective of an intervention but must be a co-objective, alongside aims to improve children's food access, nutrition and educational access.

As a tool for increasing access to education, school feeding in emergencies may also contribute to the protection of children against age-specific threats, such as recruitment into armed forces and groups, forced and/or early marriage (below the age of 18) and other forms of child labour (including worst forms of child labour), including different forms of slavery. Introducing feeding programmes into schools and safe-spaces in emergencies with the aim of securing these age-specific protection needs holds untapped potential. Initiatives should be followed up with systematic research (cf. Chapter 5).⁹ School feeding may also work as an incentive to draw children to safe spaces that offer additional support, in line with WFP's Emergency Programming Framework (see e.g. WFP 2017c); moreover, it supports the goal of developing

⁹ Research on the effects of in-school feeding on child labour is limited (cf. ILO 2013: 38). Studies on the impacts of food-for-education have focused on programmes that include both in-school meals and THRs. They show increases in school participation but not necessarily equal reduction of children's participation in economic activities (see ILO 2013: 37ff for a summary and discussion of findings). Research on the effects of emergency school feeding on early marriage and the worst forms of child labour is virtually non-existent.

Child Safe Spaces that are highly inclusive and non-discriminatory, with stimulating, participatory, and supportive environments (cf. UNICEF 2011).

At the same time, protection considerations must take into account the constraints of the protective potential of education: for example, the targeting of schools in armed conflict, the risk of violence on the way to school and the effects of trauma (among teaching personnel as well as pupils) on the learning environment.

When schooling and/or participation in child safe spaces contributes positively to meeting child protection needs, school feeding can provide an effective incentive. Emergency school feeding should aim to reach out-of-school children to secure their access to food, encourage school attendance, and support gender equity in education and participation in safe spaces.

WFP’s school feeding programmes place school feeding in a social protection framework by providing services that seek to contribute to overall human development and prevent persons from falling into extreme poverty. School feeding programmes can thus potentially respond to the protection needs of children against deprivation, which have heightened relevance in emergencies. *Emergency school feeding*, more specifically, responds to heightened nutritional needs and food insecurity among children. We turn to issues of intra-household food allocation and the nutritional needs of children and youth below. This forms the basis for promoting the principal role emergency school feeding can play in securing children’s food access.

Table 2 Child protection risks in emergencies

Protection risks children face in emergencies
<p>Dangers and injuries. The World Health Organization reports that hundreds of thousands of children die each year from injuries or violence, and millions of others suffer the consequences of non-fatal injuries. Common forms of physical danger and injury in conflicts, disasters and other crises include road traffic accidents, drowning, fire-related burns, injury caused by explosive remnants of war or landmines and unintended injury from gunfire.</p>
<p>Physical violence and other harmful practices. An increase in violence and abuse within the home may occur because of increased stress caused both by the event and the consequences of the emergency: poverty, lack of food and others. During conflicts, children may suffer extreme violence, such as killing, maiming, torture and abduction. The impact of an emergency may also lead families to resort to harmful strategies as coping mechanisms, such as child marriage and female genital mutilation.</p>
<p>Sexual violence. Evidence suggests that sexual violence occurs in all emergency contexts. This may be due to reduced protection mechanisms. It is also sometimes attributed to increased social and economic pressures. The consequences of sexual violence are far-reaching and include injury and death, unwanted pregnancy, contraction of sexually transmitted infections, physical injuries, mental health issues, distress, and social and economic exclusion.</p>

Psychosocial distress and mental disorders. Research demonstrates that children exposed to violence in conflict settings or harsh conditions, such as those experienced in refugee camps, show high rates of serious psychiatric problems. Symptoms may include loss of appetite, change in sleep patterns, nightmares, withdrawal and regression in certain skills. Temporary symptoms are more common than severe long-term reactions, with more children experiencing depression and anxiety than post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). However, the psychological impact may persist for up to three to five years after a natural disaster.

Children associated with armed forces and armed groups (CAAFAG). CAAAFAG are often exposed to high levels of violence, abuse, exploitation and injury. They may face sexual exploitation and violence (both girls and boys), detention for engagement in conflict, threats to life, possible injury and exposure to explosive remnants of war. They are also deprived of education and parental care. Vulnerability is ongoing even after release or escape, as formerly associated children may lack education or may be rejected by their families and communities, potentially leading to secondary exploitation. Children who escape from armed military groups often have long-term psychological problems.

Child labour. In most contexts, the legal minimum working age is 15. Child labour is work that is unacceptable because the children involved are too young and should be in education. Alternatively, it is inappropriate because the work is harmful to their emotional, developmental, or physical well-being, whether they have reached the minimum age or not. Many of those involved in child labour are victims of the worst forms. These include forced or bonded labour, CAAAFAG, trafficking, sexual exploitation or hazardous work that causes harm to their health, safety or morals.

Unaccompanied and separated children. Children who become separated from their caregivers in emergencies lose their primary protection mechanism. When external risks increase, children need the security of family even more; the separation from or loss of relatives increases the possibility of negative social, economic and psychological impacts of emergencies. Children may be abducted into forced labour, conscripted into armed groups or forces or trafficked. Separation from adult carers may reduce the possibility of children gaining access to required humanitarian aid and services. Research demonstrates significant long-term psychosocial impacts on children. A correlation has been found between separation from caregivers and death.

Justice for children. Justice for children, or children in contact with the law, covers a range of ways in which children come into contact with security forces, legal structures and law enforcement agents, including as witnesses, victims, beneficiaries, or when they are in conflict with the law themselves. For the purpose of this section, we will focus on children in conflict with the law, since they are also most likely to suffer injury or severe threats to their well-being. The term 'children in conflict with the law' refers to anyone under 18 who comes into contact with the justice system as a result of being suspected or accused of committing an offence. A large body of research reflects on how boys and girls held in prisons may be exposed to diverse forms of violence and threats to their well-being, including ill treatment, sexual abuse, torture, physical violence, abuse and death. Children suffer physical and humiliating punishment, bullying and isolation. Dire conditions and harsh regimes are also physically and mentally damaging for children and may amount to cruel, inhumane and degrading treatment. In many prisons and institutions, children are denied medical care, education and other basic rights.

(Source: Child Protection AoR 2016:111–112)

Nutritional needs during the second growth spurt

Lack of food exposes children to health threats that affect their health negatively, and that has longer term consequences for their adult health. The relationship between foetal under-nutrition and increased risk of various diseases in adult life is well documented (e.g. Forsdahl 1977; Barker & Osmond 1986). Chronically malnourished girls are more likely to remain undernourished during adolescence and adulthood, and more likely to deliver low birth weight babies (ACC/SCN 2000). This contributes to an inter-generational cycle of malnutrition.

It is common knowledge that under optimal conditions, all children under five years of age follow the same growth pattern (Habicht et al. 1974). This is the basis for the international growth standards that are used to determine malnutrition in children (WHO Multicentre Growth Reference Study Group 2006).

Measuring under-nutrition among children above five years of age is challenging—especially in adolescence, due to variability in the timing of the pre-pubertal growth spurt. Age in isolation has been deemed an inappropriate indicator of physiological maturity and nutritional needs (Spear 2002). In 2007, the WHO published new growth references for school-age children and adolescents based on existing historical data (Butte et al. 2007). Indexes include cut-offs for weight-for-age (5–10 years), height-for-age (5–19 years) and BMI-for-age (5–19 years).

In emergencies, rolling out monitoring of individual nutritional status may not be feasible. We suggest that these methodological challenges have led to a general under-appreciation of the importance of nutrition among children above five years of age: While most nutritional studies and interventions focus on infant and child malnutrition—either within the first 1000 days of life or under 5 years of age—far less focus is directed toward older children and adolescents.

The most vulnerable period with regards to malnutrition is ‘the period spanning development *in utero* through to two years of age’ (Alderman & Bundy 2012: 209, with reference to Shrimpton et al. 2001).¹⁰ However, the detrimental effects of malnutrition among youth remain severe, regardless of the methodological challenges of monitoring. During the life-cycle, there are two periods characterised by rapid growth. The first occurs during the first two years of life, the second during adolescence in the pre-pubertal growth spurt.

¹⁰ With reference to this point, Alderman and Bundy point to studies that examine the effects of THR among younger siblings of the recipients of SF (cf. 2012: 209).

Research in the nutritional community has investigated whether the effects of stunting can be reversed through so-called ‘catch-up growth’. The possibilities for such catch-up growth—by improved nutritional intake—are higher during the child’s first two years of age (Leroy et al. 2015), i.e. during a child’s first growth spurt.

The neglect of the nutritional needs of children and youth also represents a missed opportunity for healthy pubertal development. The pubertal growth spurt is mediated by sex steroids and growth hormones, changes in which create particular nutritional needs (WHO 2006). The requirement of energy and protein increases considerably during this period, and is correlated more with the growth pattern than with age (Spear 2002). A high- quality diet with sufficient amounts of minerals and vitamins is important for increasing skeletal mass, body size and body density (WHO 2006). The rapid growth in weight and height of adolescents make the composition of their diet particularly important. Nutritional status during childhood and the peripubertal period has a significant effect on pubertal development (Soliman et al. 2014).

One of only a few studies carried out on the health effects of school feeding in crises discusses data from the heavily drought-stricken area of Andhra Pradesh in India (Singh, Park & Dercon 2014). The study showed that midday school meals acted as a safety net for children and provided large and significant health gains for children whose families suffered from droughts.

In their (2012) publication, Alderman and Bundy problematize the nutritional value of school feeding, with regards to its targeting to children who are not in the below-two-year-of-age category (2012: 209). We are critical of Alderman and Bundy’s position in contexts of emergency settings, precisely because of the effects of malnutrition and over-nutrition discussed above. As Soliman et al. (2014) have pointed out, research on the effects of nutritional conditions on pubertal development is scarce, especially among groups undergoing rapid nutritional transitions.

Food security and intra-household food allocation

Food security was originally used as a measure reflecting a *country’s* ability to meet the dietary requirements of the population (Pinstrup-Andersen 2009); it follows, then, that the concept of *household food security* refers to a household’s ability to acquire the food needed by its members (ibid). However, as Pinstrup-Andersen points out, even if a household is considered *food secure*, food security is not necessarily ensured for all members of the household. In sum:

- 1) The ability to acquire food does not necessarily mean that households prioritise food over other needs.
- 2) The intra-household allocation of food may not be based on the needs of each individual member.

FAO adopted the following working definition of food security in 2003:

Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Household food security is the application of this concept to the family level, with individuals within households as the focus of concern (FAO 2003: 29).

FAO's working definition reflects the concerns raised by Pinstrup-Andersen (2009), and in turn, conveys a broader shift in the understanding of food security, from its original use as a measure of overall food availability to its current use as a measure of food access (FAO 2003: 29). As we pointed out in the introductory chapter, Amartya Sen's application of the concept of *food entitlement* conveyed the failure of vulnerable groups and individuals to access resources (Sen 1981). Food security can thus be linked to households, vulnerable groups and individuals within households, as well as to a societal level.

It is in this context that we refer to *food security* with regard to the child population. We stress the aspect of children's food access, and wish to direct attention to the effects of emergencies on intra-household food allocation.

Research in intra-household food allocation is scarce. Torheim and Arimond (2013) summarise the limited findings on intra-household food allocation according to gender. They point out differences between continents and reiterate findings from a comprehensive survey carried out by Haddad et al. (1996), which indicate that the most prominent gender differences are in Southern Asian countries, while South America has the least; studies from African countries report varying results. Though some studies do include adolescents and children, evidence on how food is allocated to them within households is lacking.

Very limited data exist, as well, on intra-household food allocation during emergencies. However, gender-based disparities in this context have been demonstrated in several studies, and this too indicates regional variations. A study from Ethiopia (Hadley et al. 2008) showed that among youth (13–17 years of age) living in food insecure households, adolescent food access varies by gender: Adolescent girls were more likely than adolescent boys to experience food insecurity when living in food-stressed households. In

some contexts, allocation practices prioritised older household members over school children. A study from South West Nigeria showed that even if households seemed to have adequate nutrition, children—especially school children—were disfavoured in the households' distribution of food (measured by energy intake), and were the most under-nourished members (Akerele 2011).

While studies of food distribution within households are sparse, findings on child health and nutritional status are abundant. These findings, similar to those referenced above, indicate that intra-household allocation is adjusted during crisis, disfavours children according to gender and age. For example, a paper from Rwanda compared the health outcome of children who experienced two different types of shocks: civil war and crop failure (Akresh, Vervimp and Bundervoet 2011). The study found that both types of shocks affected children's health and nutritional status, but the significance of gender and poverty differed between the two cases. Regarding the children exposed to the civil war, all had negative health effects: both boys and girls, and children from both poor and non-poor households (*ibid*). With regards to the children exposed to crop failure, however, the girls from the poor households suffered the most severe effects.

Similar results for crop failure were demonstrated by researchers in India: When a drought-stricken district experienced higher rainfall, the gender bias in mortality narrowed, favouring boys (Rose 1999). A study in Sub-Saharan Africa, which combined rainfall data with retrospective fertility data on more than 1.5 million births, showed the same trend in child mortality (Flatø and Kotsdam 2015), i.e. substantial gender differences in infant mortality after droughts, again favouring boys. Moreover, findings on infant health and mortality in contexts of crisis suggest that children are disproportionately affected by crisis according to gender, with data demonstrating higher than expected female infant mortality in some areas (*cf.* Alkema et al. 2014; Flatø & Kotsadam 2015).

Food insecurity caused by crises thus affects children and youth, and boys and girls disproportionately. WFP's main entry point for food security is the household, but household food security interventions do not target children directly, with regards to allocation efforts. This is the principle motivation behind the perspective on emergency school feeding being promoted in this report: School feeding potentially compensates for uneven food allocation at the household level.¹¹

11 For research on school feeding in terms of preventing hunger and malnutrition, see Stanley (2013: 190) for experiences from India, and Sossou (2013: 245) for an example from Ghana.

Food as barrier to education: Recalibrating ‘education’ in emergency school feeding

Food insecurity characterises nearly all emergencies, from slow-onset natural disasters to conflict emergencies. In development contexts, a rapid-onset natural disaster will often heighten food insecurity, as well. In all of these settings, hunger and lack of food may also constitute barriers to children’s education. It should be noted, however, that in certain high-intensity conflict emergencies, threats against children’s personal safety and a lack of teachers and school materials may be the most pressing barriers to accessing education.

Food shortage in the household can affect school-age children in several ways:

1. Children receive too little food at home, and are in risk of becoming undernourished.
2. Children are too weak to walk to school.
3. Children cannot concentrate in school.
4. Households cannot afford sending their child(ren) to school.
5. Children need to take part in economic activities to ensure income for their families.

In interviews with WFP partners and representatives from the educational clusters based in the relevant countries, respondents consistently emphasised the importance of school feeding as a food aid tool (see Textbox 1).

When we discussed with representatives from the Educational Cluster and the country office of WFP in Ethiopia, for example, the need for food topped their list of the country’s most urgent needs. They also listed school material as important, but held that safe food and clean water was the top priority, in order to enable children’s school attendance. In response to this, school feeding has been scaled up to cover more of the children’s diets.

In conversations with us, representatives in the WFP country offices in Ethiopia as well as Nicaragua held that the school feeding programme’s principle aim in both countries is educational. Even so, their arguments for an increase in meal frequency were related to the food security situation in specific areas in the two countries. Moreover, the two school feeding programmes were described by respondents as operating with the goal of ensuring that parents send their children to school, as lack of food at home would otherwise prevent children from going to school.

The food situation in Nicaragua and Ethiopia has been strongly affected by El Niño. Both countries are experiencing one of the worst droughts in decades.

In Ethiopia, more than 80,000 people are displaced by drought and flooding, and conditions have led to disease outbreaks and disruption of basic public services. According to OCHA, the drought has impacted the lives and livelihoods of 9.7 million people (OCHA 2016). At the same time, the crisis is compounded by conflict: In October of 2016, Ethiopian authorities declared a state of emergency following public protests, violence and unrest in the Oromia region (Al Jazeera 2016).

Nicaragua faces recurring droughts but, unlike Ethiopia, has not experienced public unrest or displacement. The northern part of the country has been hit by El Niño conditions since 2014. In June of 2016, OCHA reported problems with food insecurity and a need for food assistance, health care, livelihood recovery and activities to increase resilience in Nicaragua and in neighbouring countries hit by the drought.

Current programmes: Prior to the onset of the drought, both countries had SF programmes running that contributed to ensuring sufficient food for children. SF programmes were scaled up during the drought period using existing infrastructure.

Nicaragua's school feeding programme is run by the government, with some support from WFP and other partners. The standard SF programme is one meal per day for children in preschool and primary school. Maize and beans are produced by local smallholder farmers, while other food items (e.g. vegetable oil and fortified cereals) are purchased regionally. Children in the drought in the northern corridor receive two meals a day instead of one.

In Ethiopia, SF programmes have been operating since 1994, and are run by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with WFP. The SF programmes are expected 'to raise and maintain school enrolment with a particular focus on meeting the demand side of education of chronic food insecure and vulnerable children' (MoE 2005, cited in Dhressa 2011). In 2016, approx. 4 million school-age children (7–14 years of age) were affected by drought and in need of food and safe water. The government, in collaboration with WFP and Save the Children, is reaching out to these children through a school feeding programme that aims to increase food security and improve children's nutritional status and education. The programme usually consists of a meal of porridge prepared in schools and served once a day. Portions should ideally contain 500 kcal and cover a minimum level of vitamins and minerals. In some areas, the frequency of school feeding has increased to two meals a day.

When reviewing the research literature on the impact of school feeding on school attendance, evidence indicates a positive impact of both in-school meals and in-kind take-home rations on school enrolment and attendance *in non-crisis settings*, especially in low-income countries (see Vermeersch & Kremer 2005; Jomaa et al. 2011). However, systematic research regarding the effects of school feeding on school participation in emergencies is limited. This reflects the scarcity of representative data on barriers to education—especially regarding the ways in which crisis and conflict affect boys’ and girls’ school participation (cf. Burde et al. 2017)—and of data on education during emergencies more generally (cf. Burde et al. 2015: 22).

The sparse scientific literature on education in emergencies that does exist shows a distinct bias towards conflict emergencies over natural disasters (cf. Burde et al. 2017). Barriers to education in non-conflict emergency contexts thus remain particularly poorly understood.

However, insights from the research literature on barriers to education in slow-onset natural disasters should be made more explicitly relevant to the overall knowledge base on emergency school feeding. To some extent, generalisations based on the lack of research on incentives to promote children’s education in crisis-settings rest on a narrow understanding of the notions of ‘crisis’ and ‘emergency’. For instance, Burde et al., in their comprehensive review of the literature on education in emergency settings, point out the ‘robust, yet mixed evidence from non-crisis, low-income countries indicating that school feedings and take-home rations may be effective in increasing enrolment, (2015:23); they then turn to Omwami et al.’s (2011) article, among other references, to document evidence from ‘non-crisis’ countries. This article, however, is an analysis of data from two rural districts in Kenya from 1998 to 2002, a study period that coincided first with flooding, following higher than normal rainfall (characteristic of El Niño) and later, with drought conditions that caused food shortages in the two districts (2011: 16). In this sense, the reason for labelling the Kenya case as a ‘non-crisis’ setting is unclear, especially as Burde et al. also state (elsewhere) that findings from Kenya ‘are relevant to crisis settings and should be explored in future research’ (Burde et al. 2015: 7).

The findings from Kenya are interesting in terms of food insecurity caused by natural disasters. The study’s objective was to determine whether school feeding resulted in improved school attendance among elementary school children. The project under study was a school feeding programme that offered a fortified local staple-based snack (a maize and bean stew called ‘githeri’) at morning recess. Three groups of school children received a meal at recess that provided 240 kcal in the first school year and 313 kcal

for the remainder of the study (2011: 188). The authors concluded that ‘the intervention groups performed better than the control group on the repeated measure of school attendance’ (2011: 192), thus demonstrating that school feeding can have a positive impact on school participation. At the same time, the authors emphasised that to ensure food security as well as health and nutrition benefits, school feeding arrangements cannot compensate for interventions occurring simultaneously at the household level (2011: 192).

There may, therefore, be more evidence from slow-onset food insecurity emergencies than a classic review of ‘emergencies’ may indicate, of which the latter tends to convey insights from nation-wide emergencies (e.g. as reflected in the emergency response levels by IASC described earlier). Many El Niño emergencies are referred to in the context of ‘development’ or ‘poverty’ rather than ‘emergencies’, at present. This should be kept in mind in future research and literature reviews on emergency school feeding.

Moreover, the research literature does provide examples of emergency school feeding lowering barriers to education. More research on the effects of school feeding on *school achievement* should be encouraged. Nevertheless, in contexts where children’s access to food is a barrier to their education, the role of emergency school feeding in improving access should be the more important concern. In line with this, we define emergency school feeding as an intervention to ensure children’s protection and food access, with additional educational goals. School feeding in emergencies primarily addresses issues pertaining to lowering barriers related to *accessing* education and, as such, represents an intervention *in support* of education rather than a direct educational intervention (cf. Alderman and Bundy 2012). The educational aim is to support efforts to encourage children’s school participation, to help prevent specific age cohorts that have been hit by emergencies from developing poor livelihood opportunities.

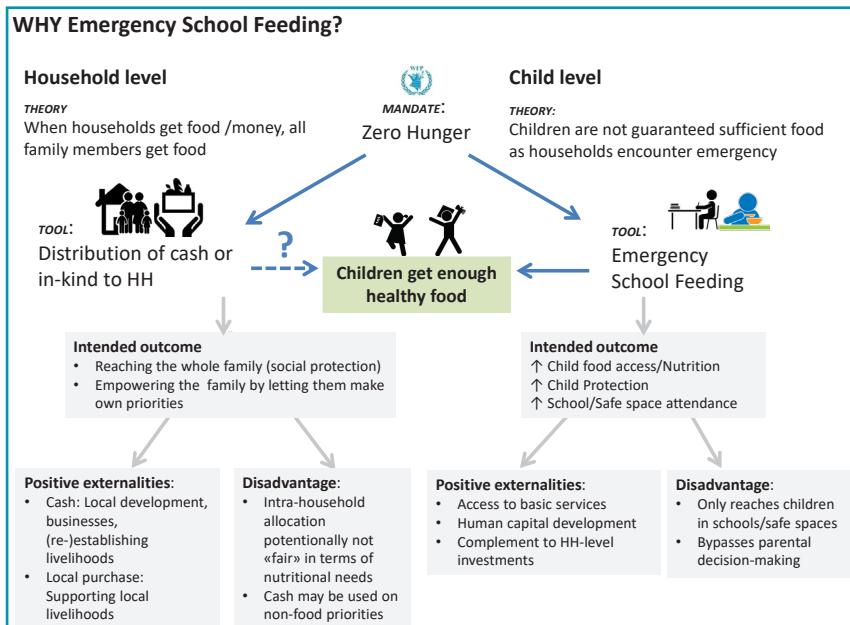
As noted, this approach to emergency school feeding is more child-centred than school- or household-centred, and defines the intervention as education-*supportive* more than education-*specific*. In comparison, school feeding policies in development settings emphasise school feeding as an education-*specific* intervention strictly linked to schooling, school attendance and in-school children, and stress the role of school feeding as a social safety net for *households* (cf. Bundy 2009). One aspect of our child-centred approach is that interventions should also be extended to the most vulnerable children, i.e. out-of-school children and younger siblings, to create incentives that draw children to protected spaces as well as schools. As we discuss in the next chapter, this also means that a wider span of age groups should be considered for inclusion in emergency programming—

especially preschool children who join safe spaces but are excluded from meal programmes. In the latter case, receiving meals or snacks should be tied to participation in protection activities. This may also prevent drop-out among school children obliged to care for younger siblings, whose parents must devote themselves to breadwinning.

Rethinking emergency school feeding

Emergency situations are diverse, but aims of recovery operations in emergency situations remain the same: save lives, promote peace and recovery, and empower and reinforce the self-sufficiency of the people and communities affected (WFP 2002). The role of WFP assistance in an emergency situation is to ensure the basic food needs of the most vulnerable; rehabilitate cases of acute malnutrition; restore livelihoods; and ensure long-term national and household food security (WFP 2004). Promoting Zero Hunger also makes up part of WFP’s Emergency Programming Framework and should inform school feeding in emergencies carried out by WFP. Moreover, we stress the need for re-emphasising food security as a core aim of emergency school feeding.

Figure 1 A theory of change (figure adapted from idea by Ellen Kathrine Kiøsterud).



In the child-centred approach to *emergency school feeding* that we suggest here, interventions should stress children's protection and food access. As noted, the increased focus on food security and nutrition benefits, alongside child protection, makes the intervention education-*supportive* more than education-*specific*. The difference with regards to non-emergency school feeding programmes is therefore one of emphasis, not of kind. The child-centred approach that we are proposing is motivated by protection objectives, in which protection from deprivation as well as violence and age-specific threats are central. It also relies on findings on child health and nutritional status, which indicate that food insecurity in crises affects children and youth disproportionately. It further relies on a theory of change: Research findings indicate that intra-household allocation is adjusted during crises, disfavours children according to gender and age. Food is thus not necessarily channelled to all household members according to need. School-age children are particularly vulnerable to uneven food distribution. Children and adolescents who receive food in schools or safe spaces get a net addition to their energy intake and, depending on modality, an increased dietary diversity that compensates for inequalities in intra-household food allocation. The tying of feeding to schools (including temporary learning spaces) and safe spaces not only provides distribution points, but facilitates children's protection from deprivation and strengthens the potential of schools and safe spaces to raise awareness about child rights, child protection issues, and children's opportunities for assistance in humanitarian interventions (cf. UNICEF 2011).

This approach has implications for the choice of modalities and the measurement of success. Chapter 4 turns to these operational implications.

4 Emergency school feeding: Operational implications

In keeping with our emphasis on a child-centred approach, we have suggested a redefinition of *emergency school feeding* as a child protection intervention with additional educational goals, contributing to children's personal safety, food access and protection against deprivation. This chapter discusses operational implications of this redefinition, including consequences for coverage, modalities, monitoring and targeting practices and decision-making.

Coverage: Who, where and when?

School participation and age coverage: Children who attend school are and should remain the main recipients of emergency school meals. In line with the above redefinition of *emergency school feeding*, we suggest an extension of coverage to include out-of-school children. By out-of-school children we mean both school-age children who for various reasons do not attend school, and children below school age. Costs related to school attendance, participation in economic activities in or outside the household, and care for younger siblings prevent many children from going to school. Traditionally, school feeding is a conditional programme, in the sense that it reaches only children attending the targeted school. The most vulnerable children, however, are often those who do not attend school. Extending coverage to out-of-school children would thus support the aim of reaching the most vulnerable of children in emergency contexts.

By the same token, we also suggest that the introduction of emergency school feeding programmes should consider extending the age coverage to children below the age of five. The more specific inclusion criteria for under-school-age children must be considered in relation to the burden of care that school age children experience with regard to their younger siblings. This will also prevent the drop-out pattern reported by child protection specialists, who report that older siblings leave school in order to care for

children who are too young to go to school but too old to accompany parents to their workplaces. The more specific inclusion criteria of emergency school feeding must also be considered in relation to the existence of other food security programmes directed at the household level.

Location—schools and safe spaces: Educational facilities should remain the primary location for emergency school feeding. However, the suggested extension of coverage to include out-of-school children necessarily involves a rethinking of school feeding locations. With the aim of compensating for unequal food allocation in households and contributing to children's protection, emergency school feeding should continue as a blanket distribution programme in locations outside the household setting. More specifically, out-of-school children should be reached through child safe spaces. Safe spaces for children below school age are often located in the vicinity of schools. The distribution of school feeding only to students makes visible the unequal assistance between in- and out-of-school children. Emergency school feeding in safe spaces should be considered in conjunction with efforts to strengthen the educational dimension of safe spaces, and can also be used as a way to facilitate children's (re)introduction to school. Moreover, emergency school feeding should support efforts to make child safe spaces (or 'Child Friendly Spaces') into highly inclusive, non-discriminatory, stimulating, participatory, and supportive environments (cf. UNICEF 2011). This requires close collaboration with UNICEF and with other organisations involved in child protection during emergencies.

Duration: In many instances, holidays coincide with—or occur at the end of—the 'hunger season' (e.g. before the harvest). The contribution of school feeding to overall food consumption is reduced by school holidays and, in non-crisis settings, by seasonal work. Given the child-centred approach to emergency school feeding outlined here (with its aim of improving children's access to food and promoting child protection), reconsiderations of coverage should target distribution of meals in child safe spaces during school holidays. Decision-making on this point should be made in cooperation with the Global Protection Cluster (Child Protection Area of Responsibility).

Modalities

Further supporting the child-centred approach promoted here, we suggest restricting modalities of emergency school feeding to in-school meals and in-school snacks. Cash transfers to households should not be considered part of emergency school feeding programming but rather be included in complementary household level interventions.

The humanitarian response plan characterises the emergency situation in the DRC as a violent conflict, food and nutrition crisis, epidemic and natural disaster (Humanitarian Response 2016). As of 2016, it was OCHA's largest operation worldwide. In October of 2016, estimates indicated 1.9 million IDPs in the country, of which 180,000 new IDPs became displaced during the third trimester of 2016. Nearly all the new IDPs have been displaced as a result of armed conflict and community violence. The combination of armed conflicts, massive population displacements, multiple displacements and very poor infrastructure has affected food security in the DRC. It is estimated that more than 6 million people in the country are in a situation of food insecurity or acute livelihood crisis (WFP 2015). Figures from 2013–2014 showed that the prevalence of childhood stunting was a staggering 43 percent at the country level (and between 50 and 60 percent in the Kivu regions, see Kismul et al. 2018).

Current programmes: The current school feeding programmes are implemented in areas with refugees, IDPs and/or returnees, and in areas considered food insecure and where nutrition conditions are difficult. The targeting of areas is based on assessments of food and nutrition security by UNICEF and WFP. All school feeding programmes in the country are considered emergency school feeding. All food is consumed in-school; there are no take-home rations. The food is procured internationally or nationally, depending on availability and contributions from donors. The children usually get one meal per day. The displaced population is totally dependent on external help. School feeding is seen as a means to cover the children's basic needs. Representatives explain that coming to school ensures children at least one meal that day.

With reference to children receiving in-school snacks and meals, studies show a near 'one-to-one increase in total calorie intake' (Alderman & Bundy 2012: 209). With respect to take-home rations, studies show a 'fly-paper effect', i.e. that resources distributed stick with the child that received them. Even so, Alderman and Bundy (2012) point out that even 'bargaining models are unlikely to produce a polar case with no sharing of resources with other household members' (2012: 208). Thus, if the aim of school feeding in emergencies is to secure children's food intake and to ensure that they take part in education and activities in safe spaces, approaches should concentrate on in-school modalities: in-school snacks and, when possible, in-school meals. The composition of meals and snacks should ideally focus on energy intake as well as dietary diversity.

An example of an emergency school feeding programme that limits modalities to in-school meals is found in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Textbox 2).

As Omwami et al. point out, school feeding arrangements as tools to ensure children's food security, health and nutrition benefits cannot compensate for simultaneous interventions at the household level (2011: 192). Conditional cash transfers to households, in which conditionality is tied to the household sending their children to school (aimed at lowering the household's education costs), make school feeding part of interventions at the household level. In the case of *emergency* school feeding, we argue that cash and kind transfer schemes to households should be avoided as modalities of school feeding, and should instead be considered as complementary interventions.

In the research literature on development, arguments against in-kind food assistance have focused on the receiving communities' resulting dependency. Cash modalities, on the other hand, stimulate local purchase and support households' decision-making and empowerment (cf. Haug 2016). Our defence of in-kind modalities in emergency school feeding is not a general argument against the use of cash interventions, which may be appropriate at the household level. Our argument relates instead to the importance of choosing modalities that reflect the main aims of emergency school feeding (relating to children's access to food, their access to schools and/or safe spaces and efforts to strengthen child protection). Moreover, modalities in a given emergency setting should be diversified according to the entry point of the intervention (i.e. child versus household).

Ideally, the composition of food provided in schools in emergency programmes should focus on energy intake as well as dietary diversity. Limited preparation facilities in schools and safe spaces and difficulty of access to conflict areas may limit the provision of hot or cold meals during crises. In-school snacks, high in energy and nutrition density, should be considered in such contexts, as has been done in emergency school feeding in Syria (Textbox 3).

Targeting and monitoring practices in emergencies

Representatives of country offices interviewed for this study expressed that there is often a discrepancy between targeting practices and the monitoring of their school feeding programmes. On the one hand, targeting is geographical, with specific areas targeted on the basis of food (in)security criteria and, to a certain extent, low education attainment. On the other

In November 2016, OCHA estimated that 13.5 million people were in need of assistance in Syria at the time, of which close to 1 million in then-besieged locations. Over half of the population has been forced from their homes since the onset of the war in 2011, either as refugees or as IDPs.

One out of three schools in Syria is destroyed, and many hundreds of thousands of school employees cannot do their jobs. In effect, the education system is overwhelmed. In areas with an influx of IDPs, the classrooms are overcrowded, with 60 students in each class. It is estimated that in 2015, more than 600,000 school-age children were located in besieged areas, and 2.1 million children were out of school. The main reasons for children not to attend school were displacement, poverty, and safety and security issues. In zones where armed conflict is ongoing, parents are reluctant to send their children to school.

Before the crisis, Syria had a well-functioning education system.

Emergency programmes: In 2014, in collaboration with UNICEF and the Ministry of Education, WFP started an SF programme in areas of relative stability. Mainly IDP-areas were targeted, as the pressure from new pupils on schools in these areas is high, and many of the schools run double shifts. They distribute vitamin and mineral-fortified date bars that are locally produced. It is estimated that 375,000 children receive these bars daily.

In the acutely insecure situation in Syria, it was seen as essential to plan for an SF programme where modalities have long shelf-lives and a maximum reach.

It has been possible to bring date bars into besieged areas in relatively calm periods. The date bar has high nutrient and energy density, which makes transportation and storage efficient. As long as the bars are stored in schools, they can also be distributed during periods characterised by armed fighting.

hand, monitoring does not encompass criteria regarding children's food access, but is instead limited to educational outputs: most often school enrolment or attendance. The feeling of mismatch between the two was expressed by one of the respondents, who stated that the de facto monitoring practice of the programme in question does not convey the most important value of that particular emergency school feeding programme—namely, to prevent children's deprivation in an area hit by livelihood insecurity. In this specific case, targeting captures children in the most food insecure areas in the country's conflict areas. Whether these children's access to food improved by attending the programme, however, is not monitored. Moreover,

despite policies outlining the multiple objectives of school feeding, there is no framework for countries to report on the food security of the children.

A potential risk of failing to monitor children's access to healthy foods is that nutritious snacks are replaced by less-healthy alternatives. In some areas of Pakistan, a government-led school feeding programme introduced biscuits high in sugar, and provided figures documenting higher school enrolment as a result. The programme thus missed out on the opportunity to provide children with healthy food (although it is now undergoing a change to fortified biscuits). Even so, this example—provided by the WFP office in Pakistan—reflects a concern expressed by a representative in another country office, that *'only what is measured is done!'*

Targeting

WFP's *Guidelines for school feeding in an emergency situation* (2004) states that the targeting of emergency school feeding should be clearly related to the objectives of the specific programme. Some clear overall guidance is given: Targeting one or a few schools within an area where many schools are located close to each other is not recommended; neither is targeting children within schools. All children within a school should be reached at the same level independently of individual circumstance (WFP 2004).

In emergencies, targeting or identifying food insecure communities and reaching households and individuals with food assistance is the central element of all WFP food aid operations (WFP 2006). It follows then that targeting food insecure communities and reaching school age children with food assistance should also be among the central elements for emergency school feeding.

Ideally, *all* schools and safe spaces in food-insecure emergency-affected areas should be targeted. However, if resources are limited, two options emerge: cover many schools and safe spaces with less-optimal food, or target a smaller number of schools and safe spaces with optimal food. It is unlikely that targeting a higher number of schools with a low-quality feeding option would improve children's food access. Therefore, the school meals should have a minimum energy and nutrient requirement relative to the children's age, and meals should contain a minimum dietary diversity. We recommend that schools in areas hardest hit by food insecurity be targeted first. At the same time, targeting and coverage considerations in emergency school feeding programming must be based on WFP's Humanitarian Protection Policy, which states non-discrimination as an explicit principle: 'WFP activities should not discriminate against any group, or risk being perceived

The population in *Lebanon* has increased from 4.6 million in 2011 to close to 6 million in 2016, due to the influx of Syrian refugees. The 2016 figure includes 1.5 million displaced Syrians and 1.5 million vulnerable Lebanese (projections for December 2016, Government of Lebanon and UN 2015). Some Syrians live in the households of relatives. The majority struggle to secure livelihoods, as most refugees are not permitted to work. It is estimated that half of all primary-school-age Syrian children living in Lebanon do not attend school: a potentially 'lost generation' (see for instance European Commission 2017).

The addition of Syrian pupils has strained the public educational system, which is now trying to absorb the high number of refugees without lowering the quality of education. One of the initiatives that has been launched in many schools is double shifts. The second shift goes from 2:30 to 6:30 PM for Syrian children in primary school.

Current programme: In March 2016, WFP launched a new school feeding programme for vulnerable Lebanese and Syrian children attending 13 primary schools. The objective was to increase school attendance and reduce short term hunger and malnutrition. The inclusion criteria for the schools in the programme included: double shifts; rehabilitated water and sanitation systems; minimum infrastructure (i.e. reachable for trucks); and collaborative environment (i.e. schools that welcomed Syrian children).

The selection of schools that fulfilled the inclusion criteria was based on the vulnerability maps from UNICEF and UNHCR from 2009. The programme is being carried out in close cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Higher Education. During our interviews, the SF programme was described by staff as a pure educational outcome intervention.

At the time of our interviews, the SF was provided in the form of a selection of snacks from a food basket (fruit, salty baked snack, sweet baked snack, milk and juice), with each snack served twice a week and children receiving two items per day. The snacks were given to all children from kindergarten up to grade 9, irrespectively of refugee or vulnerability status, both during morning-shift and afternoon-shift.

Lebanon has a dispersed refugee population, with Syrians living in local settlements across the country as well as in localised settlements, and the SF model does not discriminate on the basis of refugee status.

as doing so. They should promote and help protect the rights of people who have historically been marginalized or discriminated against' (WFP 2012: 14).

Considerations of non-discrimination are central in the school feeding programme introduced among Syrian refugees in Lebanon in 2016 (Textbox 4).

Monitoring

Monitoring should be as closely linked as possible to the main aims of the intervention and targeting practices. In order to measure the success of a school feeding programme, the concrete activities that are carried out should be the focus of monitoring. As the main activity in a school feeding programme is to provide food to children, it is *this* activity that should be monitored on a regular basis.

In the ‘School meals monitoring framework and guidance’ (WFP 2017b), a framework and guide for monitoring school feeding in development contexts is outlined, intended to include the multiple benefits of school feeding. In *emergency school feeding*, such a framework should be made more focused. In Table 3, a suggested framework for monitoring is outlined. The difference between this framework and WFP’s framework from 2017 is that it is the outputs for the schools and safe spaces that are monitored—not the household-level outputs. The output indicators that should be linked to are: whether the children get food (output indicators 1–2); the frequency of feeding (output indicators 3–4); the quality of the food (output indicators 5–7); and, finally, whether the children receive deworming tablets in areas where that is necessary.

The monitoring of the quality of food given through school meals is easiest done by measuring the dietary diversity of the school meal. There are several ways to measure dietary diversity scores (DDS). With regard to emergency school feeding, we suggest an uncomplicated procedure: for instance, adjusting the measurement method outlined by Mirmiran et al. (2004) that includes grain, vegetables, fruit, dairy and meat. This can be adapted to capture protein sources in more general terms, not limited only to meat. For ensuring proper quality of the school meal, at least three food groups should be present: (1) grain, (2) fruit and/or vegetable, and (3) protein source (e.g. meat, fish, milk, eggs, beans or legumes). Measuring the actual energy and micronutrient content of the food requires more resources than just counting the food groups. Therefore, output indicators 6 and 7 should only be considered when there is a particular need of such detailed information.

The formulation of indicators for child protection outcomes (other than deprivation) should be coordinated with the Child Protection Area of Responsibility within the Global Protection Cluster.

To investigate more complex questions regarding whether emergency school feeding improves the nutritional status and school performance of children and adolescents, a general monitoring system is not necessarily the appropriate tool. Such themes should be explored in more in-depth studies. The relations between nutritional status and school performance are complex, and changes in these variables cannot necessarily be linked directly to school feeding schemes without controlling for a number of confounding factors. In effect, the implementation and monitoring of emergency school feeding should be followed by formative research (see next chapter).

Table 3 Framework for monitoring emergency school feeding (adjusted from WFP 2017b).

Outcomes	Outcome indicators	Outputs	Output indicators
I. Access to nutritious and diversified food for school meals beneficiaries is improved	i	A	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, (6, 7)
II. Access to education and safe spaces for school meals beneficiaries is improved	ii, iii, iv, v	A	1, 3, 5
III. Nutrition and health status of school meals beneficiaries is improved	v	A, B	2, 4, 5, (6, 7), 8
Outcome indicators			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Child dietary diversity score ii. Gross enrolment rate in school and safe space iii. Change in enrolment iv. Average attendance rate in school and safe space v. Reduced absenteeism due to sickness 			
Outputs*			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. School-age children receive nutritious meals or snacks at school or in safe space B. School-age children receive deworming 			
Output indicators			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Number of girls and boys who received school meals or snacks 2. Number of girls and boys who received the planned school meal ration or snacks on at least 80% of the days 3. Number and percentage of total days with school meals or snacks 4. Number of school meals or snacks that were provided (total quantity and percent planned) 5. Number and percentage of total days where multi-fortified food or at least three food groups were provided 6. Quantity of food (by commodity) provided through school meals or snacks, in total and on average per child per day 7. Quantity and type of micronutrients provided through school meals and snacks, in total and on average per child per day 8. Number and percent of pupils in WFP-supported schools who received deworming tablets 			

* These outputs could be expanded to include below-school-age children participating in safe spaces, in cases when Emergency School Feeding programmes were so adjusted.

Conflict and protection analyses

The targeting of emergency school feeding must be preceded by a conflict analysis in order to prevent conflicts from arising or being exacerbated by in-kind incentives. Conflict sensitivity is an explicit element in WFP's Emergency Programming Framework. The selection of particular geographical areas must avoid strengthening conflict along ethnic, class, or other lines. Also, as mentioned above, out-of-school children in safe spaces should be considered as additional beneficiaries of school feeding programmes in emergencies. The development of a framework for conflict analysis should be made in cooperation with the Global Protection Cluster (Child Protection Area of Responsibility).

By the same token, a thorough protection analysis should be carried out in all emergency contexts before the introduction or scaling up of a school feeding programme. Given the need for rapid response, the protection analysis should be based on rapid assessment techniques and include both personal protection issues (intentional personal violence, deprivation, restricted access/forced displacement) as well as particular child protection issues (Table 2). Again, assessments should be made in cooperation with the Global Protection Cluster (Child Protection Area of Responsibility).

Implementing emergency school feeding

The implementation of an emergency school feeding programme depends on a range of considerations, the first of which relates to whether there is a functioning government system in place. Functioning government structures should be made responsible for carrying out emergency school feeding, with external support if needed. With a partially functioning government, WFP or other actors must play a more active role and fill gaps in capacity. In situations where a functioning government structure is lacking, WFP and partners must take full responsibility (Table 4).

Following the identification of the appropriate operational partners, a first consideration to be raised is whether or not the nature of the emergency allows children to safely leave their homes. Natural hazards (e.g. Ebola outbreak, risk of volcano eruptions, flooding, etc.) may make this difficult or threats to personal safety may become acute during conflict. In line with WFP's humanitarian protection policy (2012), emergency school feeding should not be implemented (or should be discontinued) if leaving home exposes children to risk.

Table 4 Contexts of emergency school feeding¹²

<p>1: National Government functioning</p> <p>National education system functions well but the country has recently experienced a severe food or nutrition shock. Alternatively, strain in the system has led government to re-allocate resources away from previously existing school feeding programmes. Government may request support with school feeding in specific areas of country for limited time period.</p>
<p>2: National Government partially functioning</p> <p>Government may have lost partial control of its ability to function, but has a skeleton governance structure in place. May include limited government access to geographical areas due to conflict or a major disaster at a national level. WFP may need to fill a gap as a neutral actor to support the government.</p>
<p>3: WFP and partners assume full implementation responsibility</p> <p>No functioning central authority, or government has been weakened to the point of being unable to function. Implementation responsibility rests with WFP and non-Governmental partners, at least at programme outset.</p>

The expected timespan of emergencies is another main concern. If an emergency operation is likely to be short-natured, emergency school feeding may not be the appropriate tool to address food access needs and promote child protection. On the other hand, emergency school feeding will have an added value in cases when the intervention can lead to a longer-term school feeding programme.

Food insecurity is a third main concern. As outlined in this report, emergency school feeding programmes should emphasise children’s access to food as a core aim, along with their protection needs. If food insecurity is not acute, efforts to strengthen education in the emergency should be the main priority. In such cases, school feeding operations should not differ in nature from programmes in non-emergency contexts.

Following these overarching considerations, the next phase involves specific assessments of the possibilities of and procedures for implementing emergency school feeding. Are there schools or safe spaces in the area? Is there an existing school feeding programme in the area that can be scaled up? Are there possible collaboration partners who can contribute to the training of personnel and the transportation and storage of food resources? What are the costs of implementation?

In settings where school feeding was in operation before the onset of emergency, the introduction of an emergency school feeding programme is partly an issue of upscaling already existing school feeding programmes. If a school feeding programme is already in operation, but capacity to

¹² Adapted from WFP 2015b.

turn the school feeding into emergency school feeding is lacking, ordinary programming should continue as before, prior to the crisis (if circumstances allow). In order to implement an emergency programme, minimum hygienic conditions and storing capacity must be in place, and ‘costs’ of implementation must consider personal and economic resources, as well as the training of staff.

Implications for coordination

At present, school feeding programmes in emergencies are coordinated through the Global Education Cluster. Coordination on practical implementation with the Educational Clusters at the country level should continue. A consequence of the change of approach suggested here is that the emergency school feeding should be more closely coordinated through the Global Food Security Emergency Cluster. This coordination’s core concern should be the ways the emergency school feeding programme—as an intervention to secure children’s access to food—can be adjusted to complement interventions at the household level that aim to improve food security.

Secondly, emergency school feeding should also be carried out in close cooperation with the Child Protection Area of Responsibility within the Global Protection Cluster. Ahead of emergency school feeding implementation, conflict and protection analyses can be facilitated by the Global Protection Cluster. Closer cooperation with the Global Protection Cluster will also be necessary for the practical implementation of emergency school feeding in child safe spaces.

Finally, and in line with a universal intention of adapting emergency planning to longer term development goals, emergency school feeding should plan for the transition to non-emergency development by planning for reintroducing education as a main aim. In operational terms, educational ministries should thus be involved as coordinating units in order to prepare for transitions to normalcy, in which school feeding contributes to educational, as well as nutritional and other sustainable development, goals.

5 Conclusions and future research agendas

This report is the result of a desk study that should be followed up with the formulation of a broader research agenda as well as more comprehensive empirical studies on school feeding in emergencies.

Future research agendas

Rather than reiterating the points of the executive summary, in this brief concluding section we would like to bring attention to the need for future research and impact studies, as well as in-depth country case studies.

As discussed throughout this report, the following topics constitute knowledge gaps related to emergency school feeding:

- *Emergency school feeding, food access and protection from deprivation:* Systematic and comparative studies and in-depth case studies of intra-household food allocation should be encouraged, with a particular focus on the effects of the age of household members, their gender, and the impact of different types of shocks. Intra-household allocation patterns should also be investigated with respect to the specific age groups of children and youth, school attendance, labour participation/child labour, and the nature of their (social/kinship) relationships with the adults in their household. Furthermore, the effects of school feeding on intra-household adjustments of food allocation should be subject to systematic investigations. How do households adjust to emergency school feeding? How does the implementation of emergency school feeding affect children's food intake? Is insufficient access to food among children remedied through emergency school feeding?
- *Emergency school feeding, personal safety and protection from age-specific threats:* How does school participation—and participation in Child Safe Spaces—affect children's personal safety and age-specific threats during different types of crisis? A child protection approach to school feeding

should aim to contribute to research on effects of safe spaces in different emergency situations. In extension, how are protection outcomes like child marriage, child labour and recruitment into armed forces and groups affected by emergency school feeding in schools and safe spaces?

- *Emergency school feeding and barriers to education*: Data on the effects of school feeding in emergencies is as scarce as data on barriers to education in emergencies, and should be a particular focus. In terms of knowledge gaps, the scientific literature on education in emergencies, which is limited overall, shows a bias towards conflict emergencies over natural disasters. How does crisis and conflict affect boys' and girls' school participation? How does the implementation of emergency school feeding affect boys' and girls' school participation and educational performance, in different types of crises?

In line with the discussion here, *country specific case studies* that can inform decision-making on and quality assurance of emergency school feeding should also be carried out. Country case studies should aim to document the following:

- What are the current food security needs in the specific context, and how do these relate to the type of crisis at hand, its time dimension (onset and duration) and the nature of displacement? What is known about food insecurity and the effects on children (boys and girls)?
- What are the particular protection needs in the specific context, and how do these relate to the type of crisis at hand, its time dimension (onset and duration) and the nature of displacement? How does gender differentiate protection needs?
- What are the barriers to education, and how do these demonstrate gender differences? How are these barriers related to the type of crisis at hand?
- How is targeting and monitoring currently shaped?
- Which modalities of school feeding are used, and how do these respond to protection needs, food insecurity needs and to lowering barriers to the access to education?
- How would a change to a child-centred approach to emergency school feeding, as outlined in this report, reshape the ongoing emergency school feeding in the country in question?

- Which challenges would this entail, with respect to operation, coordination and funding?
- At what point should an emergency school feeding programme be transitioned over to a non-emergency school feeding programme, in which support for education will play a more prominent role? What would this entail in practical terms?

Transition: From emergency to development

As noted above, a major question for country case studies should be to examine transitions between emergency programming of school feeding and development programmes of school feeding: to recap the final point above, when should emergency school feeding transition to a non-emergency school feeding programme, in which support for education can regain the central role? Moreover, the future transition of any emergency school feeding programme to longer developmental efforts should be a part of the programme planning from the start. Here, we would like to direct attention to two concerns:

First, as a means to restore a sense of normalcy in crisis and ensure that local nutrition know-how remains or is strengthened, local procurement, the use of local and national markets and ‘home-grown school feeding’ should remain an aim in emergency school feeding when and as far as possible (cf. WFP 2013). Many emergencies are characterised by the disruption of infrastructure and daily livelihood strategies. In the immediate aftermath of a rapid-onset crisis, the use of imported foods (such as multi-fortified snacks) can ensure important nutritional benefits, as they are easy to distribute and have long shelf-life. In the long run, however, emergency school feeding programmes should plan for a return to normalcy, reinstitute people’s knowledge about a balanced and well-composed diet from available resources, and stimulate local markets and agricultural production. Local procurement should thus be a primary concern in transitional phases from emergency to non-emergency school feeding.

Second, this brings attention to the role of school feeding in emergency preparedness. In a recent report, Haug points out that ‘Most of the world’s acute hunger and undernutrition occurs not in conflicts and natural disasters but in the annual “hunger season”’ (2016: 32). Emergency preparedness must aim to prevent seasonal hunger from developing into longer-term food insecurity. The role of school feeding in tailor-made social protection programmes to avoid seasonal hunger and reduce vulnerability to possible

disasters should therefore be considered (cf. Haug 2016). Moreover, emergency school feeding programmes must focus on prevention as well as recovery.

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Annexes

Annex 1 Terms of reference

**Safety-Nets & Social Protection Unit (OSZIS)
Technical Assistance & Country Capacity Strengthening Service
Policy and Programme Division, WFP HQ
Research Study: Safety Nets-School Feeding in Emergencies**

1. Context

Over the years WFP has acquired extensive institutional knowledge on school feeding. However, the focus has largely been on school feeding in development contexts, in pursuit of more developmental outcomes, and until recently, school feeding has been primarily used as an instrument to improve access to education. While the multiple benefits of school feeding are now well-known and articulated in development contexts, the organization has yet to fully understand and evaluate the benefits – both direct and indirect – and potential of school feeding programmes in emergency contexts.

Recent changes in the external landscape call for WFP to address this gap. WFP is responding to an increasingly diverse and complex range of humanitarian challenges. As available resources are stretched, there is more pressure than ever on WFP to ensure that the services it offers through the implementation of school feeding programmes deliver the intended results and adapt to the multiple disaster and crisis contexts.

A thorough examination of the role and benefits of school feeding programmes in emergency contexts will also be helpful in informing and better defining the emerging role of WFP in the global Social Protection arena, as well as discussions within the organisation on how best it can take protection concerns into consideration in its programmes, specifically the benefits and risks that school feeding in emergencies pose in terms of the safety, dignity and integrity of affected people.

Finally, it will inform the broader dialogue with national governments on scalability of shock responsive and hunger-smart safety nets in emergency contexts and the scope for country capacity strengthening in this regard.

2. Purpose

- Provide strategic directions to strengthen the quality and efficiency of WFP's School Feeding Programmes in emergency contexts;
- Develop a corporate evidence-based think-piece to enhance programme design for school feeding in emergency contexts that incorporates protection considerations;
- Map out the benefits – both direct and indirect – of school feeding programmes as a tool for pursuing humanitarian objectives in humanitarian contexts and also identify any critical information gaps that might be considered priority research questions;
- Building on WFP's Emergency Programming Framework, clarify the considerations that should guide WFP decision-making when considering whether or not to introduce/maintain school feeding programmes in humanitarian contexts, looking at issues such as protection;
- Understand what specific advice or technical assistance WFP can provide host governments regarding the potential benefits and risks of using school feeding as a safety net in emergency contexts;
- Outline key components of a monitoring and evaluation framework (essentially indicators and related methodology) to measure outputs, outcomes and protection considerations of school feeding in emergency contexts;
- Identify additional opportunities for scalable safety net platforms in emergency contexts and options for country capacity strengthening relevant to WFP.

Key Deliverables

- A think piece to inform WFP's strategic directions and programming options in the area of school feeding -- and other safety net platforms -- in emergencies. The paper is expected to draw on:

Literature review

- Review of WFP literature on safety nets and school feeding, including past evaluations and policy papers
- Review of relevant non-WFP literature on social protection and safety nets and school feeding specifically, as well as other potentially related subjects such as education in emergencies, the role of education in supporting child protection, and the role of social safety nets in responding to emergencies.

Mapping of stakeholders

- Map out key players working in school feeding and other safety nets in humanitarian/emergency contexts, understanding coordination mechanisms and the roles of different agencies.

Summary of trends and existing practices in WFP

- Review of current and past WFP operations (EMOPs/PRROs) in which school feeding programmes are/have been included and scaled up in response
- Interviews with key WFP informants and other stakeholders globally to better understand the basis upon which programming decisions are being taken and challenges that are being faced
- Stock taking of where WFP stands on Emergency School Feeding Programmes, operationally and strategically

Country case studies

- ‘Deep dive’ on selected WFP operations, including field visits, to get a more nuanced and qualitative understanding of identified topics of interest.

Annex 2 List of Interviews conducted

Global Humanitarian Response Cluster	
Global Education Cluster (GEC)	Save the Children, UNICEF
Global Food Security Cluster (GFSC)	FAO, WFP, NGO-rep
Global Nutrition Cluster (GNC)	UNICEF
Global Protection Cluster, Child Protection Area of Responsibility	UNICEF
Education Cluster Country Representatives	
Ethiopia	UNICEF
Syria	UNICEF
DRC	Save the Children, UNICEF
Pakistan	UNICEF
World Food Programme Country Offices	
Lebanon	WFP
Nicaragua	WFP
Syria	WFP
DRC	WFP
Tunisia	WFP
Pakistan	WFP
South Sudan	WFP
Ethiopia	WFP
Others	
Academic institution	ODI
International NGO	Norwegian Refugee Council
Contacted – not interviewed	
<i>Education Cluster Country Representatives</i>	
South Sudan	UNICEF
<i>WFP Country offices</i>	
Haiti	WFP
Afghanistan	WFP

Annex 3 Introduction letters

Annex 3a: From WFP to WFP-respondents

Dear xxx,

The Social Protection and Safety Nets unit has commissioned FAFO, a Norwegian Research Institute, to carry out a review of our school feeding programmes in emergency and protracted crisis contexts.

The review, which is for the moment desk based, intends first to better understand what we do, how we do it and why, across a range of different contexts and operations while also going through research and publications.

The objective of the paper is to help WFP better articulate its contribution to the global discussions on “Education in Emergencies” in particular but also provide clarity on the role of school feeding in a humanitarian response and make subsequent recommendations.

The review does not intend to go into the operational and implementation details of our emergency operations but rather understand better the role of school feeding in the humanitarian response, to what needs it responds, why do we do it, how does it contribute to addressing a range of issues from education, to nutrition, protection or social cohesion. FAFO will seek to understand the decision process around the setup of a SF programme but also the coordination mechanism and the perception of the children and families benefiting from the programme as well as governments, other agencies and relevant stakeholders.

We are therefore introducing you to **Tone and Anne** who will get in touch with you to arrange for a call, should you be interested to participate and contribute with your experience and thoughts. If you feel that other people in your office should participate please do not hesitate to include them.

We thank you in advance for your collaboration, your contribution is very important for the paper to respond better to the questions and challenges faced when implementing school feeding programmes in emergency or protracted crisis.

Best regards
Sarah Laughton

Annex 3b: From WFP to Non-WFP-respondents

Dear xxx,

WFP has commissioned FAFO, a Norwegian Research Institute, to carry out a review of our school feeding programmes in emergency and protracted crisis contexts.

The review, which is for the moment desk based, intends first to better understand what we do, how we do it and why, across a range of different contexts and operations while also going through research and publications.

The objective of the paper is to help WFP better articulate its contribution to the global discussions on “Education in Emergencies” in particular but also provide clarity on the role of school feeding in a humanitarian response and make subsequent recommendations.

The review does not intend to go into the operational and implementation details of our emergency operations but rather understand better the role of school feeding in the humanitarian response, to what needs it responds, why do we do it, how does it contribute to addressing education in emergencies related issues. FAFO will seek to understand the decision process around the setup of a SF programme but also the coordination mechanism, especially in [name of institution], and the perception of the children and families benefiting from the programme as well as governments, other agencies and relevant stakeholders.

An essential part of this review will be the result of consultations with specific stakeholders. In collaboration with your [...] coordinators, [names], WFP has set a list of countries and [...] team members that will be interviewed by FAFO for that purpose.

You are part of that list and, that is the reason why, we are introducing you to Tone and Anne who will get in touch with you to arrange for a call, to make sure that your thoughts and experience will be part of this review. If you feel that other people in your office should participate please do not hesitate to include them as well.

We thank you in advance for your collaboration, your contribution is very important for the paper to respond better to the questions and challenges faced when implementing school feeding programmes in emergency or protracted crisis.

Best regards,
Charlotte Cuny

Annex 4 Interview Guides

Annex 4a: Guide to WFP-personnel

What is the type of emergency and what are the specific challenges related to that situation?

- a. Area
- b. How long has the emergency programme you work in been in operation (EMOP vs PRRO)

We would like to ask you some general questions about the WFP efforts on SF in (COUNTRY)

- a. What is currently done in (COUNTRY)?
- b. What is the scale and coverage of SF interventions, in terms of:
- c. Geography
- d. Age
- e. How many meals per week?
- f. What are the targeting criteria?
- g. How is the food procured?
- h. What are the Institutional arrangements / setup of the SF programme?
- i. Who are the cooperating partners?
- j. How is the programme coordinated?
- k. Is the emergency school feeding response coordinated through a humanitarian cluster?

Now we would like to ask you some questions about particularities of the SF program in (COUNTRY) with reference to the emergency context:

- a. In your opinion, what do you consider as the most important value or benefit of SF in the current emergency context?
- b. Was there a SF program in operation in (COUNTRY) before the emergency?
- c. Has particular adjustments of the SF programmes to the emergency situation been made?
- d. What is/are the main objective(s) for the school feeding programme in (COUNTRY)?

- e. How could it be adjusted better to the emergency situation?
- f. How does (COUNTRY) collect information on the situation, the needs, the situation of the child and families, in a given context?
 - Which educational measures are used?
 - Which nutritional measures are used?
 - What kinds of information to you collect on the needs for social protection?
 - How do you collect information on how local procurement works?
 - Do you collect information on issues of social cohesion?
- g. Do you have ideas about how to improve the procedures for the collection of information?
- h. How does the decision making process about targeting work?
- i. Do you have ideas for improvement of the decision making process in targeting?
- j. How does the institutional set-up and coordination of the programme work?
- k. Do you have thoughts on whether it should be differently organised/coordinated?
- l. How do the particular challenges of the emergency situation in (COUNTRY) affect the output of the SF programme?
- m. How do the particular challenges of the emergency situation affect the output of the SF programme; its performance/quality and efficiency/cost, with respect to the following dimensions?
 - Education
 - Nutrition
 - Social protection
 - Social cohesion

Way forward

- a. What works particularly well with the SF programme in this emergency setting?
- b. What are the particular problems / challenges with the SF programme in this emergency setting?
- c. How can arrangements be rethought

Annex 4b: Guide to non-WFP-personnel

What is your work and responsibility and which part of the emergency response do you work in?

- a. Work/responsibility
- b. What kind of emergency situation are we talking about?
- c. How long has the emergency programme you work in been in operation (EMOP vs PRRO)

Do you know if there are currently programmes for School Feeding (SF) in (COUNTRY)?

If yes:

- a. Which programs / organizations?
- b. Where (area of country) and how?
- c. How would you situate SF in the larger emergency response system in terms of relevance?
- d. How would you situate SF in the larger emergency response system in terms of priority?
- e. How do you consider SF as an intervention in the current situation?
- f. Do you know whether there was a SF program in operation in (COUNTRY) before the emergency?
- g. If yes: Do you know if particular adjustments have been made of the SF programmes to the emergency situation been made?

Then, we would like to ask you some questions about coordination

- a. Do the SF-programmes currently have a place in the humanitarian emergency response?
- b. Who are the cooperating partners?
- c. How does the institutional set-up and coordination of the programme work?

Rethinking emergency school feeding

This report is the outcome of a study commissioned by the World Food Programme as part of its global work on school feeding. It explores the particular challenges posed by humanitarian emergencies, and the ways in which school feeding can play a role in emergency contexts. Based on a desk review of relevant policies and research literature, and interviews with key stakeholders, the report argues for a definition of emergency school feeding as an intervention to ensure children's protection and food access, in support of educational goals. This approach entails a shift from an activity-centred to a beneficiary-centred intervention, where the needs of child and youth beneficiaries in emergencies guide the ways that activities and modalities are directed and adjusted.



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