

Feeding the Future
The Global Emergence of School Lunch Programs

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my father, Frank C. Rutledge. I did not write this for him, but in many ways I wrote it because of him. I will always regret that he did not see the project finished.

Abstract

My dissertation is motivated by a puzzle of international social policy and norm emergence and diffusion. Today, children in one hundred and forty-one countries receive free or subsidized school lunches. Yet less than a century ago, no state had a national child nutrition policy. Feeding children was clearly not considered a state responsibility a century ago, why is it considered one today? In addition to analyzing this policy emergence and diffusion, I argue that this policy emergence represents an emergent international norm - a norm that there is a public responsibility beyond the family to feed children. Scholars tend to explain policy and norm emergence and diffusion as due to the work of activists, diffusion effects or with world polity theory. However, these explanations tend to focus on either the national or international level as the causal source. Instead, I look at how the national and international levels interact in the creation of policy. In addition, my argument incorporates ideational factors into the field of social policy, which has long focused on material factors to explain policy emergence. I do this by utilizing insights from constructivist international relations theory. Specifically, my argument focuses on the ability of policy entrepreneurs to manipulate certain, internationalized, frames, or ideational cultural structures, within their domestic context in order to produce school lunch programs.

The dissertation is structured around the historical development of school lunch programs and traces their progress from their inception as food surplus disposal and military readiness programs, to their current use as a development tool by the international community. After using my global dataset of school lunch programs to assess conventional social policy theories, I develop my argument through in-depth case studies of the US, UK, Canada, India, the UN's World Food Programme, Catholic Relief Services and the New Partnership for African Development. In each case study I focus on the interaction between the different ways the problem of child malnutrition was framed in each context and the political consequences of the emergence of structural agricultural surpluses at the global level.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Today children in one hundred and forty one countries receive free or subsidized school lunches. Yet just one hundred years ago, only a few local charities in a few European cities fed children. In other words, a program type that existed in the past as an occasional charity project exists today around the world as a common social benefits program. What has caused this fundamental change? In particular, school lunch programs in developing countries are increasingly used as the primary method to address child malnutrition and encourage school attendance. Indeed, while other social benefits programs are under attack in both developed and developing countries, school lunch programs are well funded and have strong political support. The primary puzzle that I answer in this dissertation is why would states or other organizations decide to take on the responsibility of feeding children? Feeding children was clearly not considered a societal responsibility a century ago, why is it considered one today?

The development of these programs is a surprise when one considers the relative lack of social policy that was focused specifically on children and the lack of attention usually paid to chronic malnutrition. While the 20th century charted new types of intervention by states and other organizations into the lives of families, specifically with the creation of the welfare state, children over five were often left out of the nascent welfare states. Instead, these welfare states were largely concerned with the problems of the workingman, and those child policies that did develop were designed to supplement “the incomes of families with children without being visible in public social

expenditures.”¹ In other words, these child benefits were designed to compensate workingmen for the cost of their child. Other states were maternalist welfare states and focused on the needs of mothers and infants.² In these states as well, the practical needs of school age children were generally left out of early welfare schemes.

The development of feeding programs for school children is also surprising due to the low level of interest malnutrition receives in the policy arena. While it is impossible to obtain reliable global statistics on child hunger for the early part of the twentieth century, child malnutrition during the industrial revolution was high³ and remains high today. Today, statistics reveal that “every six seconds a child dies of hunger related causes”.⁴ Despite these dire statistics, child malnourishment has never been an issue that receives a great deal of attention. In fact, a lack of attention to chronic hunger has historically been considered to be one of the principles of the international food regime.⁵ The international food aid system is programmed and targeted at emergency food shortages such as famines, rather than at chronic malnutrition. Within countries, despite an almost universal desire for agricultural self-sufficiency, chronic malnutrition has also endured. The slow process of building the necessary institutions, legal reforms and asset redistribution systems to combat chronic malnutrition is certainly one of the causes for its endurance.⁶ The structural causes of endemic malnutrition are so great and so deep that many countries have had difficulties addressing them.

¹ Clearinghouse on International Developments in Child, Youth and Family Policies. “Child and Family Tax Benefits” www.childpolicyintl.org

² Skocpol, 1992

³ The very fact that no statistics were kept indicates the general indifference regarding the issue.

⁴ FAO, *State of Food Insecurity in the World*, 2006

⁵ Hopkins and Puchala, 1978, 25

⁶ Dreze and Sen, 1989, 8

Despite the inherent difficulties in creating policy to target child malnutrition, and the low level of attention children's issues has historically received, school lunch programs have emerged over the last hundred years as an effort to protect children from malnutrition. Approximately 250 million children currently receive subsidized school lunches in 141 countries. This project traces the emergence and diffusion of this social policy, as well as an emergent norm. A norm is the standard of behavior appropriate to an actor with a given identity.⁷ School lunch programs are the concrete embodiment of a new norm; this norm is that there is a public responsibility, beyond the parent or the family, to feed children. This represents a substantial, historical change in the relationship between the family and the state. To understand this policy and norm emergence, my dissertation traces the history of school lunch programs from their inception as food surplus disposal and military readiness programs, to their current use as a development tool by the international community. Scholars tend to explain norm and policy emergence and diffusion as due to the work of activists, diffusion effects or with world polity theory. However, these explanations tend to focus on either the national or international level as the causal source. Instead, I look at how the national and international levels interact in the creation of policy. In addition, my argument incorporates ideational factors into a field that has long focused on material factors to explain policy emergence. I do this by bringing insights from constructivist international relations theory to the study of social policy. Specifically, my argument focuses on the ability of policy entrepreneurs to manipulate certain, internationalized,

⁷ Katzenstein, 1996, 5

frames, or ideational cultural structures, within their domestic context in order to produce school lunch programs.

This project contributes to the literature on social policy and international relations theory. In particular, social policy has studied early childhood development programs, but has largely ignored school lunch programs. This gap reflects a historical lack of concern with schoolchildren in both the political and academic realms. This is an unfortunate oversight as school lunch programs represent an overlap between agricultural, education, social and foreign policy. Thus, school lunch programs provide a point of analysis to understand how the different interests and goals of these different policy arenas interact. In addition, school lunch programs are a point of overlap between the family and the state – a point at which families expect the state not only to educate their child, but also to feed their child. The physical and symbolic importance of food makes this an extremely useful subject with which to analyze the political relationship between families and the state.

In addition to the specific work I do in this dissertation on school lunch programs, I also build on Alexander Wendt's work⁸ and flesh out his concept of international structure by developing the concept of internationalized frames. While Wendt's work has been groundbreaking for its cogent assertion of an ideationally structured international system, his argument takes place largely in the abstract, and he fails to specify how ideational structures work, or even what they are. In addition, he is focused so exclusively on targeting Kenneth Waltz's emphasis on international,

⁸ I refer specifically to Wendt's book *Social Theory of International Politics* (1999).

material structure⁹ that he fails to convincingly expand further his conception of cultural structures, except for as it applies to anarchy. My use in this dissertation of the concept of internationalized frames provides a substantive description of how international structures emerge, as well as their effects.

In this chapter I first present my argument about the emergence and diffusion of school lunch programs, as well as the broader theoretical implications of my work. Next, I present a literature review on three separate subjects. First, I review the relevant literatures on malnutrition, including definitions and statistics so that the reader can get a sense of the magnitude of the problem. Next, I review the historical, political process that led to the reconceptualization of childhood as a separate and distinct period in a person's life. This reconceptualization was necessary for children's health to be taken seriously as a state issue. I then provide a brief overview of social policy and the welfare state. Finally, I present my research plan for the dissertation, which includes methodology and case selection.

Theory

The main question that this study seeks to answer is how and why did school lunch programs emerge as social policy on a global level? Thus, this question falls squarely into the study of comparative social policy. There are a variety of different explanations for explaining social policy emergence, some of which come from the comparative social policy research program and some of which are beginning to come out of international relations literature. The different explanations that have emerged

⁹ *Theory of International Politics* (1979)

from the study of comparative social policy operate largely at the national level.¹⁰ These theories explain program emergence as due to the efforts of national politicians or lobbyists, or due to some national characteristic such as culture or post-materialism. This type of work ignores the very real effects that international institutions can have on domestic policy. Some more recent work looks to the international level to explain program emergence.¹¹ This type of argument explains program emergence as due to state efforts at norm compliance or through diffusion and tends to ignore the importance of domestic actors and the organizational context of policy-making. I find that these conventional explanations for policy emergence do not explain school lunch program emergence. In addition, I find that alternative explanations, which focus largely on the material constraints of agricultural supplies and a commitment to education, are insufficient. I analyze the shortcomings of both conventional social policy arguments and these two alternative explanations in Chapter Two.

Instead, my case studies led me to focus on both material and ideational factors to explain the emergence of school lunch programs. In particular, I find that policy entrepreneurs in an organizational context had to frame child malnutrition in certain ways that resonated within their organizational context in order to motivate action on the issue. I find that only certain frames were effective for this purpose and these are what I call ‘internationalized frames’. I discuss this in more detail below. Thus, my argument builds on recent work on the role of ideas in the policy-making process. Conventional arguments about the policy-making process focus on variables such as

¹⁰ Amenta, 2003

¹¹ *International Organization*, Symposium: Diffusion of Liberalism, Vol. 60, Issue 4, Fall 2006

power, interests and institutions.¹² More recent work has begun to acknowledge the important role that ideas can play in understanding social policy, in addition to the previously mentioned variables.¹³ For instance, marginal groups can have an influence on public policy making because of the strength of their ideas;¹⁴ and very few public policy ‘problems’ were problems until they were interpreted as such by policy-makers or politicians.¹⁵ This new work on social policy has, unconsciously in most cases, adopted a constructivist angle to understand policy. My work continues in this vein by stressing the ideational structures that influenced policy development and self-consciously uses constructivism to help understand emergence and diffusion.

In addition, my argument moves between the national or organizational level and the international level. Because the frames that eventually motivate action are internationalized frames, the policy entrepreneurs within their domestic/organizational context have to look outside of that context in order to find the frames that will suit their purpose. This provides an important counterpoint to other theories that focus on the national or international level exclusively.

There are two necessary factors for the creation of school lunch programs. School lunch programs do not emerge until there are agricultural surpluses, either nationally or globally. As I demonstrate, not all countries that have school lunch programs have agricultural surpluses, yet all school lunch programs exist in a global context of agricultural surpluses, created by farm subsidies in the developed world and

¹² Bleich, 2002, 1055

¹³ See Campbell, Annual Review of Sociology (2002) for a good review of the literatures that have addressed the role of ideas in public policy.

¹⁴ Bleich, 2002, 1055

¹⁵ Stone, 1989, 282

constantly evolving agricultural technologies designed to increase yield. In particular, the individual farm subsidy systems in the developed world were created as a response to global economic threats. Agricultural surpluses can then, in that manner, be regarded as a global phenomenon even when domestically based. Thus, the development of global agricultural surpluses can be understood as a necessary factor for the development of school lunch programs. In addition, specific agricultural interests and status are more important for some cases than for others.

The other necessary factor is the particular ideas that motivated action towards school lunch programs. Except for in a few cases, simple charity or a desire to be able to educate citizens was not enough to motivate action on the issue of child malnutrition. Instead, only a few kinds of claims, or frames, were able to motivate action. In particular, these frames are security, development, human rights and humanitarianism. These frames are internationalized and can be understood as ideational cultural structures. These frames are the second necessary factor in the production of school lunch programs.

An important intervening variable, in some cases, is gender, and, in particular, female employment. In general, gender is an important consideration for this policy, as mothers in most societies are considered primarily responsible for feeding children. As such, school lunch programs that free women from this responsibility can have a great effect on women's employment. In addition, school lunch programs in developing countries have positively influenced girls' school attendance, which could lead to a long-term effect on women's employment. Thus, school lunch programs can work to

ameliorate gender inequalities.¹⁶ In addition, in a few cases, particularly the early cases, women's organizations played an important role in putting the issue of school lunches on the agenda.¹⁷ The issue of gender, and in particular women's employment, is an important intervening variable in some cases.

The various necessary and intervening variables only come into play when policy entrepreneurs take up the issue of child malnutrition. My argument focuses particularly on the way in which policy entrepreneurs manipulated these other factors in order to produce school lunch programs. These entrepreneurs were largely motivated by a moral commitment to the issue of child malnutrition and saw school lunch programs as an important way in which to alleviate the problem of child malnutrition. My argument is, at its core, an agentic one.

While child malnutrition is a very real phenomenon, physically affecting millions of children, most governments and people are unconcerned with the problem. In order for the issue of child malnutrition to be recognized and dealt with in a constructive way, those concerned with the issue had to convince the public and governments that child malnutrition was an important issue. They had to discuss child malnutrition in terms that were relevant to the political context of their country or organization. They had to use ideas about the nation, its safety and its economic gain, or ideas about humanity in order to motivate action on child malnutrition. These policy entrepreneurs, including teachers, activists, and government officials, were highly strategic in pursuing their goal of school lunch programs. While they were committed

¹⁶ Orloff, 1996, 55. Orloff explains that the amelioration of gender inequalities is one of several main ways that the welfare state can affect gender relations.

¹⁷ Kenney, 2003

to reducing child malnutrition, they had to learn the right way to discuss the issue, which was to not focus on child malnutrition. I find that it was only when these policy entrepreneurs were able to find the right frame with which to discuss child malnutrition that school lunch programs were created.

Overall, I argue that entrepreneurs, constrained by both their organizational context as well as material constraints such as global agricultural surpluses, manipulated certain internationalized frames in order to produce school lunch programs within their organization. I depict this argument graphically below.

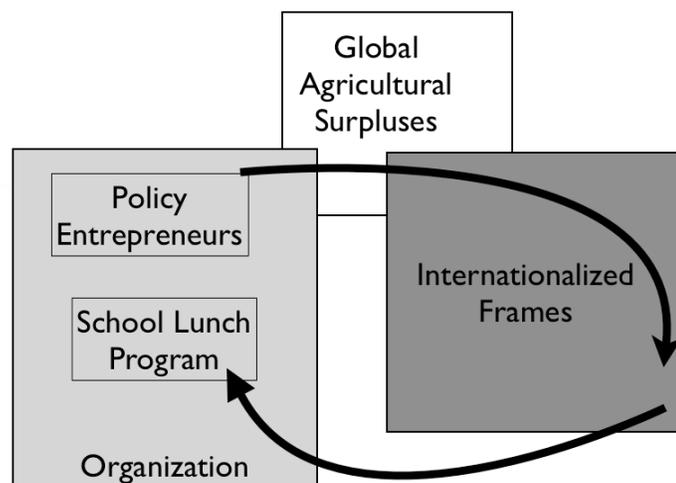


Figure 1.1: General Process By Which Policy Entrepreneurs Use Internationalized Frames to Produce School Lunches

Policy entrepreneurs, in the box on the left, exist within an organization. That organization can be a state, an international organization or some other type of organization. The policy entrepreneur is guided and constrained by the organization's rules, culture and context. The box on the right represents one of the internationalized

frames I found to be effective in the production of school lunch programs. The box between and behind the policy entrepreneurs and internationalized frames represents global agricultural surpluses; this factor is represented in this way because all the programs I studied emerged in a context of these surpluses, while this box emerges to the forefront in some cases. The arrow passes through the box representing agricultural surpluses, into the box representing the internationalized frame and then back into the organization. The arrows represent the process by which policy entrepreneurs reach outside of their context to use internationalized frames and bring these back into their organizational context in order to create a school lunch program. Importantly, I argue that these policy entrepreneurs are not told what to do by the internationalized frame, rather they actively use the internationalized frame to create a school lunch program. This graphic will serve as a guiding template in the case studies.

An important part of this argument depends on the types of frames that policy entrepreneurs use in each case to create a school lunch program. What was revealing about the case studies was that only very particular frames were able to motivate action. These were the frames of security, development, humanitarianism and human rights. Other frames, in particular education, did not work to motivate action. I consider these frames to be ‘internationalized frames’ in that they are ideational and exist within the international system.

I borrow the concept of framing from the social movement literature. Frames can be understood as “an interpretive schema that simplifies and condenses the ‘world out there’ by punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences and

sequences of action.”¹⁸ Frames are overarching ideas that help make sense of the world. They are “cognitive and moral maps” and “help actors identify problems and specify and prioritize their interests and goals”.¹⁹ I define an internationalized frame as a frame that comes from either the community of states or from beyond the boundaries of one state. Implicit in this idea of the international is the existence of states and the borders that define them. For each of the frames important for school lunches, borders are necessary. In some cases the frames speak specifically to the experience of a state being threatened by other states, being threatened at its borders; in other cases the frame seeks to transcend the borders of the state and the state system itself. Thus, my concept of internationalized frames reifies a statist understanding of the international system.

Importantly, these frames that I consider to be internationalized originated from domestic actors. In the case of development, the international system took notice of this issue only when domestic actors from developing countries pushed their ideas onto the international system. In the case of human rights and humanitarianism, principled actors, either in states or other types of organizations, pushed their interests into the international system.²⁰ Even security is a domestically based idea that now exists, due to institutionalization of the concept, at the level of the international. These frames are ideas that exist ‘out there’ because of the way in which states interacted at important historical junctures, and have now become institutionalized concerns of states themselves. As ‘internationalized frames’ they are intersubjective beliefs about the types of goals for which states and/or organizations in the international system should

¹⁸ Snow and Benford, 1992, 137

¹⁹ Bleich, 2002, 1063

²⁰ Keck and Sikkink, 1998

aim. Of course, it is likely that security and development as state goals are more institutionalized than the goals of adhering to human rights law and humanitarian concerns, suggesting a hierarchy of frames. I look below at the international and ideational basis of the four frames that worked to motivate action on child malnutrition.

Security is an internationalized frame because it is a condition created by the interactions of the international community of states. Security, or rather insecurity, is not a brute material fact.²¹ It is a condition created by an international system operating in a state of anarchy. Security as a national interest, thought by Realists to be *the* national interest, is in fact an idea,²² constituted by ideas about the existence of anarchy. Anarchy is a condition created by the international community of states, not one in which states are destined to wallow.²³ In fact, Wendt has shown that there are different cultures of anarchy, depending on the relationships between different states.²⁴ Insecurity, and the concomitant need for security, is due to fear in an anarchic international system. The international community of states operates to create the ideas of anarchy and subsequently (in)security.

In addition, security can be considered an internationalized frame because the concept of security, or insecurity, suggests a threat to a state's borders. Framing a threat as a security issue suggests that there is something out there, on the other side of the border, that is trying to get in or threaten the state. An issue is a security issue when it presents "an existential threat to a designated referent object" (usually the state).²⁵ The

²¹ Wendt, 1999, 110

²² Wendt, 1999, 135

²³ Campbell, 1998, 55; Wendt, 1999, 132

²⁴ Wendt, 1999

²⁵ Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, 21

state system that dominates our international system depends on borders to legitimate its' existence, and danger is always present at the border.²⁶ This situation creates the constant potential for violence. A security frame is international because it is the very existence of borders in our state system that creates the possibilities for insecurity.

The development frame is an internationalized frame because concerns with development grew from the efforts of developing countries to get their concerns on the UN agenda and has now become an institutionalized concern of the international system. Although states had long been concerned with industrializing or gaining wealth, development per se became a significant state enterprise and scholarly discipline following WWII.²⁷ The concept of development, which can be considered simply as the goal of raising incomes and giving poor people larger access to goods and services,²⁸ was influenced largely by the independence movements. Newly independent countries looked to develop both to provide better lives for their citizens, as well as consolidate their independence.²⁹ Because of the international state system into which these new states were born, they had to develop in order to assert their sovereignty, particularly at the tenuous moment of their birth. Thus, interactions within the international community of states, working under the norms of sovereignty, created the impetus for development.

Not only does the idea of development result from the interactions of the international community of states, making it an internationalized frame, but the idea of development also implicitly involves state borders. Despite the effects of globalization,

²⁶ Campbell, 1998, 80, quoting Mary Douglas

²⁷ Rapley, 2007, 1

²⁸ Rapley, 2007, 1

²⁹ Rapley, 2007, 2

states are still concerned primarily with their own economic development. Economic development schemes are devised primarily to protect states from economic competition with other states. There is then a reassertion of borders in the idea of development, making it an internationalized frame in this way as well.

The frames of human rights and humanitarianism, on the other hand, seek to erase borders, and it is through these attempts at erasure that these two frames are internationalized frames. These two frames are grounded in an Aristotelian essentialism and a global morality. And yet, their very urge to erase borders implicates borders. In addition, the international community self-consciously created both of these frames in attempts to regulate the world.

Human rights are a self-consciously international idea. Human rights are an idea about how people should be treated by one another, by their government and by the international community; “the notion of human rights builds on the idea of a shared humanity.”³⁰ Activists, “visionaries” to use Paul Lauren’s term, from around the world worked together to promote the central idea that humans should be responsible for one another.³¹ The result of much of that work, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has played a “central role . . . in establishing the contours of the contemporary consensus on internationally recognized human rights.”³² The Declaration has been foundational for subsequent human rights treaties, constitutions created since 1948 and the growing body of international human rights case law. While many states continue to violate

³⁰ Sen, 1999, 40

³¹ Lauren, 1998, 5

³² Donnelly, 2003, 22

their human rights obligations, human rights remain a powerful idea that has been codified by the international community of states.

While human rights are grounded in an international ideational setting, states' borders are also an essential component of human rights. States are those charged with protecting human rights; states are central to the implementation and enforcement of the international human rights regime.³³ Thus the concept of human rights reifies borders even as it seeks to transcend borders in the search for universality. In this reification of borders human rights can be considered an internationalized frame.

Humanitarianism can be considered “the impartial, independent, and neutral provision of relief to those who are in avoidable danger of harm”.³⁴ Humanitarianism is similar to human rights in that it is fundamentally an idea that is rooted in the international community of states and seeks to transcend state borders. These two qualities make it an internationalized frame. Humanitarianism is a concern for the suffering of others and implies a responsibility on the part of someone/state/organization to try to alleviate that suffering; as such it is “quintessentially cosmopolitan”.³⁵ Humanitarianism has an “ancient pedigree” from the Greek Cynics and Stoics, as well as religious traditions, and is also a modern phenomenon beginning in the century following 1750.³⁶ The very meaning of humanitarianism is grounded in an ethics of concern for humanity, beyond the boundaries of oneself or nation. Humanitarianism exists only because there is an ‘other’ to be charitable to – an ‘other’ less fortunate than oneself. The existence of an

³³ Donnelly, 2003, 35

³⁴ Barnett, 2005, 2

³⁵ Calhoun, 2008, 3-2

³⁶ Calhoun, 2008, 3-5

‘other’ is the basis of international relations; ‘others’ create and justify borders. As such, humanitarianism is an idea rooted in the very basis of the international system, even as it seeks to erase those borders.

In addition, humanitarianism emerged specifically to respond to the suffering created by the state system.³⁷ Humanitarianism then is created by the state system itself, even further implicating the concept in the international community of states. Interestingly, while charity can certainly operate at a domestic level, my case studies reveal that it is only when an organization feeds children in a country OTHER THAN its origin, that this frame is successful. In fact, domestic charity frames are unsuccessful, which is seen in the UK case.

I find these four frames to be internationalized in their present existence, existing ‘out there’. These were ideas created by the interactions of the international community of states that have since become institutionalized as proper state goals. They are intersubjective beliefs about what a state’s or organizations’ goals should be. As frames, actors use them to make sense of the world or to make arguments about the world. However, these are particularly powerful frames and it is their power that created the possibilities for action once policy entrepreneurs tapped into them.

I argue that these four frames are particularly powerful because they have in fact become ideational cultural structures. I take this term from Wendt³⁸, but expand on it greatly through this dissertation. Wendt argues convincingly that the international system is ideationally structured and that this overall structure can be considered culture. Because Wendt takes structuration theory seriously, the overall culture has

³⁷ Barnett, 2005

³⁸ Wendt, 1999

both an agentic and structural component. The structural component is what can be considered cultural structures.³⁹ These cultural structures are made up of both micro and macro levels. The micro level is an interaction level while the macro-structure supervenes over the micro-level. For the macro-level the “causal mechanism operates at the level of the population of states, not the level of individual or interacting states.”⁴⁰ Wendt carries this idea into a discussion on knowledge types, arguing that the micro structural level consists of common knowledge and the macro structural level consists of collective knowledge. When these knowledge types combine with state agency, socially shared knowledge is created and exists. Culture for Wendt, is socially shared knowledge; another way to think about this is that culture is the system of bundled collective beliefs.⁴¹

Wendt analyzes the culture of anarchy, but, unfortunately, because Waltz is his target, Wendt does not take up for consideration other types of cultural structures than those that contribute to the culture of anarchy. My work serves to illuminate how several other cultural structures, security, development, human rights and humanitarianism operate. I argue that these four frames are ideational cultural structures in an ideationally structured international system. Each internationalized frame began as a micro-structure, emerging as states interacted,⁴² but has now become institutionalized as an ideational structure, a cultural structure as understood by Wendt. Each can be considered a cultural structure because each has created a new shared knowledge that resonates in the international system. As cultural structures each seems

³⁹ Guzzini and Leander, 2006, 82

⁴⁰ Wendt, 1999, 151

⁴¹ Suganami, 2006, 64, note 3

⁴² Wendt, 1999, 148

as “objective social facts that constrains and enables action in distinctive ways”.⁴³ Like norms, which are micro-structures, we can see cultural structures only through their effects,⁴⁴ and it seems clear that each structure guides state behavior in clear and measurable ways: states work to secure themselves from other states; states work towards economic development; states work, ostensibly, to protect human rights.⁴⁵ There are any number of cultural structures that exist in the overall structure of the international system; they can be considered a subset of international structure itself. In this dissertation I examine just a few cultural structures, but working through their emergence and effects serves to more clearly specify a constructivist understanding of international structure.

While each of these internationalized frames emerged at a different historical time, I argue that today they exist as international cultural structures. As such, they are readily available for policy entrepreneurs, activist groups or governments to harness and use. However, it is only under certain conditions that each of these frames becomes resonant for a state or organization. These conditions vary by state or organization, dependent on the particular, historical context within which the state or organization is located. For instance, a security frame is particularly resonant for a state, and can be successfully used by policy entrepreneurs, when state security is threatened. Likewise, policy entrepreneurs are able to successfully use the development frame at particular historical moments when development concerns dominate in the international system. Thus, despite the existence of these frames as cultural structures, the ability of policy

⁴³ Wendt, 1999, 184

⁴⁴ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 892

⁴⁵ The fact that security is usually considered a more important state goal than the protection of human rights suggests that there might be a hierarchy of cultural structures in the international system.

entrepreneurs to use them freely is constrained by the historical circumstances of their organizational context.

In this dissertation I build on Wendt's work to demonstrate not only that ideational structures matter, but also specifically how they matter and what they can do. I am working to flesh out more fully his concept of an ideational international structure by demonstrating what that international structure is composed of. Internationalized frames are examples of cultural structures other than anarchy that have important causal and constitutive effects. In the case of these frames, agents, either states or principled actors, interacted with one another to create new structures: security, development and humanity concerns. Actors created new cultural structures, which in turn created new shared knowledge that serves to constitute state behavior. These frames, or ideational cultural structures, matter because they have created appropriate state goals around which policy entrepreneurs can organize. It is the existence of these cultural structures, and their effects, that I explore in this dissertation.

Literature Review

The Enduring Problem of Hunger and Development

Alleviating undernutrition is one of the primary methods for developing countries to achieve development. If we take a view of development as “the process of expanding the real choices that people enjoy,”⁴⁶ addressing hunger is absolutely necessary to move towards development. Nutrition is a basic component of human

⁴⁶ WFP, *World Hunger Series 2006: Hunger and Learning*, 2006, 25

capital. Improving nutrition is directly related to the first six Millennium Development Goals; good nutrition status obviously reduces hunger and improves productivity throughout one's life (Goal 1); good nutrition status increases mental capacity and leads to improved educational outcomes (Goal 2); good nutrition status empowers women (Goal 3); good nutrition reduces child mortality (Goal 4); good nutrition status leads to improved maternal health (Goal 5); and good nutrition status improves resistance to disease and delays onset of AIDS among HIV-infected people (Goal 6). It is obvious that nutrition is a foundational element of development.

Nine hundred and seven million people in the developing world are hungry, and 25,000 people die everyday due to hunger related causes.⁴⁷ One hundred and forty million children are malnourished. Despite these dire numbers, there has been some improvement in levels of malnutrition since the beginning of the Millennium Development Goals campaign. For instance, between 1990 and 2006 the percentage of malnourished children in the developing world dropped from 33 percent to 26 percent. Eastern Asia experienced some of the greatest declines in child malnutrition, while Southern Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa both experienced less drastic declines. However, the recent rise in food prices is threatening the gains the international community has made in lowering child malnutrition.⁴⁸ The following chart shows the declines by region.

⁴⁷ World Food Programme, Hunger Statistics, <http://www.wfp.org/hunger/stats>

⁴⁸ Interagency and Expert Group on MDG Indicators, 2008, 4



Figure 1.2: Percentages of Malnourished Children, 1990 and 2006 (Millennium Development Goals Report, 2008)

Hunger has a number of social and economic costs. Undernutrition is a leading cause of child deaths worldwide due to the number of infectious diseases that are associated with malnutrition. Undernutrition accounts for “7 of the 13 leading risk factors associated with the global burden of disease.”⁴⁹ Undernutrition causes poor cognitive development, especially if the malnutrition occurs in the first two years of life and has been shown to result in “lower productive and lifetime earnings potential.”⁵⁰ It is estimated that “the foregone GDP is somewhere between six and ten percent.”⁵¹ This alone is a compelling reason for the creation of feeding programs.

Undernutrition amongst children is particularly prevalent and problematic. In developing countries, twenty-six percent of children are underweight for their age, although there are regional differences.⁵² As indicated above, childhood malnourishment leads to cognitive losses, followed by productivity losses. Most

⁴⁹ UN Millennium Project Task Force on Hunger, 2005, 29

⁵⁰ UN Millennium Project Task Force on Hunger, 2005, 29

⁵¹ UN Millennium Project Task Force on Hunger, 2005, 30.

⁵² UN Millennium Project, 2005, 39

previous research, both social science and technical, has focused on the provision of food to children under the age of two, and has focused largely on the promotion of breast-feeding. A great deal of research indicates that zero to two are the most important years for creating mental capacity. Low birthweight, growth faltering, micronutrient deficiency and inadequate stimulation are all problems that lead to reduced mental capacity and that are extremely important to address before the age of two. Hunger in the first two years of life and during pregnancy strongly influences future mental capacity. Interventions during early childhood are particularly important for life-long learning and can include food supplements, micro-nutrient fortification, ante- and post-natal care, exclusive breastfeeding for the first six months and education about stimulation.

While hunger has its greatest impact on mental capacity during these younger years, opportunities to learn are greatly affected by hunger at school age.⁵³ For instance, hunger can lead to poor enrollment and attendance and reduced attention spans. Thus, nutrition interventions can be important for school-age children in a number of different ways. Not only can nutrition interventions encourage school attendance, but the evidence also suggests that school feeding is very effective in reducing short-term hunger.⁵⁴ At the school-age stage feeding programs can also promote healthy eating; research shows that as children age they become more susceptible to peer influence as regards what they choose to eat.⁵⁵ In addition,

⁵³ World Food Program, 2006, 39

⁵⁴ Miller Del Rosso, 1999. Evidence regarding the effects of school feeding programs on long-term hunger is less conclusive. I will address the effectiveness of these programs more thoroughly in the Conclusion.

⁵⁵ Mikkelsen, 2006

improving the nutrition status of young girls works to reduce maternal and infant mortality when and if these girls become pregnant.

School attendance is probably the most important of these factors as school attendance has been shown to strengthen the cognitive foundation that will be used to improve availability, access and utilization of nutrients. One of the consistently strong findings of lunch program evaluations has been that school lunch programs are particularly good at increasing attendance, particularly for girls.⁵⁶ Schooling offers specific skills and knowledge about health, nutrition, sanitation and farming, all of which can be used later in life to address future hunger.⁵⁷ There is empirical data that shows that as the level of schooling rises, gross domestic product likewise increases.⁵⁸ Interventions during school-age need to change the parents' views about the value of schooling. In other words, interventions need to "offset the opportunity costs of sending children to school" and can include "school feeding, take-home rations, cash transfers and reduced fees (combined with investments in educational infrastructure and capacity)."⁵⁹ Parents are often reluctant to send children to school because of the loss of income that will result from that child not working for the family during the school day. School lunch programs in particular can work to overcome some of this reluctance.

⁵⁶ Village Hope Inc., 2008, 2

⁵⁷ World Food Program, 2006, 52

⁵⁸ World Food Program, 2006, 84

⁵⁹ World Food Programme, 2006, 17

Childhood

Childhood is not a topic usually covered in political science. However, as mentioned above, the changed conception of childhood is a precondition for this project and thus a short overview of childhood is necessary. State concern with children's health did not begin until the late nineteenth century. In order for states to become concerned with child health, childhood had to be recognized as distinct from adulthood and children had to be valued in some way. This section will outline the changes that occurred in conceptions of childhood such that childhood and adulthood became distinct and children became valued. Importantly, the way in which conceptions of childhood have changed over the centuries supports the constructivist sensibility I stress throughout this project.

The contemporary study of childhood traces its origins to Phillip Aries' 1960s work on children. He presented two hypotheses about children: the discontinuity hypothesis and the change hypothesis.⁶⁰ The discontinuity hypothesis is less supported by empirical evidence and argues that the 'child' did not exist until after the Middle Ages. The change hypothesis is better supported empirically and argues that "there was a continuous increase in childishness in the cultural representations of children."⁶¹ This lends support to an earlier argument by Norbert Elias in *The Civilizing Process* (1939) that the worlds of the adult and the child become separated by distance during the civilizing process. In other words, there is "an increasing differentiation between adults

⁶⁰ Koops, 2003, 2

⁶¹ Koops, 2003, 2

and children.”⁶² We begin to see the beginnings of this thought in the work of Locke, who presumes that “children lack what adult human beings possess” and thus must “be educated and brought to reason.”⁶³ The Romantic period, and particularly the work of Rousseau, is credited with more changes in attitudes to children. Rousseau’s work asserted the “right of a child to be a child and to be happy in it.”⁶⁴ In addition, the Romantic poets, authors and artists all began to depict children, at the end of the eighteenth century, as innocent, happy and vulnerable. These Romantic influences carried on into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and it was this conception of childhood that lent credence to the argument that childhood ought to be protected from the vagaries of the adult world.

In addition to a particular conception of childhood as separate from adulthood, the development of the protection of children also depended on valuing children in a new way. The first is the emotional value that children acquired and the second is the importance ascribed to children for the future of the state. Both of these trends developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and have had a continuing impact on state sponsored child welfare programs.

Viviana Zelizer documents the emergence of an economically worthless but emotionally priceless child in *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (1985). She presents compelling evidence that, by the mid-nineteenth century, at least for the American urban middle classes, children were no longer seen as

⁶² Cunningham, 2005, 204

⁶³ Archard, 2004, 3. Neil Postman picks up this train of argument when he argues that it was the invention of print that created childhood, as children needed to learn how to read in order to enter the world of adulthood (1982).

⁶⁴ Cunningham 2005, 63

objects of utility whose worth could be measured by how much work and money the child could give the family, but as objects of sentiment upon which families, in fact, spent extra money. While the lower classes lagged behind this development, child labor laws and compulsory education pulled even lower class children out of the economy by the 1930s, at the latest. Authors give a variety of explanations for this change, including the “success of industrial capitalism at the turn of the century which required a skilled, educated labor force.”⁶⁵ While others focused on changes in the family, at heart theirs is also an economic argument as “increasing differentiation between economic production and the home transformed the bases of family cohesion. As instrumental ties weakened, the emotional value of all family members – including children – gained new saliency.”⁶⁶ Others argue that lowered rates of infant mortality had a larger effect on the emotional value of children; as children were more likely to live, parents were more likely to invest emotionally in them. No matter the reason, children of all classes by the 1930s had become more emotionally valued than economically valued, which was a great change from earlier periods. This change corresponded, obviously, with the conception of childhood detailed above, and was complimented by the value children were seen to have for the state.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, children were largely valued by the state for its future manpower. Initial state involvement in education was “seen as a means of bringing order and discipline to a population and of training it in useful work skills”⁶⁷ and sought to “produce youth who would be serviceable to the state and its

⁶⁵ Zelizer, 1985, 8

⁶⁶ Zelizer, 1985, 8 - 9

⁶⁷ Cunningham, 2005, 119

economy.”⁶⁸ Concern with children’s welfare was largely that of concern for future citizens “who must be trained for their eventual roles in society.”⁶⁹ Children have been “caught up in the international rivalry of states” because they are seen as “the most valuable asset a nation has” which must be properly nurtured and maintained so that the state itself will not degenerate compared to other countries.⁷⁰ It was inevitable that states would begin to take a larger part in child policy.

The changes in conceptions of childhood and of the value of children, both emotionally and for the state, explain the emergence of state systems of protection for children. These protections include compulsory education, juvenile courts, child labor laws, infant welfare, and institutions to deal with child poverty. However, it was the combination of the new conception of childhood and the new value of children that changed the purpose of child policy to that of saving children for childhood. While these systems of child protection were initially run by philanthropic organizations, states grew increasingly involved. Cunningham argues that this was due to a decline of confidence in the family; “it was certainly no longer assumed that the rearing of children could simply be left to families with the state or voluntary organizations picking up casualties.”⁷¹

Much of the research on childhood has depended on Western models and Western empirical evidence. However, a claim can be made that these models of childhood and subsequent result of state involvement, did have an effect on other parts of the world. The development of the idea of children’s rights gained salience in an

⁶⁸ Zuckerman, 2003, 231, in Koops and Zuckerman

⁶⁹ Archard, 2004, 155

⁷⁰ Cunningham, 2005, 179

⁷¹ Cunningham, 2005, 155

international body of opinion and in the development of various international organizations devoted to children's rights. This includes the declaration on Children's Rights adopted by the League of Nations in 1924,⁷² the creation of the Save the Children Fund and the enshrining of the abolition of child labor in the charter of the International Labor Organization in 1919. Likewise, compulsory education, while certainly starting in the West has spread to most developing countries. Thus, Western conceptions and values of childhood and children have an important part to play in legitimating governmental involvement in children's health and food.

In the terminology of this project, childhood can be considered a cultural structure. Childhood was constructed in the way in which cultural structures develop; childhood was articulated at an agentic level by actors within states, and then at a macro-level as Western states accepted a certain constructed understanding of childhood. Today, the protection of that idea(l) has been formalized at the international level and the protection of childhood both serves as a rallying cry for activists and can be manipulated by political actors. Childhood is a cultural structure similar to development, security and a concern with humanity.

Welfare States and Social Policy

The beginning of state intervention into human or social welfare is commonly dated to the Poor Laws enacted during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. While some scholars see earlier examples of social provision in Hammurabi's Code, which protected widows and children, the Elizabethan Poor Laws were the first to centralize poor relief,

⁷² This was followed by the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Child in 1959 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989.

provide clear rules and regulations, and be implemented throughout the country.⁷³ The Poor Laws had the important effect of legitimating government involvement in the provision of social welfare. This was the beginning of a process that continued into the modern-era with the creation of welfare state systems following WWII.

A welfare state is constructed around defining the appropriate balance between family, state and community. “A common textbook definition (of a welfare state) is that it involves state responsibility for securing some basic modicum of welfare for its citizens.”⁷⁴ Polanyi argues that the welfare state was the reaction to the disembedding of the economy from social relations and that “the labor market was allowed to retain its main function only on the condition that wages and conditions of work, standards and regulations would be such as would safeguard the human character of the alleged commodity, labor.”⁷⁵ Esping-Anderson fleshed out these arguments by identifying characteristics of a welfare regime as those states that have pervasive social policies that work to protect their citizens against market forces. He also distinguishes three types of welfare regimes in the OECD world: liberal, conservative and social-democratic.⁷⁶ In essence, Esping-Anderson argues that each regime adopts slightly different approaches to welfare provision depending on their ideological variations. The three types can be distinguished by to whom the benefits are provided. Liberal regimes focus on individual need, conservative regimes focus on family support for key earners or providers and social democratic regimes have universal policies.

⁷³ Midgley, 1995, 21

⁷⁴ Esping-Anderson, 1988, 17

⁷⁵ Polanyi, 1944, 177

⁷⁶ Esping-Anderson, 1990

In order to get a better context for school lunch programs, we can look more closely at child and family policy. By analyzing family policy in Western countries, we can see a clear shift as the state became more interested and involved in supporting families, starting with pre-World War I fears of population loss. For instance, concern with the decline in families led to a number of government commissions and committees on population starting as early as 1902 with the First Commission on Depopulation in France and followed by family-related governmental initiatives.⁷⁷ The United States leads this list with the 1909 White House Conference on Children, which was concerned less with population and more with family welfare. In fact, this Conference had a considerable impact as it adopted the principle of public responsibility in the provision of child welfare.⁷⁸ Over time, child and family policy became more institutional, consisting of comprehensive benefits rather than just isolated measures, and was directed at families at large, rather than just needy families.⁷⁹ State support for families and children certainly expanded rapidly in the post-World War II period, but increased state intervention into families began pre-World War II in certain parts of the world.

Despite the more recent invention of the welfare state, the state has been involved in the regulation and legitimation of families for well over the last hundred years, around the world. Population policies, marriage registration requirements and compulsory education requirements⁸⁰ are three simple examples of important and pervasive interventions by the state into the family. The governance of the family by

⁷⁷ Gauthier, 1996, 19

⁷⁸ Steiner, 1976

⁷⁹ Gauthier, 1996, 56

⁸⁰ Mehrotra, 1998

the state has a long history; laws dating from the mid-sixteenth century regulate infanticide,⁸¹ Luther began arguing for compulsory education provided by the state in 1530⁸² and state-run foundling hospitals began to appear in the eighteenth century.⁸³ Today, theorists such as Jacques Donzelot argue there is a peculiarly modern, Western form of policing families, which he calls government through families rather than the government of families. It is the professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, therapists and social workers, who work their way into the private lives of families in order to ‘govern’ the family.⁸⁴ Giving impetus to Donzelot’s argument, Foucault argued that the family is “the privileged instrument for the government of the population.”⁸⁵ In fact, Foucault argues that while the family used to be the model of good government, the family is eliminated as the model and instead is now simply an instrument for government.

The critical arguments presented above see the state itself as the governing or intrusive agent into the family. My study of school lunch programs reveal that it is no longer simply the state, but also the international community, represented by various international, non-governmental and regional organizations that have taken on a role of regulating, or at the very least, intervening into, families. In fact, by taking responsibility away from families for the physical care of their children, society as a whole, represented by these various organizational types is intervening into the very

⁸¹ Cunningham, 2005, 118. Countries that passed laws punishing infanticide included France (1556), England (1624), Sweden (1627), Wurrtemberg (1658), Denmark (1683), Scotland (1690) and Bavaria (1751).

⁸² Cunningham, 2005, 119. Compulsory education did not pick up with any real speed until the late eighteenth and early nineteen centuries.

⁸³ Cunningham, 2005, 127

⁸⁴ Archard, 2004, 155

⁸⁵ Foucault, 1994, 216

physicality of children by determining the foods they eat. In addition, the family now has less control over itself.

While this loss of control might be troubling to some, I find the development of these programs to be a positive step towards reducing child hunger. Due to the work of governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations there have been reductions in the number of hungry children in both developed and developing countries, particularly in the last ten years. However, many children are still malnourished. Out of the 1.9 billion children in the developing world, 146 million of them are still malnourished. More work must be done. School lunch programs, which do reduce short-term hunger, are one of several concrete actions that can reduce hunger and, potentially, improve the human capital of a country.

Child Feeding Programs

Currently, child feeding programs operate in three different models: 1. school meals, which are operated through national administrations and international organizations; 2. cash transfer programs, in which cash is “disbursed conditional on the household engaging in a set of behaviors designed to improve health and nutrition;”⁸⁶ and 3. nutrition intervention programs, which are usually focused on under-fives and can include a variety of interventions but commonly include food and micro-nutrient supplementation, health care provision such as immunizations, oral rehydration therapy, and nutrition education.⁸⁷ There are a number of other kinds of interventions for school age children, which are summarized in Figure 1.4 below. What can be seen from these is that school is the prime site for many of these interventions.

⁸⁶ Sridhar and Duffield, 2006, 4

⁸⁷ Pinstrup-Andersen, Pelletier, and Alderman, 1995

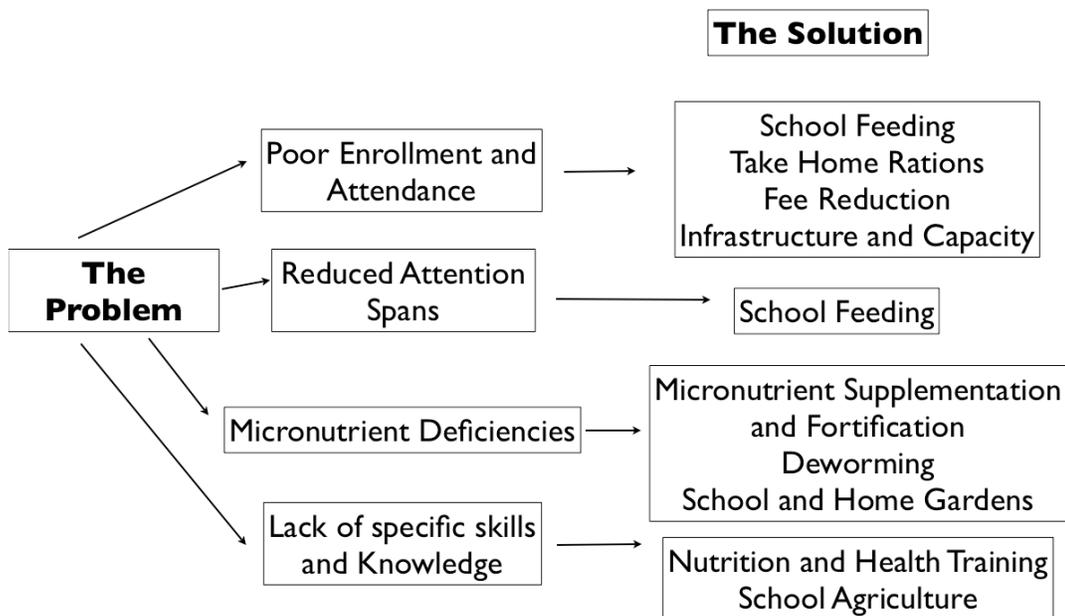


Figure 1.3: Interventions for School Children (WFP, 2006)

The earliest evidence of feeding programs for school children appears in 1790. At this time, Count Rumford set up a program in Munich, Germany in which vagrant children were fed and taught in exchange for making clothes for the army.⁸⁸ Over time, similar charitable ventures occurred throughout Germany, France and England as organizations such as the “Society for Feeding Needy School Children” was organized in Dresden, Germany in 1880 and “The Society for People’s Kitchens in the Public Schools” in Angers, France in 1865. In addition to privately funded charitable organizations, certain cities in Western Europe began providing meals to schoolchildren as well. For instance, Paris began school canteens in 1877, “providing meals at public

⁸⁸ The information in this paragraph is adapted from Gunderson, 1970 and Bryant, 1913.

expense for children whose parents' names were on the Poor Board list."⁸⁹ Similar programs existed in various cities throughout Western Europe at the time.

The first national program to assist with feeding school-age children began in 1900. Holland, when making education compulsory, included in that bill

a section authorizing the municipalities to provide food and clothing for all school children whether in public or private schools who were unable, because of the lack of food and clothes, to go regularly to school or to those who probably would not continue to attend school regularly unless food and clothes were provided.⁹⁰

By 1913 school meals had "been made the subject of national legislation in France, Switzerland, Holland, Great Britain, Denmark" and the programs were "national in scope with support by the municipalities in Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Austria and Belgium."⁹¹ School meals were thus an integral part of the development of some western welfare states. I explore the historical development of school lunch programs in detail in the first empirical chapter of this dissertation.

RESEARCH PLAN

This dissertation explores the emergence and diffusion of school lunch programs and a new norm regarding state responsibility for feeding children. I use both a large-N and historical case study methodology to understand the policy emergence process. In order to analyze the global development of school lunch programs I created an original dataset of child feeding programs worldwide. I am interested only in those programs

⁸⁹ Gunderson, 1970, 4

⁹⁰ Bryant, 1913, 130.

⁹¹ Bryant, 1913, 17

where the program or food is subsidized or provided by the state or another organization in some way. I am not interested in programs where children can buy food at school canteens if that food is not subsidized and thus reduced in price. This dataset codes how food is provided, the program's start date and whether the program was implemented by the state or an international agency. The dataset allows me to understand the diffusion pattern of this social policy by comparing start date regionally. In addition, I am able to work with the information in this dataset to consider other theories of social policy emergence, such as power resources arguments, post-material arguments or norm compliance. The results of the survey and analysis of the conventional theories of policy emergence are discussed in Chapter 2.

I then use case studies to explore the causal mechanisms of emergence and diffusion. These case studies make up the bulk of the dissertation. The comparative case study method moves me beyond some of the more static divides created and defended by the international relations theoretical frameworks and allows me to create a specific theory to explain the emergence and diffusion of school lunch programs. The case study method is particularly useful for generating hypotheses and searching for causal mechanisms.⁹²

The cases are selected from the three different phases in the development of school lunch programs: historical emergence, international diffusion and international fragmentation. The cases are presented in this order in the dissertation in order to provide an overall historical understanding of the development of these programs. The first phase I examine is the initial history of these programs, which is located almost

⁹² Gerring, 2007

entirely in the developed countries and driven by overlapping concerns about military readiness, a new emotional value accorded children and food surpluses. I argue that in these early cases policy entrepreneurs who were normatively concerned with the issue of child malnutrition were able to frame child malnutrition as a security issue and thus create national school lunch programs. For instance, the UK created a school lunch program in two stages: following the Boer War and a sudden national concern about the fitness of soldiers a voluntary law was passed; during WWII and the same sudden concern, a mandatory law was passed. This same dynamic was at work in the US. The US National School Lunch Program was created in the wake of WWII, partially due to worries about the number of men who had been rejected from the services for nutritional deficiencies. In both of these cases, agricultural interests were the necessary, background condition for the emergence of these programs. In addition, gender is an important variable as school lunch programs were started in some small measure to make it easier for women to enter the workforce at a time of great need for extra laborers. While I only examine these two cases, other countries, including those in Western Europe and South America, were also developing school lunch programs at this time. I find the US and UK to be representative of the general trends that created school lunch programs during this period. In particular, a number of Western European countries developed school lunch programs much as the UK did, as part of their welfare states following WWII and in response to pressures from the agricultural lobbies.

These two case studies are presented in Chapter 3, as well as a mini-case on Canada which did not, and has not, developed a school lunch program, in opposition to what welfare state theory would predict. I argue that my theoretical framework

answers this puzzle. The way in which Canadian social policy was created in the 1940s hid the issue of child malnutrition as it subsumed all childcare concerns into its Family Allowances system. This social policy system preempted the issue of child malnutrition, making it impossible for child malnutrition to be identified as an issue that entrepreneurs could organize around. Gender is an important consideration in this case as well, as the Family Allowance system was created in part to keep women out of the work force.

The second phase is one of international diffusion, when the UN's World Food Programme (WFP) began exporting the school lunch model into developing countries. The WFP has created school lunch programs in 72 countries since its inception as an organization. I argue that the WFP adopted school lunches following a similar pattern as the developed countries, although in this case child malnutrition was framed not as a security issue, but as a development issue. The two key entrepreneurs in this case were George McGovern and B.R. Sen. McGovern and Sen were both principled believers in the use of food for development, and, in the debates surrounding the creation of the World Food Programme, both men worked to create a compromise between countries that wanted the new organization to only provide food aid for emergencies and those that wanted the organization to also provide food aid for social and economic development. These two men found this compromise position by promising school lunch programs as social and economic development programs. In order to do this they framed child malnutrition as a development problem. The creation of school lunches as WFP policy, as well as the role of the WFP as a diffusion agent, is covered in Chapter 4.

The third phase is one of international fragmentation. By fragmentation I mean that the WFP is no longer the only organization providing school lunches in developing countries. The fragmentation phase is an extension of the diffusion phase; instead of the WFP importing school lunches, countries are beginning to create their own school lunch programs. In this, the current phase, a number of developments have occurred. While the WFP retains a major role in school feeding, pressure from donors such as the US and from its own internal budget process has lessened its focus on school feeding projects in favor of emergency food aid. This has resulted in an effort to phase out WFP-aided countries, increasing the number of countries that have school lunch programs that were initially created by the WFP. In addition, certain countries have begun to create and manage their own school lunch programs, without having received school lunch aid from the WFP. Most prominently, India developed its own school feeding program in 2001, following a Supreme Court order which found a right to food. This case, which I discuss in Chapter 5, is explained by entrepreneurs, in this case human rights activists and the Indian Supreme Court, who used the frame of human rights to press for a right to food, which resulted in a school lunch program as the concrete expression of that right.

In addition, in this international fragmentation phase, non-governmental organizations, many of which have been involved in food aid projects for years, are more actively developing and promoting feeding programs. In Chapter 6 I discuss the case of Catholic Relief Services, which serves as an example of this trend towards private voluntary organizations taking on a greater role in food provision. In this case the frame is a humanitarian frame, centered in Catholic Relief Services' guiding

ideology of human dignity. This case is slightly different than the previous cases because the frame is not one that is opportunistically used by the organization to press an agenda, but rather has always guided and determined its actions.

Also in Chapter 6 I analyze a very new development in school feeding programs: the African Home Grown School Feeding Programme. In this case child malnutrition is not seen as the primary development problem. Instead, school lunches are designed to improve the local agricultural economy, rather than primarily as a solution to child malnutrition. The fact that the programs do work to solve child malnutrition is seen as an extra bonus, rather than the ultimate goal of the program. This case is interesting because the countries in which this new program is operating are phased out WFP countries; thus this case is also an example of diffusion of the program type. As such it provides insights into some of the weaknesses of diffusion explanations, as well as insights into how program diffusion might be sustained. In this case, the entrepreneurs, the Secretariat of the New Partnership for Africa's Development, are using a frame of local economic development to rationalize the continuation of the school lunch programs. This is a different development frame than the one used by the World Food Programme, which initially set up the programs, and provides an interesting contrast.

Finally, in this chapter I examine the recent efforts by groups in Canada that have created local school lunch programs and are beginning to push for a national program. It is particularly useful to consider how and why Canadian organizations are beginning to be interested in child malnutrition after several decades of ignoring the problem. I argue that it is because child poverty has been 'discovered' in Canada that

groups are now able to organize around the issue. The predominant frame that is being used is a charity frame. The Canadian case will be interesting to watch as to whether or not a pure charity frame can work in today's context.

There are two other, general, trends in the international fragmentation phase. First, moral frames are beginning to have a larger impact on the creation of programs than previously. For instance, concerns with human rights spurs the creation of the program in India, while Catholic Relief Services uses a frame that is decidedly humanitarian in origin. Second, many of the more recent cases reflect the general, global trend towards the privatization of social service provision. In India and Canada non-governmental organizations are increasingly taking on the responsibility for feeding children, while Catholic Relief Services acts as a privatized agent of USAID.

In the Conclusion, I take up the issue of norm emergence. I suggest at the beginning of this dissertation that not only has a new program type emerged, but that also a new norm about feeding children has emerged. In the conclusion I use evidence presented in the case studies to argue that two new norms have emerged: one norm is about state responsibility for feeding children and another is about school lunch programs as the way in which to feed children.

Methodology

The cases I examine were selected because they provide maximum variability on the independent variables. Although I do include one case where a program does not emerge, I am generally less concerned with variation on the dependent variable. Although quantitative methodologists remind us not to select on the dependent

variable,⁹³ I join other qualitative methodologists in arguing that this dictum does not always hold for qualitative case studies.⁹⁴ In particular, the selection bias claim does not hold for “inferences drawn from within-case process tracing or causal process observations”⁹⁵ or those cases that are “sufficiently data-rich to permit process-tracing.”⁹⁶ Because I employ process-tracing and am particularly concerned with causal processes in my case studies, I am less concerned with variation on the dependent variable.

The independent variables I explore include different policy entrepreneurs, organizers of school lunch program, frame and level of development. The variation on the independent variables is illustrated in the chart below:

⁹³ Geddes, 2003, 87

⁹⁴ Collier and Mahoney, 1996; George and Bennett, 2005

⁹⁵ Bennett and Elman, 2006, 461

⁹⁶ van Evera, 1997, 46

Case	Phase	Policy Entrepreneurs	Organizer of School Lunch Program	Frame	Level of Development
US/UK	History 1900 – 1960	Teachers, Parents, Women’s Orgs Ag Lobby	State	Security	High
Canada	History 1900 – 1960	None	None	None	High
World Food Programme	Int’l Diffusion 1961 - 1995	US Senators and Presidential Staff	International Organization	Development	Low
India	Int’l Fragn. 1990 - present	Human Rights Activists	State	Human Rights	Middle
Catholic Relief Services	Int’l Fragn. 1943 – present	Catholics	Non-governmental Organization	Human Dignity/ Humanitarianism	Low
Africa’s Home Grown School Feeding Programme	Int’l Fragn. 2000 - present	Development Experts, African Leaders	Regional Organization	Development	Low
Canada ⁹⁷	Int’l Fragn. 1989 – present	Teachers, Parents	Local Groups	Charity	High

Table 1.1: Case Selection

I am interested in establishing the causal process by which school lunch programs emerge. In order to do this I engage in within-case analysis through process-tracing for each case. I find process-tracing to be the most effective method for

⁹⁷ The Canada case for the International Fragmentation phase should be considered a partial case as it is only operating at a local level at this time.

establishing causality when using case studies. This view reflects a standard in small-n qualitative methods,⁹⁸ as well as an ontological commitment to the complexity of the social world and a corresponding understanding of causality. There are four approaches to causality and each suggests a different method for drawing causal inferences and depends on different understandings of causality; these include the neo-Humean regularity approach, the counterfactual approach, the manipulation approach and the mechanisms approach.⁹⁹ Process-tracing is the method for the mechanisms approach to causality, and depends on an understanding of causality as “a process involving the mechanisms and capacities that lead from a cause to effect.”¹⁰⁰ Instead of the ‘effects-of-causes’ approach commonly used by quantitative researchers, I use the ‘causes-of-effects’ approach used by qualitative researchers. In this case, the effect is school lunch programs, and I am interested in what has caused their emergence.

Process-tracing as a method utilizes archives, primary sources such as newspapers and websites, interviews and secondary sources. The researcher uses these sources to see whether the causal processes a theory hypothesizes or implies in a case is in fact in evidence in the sequence and values of the intervening variables in that case.¹⁰¹ In general, the method of process-tracing explores the “chain of events by which initial case conditions are translated into case outcomes.”¹⁰² For process-tracing to be persuasive one must tell a holistic story, have limited breaks in the causal narrative, and have high quality evidence from primary and secondary sources. Within-

⁹⁸ Bennett and Elman, 2006, 457

⁹⁹ Brady, 2002

¹⁰⁰ Bennett and Elman, 2006, 457

¹⁰¹ George and Bennett, 2005

¹⁰² Van Evera, 1997, 64-65

case analysis increases access to a wider variety of variables, providing for more nuanced theory development. Process-tracing allows me to gain inference from within the case rather than from comparison across cases; I can then use the inferences gained in each case to construct my argument in a comparative manner.

Conclusion

This dissertation is a study of a certain type of social policy. Social policy is an area of study in political science that can be considered very ‘productive’.¹⁰³ This is due to the relative consensus on what was to be explained and broad disagreements on how to explain it, which prompted a great deal of hypothesis testing and the acceptance of several main theories as most viable,¹⁰⁴ such as power-resources theory and institutional arguments.¹⁰⁵ However, while this research program can be considered ‘productive’, one of the problems I encountered in my project was precisely the very narrow definition of social policy used both by practitioners and academics. Research on social policy has tended to be restricted to analyzing “lines of state action to reduce income insecurity and to provide minimum standards of income and services”.¹⁰⁶ This definition certainly reflects the early welfare state efforts, but almost entirely ignores policy that dealt with populations other than workers or the effect of a lack of work. In other words, the consensus definition of the problem to be explained has obscured efforts at explaining action that focuses on children or women. More recent work has begun to examine these areas; in particular feminist analysis of social policy has

¹⁰³ Amenta, 2003, 114

¹⁰⁴ Amenta, 2003, 114

¹⁰⁵ Amenta, 2003, 101

¹⁰⁶ Amenta, 2003, 92

contributed greatly to understanding the effects of women's social movements on the emergence of policy,¹⁰⁷ as well as how the institutions of the state either constrain or create opportunity for women.¹⁰⁸ Despite the recent work of feminist theorists, the theoretical apparatuses established for explaining one particular type of social policy are weak for explaining other types of social policy. In particular, theoretical explanations for policy that affects children are far behind efforts to explain other types of policy. Thus, I contribute in this dissertation both to efforts to broaden the definition of social policy and to efforts to explain other types of social policy.

To sum up, this study examines the global emergence of school lunch programs. Over the last hundred years, states around the world have begun to provide children with state or international organization subsidized school lunches, despite a general inattention to child malnutrition. Because children's issues were not commonly included in the original design of the welfare state the conventional theories that explain social policy do not work in this case. In addition, conventional social policy theories find their causal power in either the national or international level and do not consider how these two levels might interact in the creation of policy. Finally, conventional social policy theories largely ignore the role of ideas in the production of social policy. Through a global survey of school lunch programs and case studies I argue that school lunch program emergence is best explained by understanding how policy entrepreneurs in different organizational contexts (states, international organizations, non-governmental organizations) harnessed various internationalized frames to discuss child malnutrition in a way that resonated within the political context of the organization. In

¹⁰⁷ Kenney, 2003

¹⁰⁸ Ungerson and Kember, 1997

addition, I argue that insights from international relations theory might prove helpful to the study of comparative social policy. My work points to the importance of international ideational structures for the emergence and diffusion of national policy and suggests that those who study comparative social policy might take a closer look at the theoretical contributions of international relations.

Chapter Two: A Cross-National Survey of School Lunch Programs and An Analysis of Conventional Social Policy Theories

In order to analyze the emergence of school lunch programs, it was necessary to compile data about school lunch programs on a global scale. Although there has been extensive research on the US National School Lunch Program and some, mostly policy oriented research on a few other, specific, countries, there was basically no cross-national data on school lunch programs. Thus, for this project I created a dataset that includes the start date for programs, what agency organizes the programs and the method by which food is provided. This dataset provides a complete picture of the emergence of these programs throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. As discussed in Chapter 1, social policy researchers have historically ignored children's issues; the result of this is a lack of both empirical and theoretical tools with which to understand the growth of social policy that affects children. This dataset fills in some of these gaps in knowledge and particularly works to encourage the development of new theoretical tools for understanding children's social policy.

In this chapter I first report the results of my global survey of school lunch programs, including information about how many, and which, countries have programs, when the programs were created and who administers the programs. I then use these results to assess the more conventional theories of policy emergence. Social policy as a study area has produced fairly robust theories to explain policy emergence,¹⁰⁹ making it seem likely that school lunch program emergence would be explained by one of these

¹⁰⁹ Amenta, 2003, 114

conventional theories. The theories I examine include power resources theory, diffusion explanations and post-materialism, as well as two specific hypotheses about school lunch program emergence which tie emergence to compulsory education laws and a country's agricultural status. However, I find that none of these theories works to explain satisfactorily the emergence of school lunch programs.

This result is unsurprising, given that, despite the best efforts of feminist scholars, the definition of social policy has remained narrowly circumscribed. A standard definition of social policy as “state efforts to reduce economic inequality by providing certain floors on income and services and preventing income losses due to certain risks”¹¹⁰ means that the conventional theories cannot explain types of social policy that are concentrated outside of the work place. Thus, new, middle-range theories are necessary for an expanded conception of social policy that includes children. After determining that conventional social policy theories do not have much explanatory power for the case of school lunches, I turn to the work of building my argument in the case studies that follow this chapter.

A Cross-National School Lunch Survey

Data Collection

In order to create the school lunch program database I first gathered information from the 2004, 2005, and 2006 World Food Programme School Feeding Reports. I also used a book published by the FAO in 1953, *School Feeding: It's Contribution to Child Nutrition*. In addition, I searched the State Parties Reports to the UN Convention on the

¹¹⁰ Amenta, 2003, 97

Rights of the Child for information related to child feeding programs. For countries for which I still did not have information, I sent an email to their embassies based in the US asking for any information on school lunch programs. I received a surprisingly high response rate to these emails. Some of these emails directed me to contact other personnel and I did that. Finally, I used the Internet to access government documents and World Food Programme reports to fill in the gaps, as well as communicating with World Food Programme staff through emails and in Rome.

Results

The global survey of school lunch programs shows that out of 185 countries surveyed, 144 take responsibility for feeding children at school, either by providing a school lunch program themselves, depending on the World Food Programme or an NGO for lunches, or the government providing conditional cash transfers for school attendance. Forty-one countries provide no lunch program at all; statistically, 22% of the countries surveyed do not have some sort of provision for school lunches. Those 41 countries are split between countries that either structure their school day so that children are not at school during lunch or allow school canteens, whereby companies are allowed to sell food either on school grounds or, more usually, just outside of the school. Thus, even fewer countries leave the responsibility for lunch provision solely in the family's hands.

Listed below are those countries that do not provide school lunches in anyway. It is interesting to note that these countries are mostly highly developed countries with strong social welfare provisions, along with a few cases of less developed countries.

Armenia	Iceland	Malta	Slovak Republic
Australia	Indonesia	Mexico (CCT)	Slovenia
Austria	Kosovo	Monaco	Solomon Islands
Azerbaijan	Korea (Dem. Rep.)	Netherlands	Switzerland
Bahrain	Kyrgyz Republic	New Zealand	Tunisia
Belarus	Latvia	Norway	Turkey (CCT)
Belgium	Lebanon	Papua New Guinea	Turkmenistan
Canada	Libya	Paraguay (CCT)	United Arab Em.
China	Lichtenstein	Qatar	
Germany	Luxembourg	Samoa	
Greece	Maldives	Saudi Arabia	

Table 2.1: Countries That Do Not Have Programs

Regionally, African, Asian, South American and North American countries are the most fully covered by school lunch programs. Slightly over half of the European countries provide school lunches, while the Middle East has the least amount of coverage. The chart below indicates the number of countries within each region that provide lunches.

Africa	50
Asia	21
Europe	31
Middle East	7
North America	23
South America	12

Table 2.2: Lunch Provision By Region

In the 144 countries that take responsibility for providing lunch this is done either through a traditional school lunch program, where lunch is provided for free or at a substantially reduced price, or through a conditional cash transfer program where parents, usually mothers, are provided money to be used for food if their children fulfill certain attendance requirements. Twenty-one countries use conditional cash transfer

programs and 141 countries use school lunch programs. In all but three of the countries with conditional cash transfer programs (Mexico, Paraguay and Turkey) both school lunch programs and conditional cash transfers operate. In Mexico, Paraguay and Turkey only conditional cash transfers are used.

In the 141 countries that have school lunch programs, the school lunches are administered and provided in different ways. Seventy-four countries have school lunch programs that are administered by their own governments, 53 countries have school lunch programs that are run by the WFP and 28 countries have school lunch programs that are administered by a NGO. This information is summarized below. Just as conditional cash transfer programs and school lunch programs co-exist, so do World Food Programme provided programs and NGO provided programs. In many cases each organization funds different parts of the program. Less often, but occasionally, the World Food Programme is still working with a government on some aspect of its school lunch program. For these reasons the totals for Administering Agency are greater than the 141 total school lunch programs.

Funding/Administering Agency	
Government	74
World Food Programme	53
Non-governmental Organization	28

Table 2.3: Programs By Funding Agency

Below, I include tables that show which countries have programs that are administered by NGOs, the World Food Programme and that country's government. The first chart indicates those countries that receive school lunch assistance from NGOs.

Albania	Comoros	Lao PDR	Sierra Leone
Algeria	Djibouti	Macedonia	Somalia
Belize	Dominica Rep.	Myanmar	Sudan
Bhutan	Fiji	Nicaragua	Tajikistan
Bosnia & Herz.	Guatemala	Oman	Ukraine
Bulgaria	Haiti	Panama	Uzbekistan
Cambodia	Honduras	Serbia	Vietnam

Table 2.4: Countries with Programs Provided By NGOs

This next chart indicates those countries that receive school lunches from the World Food Programme and the date at which the program was first started. There is some overlap between this list and the NGO list, as countries such as Tajikistan receive school lunch assistance from both sources. I do not have dates for all the World Food Programme countries – these countries are listed in the World Food Programme’s Global School Feeding Reports but did not show up in archival searches at the WFP library. This could indicate that the World Food Programme began their involvement with these countries only recently, in a period that the archives do not cover.

Afghanistan	1964	Iraq	1968
Angola	1974	Kenya	1979
Bangladesh	2001	Lesotho	1965
Benin	1975	Liberia	1970
Bhutan	1973	Madagascar	1968
Bolivia	1987	Malawi	1971
Burkina Faso	1967	Mali	
Burundi	1969	Mauritania	1963
Cambodia		Mozambique	1987
Cameroon	1972	Nepal	1972
Cape Verde	1981	Nicaragua	
Cen. Afric. Republic	1973	Niger	1975
Chad	1963	Pakistan	
Dem Rep of Congo	1969	Russia	
Rep of Congo	1969	Rwanda	1965
Cote d'Ivoire	1968	Sao Tome & Principe	1977
Dominican Republic	1994	Senegal	1970
El Salvador	1983	Sierra Leone	
Eritrea		Somalia	1970
Ethiopia	1992	Sudan	1969
Gambia	1970	Tajikistan	
Georgia		Tanzania	
Ghana		Uganda	
Guinea	1964	Yemen	1971
Guinea-Bissau	1976	Zambia	1967
Haiti	1990	Zimbabwe	
Iran			

Table 2.5: Current WFP Sponsored Countries

The chart below includes those countries that created or have taken over their own program, and the year in which that occurred. I have put in parentheses programs that had already been created but suffered cutbacks or had to be taken over by the WFP and then were re-initiated; for example, countries such as Argentina initiated a program in 1932, disbanded the program in the 1960s and then reinitiated a program in 2004. Likewise, Russia started a program in 1937 as the Soviet Union but today depends on the WFP for school lunches. There are two countries for which I was unable to find a

reliable start date for the program (Bermuda and Spain), although I am certain that these countries have school lunch programs.

Antigua and Barbuda	2005	Kazakhstan	1995
Argentina	1932 (2001)	S. Korea	1998
Bahamas	1980	Kuwait	1954
Bangladesh	1993	Lithuania	1997
Barbados	1963	Malaysia	1945
Belize	1999	Mauritius	2006
Bermuda		Moldova	2007
Bolivia	1936	Mongolia	2007
Botswana	1966 (1997)	Montenegro	2002
Brazil	1985	Morocco	2006
Brunei Darussalam	mid – 1940s	Namibia	1997
Chile	1940	Nigeria	2002 (2005)
Colombia	1935	Peru	1936 (2005)
Costa Rica	1988	Philippines	2003
Cuba	1946	Poland	1947
Cyprus	1996	Portugal	1948
Czech Republic	2004	Romania	1947/48
Denmark	1902	Russia	1937 (WFP)
Dominica	2006	Seychelles	mid-1990s
Ecuador	1938 (1980)	Singapore	1996
Egypt	1942 (1995)	S. Africa	1994
Equatorial Guinea	2006	Spain	
Estonia	2000	Sri Lanka	1940s
Finland	1948	St. Kitts and Nevis	1996
France	1932	St. Lucia	1996
Gabon	2006	Suriname	mid-1990s
Grenada	1980	Swaziland	1992
Guatemala	1993	Sweden	1946
Guyana	1993	Syria	2006
Honduras	2003	Thailand	2005
Hungary	1949	Togo	2006
India	2001	Tonga	1996
Ireland	1930/31	Trinidad & Tobago	mid-1990s
Jordan	2006	United Kingdom	1906 (1944)
Israel	1950 (2005)	United States	1946
Italy	1953	Uruguay	1931 (1991)
Jamaica	1926 (1996)	Venezuela	1940s
Japan	1946		

Table 2.6: Current Government Run Programs

In order to begin analyzing this information I have plotted how many programs were started in which decade, regardless of whether the programs were started by their own government, the World Food Programme or an NGO. This gives a good overall picture of the trend in how school lunch programs have emerged and spread.

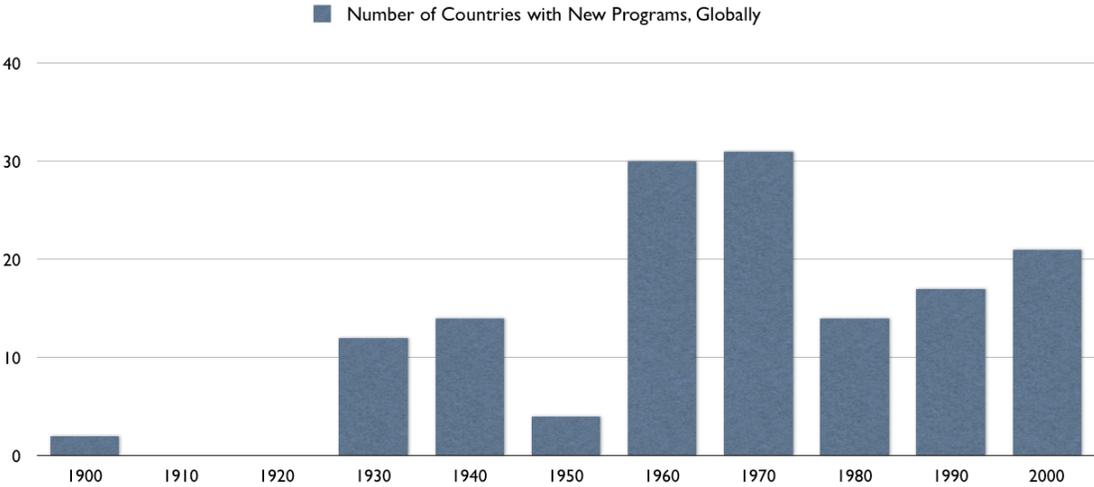


Figure 2.1: Number of Countries with New Programs, Globally

This chart indicates that the number of school lunch programs began building during the 1930s and 40s, leveled off during the 1950s and then reached an all time high in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s the number dropped substantially, back to the levels of the 1940s, before building again in the 1990s and 2000s. This suggests that the need for school lunches, despite heightened efforts at different points, continues. At some point, probably soon, any further increase is unlikely, as there is a finite number of countries in the world with either the need, capacity or interest in school lunches.

In this second chart I plot the number of programs that were started by their own governments.

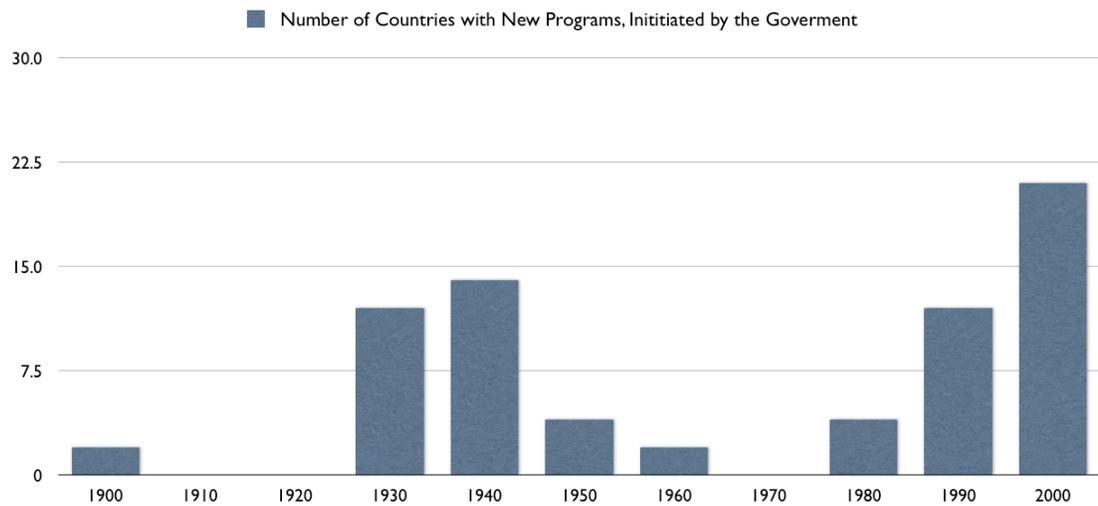


Figure 2.2: Number of Countries with New Programs Initiated by the Government

We can see from this chart that there have been two major periods when governments created school lunch programs: the 1930/40s and the 1990s/2000s. The countries that created programs in the 1930s/40s include: Argentina, Bolivia, Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Hungary, Ireland, Jamaica, Malaysia, Norway (it dismantled its program in 1953), Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sweden, the UK, the US, the USSR, Uruguay and Venezuela. Breaking this down regionally there are 10 states in Latin America who started programs at this time, 9 states in Europe who started programs at this time, 3 states in Southeast Asia (all of which are geographically close together), Egypt, USSR and the US. This regionally based development corresponds with the development of the welfare state in various European countries and the US, and the development of what Fernando Filgueira (2005) calls the ‘Social State’ in Latin America.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Social states can be understood as the policies concerned with transfers, subsidies and services that

The 1990s/2000s saw the second wave of program establishment. In those years the following countries established, or in a few cases reestablished, programs: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bangladesh, Botswana, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Dominica, Egypt, Estonia, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, India, Israel, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Republic of Korea, Lithuania, Maldives, Mauritius, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Seychelles, Singapore, South Africa, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, Suriname, Swaziland, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tonga and Uruguay. These countries are either phased out World Food Programme countries that are successfully carrying out their own programs at this point or former Soviet republics or members of the Eastern Bloc. For the former Soviet countries, Estonia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania and Moldova, the creation of school lunch programs in the 1990s/2000s is in fact a renewal of the Soviet policy of providing school lunches. In addition, South Africa and India both created programs on their own initiative during this time period.

In this third chart I list the number of countries in which the UN's World Food Programme initiated a school lunch program by decade. This chart clearly indicates that the World Food Programme started the majority of its programs in the 1960s and 1970s. It is important to note that I have only included the start date for programs; most programs, once started, were newly funded at different intervals and register multiple start dates in the WFP archives.

resemble a social safety net and a set of redistributive transfers and services (Filgueira 2005)

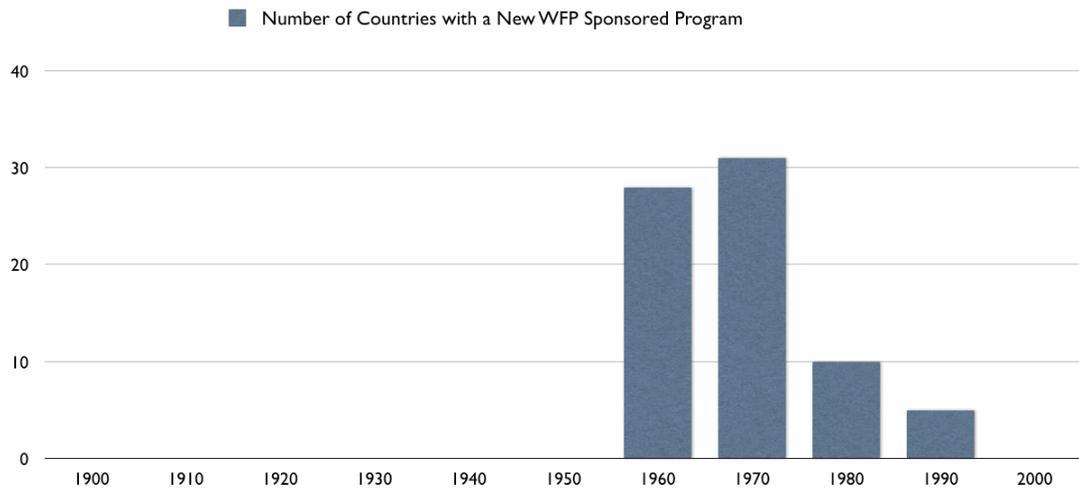


Figure 2.3: Number of Countries with a new WFP Program

It is clear that the majority of programs were started in either the 1960s, immediately after the creation of the WFP, or the 1970s. Almost all of the programs were either extended, expanded or had their budgets increased in subsequent years. In other words, once the WFP began involvement in a country, they stayed involved in that country until the program was phased out, either in the 1990s or 2000s. For instance, many African programs that still exist today were started in either the 1960s or 70s. To a certain extent then this is why so few programs were created in the 1990s/2000s – the WFP has already created programs for those countries most in need.

There are interesting regional differences as to when the WFP became involved in different countries. The WFP began programs in Africa, and particularly sub-Saharan Africa, almost immediately, as well as in Asian countries. The majority of the programs started in the 1960s and early 1970s are largely based in those two regions. It was not until the late 1970s and 1980s that the WFP became involved with school

feeding projects in Central America and the few programs that were started in the 1990s were in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Guyana, Haiti and Namibia. These first four countries are particularly poor and likely lacked the ability to provide the infrastructure funding the WFP requires for a school meal program until the 1990s. Namibia did not achieve independence until 1990, which is likely why they acquired a program in the early 1990s.

Social Policy Theories of Program Emergence

There are a variety of different explanations for explaining social policy emergence. These different explanations operate largely at the national level, in that they explain program emergence as due to the efforts of national politicians or lobbyists, or due to some national characteristic such as culture or post-materialism. Some more recent work looks to the international level to explain program emergence. This type of argument would explain program emergence as due to state efforts at norm compliance or through different mechanisms of diffusion. These different explanations can be ranged from the national to international and from the material to the ideational. This can be seen in the chart, below.

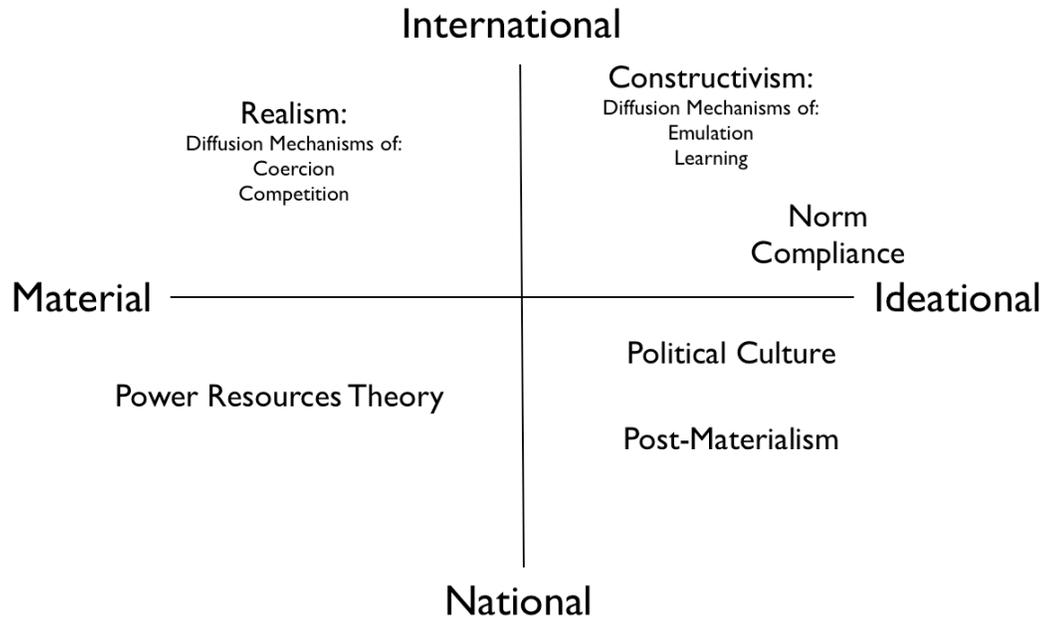


Figure 2.4: Explanations of Policy Emergence

In the following section I assess the validity of the various theories shown in the chart for explaining school lunch program emergence, as well as addressing some hypotheses of program emergence that seem likely based on the subject matter. These include hypotheses related to agricultural production, compulsory education laws and hunger. I find that many of the national level hypotheses can explain a handful or regional subset of cases, but that they cannot explain program emergence on a more general level. In addition, I find that diffusion explanations are helpful in understanding the World Food Programme’s role in spreading school lunch programs but less helpful for understanding earlier stages of program emergence.

National Explanations

Power Resources Theory

Power resources theory is easily the dominant theory in the social policy field and argues that social democratic governments and organized labor are the forces for increased social protections.¹¹² If power resources theory were correct, I would expect to see school lunch programs where there is high labor power. The only area that can be explained with such an argument is South American cities during the 1930s. In most other areas where there was high labor power, children were initially left out of social protection systems that focused on the concerns of workingmen.

The Spanish ex-colonies all initiated programs beginning in the 1930s and continuing into the 1940s. This can be seen in the chart below. I believe that school lunch programs emerged in South America at this particular time due to labor power, Catholic Social Teaching and populist governments that were more willing to intervene into the economy and lives of their citizens.

Country	Year Program Initiated
Argentina	1932
Bolivia	1936
Chile	1940
Colombia	1935
Ecuador	1936
Peru	1936
Uruguay	1936
Venezuela	1940

Table 2.7: Year of Program Initiation in S. America

¹¹² Korpi, 1989, Esping-Anderson, 1990, Huber and Stephens 2001

The only countries in South America that did not initiate a school lunch program in the 1930s or early 1940s were Guyana, Suriname, French Guinea (none of which had achieved independence at that point), Brazil and Paraguay. This is an interesting and puzzling finding. The South American programs were started at similar, and in some cases, even earlier times than the European programs. In Europe those states that developed programs did so largely in response to concerns about child malnutrition, security and agricultural interests, not in response to workers demands. Thus, only those states that had this combination of issues developed school lunch programs. In fact, despite the emergence of the welfare state throughout Europe, not all countries developed school lunch programs. However, in South America, only some countries developed welfare states and yet all of these countries initiated school lunch programs in the 1930s. This is an interesting puzzle that deserves further consideration.

These South American countries developed their school lunch programs in the height of the Great Depression. These countries had fully integrated into the global economy, largely through exports of wheat and beef (Argentina), metals (Chile and Peru) and other raw materials.¹¹³ This integration meant that these countries were badly affected by the Depression. In response to the effects of the Depression many South American countries began to initiate import substitution industrialization policies, in some cases as early as the 1930s. In addition, labor unrest had spread through South America in the late 1920s and was exacerbated in the early 1930s. Finally, many of these countries experienced transitions away from democracy and back towards military

¹¹³ Skidmore and Smith, 1997

rule during this decade. It was against this unpromising socio-economic backdrop that these countries initiated school lunch programs.

Like their European counterparts, the feeding of school children had existed in several of these cities since the turn of the century, organized by voluntary organizations, particularly women's and religious organizations. In addition, with the growth of the urban laboring class, the governments in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela "established "comedores populares" or popular restaurants . . . for working men and their families."¹¹⁴ Thus, there were definite precursors to government funded school lunch programs. The school lunch programs that did appear, by and large, were only in the industrial city centers.

The Great Depression's effects in Latin America were two-fold: the growth of populism and the introduction of import substitution industrialization (ISI). Populism grew almost everywhere that "the political system had been dominated by a small upper class in previous years"¹¹⁵ but was especially pronounced in Latin America. By and large these regimes enlarged the state and introduced various public works program in order to combat unemployment. Populism in Latin America suffered different fates in different countries, but in general there was greater intervention by the state into the economy and the creation of some programs for social welfare. Likewise, ISI mandates a large amount of government involvement and intervention into the economy in order to create better domestic industries. Thus, the Great Depression ushered in a new era of state intervention into the lives of the citizens in these countries.

¹¹⁴ Scott, 1953, 106

¹¹⁵ Rothermund, 1996, 136

While state intervention became more possible due to populism and ISI, the kinds of intervention were likely dictated by Catholic social teaching. Catholic social teaching is grounded in the sacredness of human life and human dignity and focuses the attention of Catholics on those in need. Pope Leo XIII laid the foundations of Catholic social teaching in 1891 with his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, (On the Condition of Labor).¹¹⁶ The Catholic church in Latin America worked during the nineteenth century to take over some parts of the state “that we think are appropriate to government: control of cemeteries, some role in the marriage and education, and the civil register.”¹¹⁷ By the early twentieth century the tension between the state and the Church in many Latin American countries had evolved into the “organic state model”¹¹⁸ in which the Church played an important role in the functioning of the state.¹¹⁹ As an example of this, in several countries such as Uruguay and Chile, Catholic center parties were responsible for the introduction of various social programs.¹²⁰ There is some debate as to whether or not predominately Catholic countries exhibit higher degrees of the organic state model;¹²¹ it is argued that Catholic social philosophy “stresses the political community, a specific theory of functional associations . . . and the central role of the state in achieving the common good.”¹²² While this debate remains unresolved, the presence of Catholics in the state and their belief in Catholic social teaching has

¹¹⁶ US Conference of Catholic Bishops. “Themes of Catholic Social Teaching”
www.usccb.org/sdwp/projects/socialteaching/excerpt.shtml

¹¹⁷ Sigmund, 1998, 4

¹¹⁸ Stepan; Schmitter, 1974; Ai Camp, 1996. The organic state model is considered the core of corporatist theory and has an intellectual tradition dating back to Aristotle (Ai Camp, 1996, 115)

¹¹⁹ Ai Camp, 1996, 115

¹²⁰ Filgueira, 2005, 16

¹²¹ Schmitter, 1974, 90

¹²² Ai Camp, 1996, 115

historically influenced the Latin American state and was particularly relevant at that time.

Finally, there is a clear link between labor and the creation of school lunch programs. In all the South American states that developed school lunch programs, there was high left labor power.¹²³ Labor movements, in the cities, had grown in strength through the early decades of the twentieth century and “the years between 1914 – 1927 saw a surge of labor mobilization” which rocked the capital cities of every Latin American capital.¹²⁴ When the Great Depression hit, many of the Latin American countries began to industrialize. Industrialization was the preferred strategy for two reasons: in order to achieve greater economic independence from global markets and to respond to the demands of a newly organized and active labor movement.¹²⁵ There was real pressure from the labor movement and the state was beginning to find it necessary to take the demands of labor seriously in the 1930s.

I argue that welfare state theories that see the welfare state as a product of bargains between the state and workers, either to preempt or respond to worker’s demands, are born out in this case. My research suggests that the children of South American workers were fed during the Great Depression in an effort to avoid worker revolts, in the face of mounting malnutrition. In addition, the precedent of the popular restaurants created an easy path to school lunch programs in the cities. Outside of meeting the goal of quelling worker revolts there is the larger economic context to consider. First, because of the Great Depression many of the Latin American countries

¹²³ Segura-Ubeirgo, 2007

¹²⁴ Skidmore and Smith, 1997, 48

¹²⁵ Skidmore and Smith, 1997, 53

were cut off from their export markets, leaving some amount of agricultural surplus on hand during those particular years. Second, as the state began to easily intervene into the economy and consequently make certain demands on workers and their families, it was easy to justify an intervention into the lives of their children. Finally, Catholic social teaching, with its emphasis on human dignity and meeting the needs of the poor, influenced the kinds of intervention that resulted. I have argued that it was these various factors that combined to produce school lunch programs in South America in the 1930s.

The South American countries are also interesting because none of the programs lasted. As these countries experienced the economic declines that import substitution industrialization led to in the 1960s, these countries all dropped the school lunch programs. The majority of these countries ended up with World Food Programme programs, and today are leading the next trend in child feeding, with most of these countries moving away from the school lunch model and towards conditional cash transfer programs. In other words, school lunch programs in South America were a temporally based phenomenon, growing out of the real trials of malnutrition brought on by the Great Depression and the power of workers in the cities. This is unlike school lunch programs in most of the rest of the world, where the programs have taken root and continued past the reasons for their creation. This points to the need for international relations scholars who study diffusion to take seriously the work of comparative scholars on diffusion and consider the effects of regional diffusion in order to understand global diffusion.

Education

A national level hypothesis, specific to school lunch programs themselves, sees the adoption of school lunch programs as tied to compulsory education laws. This was one of my original hypotheses. This is a rationalist argument that sees parents demanding lunches if their children are being forced to go to school. This argument is explicated in British news articles published around the time of Britain's compulsory education law; letters to the Editor of the *Times* in the early 1900s express support for school meals based on the argument that "If children are compelled by the State to attend school, the State should also be compelled to feed them."¹²⁶ Thus, this argument is one that sees parents and/or society demanding responsibility from the state for the physical health of children, when the state begins to take responsibility for the intellectual health of children.

However, this argument is not supported by the data. After compiling the dates at which a country adopted a compulsory education law and comparing those to the dates of school lunch program adoption I find very little evidence to support this hypothesis. There are just seven countries that created school lunch programs within five years of the compulsory education law. These countries are Grenada, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Nigeria and Venezuela. Of these Hungary, Israel and Japan created the school lunch program either at the time of the compulsory education law's passage or within a year. In those three cases I do think there is a plausible casual connection between the law and the school lunch program. Namibia created a lunch program within ten years of the compulsory education law, while another four

¹²⁶ *The Times*, "Hungry School Children" January 6, 1905,

countries, Bangladesh, Chile, Egypt and Mongolia created a school lunch program within 20 years of the compulsory education law. After twenty years it seems unlikely that parents would be so upset about an issue that they would insist on the creation of a school lunch program.

Further evidence that compulsory education laws do not explain the creation of school lunch programs comes from the nine countries that started school lunch programs BEFORE a compulsory education law existed. These countries are Barbados, Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, Kuwait, Malaysia, Romania, South Africa and Sri Lanka. In addition, three countries have school lunch programs and still do not have a compulsory education law (Botswana, Brunei Darussalam and Jamaica) while another 18 countries have World Food Programme school lunch programs but no compulsory education laws.¹²⁷ Finally, all but two of the countries that do NOT have school lunch programs have compulsory education laws.

A rationalist explanation that sees school lunch programs as simply a corollary of education is mistaken. While both compulsory education and school lunches represent an intrusion or an extension of State power into the family, intellectual health and physical health are obviously regarded as separate areas.

Agriculture

A second national level hypothesis specific to school lunches themselves would argue that school lunch program emergence is tied to national agricultural policy. This

¹²⁷ These 18 countries are: Bhutan, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea-Bissau, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mozambique, Myanmar, Oman, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Zimbabwe

is a rationalist argument that ties school lunch program emergence to national economic concerns or the lobbying efforts of agricultural interest groups. School lunches are obviously dependent on agricultural goods in order to exist. Thus it seems likely that countries with national agricultural policies that encouraged agricultural exporting might be more likely to create school lunch programs; these programs could provide a steady market for excess agricultural goods. I find that although agricultural policy is an important variable in all cases, agricultural policy does not explain the emergence of school lunches on its own.

Generally, agricultural policy has the following objectives: “increasing farm incomes, stabilizing agricultural markets, providing an adequate supply of food, improving agricultural productivity and, in the case of developing countries, providing cheap food and fiscal revenues for general economic development.”¹²⁸ While most countries have similar agricultural policy objectives, there are large differences between how developed and developing countries manage their agricultural policy. Developed countries typically provide large subsidies to their agricultural industries, while developing countries tend to heavily tax their agricultural industries. This is a historical pattern that can be traced back to at least the 1860s.¹²⁹ Following WWII, developed countries embraced international markets and adopted domestic policies that were favorable to international markets, while developing countries “adopted trade policies that greatly reduced the ties between their domestic markets and the international economy.”¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Miner and Hathaway, 1988, 46

¹²⁹ Lindert, 72, 1991

¹³⁰ Valdes, 94, 1991

There are a number of theories to explain the high level of agricultural subsidies in developed countries, including a desire for food security and nostalgia for the farm, but it is generally agreed that the best explanation is that the shrinking number of farmers and the consolidation of farmers into corporate holdings in developed countries leads to a stronger political pull. This is easily explained by Mancur Olson's logic of collective action and the effectiveness of small groups;¹³¹ in other words, "small sectors lobby powerfully."¹³² This theory not only explains why developed countries are more likely to subsidize agriculture, but it also partly explains why developing countries are more likely to tax agriculture: in developing countries with a large number of scattered farmers, these farmers are less likely to be able to work together to lobby their government for favorable policies.

High taxation of agriculture in developing countries began early, as states taxed their agricultural sectors in order to finance rapid industrial development.¹³³ It was believed that growth in agriculture was unnecessary and that industrial growth was the best way to achieve economic development. There continues to be high protection of industry in developing countries with the consequent result of "distorted incentives against the production of tradable agricultural goods."¹³⁴ In addition, if we assume that governments are interested in creating revenue, either for the self-interest of politicians or for the support of state services, then we can assume that governments with greater pressure to raise revenue (developing countries) will tax exports and imports highly. Thus, the anti-trade bias of developing country's agricultural policy is best explained by

¹³¹ Olson, 1965 (2003), 53

¹³² Lindert, 74, 1991

¹³³ Gerschenkron, 1962

¹³⁴ Valdes, 97, 1991

the demand by the state for revenue¹³⁵ and the lack of power possessed by a large number of farmers.¹³⁶

One of the effects of the subsidies in developed countries and the taxation in developing countries is that, generally, developed countries are agricultural exporters while developing countries are agricultural importers. In other words, developed countries often have surplus agricultural goods, while developing countries often do not have enough agricultural goods to feed their populations. This led to one of my original hypotheses, that agricultural exporting countries would be more likely to support school lunch programs, both in their countries and internationally, as established programs would provide a ready place and/or price for their agricultural products, while agricultural importing countries would not support school lunch programs because of the price these countries would have to pay to import the required foodstuffs.

I assessed this hypothesis in three steps. First, I assessed this hypothesis historically, by assessing countries' agricultural status at the time they began a program. This led me to determine that, although agricultural concerns certainly predominated in some specific cases, there was no general trend that suggested that agricultural status affected whether or not a country adopted a program. Second, I assessed this hypothesis against a countries' current agricultural status. This analysis suggests that this hypothesis is incorrect as a number of agricultural exporting countries depend on the World Food Programme for a program while a number of agricultural importing

¹³⁵ Lindert, 74, 1991

¹³⁶ While recent decisions on agricultural policy from WTO are meant to address some of these trade imbalances, evidence indicates that developed countries are continuing their protectionist policies even while developing countries are attempting to reduce their trade policy distortions (Anderson, 2006)

countries run their own programs. Finally, I examine specific agricultural crops in order to determine if there is some correlation between those countries that export foods used in school lunch programs and the development of their own school lunch program. As with the other tests, there is little correlation between crop production and school lunch program.

Agricultural Status at the Time of Adoption

In order to determine whether or not agricultural status affected a country's decision to create a school lunch program I compared the date at which a country began a program against its agricultural status at that time. In some cases this was a difficult analysis to perform because global data on agriculture was not kept until 1961. While the FAO was founded in 1945 they did not begin to keep global statistics until 1961. Thus, agricultural information on those countries which adopted programs prior to 1961 had to be gathered largely from county reports or secondary sources. For those countries that adopted programs after 1961 I was able to use the FAOSTAT Database.¹³⁷ Because the data gathered was the same for all countries from 1961 on, I am able to generalize more successfully about the countries that adopted programs after 1961.

The countries that adopted programs before 1961 are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Hungary, Ireland, Jamaica, Malaysia, Norway, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sweden, the UK, the US, USSR, Uruguay and Venezuela. The majority of these countries adopted programs either during the Great Depression or closely following

¹³⁷ online at <http://faostat.fao.org/site/535/default.aspx#ancor>

WWII; these circumstances were trying for agriculture. I will consider the countries now by regional grouping.

The South American countries varied as to agricultural status when they began their programs. For instance, Argentina, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela had structured their economies around export-oriented growth and had focused particularly on agriculture.¹³⁸ Thus, while the Great Depression certainly reduced the demand for agricultural products, these countries worked hard to keep their export markets afloat and, due to the sudden onset of the Depression, did end up with some surplus agricultural goods. However, the other countries in this list were not agricultural exporters at the time they started programs, nor did the Great Depression cause them to run surpluses.

The European countries that began their programs before 1961 were not agricultural exporters. These countries began programs during the Great Depression or immediately following WWII. All of these countries experienced sharp drops in agricultural production during the war. However, many of these countries had powerful farm lobbies or their governments were composed of farmer coalitions. For instance, France, Ireland, Norway and the UK began their programs partly in response to organized political pressure from the farm lobby and/or farm parties that required the subsidization of certain crops, and particularly milk.¹³⁹ In some cases, the subsidy programs produced an oversupply of domestic agricultural goods, which were then used in schools. The other European countries, Finland, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, and Sweden, all created programs between 1947 - 1949. All of these

¹³⁸ Skidmore and Smith, 2007

¹³⁹ Akins, 2005; Andresen and Elvbakken, 2007

countries experienced sharp drops in agricultural production during the war, and production was just beginning to equal pre-WWII levels at the time at which these countries created programs.¹⁴⁰ These countries did not have an agricultural surplus nor were they exporting agricultural products at that time. These countries were just recovering from WWII and the US was providing food aid to several of these countries.

Finally, the other countries that created programs prior to 1961 are Brunei, Egypt, Jamaica, Malaysia and Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka, despite the tea plantations put in place by the British, was a food importer through its first several decades of independence.¹⁴¹ Brunei has always been a food importer,¹⁴² as has Jamaica. Interestingly, in 1939, the year in which Jamaica's government started a school lunch program, the Jamaican Department of Agriculture created the first Food Production Programme, which had the aim of Jamaican food self-sufficiency.¹⁴³ Egypt, on the other hand, was an agricultural exporter, albeit largely of cotton,¹⁴⁴ and Malaysia was also an agricultural exporter, albeit of rubber and palm oil.¹⁴⁵ Rubber, palm oil and cotton do not make very good surplus crops for school lunches.

Due to FAOSTAT it is relatively easy to ascertain the agricultural status of those countries that began programs after 1961. Of these forty-seven countries, twenty-eight were agricultural importers at the time a program was started, eighteen were agricultural exporters and for one country, Montenegro, the FAO does not have information. These

¹⁴⁰ FAO, 1949

¹⁴¹ Yapa, 1998

¹⁴² Allaert, 1995

¹⁴³ Jamaica Agriculture Society website. <http://www.jasjm.org/>

¹⁴⁴ Issawi, 1949; Owen, 2006

¹⁴⁵ Joseph, "Landmarks in Agricultural Development in Peninsular Malaysia – Contributions from Indonesia" <http://ccm.um.edu.my/umweb/fsss/images/persidangan/Kertas%20Kerja/K.T.%20Joseph.doc>

results are demonstrated in the chart below. The inconsistency of these results suggests that this hypothesis is incorrect.

Importing Countries:	Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Botswana, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Dominica, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Estonia, Gabon, Grenada, Israel, Jordan, Republic of Korea, Lithuania, Mauritius, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Seychelles, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, Suriname, Togo, Tonga
Exporting Countries:	Argentina, Barbados, Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ghana, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, India, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Mongolia, Swaziland, Syria, South Africa, Thailand, Uruguay

Table 2.8: Countries with School Lunch Programs by Import and Export Status, Post 1961

Current Agricultural Status

In order to determine a country's current agricultural status I used the *FAO Statistical Yearbook for 2005*. When looking at the contemporary agricultural situation, 101 of the 185 countries surveyed are net agricultural importers and 56 of them are net agricultural exporters. For another 21 countries the FAO Yearbook did not have any information as to their agricultural status and another seven essentially broke even between agricultural exports and imports. Looking at both agricultural exporters and importers does not lead to any firm conclusions about how a country's agricultural status affects whether or not that country adopts a school lunch program. In fact, agricultural status cannot explain the actions of at least 1/3 of the countries surveyed. These results are partly explained by the types of agricultural goods that are either exported or imported by each country.

Exporters: Out of the 56 agricultural exporters only 8 of those countries do not have a school lunch program at all, seemingly providing strong evidence for my hypothesis about agricultural exporters. These eight countries are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Indonesia, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Paraguay. Several of these, Australia and Canada specifically, are major agricultural exporters.¹⁴⁶ Another 28 exporters do in fact have a national program. However, 20 of the agricultural exporters have programs that are provided either by the World Food Programme or some other NGO. This runs directly contrary to my hypothesis.

These 20 countries are: Belize, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Fiji, Honduras, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Nicaragua, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Thailand, Uzbekistan, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This result can be explained by looking at what agricultural products these countries export, as shown in the table below. As can be seen from the table, these countries almost universally produce for export agricultural products that could not be used in a school meal. For instance, cocoa or coffee beans, bananas, and cigarettes top the list for these twenty countries.

¹⁴⁶ Interestingly, six of these countries donate to the World Food Programme and let their funds and food be used for WFP school feeding projects.

Exporters Who Get Help From WFP or NGOs

	Top Three Exports		
Belize	Bananas	Sugar	Papayas
Bolivia	Soybean Cake	Soybean Oil	Brazil Nuts
Bulgaria	Tobacco	Sunflower seed	Wine
Burkina Faso	Cotton lint	Sesame seed	Cigarettes
Cameroon	Cocoa Beans	Cotton lint	Coffee, green
Chad	Cotton lint	Cattle	Goats
Cote d'Ivoire	Cocoa Beans	Cocoa paste	Cocoa butter
Fiji	Sugar	Water and Ice	Taro
Honduras	Coffee, green	Bananas	Cigars
Kenya	Tea	Coffee, green	Beans, green
Madagascar	Vanilla	Cloves	Fruit products
Malawi	Tobacco	Sugar	Tea
Mali	Cotton lint	Cattle	Sheep
Nicaragua	Coffee, green	Beef, boneless	Groundnuts
Tajikistan	Cotton lint	Hides, wet cattle	Fruit, dry
Tanzania	Cashew nuts	Tobacco	Cotton lint
Thailand	Rubber, dry	Rice	Rubber, natural
Uzbekistan	Cotton lint	Grapes	Wheat
Zambia	Cotton lint	Tobacco	Maize
Zimbabwe	Tobacco	Cotton lint	Sugar

Table 2.9: Top Three Exports of Exporting Countries with WFP or NGO School Lunch Programs

Importers: The agricultural importing countries provide some support for my hypothesis but also provide some further puzzles. Twenty-three of the agricultural importing countries do not have a school lunch program at all. These countries are Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Kosovo, Lebanon, Libya, Lichtenstein, Malta, Mexico, Norway, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Switzerland, Tunisia, Turkmenistan and United Arab Emirates. Another 39 agricultural importing countries receive assistance towards school lunch programs from either the WFP or various NGOs. Thus, 2/3 of the agricultural importing countries do correspond to my initial hypothesis.

However, there are 32 countries, or 1/3 of the cases, that do not support my hypothesis. These 32 countries are agricultural importing countries that have government funded and supported school lunch programs.

Bahamas	Egypt	Japan	Philippines
Barbados	Equatorial Guinea	Jordan	Portugal
Botswana	Estonia	Kazakhstan	Romania
Brunei	Finland	Republic of Korea	Suriname
Croatia	Gabon	Latvia (planned)	Sweden
Cuba	Israel	Mongolia (pilot)	Syria
Cyprus	Italy	Morocco	Trinidad and Tobago
Czech Republic	Jamaica	Nigeria	United Kingdom

Table 2.10: Agricultural Importing Countries with Government Funded School Lunch Programs

Five of these countries are not that puzzling when one looks at their imports: these are the five ‘developed’ countries, Finland, Italy, Japan, Sweden and the United Kingdom and their imports are prepared foods, wine, cigarettes, and cheese. These countries are importing luxury goods because their economies are such that they can afford school lunch programs. Although Portugal, the Republic of Korea and Israel are importing substantive agricultural goods, such as wheat, soybeans and maize, we can also count these countries as ‘developed’ and thus less puzzling as to why they have a school lunch program, as their economy is not dependent on agricultural goods for success.

The remaining twenty-two countries (excluding the two countries that are planning or piloting programs) are the puzzle. They are agricultural importing countries

that are considered to be intermediate in the development scales of the UN. There are surely other challenges facing their societies than the provision of school lunches and yet these countries, some are early as the 1930s, have been providing, or trying to provide, a school lunch program for their children. I suggest in the Conclusion some answers to this puzzle.

Crops Used in School Lunches

I further explore the connection between school lunches and agricultural goods by analyzing which countries produce the types of foods commonly used in school lunches (basic grains or beans). This analysis also revealed very little connection between agriculture and school lunch programs. To assess this question I used FAO statistics on staple crop production. I examined cereal production overall and then looked at wheat and beans in particular. Wheat and dry beans are two of the top twenty agricultural commodities considered ‘important’ by the FAO.¹⁴⁷ I chose wheat and dry beans out of this list of twenty because they are products commonly listed in school lunch programs around the world. I used FAO statistics from 2004 and 2005 (the most recent available for the different commodities) and compared that against whether the top producers of those commodities had a program or not. The results are presented in the charts below:

¹⁴⁷ The entire top twenty most important food and agricultural commodities, in order, are as follows: Cow Milk, Indigenous Cattle Meat, Wheat, Tomatoes, Fresh Vegetables, Grapes, Watermelons, Hen Eggs, Sheep Milk, Maize, Indigenous Sheep Meat, Potatoes, Goat Milk, Olives, Indigenous Goat Meat, Dry Beans, Indigenous Chicken Meat, Indigenous Pig Meat, Figs, Greasy Wool (FAO Statistics Division, Major Food and Agricultural Commodities Production)

<i>Top 20 Wheat Prod. 2005</i>	<i>SLP Status</i>
China	No
India	Yes
United States	Yes
Russian Fed	NGOs,WFP
France	Yes
Canada	No
Australia	No
Germany	No
Pakistan	WFP
Turkey	CCT
Ukraine	NGOs
Argentina	Yes
United Kingdom	Yes
Iran	WFP
Kazakhstan	Yes
Poland	Yes
Egypt	Yes
Italy	Yes
Romania	Yes
Uzbekistan	NGOs

<i>Top 20 D. Beans Prod. 2005</i>	<i>SLP Status</i>
Brazil	Yes
India	Yes
China	No
Myanmar	NGOs
Mexico	CCC
United States	Yes
Uganda	HGSF
Indonesia	No
South Korea	Yes
Kenya	HGSF
Tanzania	WFP
Canada	No
Belarus	No
Turkey	CCT
Burundi	WFP
Thailand	Yes
Nicaragua	WFP
Cameroon	WFP
Rwanda	WFP
Iran	WFP

<i>Top 20 Cereal Prod. 2004</i>	<i>SLP Status</i>
China	No
United States	Yes
India	Yes
Russian Fed	NGOs,WFP
France	Yes
Indonesia	No
Brazil	Yes
Canada	No
Germany	No
Bangladesh	Yes
Ukraine	NGOs
Vietnam	NGOs
Argentina	Yes
Turkey	CCT
Mexico	CCT
Australia	No
Oman	NGOs
Poland	Yes
Tanzania	WFP
Mozambique	WFP

Table 2.11: Top 20 Wheat, Bean, and Cereal Producers and School Lunch Program Status

Looking more closely at the Top 20 Cereal Producers we see little correlation between crop production and school lunch programs. For instance, seven of these countries have a program, five do not and six depend on outside organizations for a school lunch programs. These results are consistent across the specific categories of Wheat and Bean Production. The overall results, as seen from these charts, indicate that there is little correlation between staple crop production and the presence of a school lunch program.

In general, despite the necessity of food for school lunches, national agricultural policy on its own cannot explain the emergence of school lunch programs. This holds true both historically and in contemporary analysis.

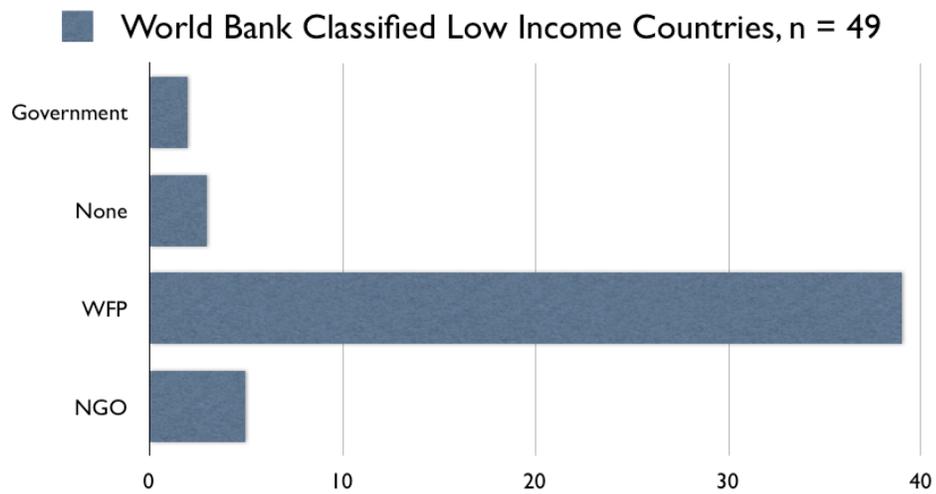
Post-Materialism

Another national level explanation for program emergence is post-materialism. This argument would be that once a country had reached a certain level of economic stability political attention would turn to values-based programs, such as children's issues.¹⁴⁸ In order to assess this argument, I compared a country's GNI per capita against whether or not a country has a program, as well as who the administering agency is, the government, the WFP or an NGO. In order to assess this hypothesis I used the 2007 World Bank income classifications. These classifications use GNI per capita to assess income and the groups are: "low income, \$935 or less; lower middle

¹⁴⁸ Inglehart, 1971

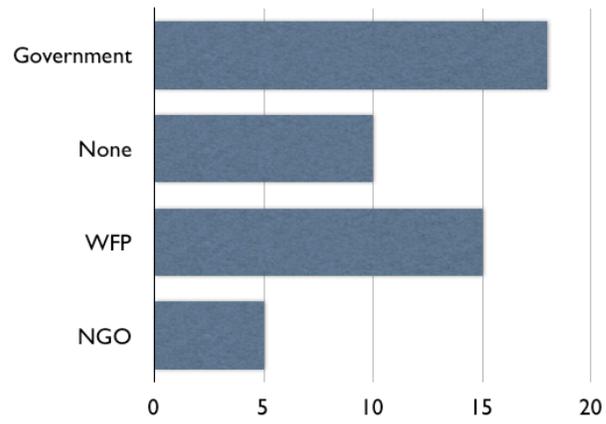
income, \$936 - \$3,705; upper middle income, \$3,706 - \$11,455; and high income, \$11,456 or more.”¹⁴⁹

There are 49 countries that qualify as Low Income, 48 which qualify as Lower Middle Income, 37 which qualify as Upper Middle Income and 48 which qualify as High Income. The results of comparing income status against the presence of a school lunch program and the administering agency are presented below in graphic form.

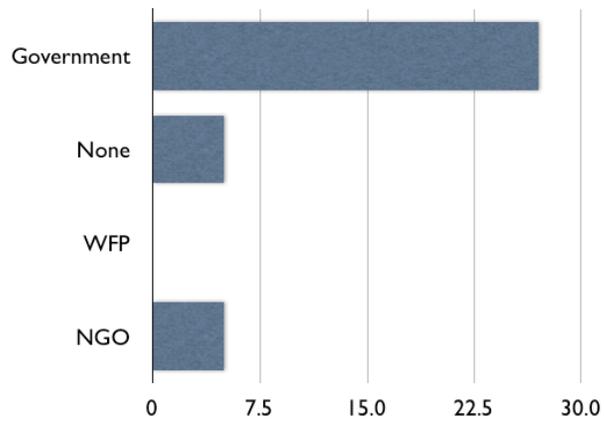


¹⁴⁹ World Bank Data, Country Classifications.
http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/DATASTATISTICS/0,,contentMDK:20421402~pagePK:64133150~piPK:64133175~theSitePK:239419,00.html#Low_income

■ World Bank Classified Lower Middle Income Countries, n = 48



■ World bank Classified Upper Middle Income Countries, n = 37



■ World Bank Classified High Income Countries, n = 48

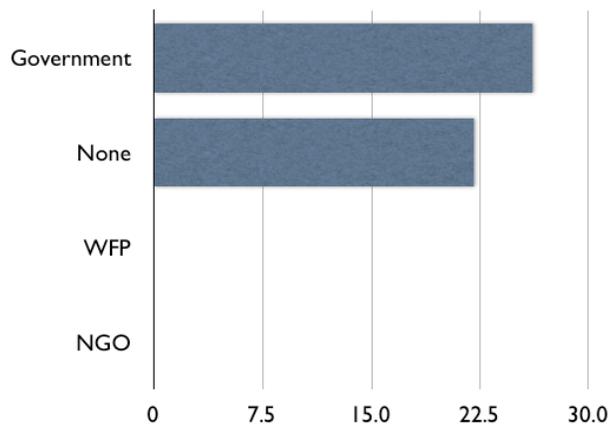


Figure 2.5: Country Income Status and Administering Agency for School Lunch Programs

These graphs indicate a few interesting things about a country's economic status and presence of a school lunch program, but they do little to support the post-materialism hypothesis. For instance, it is clear that the World Food Programme is the program administrator for the vast majority of Low Income countries. This is unsurprising and does not detract from or support the post-materialism hypothesis. The Lower Middle Income countries are likewise unsurprising in that almost 80% of these countries have a program, but the administering agency is split between the World Food Programme, NGOs and the government. Again, this does not support the post-materialism hypothesis. The most important chart for the post-materialism argument is the one that details information on the High Income countries.

This graph indicates that the High Income countries are almost evenly split as to whether they have a program or not. This does not provide convincing evidence that

countries that reach a certain income threshold have turned their attention to values-based programming such as children’s health issues. In short, post-materialism is not a convincing explanation for this puzzle.

Income Category	Percent Countries that Have a Program
Low	94
Lower Middle	79
Upper Middle	87
High	54

Table 2.12: Percent Countries with a Program by Income Category

However, the same graphs do point, at least provisionally, to an almost opposite conclusion. Instead of a post-material argument, there is some support for a material argument. This argument would hold that once a country had reached a certain income level there is no longer any need for this type of program. For instance, when Norway disbanded its program in 1953 they made exactly this claim, arguing that the elimination of mass poverty abolished the need for school meals.¹⁵⁰ There is some support for this argument if one compares the Upper Middle Income Countries and the High Income Countries.

Comparing the Middle Income and the High Income country graphs indicate that there is a reduction in the number of countries that have programs as the countries’ GNI increases between the top two income levels. In fact, the High Income countries actually have the lowest percentage of programs. The chart below compares all income types and the percent of countries in that income category that have a program.

¹⁵⁰ Andresen and Elvbakken, 2007, 376

Thus, there is some evidence that when countries no longer need a program of this type, they disband the program. However, fifty-four percent of High Income countries, including some of the highest income countries like the United States, Kuwait, Sweden and Bermuda, all have programs. Neither a post-materialist, nor purely materialist hypothesis is supported by income evidence.

Hunger

The conclusion I have drawn from income data, that a purely materialist hypothesis cannot explain school lunch program emergence, is similar to that drawn from an examination of hunger data. A seemingly likely hypothesis would be that hunger explains school lunch program presence. I analyze this claim by using the Global Hunger Index to get a good sense of those countries that are most hungry and whether or not they have a school lunch programs.

The Global Hunger Index is reproduced below. This chart is the ranked Global Hunger Index. The Global Hunger Index is an index used to rank countries that was developed by the International Food Policy Research Institute.¹⁵¹ The Global Hunger Index uses the following, equally weighted indicators: “the proportion of people who are food energy deficient as estimated by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the prevalence of underweight in children under the age of five as compiled by the World Health Organization (WHO), and the under-five mortality

¹⁵¹ I am using the 2006 Global Hunger Index. A new, 2008, Global Hunger Index was just released, but the International Food Policy and Research Institute is using the new World Health Organization Child Growth Standards, which makes it impossible to compare the new Global Hunger Index with the old Indexes (Von Gebmer, et, al., 2008)

rate as reported by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)."¹⁵² The Global Hunger Index examines 97 developing countries and 22 transition countries. The least malnourished country in this chart is Belarus while the most malnourished country is Burundi.

I have marked in **Bold** those countries that do NOT have a school lunch program; there are fifteen of these countries. Every other country on this list has a school lunch program, the majority of which are supplied by the World Food Programme or NGOs. Thirty-one countries on this chart have their own, government-funded program. The Global Hunger Index indicates that the majority of hungry countries have school lunch programs. However, while 104 of the 144 countries with school lunch programs are malnourished countries, 40 of the countries with school lunch programs are not malnourished. Thus, like the income data, hunger data reveals that school lunch programs cannot be explained only with a materialist focus.

¹⁵² Wiseman, 2006, ii

1	Belarus	31	Iran	61	Armenia	91	Lao PDR
2	Argentina	32	Macedonia	62	Nicaragua	92	Nepal
3	Chile	33	Paraguay	63	Uzbekistan	93	Haiti
4	Ukraine	34	Ecuador	64	Honduras	94	Malawi
5	Romania	35	Moldova	65	Swaziland	95	Sudan
6	Libya	36	Morocco	66	Ghana	96	India
7	Tunisia	37	Algeria	67	Mongolia	97	Burkina Faso
8	Cuba	38	Trin. & Tobag.	68	Myanmar	98	Guinea-Biss.
9	Lithuania	39	Albania	69	Sri Lanka	99	Rwanda
10	Croatia	40	Malaysia	70	Guatemala	100	Chad
11	Latvia	41	Colombia	71	Namibia	101	Mali
12	Uruguay	42	S. Africa	72	Philippines	102	Bangladesh
13	Russian Fed.	43	Venezuela	73	Benin	103	C. Afric. Rep.
14	Fiji	44	Peru	74	Cote d'Ivoire	104	Mozambique
15	Slovak Repub	45	Kazakhstan	75	Vietnam	105	Yemen
16	Lebanon	46	El Salvador	76	Botswana	106	Madagascar
17	Costa Rica	47	China	77	Uganda	107	Tanzania
18	Kuwait	48	Kyrgyz Rep.	78	Gambia	108	Tajikistan
19	Estonia	49	Gabon	79	Nigeria	109	Cambodia
20	Mauritius	50	Suriname	80	Cameroon	110	Comoros
21	Syria	51	Guyana	81	Mauritania	111	Zambia
22	Bosnia & Herz	52	Azerbaijan	82	Senegal	112	Liberia
23	Jordan	53	Turkmenistan	83	N. Korea	113	Angola
24	Serbia & Mont	54	Dominican Rep.	84	Djibouti	114	Niger
25	Mexico	55	Georgia	85	Togo	115	Sierra Leone
26	Egypt	56	Bolivia	86	Kenya	116	Ethiopia
27	Jamaica	57	Panama	87	Guinea	117	Eritrea
28	Brazil	58	Thailand	88	Pakistan	118	Congo, Dem.
29	Saudi Arabia	59	Indonesia	89	Timor-Leste	119	Burundi
30	Turkey	60	Lesotho	90	Zimbabwe		

Table 2.13: 2006 Global Hunger Index

In general, while national level material variables such as agricultural status, income or hunger, can go some ways towards explaining school lunch program emergence, these variables cannot on their own explain the emergence. My argument incorporates these variables, but also looks beyond these variables in order to understand program emergence.

International Explanations

Diffusion

International level explanations for policy emergence have largely focused on diffusion explanations, and use realist, rationalist or constructivist frameworks to explain how policy diffusion occurs. Diffusion “connotes the socially mediated spread of some practice within a population”,¹⁵³ and the assumption is “that governments adopt new policies not in isolation but in relation to what their counterparts in other countries are doing.”¹⁵⁴ In particular, diffusion has occurred when policy decisions in one country are “systematically conditioned by prior policy choices made in other countries (sometimes mediated by the behavior of international organizations or even private actors or organizations).”¹⁵⁵ In other words, diffusion explanations work to explain why and how geographically proximate states (international and national) act alike.¹⁵⁶

The general pattern of school lunch program emergence, particularly the temporal element in which so many programs have emerged in the relatively short period between 1990 and the present, indicates that the emergence of school lunch programs, particularly in the later stages, is an example of diffusion. The question though is how does diffusion work? Recently, scholars have turned their attention precisely to that question and are assessing the micro-processes by which diffusion occurs. There are four mechanisms commonly thought to explain diffusion: coercion, competition, learning and emulation, and each looks to a different theoretical

¹⁵³ Strang and Meyer, 1993, 487

¹⁵⁴ Simmons, Dobbin and Garret, 2006, 783

¹⁵⁵ Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett, 2006, 787

¹⁵⁶ Strang and Soule, 1998

framework to understand the primary actors, their motivations and “the nature and extent of information on which they base decisions, and their ultimate goals.”¹⁵⁷ Each of these mechanisms advances different hypotheses about diffusion. For instance, the coercion mechanism, which can be considered to derive theoretically from realist theory, posits that powerful countries influence the chances of policy adoption by manipulating opportunities and constraints for other countries.¹⁵⁸ Depending on one’s ideological commitments, it could be argued that this mechanism explains the emergence of school lunches out of the World Food Programme. Some might argue that the World Food Programme forces school lunch programs on developing countries. However, because it is not a requirement to continue a school lunch program after the World Food Programme leaves, I find this explanation unconvincing.

The second mechanism, competition, finds its theoretical basis in rationalism and has primarily been applied to the understanding of economic policies. The competition mechanism “stress(es) the differential attractiveness of certain policies to investors and buyers in international markets.”¹⁵⁹ A competition explanation for school lunch program emergence would argue that countries used their agricultural surpluses in school lunch programs in order to be more competitive on the global market. The reduction of surpluses in a school lunch program would have the effect of raising the price of that country’s agricultural products on the international market. As I’ve demonstrated this sort of explanation can only go partway towards explaining diffusion, as agricultural status seems to only partially affect whether or not a country has a school

¹⁵⁷ Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett, 2006, 5

¹⁵⁸ Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett, 2006, 6

¹⁵⁹ Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett, 2006, 6

lunch program. While my case studies demonstrate that agricultural policy considerations were an important part of the decision-making process for school lunch programs in the early adopting states such as the UK and US, the fact that they were early adopters means that there was not yet diffusion occurring.

There is greater evidence for the last two mechanisms of diffusion: emulation and learning. In particular, there is evidence that emulation explains the adoption of school lunch programs by a small handful of British colonies, while the learning mechanism explains the adoption of programs by phased-out World Food Programme countries. I discuss these two mechanisms below.

*Colonialism and Emulation*¹⁶⁰

The emulation mechanism uses theoretical insights from constructivism or sociological institutionalism to explain policy diffusion. Emulation, as a diffusion mechanism, occurs when a state acts a certain way, or adopts certain policies, either because its peers do so and the state uses those peers in order to determine what is appropriate behavior, or in order to send a signal to the international community about what sort of state it is. Diffusion by emulation is usually explained by world polity theories that suggest that norms about appropriate state behavior have spread around the world as a global culture has been created.¹⁶¹ I find this to be a convincing mechanism when considering the relationship between colonial states, and particularly UK colonial states.

¹⁶⁰ I began considering the effects of colonialism on current policy adoption after reading several chapters of my colleague, Robyn Linde's, dissertation on the spread of laws outlawing the death penalty for children.

¹⁶¹ Meyer, et. Al, 1997

When trying to solve the puzzle of agricultural importing countries which nevertheless have a school lunch program, I hypothesized that colonialism might have had some effect on program emergence. The colonial relationship between each agricultural importer where a program emerged is listed below.

UK	Spain	Soviet Union	Other
Bahamas	Cuba	Czech Republic	Croatia
Barbados	Equatorial Guinea	Estonia	Philippines (US)
Botswana		Kazakhstan	Suriname (NE)
Brunei	France	Romania	
Cyprus	Gabon		
Egypt	Morocco		
Jamaica	Syria		
Jordan			
Nigeria			
Trinidad and Tobago			

Figure 2.6: The Colonizing Country for Those Countries that are Agricultural Importers and Currently have their own School Lunch Program

Ten out of these twenty-two countries were UK colonial holdings. In addition, when one looks at the date at which the programs started, several of these UK –related countries developed school lunch programs comparatively early to other developing countries. For instance, Barbados, Brunei, Egypt and Jamaica all initiated programs during the first wave of program emergence in the 1930s/40s, unlike any other country in the above chart. Thus, it seems possible that having been a UK colony has some effect on program adoption. There seems to also be a fairly strong relationship between having been a part of the Soviet Union and the development of a school lunch program. This is likely explained by the fact that under the Soviet Union school lunches were provided, and as these countries have grown somewhat stronger this was a program they

saw as important to restore. There is a less strong relationship between the other colonizing countries and program development; except for the early adopters discussed above, the rest of the countries referenced in the chart are countries that have been phased out of the World Food Programme’s school feeding program.

Turning to examine ex-UK colonies, I find that timing for program creation in the ex-colonies is inconsistent and several of the ex-colonies still depend on the WFP.

This evidence is presented in the chart below:

Government Program	WFP or NGO program	No Program
Bahamas (1980)	Fiji	Australia
Bangladesh (1993)	Gambia	Canada
Barbados (1963)	Ghana	New Zealand
Belize (1999)	Kenya	Solomon Islands
Botswana (1966)	Lesotho	Uganda
Brunei (1940s)	Malawi	
Cyprus (1997)	Myanmar	
Egypt (1942)	Pakistan	
Guyana (1993)	Sierra Leone	
India (2001)	Sudan	
Jamaica (1939)	Tanzania	
Malaysia (1945)		
Nigeria (2002)		
S. Africa (1994)		
Sri Lanka (1940s)		
Swaziland (1992)		
Trinidad and Tobago (1997)		
United States (1946)		

Figure 2.7: UK Colonies and School Lunch Program Status

However, there are some telling regional differences. For instance, the states in the West Indies have comparatively early program creation, (before the 1960s), as do the states in Southeast Asia. Many of the African countries still depend on WFP or NGO aid or have only created programs since the mid-1990s. Finally, several of the countries do not have programs at all. The British Empire was an incredibly diverse

empire and different parts of the empire were treated in different ways; perhaps program creation depends on the type of colonization practiced in each location.

Matthew Lange, James Mahoney and Matthias vom Hau¹⁶² divide British colonialism in to four types: settler, direct, indirect and hybrid. These are depicted in the table below, with the corresponding colonies that fit each type.

<p>Settler: “permanent residents transplanted a broad range of institutions from Britain into the colonies without preserving precolonial arrangements” (1427) The colonies: US, Canada, Barbados, Australia, New Zealand</p>	<p>Direct: “the British implanted a colonial state that was unified, bureaucratically organized, and of territory-wide reach. However, (it) did not feature large-scale and permanent British settlements” (1427) The colonies: Hong Kong, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Malaysia (late), Brunei, Egypt, the West Indies (including Barbados)</p>
<p>Indirect: “precolonial leaders allowed to maintain political and legal power, while require(ed) to report and pay taxes to the colonial administration” (1427) The colonies: Sub-Saharan Africa and the Pacific</p>	<p>Hybrid: Indirect + Settler or Indirect + Direct Indirect + Settler: some African colonies, esp S. Africa. Indirect + Direct: Central Asia and Pacific, notably India, Malaysia (early)</p>

Table 2.14: Types of UK Colonies

From this table we can see that those ex-UK countries that adopted school lunch programs early (Brunei, Egypt, Jamaica, Malaysia, and Sri Lanka) were direct colonies under Lange et. al.’s classification. This is logical and four of those countries, Barbados, Brunei, Jamaica and Malaysia all initiated the program before the end of colonialism. However, the British did not directly implant a school lunch program into

¹⁶² Lange, Mahoney and vom Hau, 2006

the government of these four countries. These countries initiated programs on their own as part of the process of decolonization, as they were made into self-governing colonies. The elected representatives of the country made the choice that a school lunch program was necessary, likely influenced by the program's successes and popularity in the UK. This is a clear example of the emulation mechanism for diffusion. However, it only explains a small subset of cases.

Learning

The other diffusion mechanism for which there is evidence is the learning mechanism. Learning refers to “a change in beliefs . . . which can result from exposure to new evidence.”¹⁶³ Like the emulation mechanism, the learning mechanism is also grounded in a constructivist framework and depends on arguments regarding epistemic communities and the influence which policy professionals, academics or NGOs can have on policy adoption through the creation of social knowledge.¹⁶⁴ Another explanation for the learning mechanism can be found in Bayesian economics and assumes that rational individuals use all available information and evidence in order to make decisions about new policies; policies that are successful elsewhere will be adopted at home based on the evidence of their success.

I find that the learning mechanism does work to explain how school lunch programs have continued, and thus diffused, after the World Food Programme phased out of that country. The evidence is in the number of countries that are phased out World Food Program countries and continue to have school lunch programs. The vast

¹⁶³ Simmons, Dobbins and Garrett, 2006, 8

¹⁶⁴ Haas, 1989

majority of the countries that started programs in the 1990s and 2000s are phased out WFP programs. Out of those 40 programs, 26 are phased out World Food Programme countries.¹⁶⁵ While those concerned with Western imperialism might argue that this was a coercive diffusion, the fact that countries had to ask the World Food Programme into their country negates this argument. I see this as the learning mechanism of diffusion whereby countries found that school lunch programs were effective and thus have continued the programs past the phase out date. However, I also think that this evidence must be approached with caution. For instance, eleven of those twenty-six programs have phased out only in the last 3 years and not all programs do continue after being phased out. I explore the World Food Programme's role as a diffusing agent, and the learning mechanism, more thoroughly in my case study on the WFP in Chapter Four.

While diffusion insights seem to prove useful in explaining the cases that emerged in the 1990s/2000s, they do not satisfactorily explain program emergence in the 1930s/40s, except perhaps in South America. In South America the geographical proximity of the countries that adopted programs does provide support for a focus on the diffusion phenomenon of interdependent decision-making. For the rest of the countries that developed programs at that time there is a great deal of geographical disparity between which countries developed programs, rather than the continuity that a focus on diffusion would lead one to expect. For instance, the US developed a program

¹⁶⁵ Another eleven countries started programs in the 1990s/2000s, but still receive aid from the WFP, such as the African Home Grown School Feeding Programme countries, so the WFP does not count them as phased out.

while Canada did not. In addition, the European countries that created programs at that time are not connected either by geography or governmental similarity. While there is some mild geographical affinity in some regions, there are also surprising differences, such as the creation of programs in Romania and Hungary, but not in Czechoslovakia. In addition, a diffusion explanation would expect like types of welfare state to adopt similar welfare-ish policies, but in this case they do not; there are surprising differences between most of the welfare types, particularly the conservative type (Germany, Austria, Italy and France) where Italy and France develop programs while Germany and Austria do not.¹⁶⁶

Diffusion does not explain early program emergence, with the possible exception of Latin America; diffusion can only happen after a model is established and exists to be spread. Logically, a diffusion explanation works only at the later stages. While I have found little evidence for either the coercion or competition diffusion mechanisms in analyzing the global survey of school lunch programs, both the emulation and learning mechanisms have proven useful. Due to this, I will be carrying these mechanisms forward into the case studies. In particular, I examine the learning mechanism of diffusion in Chapter 4 on the World Food Programme and the results of diffusion in Chapter 6 in my analysis of Africa's Home Grown School Feeding Programme.

However, even when diffusion does work as an explanation, the different mechanisms fail to take into account the causal mechanisms by which emulation or learning is translated into local outcomes. In other words, every national government

¹⁶⁶ Interestingly, both Austria and Germany were provided school lunches by the US in the early days of the Marshall Plan but did not choose to provide school lunches after this aid stopped.

has to make the choice to adopt a policy – diffusion explanations do not account for those individual, national choices. Diffusion explanations that focus on interdependent decision-making are only part of the explanation for the emergence of school lunch programs and must be used in conjunction with national or organizational level theories about independent decision-making.

This chapter has used global data on school lunch programs to demonstrate that conventional explanations for social policy emergence do not explain the emergence of school lunch programs as policy. Both national and international level explanations are insufficient in and of themselves to explain this phenomenon. In addition, purely material hypotheses that sought explanatory power either through national education laws or agricultural policy are also insufficient to explain this policy choice. These failures indicate the need for a specific theory of school lunch program emergence that takes into account both national and international sources for policy emergence, as well as ideational and material sources. The argument that I advance in the following case studies seeks to do just that. I seek to bridge the gap between national and international arguments for policy emergence by focusing on the way in which policy entrepreneurs manipulate internationalized frames or ideas and translate these frames into domestic political contexts. In addition, I am focused throughout on an area that has not traditionally been considered social policy by political scientists: children's policy and food policy. It is likely that the narrow definition of social policy in the past has contributed to the fact that the conventional social policy theories do not explain school lunch program emergence. In addition to advancing my argument, in the following case studies I also make the case for a broader understanding of social policy.

Chapter Three: Historical Patterns: The US, UK and Canada

This chapter traces the evolution of school lunch programs in the UK and the US from inception to the late-1960s, when school lunches had become well established in both countries. This time period encompasses the historical emergence of school lunch programs in those Western countries that established school lunch programs in conjunction with their welfare states. The main question that this chapter asks is how and why did a program type that existed initially only through voluntary organizations become institutionalized at the level of the state by the 1940s? My argument provides insights into this question.

The UK and US were early adopters of school lunch programs. As such these two cases, more than other, later cases, had truly domestic sources for program emergence. In both cases policy entrepreneurs, including teachers, children's health advocates, government officials and women's organizations has been concerned about malnourished children for years. These entrepreneurs took advantage of the security frame brought on by two different wars in order to press for the institutionalization of these programs by the state. In both cases agricultural concerns were an important component in the establishment of the programs. In the US these groups took advantage of domestic agricultural surpluses that had accumulated due to different subsidy programs. In the UK, WWII revived a British desire for agricultural self-sufficiency, and policy entrepreneurs took advantage of this desire to push for the creation of school lunches. In addition, in these two cases, more than the later cases, the need for women in the workforce during the war was an important intervening variable.

Despite the importance of agriculture and female labor in these cases, it was the shock of war and a focus on national security that allowed policy entrepreneurs their opening.

In both countries voluntary groups initially formed in order to provide charity for malnourished children; surveys indicated that the numbers of malnourished children at the turn of the century in the US and UK ran somewhere between 10 and 30 percent of all children.¹⁶⁷ Later these groups reframed the issue of child malnutrition from one of welfare/charity to one of educational value. This reframing helped advocacy groups to redefine the relationship of the state to families and children by shifting responsibility for feeding from the family or advocacy groups to the state. However, the state's reluctance to take on this responsibility, which had not been entirely broken by the educational frame, was finally broken by the shock of a war, the need for change in agricultural policy and the need for women laborers during the war. In both the US and UK the instance of war altered the conversation about school lunches from one of a concern about charity to one of security. While the war had the same effect in both countries, that of creating the opportunity for action and a reframing of the issue of child malnutrition, the agricultural situations in each country was different. In the US, agricultural policies created during the Great Depression resulted in high agricultural surpluses following WWII. Voluntary organizations there were able to seize on this moment of economic surplus and press the issue of school lunches using a security frame. In the UK, agricultural policies had favored importers prior to the war, but because of the war political attention shifted to the need for the country to become food self-sufficient. In this case, voluntary organizations were able to convincingly argue

¹⁶⁷ Gebhart, 1922, 3.

that a school lunch program would provide an assured market for agricultural producers. Agricultural concerns played an important, although different, role in both cases, in tandem with the political opportunity of WWII.

I also explore the case of Canada, which does not have a school lunch program. This is a particularly good comparative case with the US and the UK because Canada is a 'liberal' welfare state, like the US and UK, and developed its welfare state apparatus at much the same time and in the same way as the other two countries. In addition, Canada has close ties with both the US and the UK, making it seem more likely that Canada would have adopted similar policies if diffusion could explain policy emergence at this early stage. Finally, Canada has a similar history of agricultural surpluses. I explain the lack of a school lunch program in Canada by arguing that the system of Family Allowances hid the issue of child poverty, making it impossible for any frames to be constructed. In addition, the early Canadian social policy system was designed precisely to keep women at home, making services like school lunches seem unnecessary. Examining the lack of a school lunch program in Canada lends further support to my argument that finding the appropriate frame was necessary for the creation of school lunch programs.

Great Britain

In Great Britain school meals were legislated at two different times. The first time was in 1906 and the legislation that was passed empowered local education authorities to provide free or reduced-charge meals. While this legislation had the effect of increasing school meal uptake in some areas, it was not a universal system and

required local effort to supply meals. In 1944 a national school meal act was passed which required local education authorities to provide meals and provided central government funding for the meals. Each of these two legislative acts was influenced by a war and security concerns. The 1906 act was passed directly following the conclusion of the Boer War and amidst a collective worry about the fitness of British soldiers. The 1944 act was passed during WWII as the country began to look ahead to its post-war self. The ability of entrepreneurs to link concerns with child malnutrition and security was essential for creating the initial legislation. The security frame, in conjunction with strong domestic agricultural interests and a new vision of what Great Britain could be, were essential for the creation of the 1944 legislation.

The earliest evidence in the UK for the provision of meals to school children dates to the mid-1860s with meals provided in Roman Catholic schools. The Destitute Children's Dinner Society was founded in 1864 in London in connection with a Ragged School, one of many free schools provided as a charity measure for poor or 'ragged' people.¹⁶⁸ There was some positive evidence that the provision of a meat meal at least once a week did have an effect on the ability of the children who received the meal to perform better in school.¹⁶⁹ Various other local meal experiments were started in the 1870s. These programs were often started either by teachers who noticed better performance when children were fed or by other philanthropic groups. Many of these schemes were largely self-supporting due to a charge of a penny a meal. In the 1880s,

¹⁶⁸ The Children's Dinner Society was founded after a successful experiment in France where Victor Hugh provided food to destitute children in order to cure them of "scrofula, rickets and impoverishment of the blood" (Bulkley, 1912, 3).

¹⁶⁹ *The Times*, "To the Editor of the Times, From the Committee of the Destitute Children's Dinner Society" March 26, 1869

public opinion began to move in favor of feeding children, particularly if the state was going to require children to attend school. It was argued that if the law forced children to attend school, then some provision should be made for children to withstand the pressure of schooling. This was the beginning of the education frame. The issue was debated in Parliament in 1883 and *The Lancet* added to the debate by arguing:

That good feeding is necessary for brain nutrition does not need to be demonstrated or even argued at length. . . it must be evident that the position in which education places the brains of underfed children is that of a highly-exercised organ urgently requiring food, and finding none or very little. These children are growing, and all or nearly all the food they can get is appropriated by the grosser and bulkier parts of the body to the starvation of the brain. . . It is cruel to educate a growing child unless you are also prepared to feed him.¹⁷⁰

Thus, by the mid-1880s, public pressure, health authorities, teaching experts and members of Parliament began to converge around the idea that children must be fed in order to fully benefit from schooling. The debate now moved to whether those meals should be provided for free or a charge of a penny a meal should persist. The Ministry of Education supported free meals for all, arguing that children should not be made to suffer for their parent's vices,¹⁷¹ while some of the leading charity organizations argued against free meals, worried that free meals would encourage 'pauperisation,' or a dependence on charity. Different agencies took different stands on the issue; for instance, there was the Council for Promoting Self-Supporting Penny Dinners, The Board School Children's Free Dinner Fund and the Free Breakfasts and Dinners for the Poor Board School. All of these agencies grew rapidly in the 1880s – the Council for

¹⁷⁰ *The Lancet*, August 4, 1883, Vol. II, p 191-2 from Footnote 2, Bulkley, 1912, 9

¹⁷¹ *The Times*, "The Question of Providing Penny Dinners" December 13, 1884

Promoting Self-Supporting Penny Dinners grew from two to thirteen centers in six months.¹⁷²

At this point the meals were only supplied by philanthropic organizations. Local Education Authorities occasionally allowed these organizations the use of rooms but did little else to encourage school feeding. In fact, an 1868 Act of Parliament that required the Board of Guardians to act when parents did not provide adequate food was almost universally ignored!¹⁷³ However, in 1889, the London School Board inquired into the matter of school feeding. The number of organizations and the lack of communication and disagreement between the organizations meant that food distribution was, in fact, badly organized. For example, methods of selection seemed haphazard, as when “one child of a family was given fourteen tickets during the season, whilst another child of the same family has only one or two.”¹⁷⁴ To remedy this, and improve the efficiency of meal provision, the London School Board merged many of the societies operating in London into the London Schools Dinner Association. At this point the London School Board took only a coordinating role, refusing to get involved with the provision of the meals. Eleven years later, a report was presented that encouraged the school board itself to take on the duty of supplementing the efforts of these voluntary societies and provide meals for all students, regardless of ability to pay. The report was rejected by a vote of 27-12, as the Board thought its role should be restricted to properly organizing the voluntary societies. The *Times* was relieved by this

¹⁷² Bulkley, 1912, 12

¹⁷³ Bulkley, 1912, 15

¹⁷⁴ Bulkley, 1912, 18

decision, as it claimed that the adoption of the actions recommended in the report would have resulted in socialism in the schools.¹⁷⁵

Starting in 1902, the question of school meal provision increasingly came up during Parliamentary debates. This was due to the considerable public alarm that had been raised by Major-General Frederick Maurice's report that three out of every five men seeking to enlist in the army during the Boer War (1898 – 1902) were found to be physically unfit due to improper nutrition.¹⁷⁶ “The quality of the recruits was so dire that the height requirement for the infantry was reduced.”¹⁷⁷ This was the beginning of the security frame, as many began to argue for school meals as a security precaution in order to protect the nation in the future.

Despite the obvious implications for the security of the nation, many were uncertain that the State should become involved with feeding children or if voluntary agencies should continue to do this work. The Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training from 1903 reflects this uncertainty:

It is a matter for grave consideration whether the valuable asset to the nation in the improved moral and physical state of a large number of future citizens counterbalances the evils of impaired parental responsibility. . . (however) it must be remembered that with every desire to act up to their parental responsibility, and while quite ready to contribute in proportion to their power, there are often impediments in the way of the home provision of suitable food by the parents.¹⁷⁸

A *Times* Letter to the Editor in 1904 also reflects a reluctance for the state to take on the role of feeding due to a concern of raised taxes and that “the old idea that the strength of

¹⁷⁵ *The Times*, “London School Board” December 1, 1899

¹⁷⁶ Other estimates suggest that only one out nine recruits was healthy enough to serve (Passmore and Harris, 2004)

¹⁷⁷ Davies, 11, 2005

¹⁷⁸ Bulkley, 1914, 28

a nation lies in the power of the individual citizen to support himself and his family is being rapidly obliterated.”¹⁷⁹

However, a Labour Party pamphlet from 1905, reflecting the imperial worries of the time, argues that

There is no need to dwell upon our lowered standards for recruits or our physical, mental and moral ineptitude in South Africa, the full degradation of which has only dawned on us by comparison with the Japanese in war and in victory. The nation is awake to the danger of physical degeneration at last.¹⁸⁰

The Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, also created in response to the concerns raised by the Boer War, spoke more strongly about the need for the state to take a role in feeding children. In the Committee’s 1904 report, they argued that there was “a general consensus of opinion that the time had come when the State should realize the necessity of ensuring adequate nourishment to children in attendance at school.”¹⁸¹ Furthermore, the Committee felt that in some cases voluntary organizations might be able to handle the problem, but that in others the depth of poverty was such that the State would have to step in. The Committee recommended funding these programs through the Poor Law in order to avoid the assumption that free meals and free education go hand in hand.

Complicating the issue, however, were disagreements regarding the number of underfed children. Some estimates put the number at 10,000 children in London (estimate by the London School Board), while other estimates put the number closer to 122,000 children in London (estimate by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration). Other disagreements stemmed from whether or not the damage of underfeeding had already been completed by the time of school-age or if feeding during

¹⁷⁹ *The Times*, “Free Meals for School Children” Sept 12, 1904

¹⁸⁰ Clark, 1948, 5

¹⁸¹ Bulkley, 1914, 31

school could ‘make up’ for underfeeding before school age. Various experiments were completed that showed the positive effects of feeding school age children on increasing “mental vigour.”¹⁸²

Despite these disagreements the reports of the two committees focused the attention of both the country and Parliament on the issue of feeding children. This had been accomplished due to the connection between child malnutrition and national security. Arguments for state sponsored school meals were made by the National Labour Conference on the State Maintenance of Children, the National Union of Teachers and certain members of Parliament who felt that the money for a free education was wasted if the children were not sufficiently nourished to partake of that education. Another Departmental Committee was appointed in 1905 to inquire further into the administration of school meals. They found that there were 140 voluntary feeding organizations¹⁸³ and that approximately 33,568 pounds were spent on providing meals.¹⁸⁴ Further, practices were haphazard as meals were given on only one or two days of the week and often, only during the winter. The committee recommended organization by the Local Education Authority to avoid haphazard provision, abuse and overlapping by voluntary agencies. The committee also recommended the creation of a Relief Committee that would oversee operations in the schools, freeing teachers from the burden of organizing and choosing students to select meals. Following this report, a resolution was passed in Parliament empowering the Local Education Authorities to

¹⁸² Bulkley, 1914, 31

¹⁸³ 71 of these had been in existence for over a year, 24 were new, and 45 were intermittent (providing food only in emergency situations).

¹⁸⁴ These numbers are referenced from the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Inspection and Feeding, 1905 in Bulkley, 34, footnote 2.

ensure the adequate nourishment of their children. The state had decided to take a role, but was uncertain yet if the funding should come from the Poor Law or the Education Law.

An attempt to fund school meals through the Poor Law met with failure due to a refusal to implement the programs by some schools and a constant desire in other districts to reduce the number of people on the lists of the poor. Thus, many of the children submitted by the Local Education Authorities for meals were rejected for being the children of widows and deserted wives or if their fathers made over 30 shillings a week.

The provision of school meals through the Poor Law was declared a failure after only one year. The failure was largely blamed on the conflicting missions of the Local Education Authorities who wanted to see as many children fed as possible and the Poor Guardians who wanted to pay to feed as few children as possible. Following this failure, a private member of Parliament (Mr. W.T. Wilson) introduced the Education (Provision of Meals) Bill in 1906. Opponents to the bill were opposed largely on the grounds that providing meals would disrespect parental authority and that this was a matter for the Poor Law. Other opponents argued that the provision of meals would not remedy all the problems of poverty that occurred outside of schools, such as badly ventilated houses, bad shoes, children who worked outside of school and bad hygiene, and that these larger issues should be solved before the government interfered in schools.

However, public opinion and the findings of the several reports, and particularly the concerns with future security, had largely convinced Parliament that meals should

be provided and much of the debate focused on the educational value of the meals. It was thought that children should not only be given good food, but also taught proper manners for eating it.¹⁸⁵ The bill passed on December 21, 1906. The bill gave Local Education Authorities “the power to provide free or reduced-charge meals for those children who would otherwise be unable to profit from the education provided.”¹⁸⁶ Committees could be formed to provide the food, while the Local Education Authority was to provide buildings and apparatuses. The Local Education Authority could charge the amount they saw fit for the meal. The bill applied only to England and Wales. Scotland was not granted the ability to provide meals until 1908, under a separate Act.

The bill did not replace voluntary agencies wholesale. Parliament “was still convinced that voluntary organizations were the best bodies to supply the necessary food.”¹⁸⁷ There was concern that the replacement of voluntary agencies with a government program would wipe-out voluntary agencies, which was seen as undesirable. The understanding was that the Local Education Authorities were only to step in if voluntary agencies failed at their task. Indeed, voluntary agencies continued in their capacity for some time, regularly requesting funds from the *Times* readership.¹⁸⁸ However, this was the first step towards the State taking responsibility for providing not only education, but also food to its children.

¹⁸⁵ Bulkley, 1914, 46

¹⁸⁶ Gustafson, 2003, 128

¹⁸⁷ Bulkley, 1914, 49

¹⁸⁸ *The Times*, “Poplar School Children’s Meals Association” Oct 29, 1906; *The Times*, “Poplar School Children’s Meals Association, Nov. 14, 1907; *The Times*, “Provision of Meals for School Children” Jan 8, 1908; *The Times*, “Holiday Meals for School Children” Dec 16, 1908; *The Times*, “Meals for School Children” June 21, 1909; *The Times*, “School Children’s Meals and the Christmas Holidays” Dec. 17, 1910

Importantly, the 1906 act merely allowed schools to provide meals when the Local Education Authorities thought it was in the best interest of the children, when they had the money to do so and when voluntary agencies had failed at the task. Due to this, the adoption of the Act was very gradual. Some Local Education Authorities were very aggressive in implementing the act, while others who adopted it acted in only the narrowest sense to fulfill the Act. Towns had to raise taxes in order to supply the food and were reluctant to do so. Many areas simply continued the practice of supplying a room and depended on a voluntary agency to provide the money for food. However, attention to underfed children resulted in some school districts being more aware of the discrepancy between the numbers of children fed and numbers of children needing to be fed. Thus, with great reluctance more schools began to raise taxes specifically for feeding children. However, there were limits even to this; the central government set an expenditure limit and only those children who were identified as malnourished by the School Medical Officer were eligible for free or reduced charge meals.¹⁸⁹

Five years after the passage of the bill, during the 1911-1912 school year, a survey reported that 131 out of 322 Local Education Authorities were making some provision for feeding children.¹⁹⁰ This increase is reflected by the numbers from London: “there were about 29,000 children provided weekly in 1906; in 1911 the figures reached 41,000.”¹⁹¹ In 95 areas, taxes were assessed for the provision of food; in 19 areas, taxes were assessed only for administrative concerns; and in the other 17 areas both food and administration was covered by voluntary agencies. In addition,

¹⁸⁹ Davies, 2005, 11

¹⁹⁰ The numbers reported in this paragraph are all from a Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for 1911, in Bulkley, 1914, 54.

¹⁹¹ Clark, 1948, 9

between 1908/9 and 1911/12 there was a steady increase in the amount of taxes assessed specifically for feeding children and a corresponding decrease in the contributions of voluntary agencies. There is obviously, even in the early years of the program, a move away from voluntary agencies and a move toward some, albeit limited, role for the state.

This role can also be seen as the courts took an interest in prosecuting parents who misrepresented their financial situation in order to gain the free meals. In 1911 a family who had claimed the father was unemployed, when he was in fact employed, had to pay a fine of 8s, 9d for this misrepresentation or face seven days in prison.¹⁹² The willingness of the London County Council to pursue the case under the Provision of Meals Act and the willingness of the Court to take the case, provide further evidence that the state was taking a greater role in feeding children.

During the next thirty years, state involvement with the provision of meals slowly increased, with several setbacks along the way. School meals legislation remained active until the early 1920s, before being ignored for the next twenty years. Reformers pressing for greater school meal coverage kept the issue alive through the 1920s.¹⁹³ In 1914, the Provision of Meals Act gave the Chancellor of the Exchequer the power to make grants available that would cover half the cost of the meals. However, the start of the First World War and the subsequent reduction in available monies led to a reduction of free school meals from 400,000 children in 1914 to 43,000 by 1918.¹⁹⁴ This number rebounded quickly after the War ended, moving to one million meals by

¹⁹² *The Times*, "Supplying Meals to School Children" Feb 7, 1911. He paid the fine.

¹⁹³ *The Times*, "Reform of School Meals" July 1, 1913; *The Times*, "School Meals and Out-Door Relief" Nov 8, 1921.

¹⁹⁴ Davies, 2005, 9.

1920. The 1921 Education Act established new criteria for deciding on eligibility for free meals, but the meals were immediately disrupted by a miner's strike, which raised the cost of meal provision. In an attempt to deal with this the Board of Education placed a quota of 300,000 pounds for the cost to the central government, with the result that a large number of children were not provided meals.¹⁹⁵ In 1924, free milk was introduced in all schools, provided to all children. This move followed encouragement from the government to increase milk production in order to stave off threats from imports. Thus, milk, along with other products, was heavily subsidized and greatly produced.¹⁹⁶ Schools provided an ideal location to dispose of this milk. This was the first point at which the connection between agricultural interests and the schools was created, and it paved the way for future ties between the agricultural lobbies and schools.

Through the late 1920s and early 1930s the discussion about school meals was mostly that of a self-congratulatory nature, with reports appearing periodically that celebrated the "increasing health and fitness of the school child."¹⁹⁷ As the Depression struck, the national authorities did little, while the various Local Education Authorities continued to handle the increasing problem of malnutrition on their own. A number of Letters to the Editor began, in the mid-1930s, to take up the cry that the national government ought to both standardize the system¹⁹⁸ and create a broader nutrition policy.¹⁹⁹ The Industrial Women's Organization proposed a 'children's charter' which

¹⁹⁵ Gillard, 2003, 3

¹⁹⁶ Wibberly, 2006

¹⁹⁷ *The Times*, "The School Child: Increasing Health and Fitness" Dec 5, 1932

¹⁹⁸ *The Times*, "School Meals" July 13, 1933

¹⁹⁹ *The Times*, "School Meals and Milk" Dec 20, 1935

envisioned a system of social protection for children from the beginning of their lives until school age; this charter included a call for school meals.²⁰⁰ The Labour party even attempted, in 1937 to pass a motion asking for ‘every child attending an elementary or secondary school (to) be provided with one free meal a day, in addition to milk at the expense of the taxpayer.’²⁰¹ The motion was defeated, 178 votes to 126. These efforts indicate a growing desire on the part of the public, and particularly within the Labour party, for measures protecting children. However, without the impetus of war to focus the national conversation on child malnutrition, these policy entrepreneurs were unable to accomplish anything.

While school meals legislation was defeated in 1937, the beginning of WWII produced a steady drumbeat of proclamations about school meals from government officials and a national conversation that played out in the *Times*. In particular, the Minister of Food, Lord Woolton, declared himself committed to the feeding of children.²⁰² Lord Woolton would prove to be an important figure in the ensuing debate over school meals. He was an English businessman who had been declared a lord for his contributions to British industry. He was appointed Minister of Food in 1940 under Chamberlain and continued in the position under Churchill until 1943, when he entered the War Cabinet as Minister of Reconstruction.

In addition to support from Lord Woolton, the *Times* itself declared school meals a war-time necessity,²⁰³ echoing some of the arguments from the conversations

²⁰⁰ *The Times*, “A Children’s Charter: Scheme of Social Services: More School Meals” April 10, 1937

²⁰¹ *The Times*, “Free Meals in Schools” Feb 4, 1937

²⁰² *The Times*, “Food to See Us Through” August 11, 1941

²⁰³ *The Times*, “The Children’s Share: School Meals in War-Time: A Social Necessity” September 22, 1941

after the Boer War. This declaration raised a flurry of responses both for and against school meals. An example from those against school meals is below:

if our aim is to produce lusty statelings on the Nazi model the idea may be all right, but if we are really fighting to produce happy homes and healthy independent citizens there are grave objections, for school feeding obviously diminishes parental responsibility and home influences and increases the tendency to look to the State and the community for all personal requirements.²⁰⁴

Others argued that school meals are good training grounds for “cleanliness, food values and the serving and eating of food in a civilized manner”²⁰⁵ and that home influence was not as severely diminished as the letter suggested.²⁰⁶ In addition, in this exchange of letters the war was touched on directly by several authors who argued that the need of national fitness was greater than before, that school meals could contribute to meeting this need²⁰⁷ and that school feeding was best positioned to handle the problem of feeding children now that women were needed for war work.²⁰⁸

The war brought school meals more forcefully into the nation’s consciousness; “with the outbreak of the Second World War, 'raising the standards of the nation's health was recognized as an essential prerequisite for maintaining morale ”.²⁰⁹ During the Second World War it became apparent that school meals as they were, especially under the constraints of rationing, were failing children; at the same time, school meals were becoming an ever more important source of daily calories for children with fathers at war and mothers away from home during the day, filling the labor gap. Women’s

²⁰⁴ *The Times*, “Letter to the Editor: School Meals” Oct 1, 1941

²⁰⁵ *The Times*, “Letter to the Editor: School Meals” Oct 4, 1941

²⁰⁶ *The Times*, “Letter to the Editor: School Meals” Oct 9, 1941

²⁰⁷ *The Times*, “School Meals: The Needs of The Child” Oct 11, 1941, pg 5

²⁰⁸ *The Times*, “Letter to the Editor: School Meals” Oct 18, 1941

²⁰⁹ Gillard, 2003, 4

employment during the war was certainly one of the factors that went into increasing school lunch coverage, although not the primary factor.²¹⁰ One of the greatest concerns was that rationing was disproportionately affecting schoolchildren, as their nutritional needs were different from the needs of adults. Lord Woolton was particularly concerned with maintaining the health of children, saying that he was “prepared to make some sacrifices on behalf of the adult population in order to secure that the children are right.”²¹¹

Lord Woolton continued to advocate for feeding children, arguing in September of 1941 that he sought to organize the nation’s food supplies so that “at the end of this war, unlike the last, we shall have preserved and even improved the health and physique of the children of the nation.”²¹² Due in part to Lord Woolton’s strong support, in October 1941 a National School Meals Policy was introduced in which the government provided 70% of the cost of meals, increasing to 95% the following year. There was a concern among Parliament that “the nutritive standard of the children of the country should not suffer as a consequence of war conditions.”²¹³ However, school meals were still at the discretion of the Local Education Authorities to provide them, if those Authorities want to. The Local Education Authorities did step up, providing more and more meals through the first three years of the war. While only 2.7 percent of elementary school children received meals in 1940, by 1942 almost 13 percent of these children were receiving meals.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Penrose, 1942, 137

²¹¹ *The Times*, “Food to See Us Through” August 11, 1941

²¹² *The Times*, “Preserving Health of Children” September 20, 1941

²¹³ *The Times*, “War-Time Diet” Oct 22, 1941, pg 9

²¹⁴ Clark, 1948, 21

Lord Woolton's support for children's meals was partly a response to his own experience with hunger during the First World War,²¹⁵ partly out of his conviction that feeding children was a measure to ensure the future security of the nation,²¹⁶ again calling upon the security frame of children, and partly out of the compromises required by agriculture. Lord Woolton's position as Minister of Food meant that he was primarily responsible for the distribution of food, while the Minister of Agriculture was responsible for the production of food. However, the two positions worked closely together during the war and the school meal program that emerged was at least partially formed by the agricultural policy that was created during the war.

While the Minister of Food was charged with distributing food during the war, the Minister of Agriculture was tasked with the job of increasing domestic agricultural production. Domestic agricultural production had fallen consistently beginning in 1890, due to the cheapness of food imports and the draw of industrial employment for the British worker.²¹⁷ Right before the beginning of WWII, Great Britain produced

all of its own milk, 60% of the eggs, almost all of the potatoes, 90% of the fish, more than 40% of the meat, 10% of the butter, 25% of the cheese, 80% of the vegetables, 25% of the sugar and probably some 15 to 20% of the flour.²¹⁸

Thus, Great Britain was food self-sufficient in milk and vegetables. The rest of the food was imported, including, importantly, all the fertilizer or the components of fertilizer.

The Ministry of Agriculture, in planning for the war, knew about these limitations, but assumed that the submarine forces would be strong enough to deter

²¹⁵ *The Times*, "Mid-Day Meals in All Schools" October 1, 1941

²¹⁶ *The Times*, "National Health in War-Time" June 16, 1943

²¹⁷ Penrose, 1942 17

²¹⁸ Smith, 1940, 219

attackers from food importing ships and counted on the continued allegiance of the near European grain fields, such as France.²¹⁹ In fact, in 1939 the Minister of Agriculture refused to put agriculture on a war-time basis, believing that fears of starvation were just ‘jitterism’.²²⁰ The loss of both the ability to import and the European grain fields was a surprise to the government and resulted in a new Minister of Agriculture, the creation of the Ministry of Food and a sudden, concerted effort to increase domestic food production.²²¹

Increasing domestic agricultural production became a “major part of wartime agricultural policy.”²²² Plans were put into motion to increase the amount of land under acreage, which had decreased rapidly in the proceeding 30 years as farmers moved off the farm. A subsidy of two pounds per acre was offered for plowing up grassland and bringing it into production. The government also began to subsidize lime as a fertilizer in the hopes of convincing farmers to forego phosphate fertilizers, which were the preferred type of fertilizer. Potash fertilizers were rationed, and only those farmers who could show a serious potash deficiency in their soil and were growing specific crops could receive it.

While many of these efforts were short-term measures, designed to immediately alleviate food shortages, agricultural planners and farmers had a longer-term vision of making Great Britain’s agricultural system more productive. A more productive system was one that could feed a greater proportion of Great Britain’s people at all times and

²¹⁹ Penrose, 1942, 4

²²⁰ *The Times*, “No Starvation in War-Time” June 19, 1939

²²¹ *The Times*, “Home Grown Food” July 12, 1940

²²² Penrose, 1942, 22

thus involved a permanent increase in domestic production.²²³ In order to achieve this the government had to convince farmers that there would be a ready market for the goods in future years. While communal feeding projects that had been put in place during the war were expected to vanish after the war, the school lunch program, which had been gaining schools throughout the war, could be an assured market to agricultural producers. The Fabian Society pushed this idea when they wrote in 1940 that “the main hope for British agriculture lies in an attack upon malnutrition and in a consequent revival of the demand for foodstuffs.”²²⁴

In addition to a new vision for the agricultural system, new visions of society were beginning to coalesce in the food control systems of the war.²²⁵ One was that democratic governments should organize the economic resources of their state in the interests of the people in the state. The second was the concept of ‘freedom from want’, that democratic governments should take responsibility for the welfare of their people.²²⁶ While these two visions resonated in the creation of the British welfare state, for food specifically, this meant the creation of plans that would ensure adequate and proper nutrition to the population. Various organizations, such as the Fabian society and the International Labour Office, encouraged a comprehensive plan for the food supply that would ensure sufficient food at low prices to the whole population.²²⁷ Lord Woolton, in 1943

hoped that some of the principles established (during the war) would remain as a part of the country’s life. We had shown that despite the great restriction of

²²³ *The Times*, “A Larger Meat Reserve” October 23, 1940

²²⁴ Smith, 1940, 225

²²⁵ Penrose, 1942, 180

²²⁶ *The Times*, “Strategy of Food” May 13, 1943

²²⁷ Smith, 1940, 279

supply in war-time we could have enough food in this country to enable everybody to be fed and to be kept in good health. The national milk scheme must never be abandoned and we must take more care to feed children in schools.²²⁸

Thus, as the war turned and the country began to think towards its future, the feeding of children was a way to offer an assured market to domestic agricultural producers as well as meet the new commitments of a country interested in providing for its citizens.

As the war drew to a close the school lunch program was politically palatable, fitting both agricultural interests as well as the interests of a country set to redefine its commitment to its citizens. The Education Act of 1944 *required* every Local Education Authority to provide a school meal to any child who wanted one. The shift to mandating the provision of school lunches meant that it was no longer only the poorest children who were provided with lunch, but rather that a meal was offered to all children.²²⁹ By February 1944, 30 percent of school children were taking meals;²³⁰ by February 1945, 34 percent of school children were taking meals.²³¹ By 1951, 49 percent of school children were receiving the meals, following the building of kitchens and training of staff.²³² The new school meal program was a universalist, national system, adhering closely to the welfare state approach that appeared in numerous other issues areas following the war and was fully funded by central government funds by 1947.²³³

²²⁸ *The Times*, "Strategy of Food" May 13, 1943

²²⁹ Gustafson, 2003, 128

²³⁰ *The Times*, "The School Dining Room" August 29, 1944

²³¹ Clark, 1948, 25

²³² Gillard, 2003, 4

²³³ Despite passage of the law in 1944, the program did not reach the entire country until 1965

The following chart lists the number of children being fed in different years and gives a sense of how extreme the increases and decreases were during the different periods of time. The chart indicates that there was a readiness of families to use the school meals, as seen by the large number of children who partook of the meals when they were provided.

Year	Number of Children Being Fed
1914	400,00
1918	43,000
1920	1 million
1939	160,000
1944	1.8 million

Table 3.1: Number of Children Being Fed In The UK Before the National Program

As can be seen, the two periods of extreme expansion were the period between the end of WWI and during WWII. Following the end of WWI, the program expanded rapidly in response to legislation that had been passed right before the war. The period during WWII is particularly important, as it is quite surprising that a social program would rapidly expand during wartime; indeed, school meal provision had dropped substantially during WWI. This was due to the growing expectation that school meals should be provided, in part because of the war itself. Following the heated conversation about school meals as a necessity for national fitness in the *Times* in 1941, the conversation in the *Times* shifted from whether or not school meals should be provided at all to which foods were most nutritious for children,²³⁴ complaints by teachers that

²³⁴ *The Times*, "School Meals Service" September 13, 1944

were expected to serve the meals in sub-standard conditions²³⁵ and demands for assistants to do these jobs.²³⁶

The school meals were expected to provide one third of the daily allowance of nutrients and energy, and were intended to be an “integral part of the school day.”²³⁷ The meals were quite nutritious. Concerted effort was made to create well-balanced meals to properly provide for growing bodies.²³⁸ While some studies bemoaned the relative quickness of the meals, a comparison between children in 1959 and 1990 shows that children in 1950 had better calcium and iron intakes than children in 1990, as well as lower sugar intake. In general, the school meal system remained remarkably unchanged until 1980. While the price of the meal increased steadily (keeping pace with inflation), concerns about the cost of the system rose periodically, and nutritional standards were updated, no major changes occurred and the number of children partaking of school meals remained steadily around 62 – 68%. The biggest change, which foreshadowed future changes, was the ending of free milk to children in secondary schools by the Labour government in 1968. Indeed, the issue of milk provision also foreshadowed the actions of Margaret Thatcher, when, as Secretary of State for Education in the Conservative government, she cut funding in a number of education areas and earned herself the title “Thatcher, Thatcher, Milk Snatcher.”²³⁹

In the case of Great Britain it took two wartime experiences for school meals programs to emerge as standard, national policy. The first war, the Boer War, created a

²³⁵ *The Times*, “Teachers and School Meals” April 15, 1946

²³⁶ *The Times*, “Teachers and School Meals” April 27, 1946

²³⁷ Davies, 2005, 11

²³⁸ Gillard, 2003, 4

²³⁹ Gillard, 2003, 7

connection between national fitness, security and child malnutrition. The second war, WWII, cemented that connection, as entrepreneurs took advantage of national media outlets like the *Times* to press for the better creation of a school meals program, using arguments about national security. It is unclear why these entrepreneurs did not take advantage of a presumably similar opportunity during WWI. It is likely that the creation of the school milk program in 1924, which did not exist during WWI, eased the acceptance of the school meals program during WWII, as there was now a model for a national food provision program. Despite a number of important precursors, it was the war itself that was essential for the creation of the school meals program, as it provided an opportunity for entrepreneurs to refocus the national conversation on the connection between security and child malnutrition. However, when school meals became national, universal legislation, it was not only the security frame, but also the food control systems that were put in place, the agricultural production systems that were desired, rising women's employment, and the new vision of a society free from want that worked together to create school meals as national legislation. Thus, the security frame was essential for the first emergence of the program, but other, domestic concerns were important for the cementing of the program.

United States

The development of school feeding in the United States developed much later, but moved much more quickly towards institutionalization than in the UK. Unlike the UK there was only one major legislative moment for school lunches, in 1946. In this case, the security frame provided by WWII was the essential ingredient for the passage

of the school lunch program, although agricultural interests played a large role as well. In some ways, this is a simpler case than the UK, where program emergence depended on a greater number of factors. In particular, feeding children was less dependent on a country envisioning its future than in the UK, and more dependent on rational arguments regarding agricultural surpluses and security concerns.

The Children's Aid Society of New York instituted a school feeding program for its vocational school in 1855, but other organizations were slow to do the same until almost fifty years later. Whereas school feeding had been occurring in Great Britain through voluntary agencies since the 1860s, it was not until the turn of the century that different private societies and associations interested in children's welfare and education became concerned about children who could not afford a lunch. Philadelphia experienced the first school lunches when the Starr Center Association began serving lunches in 1894/98.

The publication of Robert Hunter's *Poverty: Social Conscience in a Progressive Era* in 1904 and John Spago's *The Bitter Cry of Children* in 1906 likely speeded up concerns about hungry children in schools. Hunter was a social reformer in Chicago, traveling in the same circles as Jane Addams and living for a while in the Toynbee Hall settlement in England, where he became even more aware of the social problems. Spago was a British socialist who organized the Labour Parliamentary Representation Committee, a direct forerunner of the Labour Party, before coming to America in 1901. Both of these books focused on the alarming numbers of hungry children in the US and included some of the rudimentary science regarding the lack of food on learning. Spago estimated that "not less than 2,000,000 children of school age in the United States are

the victims of poverty which denies them common necessities, particularly adequate nourishment.”²⁴⁰ Hunter, who wrote the introduction for Spago’s book, focused on the link between food and learning, writing; “Few of us sufficiently realize the powerful effect upon life of adequate food. Few of us ever think how much it is responsible for our physical and mental advancement or what a force it has been in forwarding our civilized life.”²⁴¹ The links between food and brain function had already been written about in Great Britain, as far back as 1883. While those already serving lunches in the US had also made these connections, the publication of these two books helped to popularize this understanding and concern.

Following the publication of these two books several large cities in the US began instituting school feeding. Most of these efforts at school feeding occurred first through various voluntary agencies, but were taken over by the school boards as the programs grew in size. At this point a purely charity frame was operating. By 1920, feeding programs were in place in Philadelphia, Boston, Milwaukee, New York, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago and Los Angeles. Chicago and Los Angeles had the two most substantial programs at this time as the programs had been implemented in both the high schools and the elementary schools. Both of these cities’ programs were sponsored by their Board of Education.

The period between 1911 and 1920 saw a large growth in school lunch service. A survey completed by the Bureau of Municipal Research in 1918 of cities with populations of 50,000 and over indicates this most clearly, as seen in Table 3.2. There were several concerns during this transitional period, including a desire to avoid the

²⁴⁰ Spago, 1906, 117

²⁴¹ Hunter in the Introduction to Spago, 1906

high cost of lunches on the part of school boards and an argument about the role of charity in society.

City	Period	Growth
New York City (Manhattan)	1911-1915	Elementary: 9 to 49 schools
New York City (Brooklyn)	1912-1915	Elementary: 4 to 16 schools
Chicago	1912-1916	Elementary: 10 to 28 schools High: 0 to 31 schools
Philadelphia	1913-1917	Elementary: 0 to 16 schools
St. Louis	1913-1916	Elementary: 1 to 5 schools
Boston	1911-1917	High: 18 to 18 schools
Pittsburgh	1914-1917	High: 3 to 7 schools
Los Angeles	1914-1917	Elementary: 7 to 10 schools High: 13 to 16 schools
San Francisco	1912-1916	High: 1 to 3 schools
New Orleans	1911-1916	Elementary: 2 to 10 schools High: 3 to 3 schools
Minneapolis	1911-1916	Elementary: 2 to 6 schools High: 5 to 6 schools

Table 3.2: Growth in City School Lunch Service, US, (Prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research, in Gebhart, 1922)

One of the ways school boards attempted to avoid the high cost of lunches was by turning lunch service over to concessionaires in which individuals were responsible for providing the lunches, but also made money from this service. Concessionaire service was fairly controversial. In Chicago, as early as 1902, students railed against the quality of the concessionaire's food at one high school, while students at a different high school received highly acclaimed food, all for the same price.²⁴² Chicago seems to have struggled with the issue of concessionaire service more than other cities. In 1916 an experimental program, whereby the household science departments of each school ran the school lunches, was declared quite successful and the school board began to

²⁴² *Chicago Daily Tribune*, "Balk at School Lunches" March 15, 1902

look into the possibility of removing concessionaire service totally. The principals of the schools not participating in the program were “anxious (that) the lunchrooms be placed under the management of the household science department because of the profit, the decreased cost of lunch to pupils and the educational value to the girls taking household science.”²⁴³ However, after five years of management by household science departments, the Chicago Board of Education turned lunch service back to concession companies in 1921 in an attempt to cut costs, which resulted in protests by many students.²⁴⁴ The complaints were largely about the quality of the food and included comments such as: “The cauliflower has been warmed up since Monday, becoming sour yesterday;” “Lamb croquettes have a strong liver taste;” and “A charge of one cent is made for half cubes of sugar.”²⁴⁵ In addition, the Women’s City Club of Chicago added its two cents to the debate by writing an angry letter to the Board of Education decrying the commercialization of school lunches and worrying that this would both exploit and be detrimental to the health of the school children.²⁴⁶ Generally, concessionaire service resulted in lower quality foods. While the price for the meals was standard across the concessionaires, the supplies were chosen by the concessionaires, who could choose to purchase lesser quality foods if they wanted.

However, not all school districts experimented with concessionaire service and the tension was largely between voluntary agencies that operated feeding programs pushing school boards into taking more control over the lunches. Those schools that had a longer history of voluntary agencies providing school lunches transitioned the

²⁴³ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, “Take Over School Lunches” March 23, 1916

²⁴⁴ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, “School Lunches Drive Students to Open Revolt” October 27, 1921

²⁴⁵ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, “School Lunches Drive Students to Open Revolt” October 27, 1921

²⁴⁶ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, “School Lunches Plan Draws Fire of Women’s Club” October 30, 1921

quickest and the most painlessly. For instance, in 1909, in Philadelphia, the Starr Center Association's operations in the high schools were transitioned to the Philadelphia School Board for one year as an experiment. The Starr Center Association was a local cooperative community service organization focused on "the educational and social improvement of the poor neighborhoods."²⁴⁷ The Starr Center's experiment proved so successful in terms of low cost and healthy food that the School Lunch Committee of the Home and School League, which had been serving lunches in the elementary schools, asked the Board to take over its program by 1915.²⁴⁸ Thus, in Philadelphia the transition between voluntary agencies and the School Board took six years and was accomplished with little hesitation on either side.

In New York, on the other hand, a transition took 12 years and followed several years of high profile lobbying on the part of various interest groups. The first school lunches in New York were provided in 1908, when a Principal Chatfield of Public School 51 asked permission of the Board of Education to provide school lunches, with the assurance that it would not cost the Board anything. Dr. William Maxwell, Superintendent of the New York Schools, had been urging school lunches and readily agreed to the plan. After receiving permission, Principal Chatfield formed the New York School Lunch Committee, which operated as a local voluntary organization. The lunches served by the New York School Lunch Committee cost three cents and included "soup, salad or nourishing vegetable, bread and a dessert."²⁴⁹ In addition, the Committee worked hard to ensure that children were given foodstuff of their race, such

²⁴⁷ Starr Center Association of Philadelphia, Records 1894 - 1973

<http://www.nursing.upenn.edu/History/collections/starr.htm>

²⁴⁸ Smedley, 1930, 15

²⁴⁹ *New York Times*, "School Lunch Problem, Solved, Now Strikes a Snag" January 12, 1913

as kosher food for Jewish children or lima beans and macaroni for Italian children.²⁵⁰

By 1913 the New York School Lunch Committee was serving lunches in seven schools, but eighty more schools were asking for the lunches. Due to this, the New York School Lunch Committee informed the School Board that they could no longer undertake this work and the Board of Education must take over the lunches.

However, it was not until 1920 that the Board of Education did in fact begin to run the lunches. Lunches in the meantime continued to be supplied by the New York School Lunch Committee, which extended its work to thirty schools by 1918,²⁵¹ in addition, the Brooklyn School Lunch Association formed in 1912 in order to bring school lunches to Brooklyn. Beginning in 1918, lobbying began for the Board of Education to provide school lunches and included pleas by the Socialist members of the Board of Aldermen,²⁵² the Board of Health and various medical and educational interests.²⁵³ By 1919 the Board of Education did approve monies for school lunches, but made an accounting error, delaying the implementation of the lunches for another year.²⁵⁴ Thus, in 1920 the Board of Education took over operating forty-four lunchrooms that had previously been operated by voluntary organizations, such as the New York School Lunch Committee.

The two central debates during this transition period were between cost and the role of charity. For instance, in Milwaukee, debates that had occurred earlier in Great Britain were echoed as the school board refused to take over school feeding from the

²⁵⁰ *New York Times*, "School Lunch Problem, Solved, Now Strikes a Snag" January 12, 1913

²⁵¹ *New York Times*, "Underfed Children, Grave City Problem" January 13, 1918

²⁵² *New York Times*, "School Luncheons Before Aldermen" February 15, 1918

²⁵³ *New York Times*, "May Favor School Lunch" March 6, 1918; *New York Times*, "Plea for School Lunches" August 9, 1918

²⁵⁴ *New York Times*, "School Lunches End Jan. 1" November 22, 1919; *New York Times*, "Seek School Lunch Fund" December 13, 1919

Women's School Alliance of Wisconsin out of fear that such an act would encourage parental irresponsibility.²⁵⁵ The issue of cost was largely resolved, after some experimentation with concessionaire service, by requirements that lunches be self-supporting. Interestingly, the debate over charity was largely resolved in the same way. The insistence that these programs be self-supporting, requiring a certain payment for the lunches, helped to alleviate some of the fears of pauperization.²⁵⁶

Rural schools were particularly focused on the problem of providing their students with hot meals at lunch, as their food often became frozen during the usually long journeys to school. Parent-Teacher Associations in rural areas worked to raise money to provide portable ovens and cooking utensils so that students could reheat their lunches.

In Wisconsin an extensive program known as the 'pint-jar method' was used in heating foods brought from home. Students were encouraged to bring such items as soups, macaroni, cocoa, etc. in a pint jar. The pint jars were set into a bucket of water on top of the room heater or stove, and by lunch time such foods would be piping hot.²⁵⁷

In other rural schools, teachers encouraged students to bring raw ingredients of meat or vegetables and would then work with the students to prepare a large meal for all the children. Thus, in rural areas schools worked with themselves to provide lunches.

There is less mention of school lunches throughout the 1920s in both the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Daily Tribune*. In New York, support by the Board of Education for school lunches dwindled from a high of forty-four lunchrooms to twenty-seven, and concessionaries began taking over the other lunchrooms.²⁵⁸ This resulted in

²⁵⁵ Gunderson, 1971, 7

²⁵⁶ *New York Times*, "School Lunches At Cost" April 20, 1913.

²⁵⁷ Gunderson, 1971, 11

²⁵⁸ *New York Times*, "School Lunches Are Called Unfit" October 31, 1927

angry outcries from those concerned with the issue, particularly regarding the quality of the food. In Chicago, on the other hand, an article urges mothers to take advantage of the healthy school lunches, rather than send their child to school with pantry leftovers and little concern for nutritive value.²⁵⁹

The Great Depression intensified concern over the malnourishment of school children and responsibility for school lunches began to move from the city level to the state. States began to pass laws authorizing school boards to operate lunchrooms,²⁶⁰ but a lack of money hindered these efforts. At a local level relief fund organizations were created to provide lunches for school children. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* created the Hungry Children's Fund and publicized contributors to the fund on a regular basis. While the Chicago fund depended on individual contributors, the New York City School Relief Fund automatically deducted funds from teacher's salaries to contribute to the Fund.²⁶¹ However, as the Depression continued, teacher salaries were reduced, resulting in a reduction in available contributions.

Federal aid began during the early 1930s, and the alliance between agricultural policy and school lunches was created. With millions of children facing malnutrition due to a lack of food at school and at home, as well as huge farm surpluses, the federal government passed Public Law 320 in order to help both children and farmers. This legislation gave the Secretary of Agriculture monies "equal to 30 percent of the gross

²⁵⁹ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, "Children's Lunch Box Is Too Often Filled with Odds and Ends" December 26, 1925

²⁶⁰ By 1937, 15 states had done this.

²⁶¹ The teacher's union was not pleased by this; *New York Times*, "School Relief Fund Faces Wider Need" January 31, 1932.

receipts from duties collected under the custom laws during the calendar year.”²⁶² This money was to be used to remove surplus foods from the market, which were having the effect of depressing prices and dispose of them in such a way as to not interfere with normal sales. School children became a ready outlet for these surplus commodities. The Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation began distributing surplus foods such as dairy, pork and wheat to schools in 1933; by 1939, 14,075 schools and 892,259 school children were receiving surplus commodities, with the FSCC hoping to reach 5,000,000 children by 1940.²⁶³ In addition, the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation worked specifically with state and local authorities, PTAs, and other voluntary organizations to ensure the expansion of school lunch programs. At this point economic concerns, more than any arguments about child malnutrition, helped ensure that children were fed. Even as the Depression lessened in intensity, the number of children being fed through these programs continued to increase, due to pressure from agricultural producers and the surpluses that were created by Depression policies.

Interestingly, while 285,000 children in the state of Illinois received FSCC aid, Chicago itself refused to accept FSCC aid until September 1940. The School Board argued that they would have had to increase its spending amount in order to supplement the ‘so-called free lunches’ and the Board worried about the effect on morale if children were to receive free lunch.²⁶⁴ Even during the Depression we see the earlier concerns about cost and charity come into play.

²⁶² Gunderson, 1971, 13

²⁶³ *New York Times*, “5,000,000 Pupils to Get Free Lunches from FSCC in Use of Farm Surpluses” August 23, 1939

²⁶⁴ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, “WPA Plans Free Lunch Daily for 285,000 Pupils” August 22, 1939

The basic infrastructure of the National School Lunch Program was created at that time, some of which still persists today. For instance, in order to receive food, schools had to sign an agreement promising:

- that the commodities would not be sold or exchanged
- that the food purchases would not be discontinued or curtailed because of the receipt of surplus foods
- that the program would not be operated for profit
- that the children who could not pay for their meals would not be segregated or discriminated against and would not be identified to their peers²⁶⁵

In addition, commodities then and now are allotted based on a maximum quantity of food stuff per child, as calculated by the USDA. For some commodities, there is no maximum.

In addition to providing food and dealing with the agricultural surplus problem, the federal government used the school lunch program to put people to work. The Works Progress Administration provided work for needy persons and, through the Community Service Division of the WPA, placed many unemployed women in school lunch programs as cooks, servers, bakers, clerks and typists. This combination of agricultural surpluses and a ready and cheap workforce resulted in the rapid expansion of school lunch programs across the country. By February 1942, school lunch programs were in operation in every state and provided federal assistance to 92,916 schools, which served 6 million children daily.

World War II changed the school lunch program: as more people found work in the defense industries the WPA was eliminated; and farm surpluses were diverted towards the armed forces. While the advent of WWII threatened the programs as they existed, it also created the possibility for the program to expand to the national level;

²⁶⁵ Gunderson, 1971, 14

policy entrepreneurs were able to begin using the security frame when discussing child malnutrition and school lunches. The quantity of food available for school lunches dropped “from a high of 454 million pounds in 1942 to 93 million pounds by 1944.”²⁶⁶ Due to this, by 1944 the school lunch program had shrunk to 34,064 schools. However, this drop was temporary and by 1945 the numbers had rebounded. This was partly because Congress took it upon itself to maintain the school lunch program at least somewhat by passing legislation during the war years that provided cash subsidy payments for the purchase of food for school lunches to the tune of \$50 million per year. However, funding was often uncertain and school districts that had made school lunch plans with the expectation of certain amounts of money were often disappointed.²⁶⁷ In addition, this year-to-year legislation meant that many schools were uncertain if they would be receiving federal aid in the future and were thus reluctant to take on the tasks of building kitchens and installing expensive kitchen equipment.

During the later war years arguments against continuing federal aid were largely based on “the contention that these plans utilized surplus foods and that there is now no surplus foods to be distributed”²⁶⁸ Supporters argued that providing food should be war-time policy. This branch of argument had actually been aired somewhat during WWI when Dr. Henry Dwight Chapman, head of the children’s department of the Post-Graduate Hospital, argued in several speeches and letters to the editor that “children form the great second line of defense in future trouble” and that all must be done to

²⁶⁶ Gunderson, 1971, 16

²⁶⁷ *New York Times*, “School Lunches Put Up to Mayor” June 16, 1943

²⁶⁸ *New York Times*, “School Lunches Put Up to Mayor” June 16, 1943

“secure their normal development.”²⁶⁹ Thus, he saw school lunch programs as a war measure. This line of thinking received a great boost after an investigation into the health of young men rejected in the WWII draft showed physical deficiencies that were due to childhood malnutrition.²⁷⁰ This was similar to the argument used in Great Britain after the investigation by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, following the Boer War.

Other arguments for school lunches as war-time policy came from schools and women’s organizations. In particular the entry of women into the workforce during the war spurred women’s organizations to call for school lunches. Some estimated that as many as half the women in the US had entered the workforce during the war, making it difficult to come home at noon and provide a lunch. In addition, as in the UK, rationing affected the sorts of foods that were available for lunches at home and some saw that as problematic. The Assistant Superintendent for New York City schools spoke of this trend when he observed that “rationing had thrown women off their stride.”²⁷¹ Others working on the issue insisted simply that working mothers did not have the time to create properly balanced lunches for their children.²⁷²

The Congressional call for a permanent school lunch program came from a conservative Democratic Senator from Georgia: Richard Russell. Richard Russell was an outspoken racist and thought poorly of most social welfare legislation, but he was from an agricultural state and supported any effort to help his constituents. In pressing for the national school lunch legislation he said, “The School lunch program has proven

²⁶⁹ *New York Times*, “Underfed Children, Grave City Problem” January 13, 1918

²⁷⁰ Food Research and Action Center. “National School Lunch Program”

²⁷¹ Levine, 2008, 57

²⁷² Levine, 2008, 57

exceptional benefit to the children, schools, and agriculture of the country as a whole.”²⁷³ Thus, agricultural interests played a large role in the creation of the school lunch program.

As legislators like Russell began lobbying for a more permanent program in order to encourage food production and consumption, it was determined that the aid that had been operating for the past ten years had been useful to both children and the agricultural industries and that permanent legislation should be passed.²⁷⁴ However, in creating this kind of legislation, one of the concerns was how to best balance the Federal/State relationship. The hearings leading up to the 1946 National School Lunch Act stress that the federal government is obviously the best coordinator for this task, but that funding and responsibility must rest largely on the states. The program was designed as a grant-in-aid program, with the federal government initially matching dollar for dollar with the state, but with the state eventually taking over 75% of the program costs. A second major concern, following the Depression, was how to best utilize US agricultural products. The majority of the reports on the school lunch program come from the House Committee on Agriculture, which stresses “the agricultural nature of the program” and sees the child welfare features of the program as an unexpected benefit for the defense of the nation.²⁷⁵ These reports argue that education and child care are the proper domain of the state, but “that the National Government, insofar as it has a direct interest in the maintenance of farm income and in

²⁷³ House Committee on Agriculture Report P.L. 396-79th Congress, June 4, 1946.

²⁷⁴ House of Representatives, Report No. 684, June 5, 1945

²⁷⁵ Senate, Report 553, July 28, 1945

a healthy citizenry, should use its resources to encourage the States in the work.”²⁷⁶

School lunches are emblematic of the increasing federal governmental intervention into both schools and agriculture that continues to this day.

Interestingly, while the hearings were held in the Agricultural Committees and representatives from the Department of Agriculture, the War Food Administration and the National Farmers Union were present, there were also representatives from a variety of other organizations. This list includes women’s organizations such as The General Federation of Women’s Clubs, the Congress of Women’s Auxiliaries and the American Association of University Women. In addition, educational organizations such as the National Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Education Association, the Connecticut Department of Education, Association for Childhood Education and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. The United Automobile Workers and the CIO had representatives there, as did the American Home Economics Association. Finally, a number of directors of school lunch programs were there. Thus, a diverse number of interest groups came together to testify for this program. This was a larger diversity of interests than we saw in the UK case.

In 1946 the House Committee on Agriculture advised that, for the benefit of children, schools and agriculture, the school lunch program should be made a permanent part of school systems, and that the education features of a properly chosen diet should be emphasized. The Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry agreed to the bill as well, although with differences in the amount of initial funding. Once these differences were resolved, largely in favor of the Senate’s more generous version,

²⁷⁶ Senate, Report 553, July 28, 1945

the National School Lunch Act of 1946 was passed. The language of the legislations reflects the concerns mentioned above, stressing the importance of agriculture, national security, and the role of the state:

As a measure of national security, to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation's children and to encourage the domestic consumption of nutritious agricultural commodities and other food, by assisting the States, through grants-in aid and other means, in providing an adequate supply of food and other facilities for the establishment, maintenance, operation and expansion of nonprofit school lunch programs.²⁷⁷

This bill makes clear that the goals of the school lunch program were intimately related to agricultural interests and national security. This language remains today in the School Lunch Act that is passed every five years. Clearly, both security and agricultural concerns were important to the creation of the program, as well as its continuation. In fact, it is likely that the bill would not have emerged if these twin concerns had not been taken advantage of by entrepreneurs interested in a permanent school lunch program. These entrepreneurs included a wide variety of actors, including those concerned with child malnutrition and those concerned with meeting the needs of agricultural producers.

In order to understand the effect of the institutionalization of the national school lunch program, the following chart indicates how many children were being fed in different years.

²⁷⁷ House of Representatives, Report No. 2080, May 20 1946

Year	Number of Children Being Fed
1937	342,031
1939	892,000
1942	6 million
1944	5 million
1945	6.7 million
1947	7.1 million

Table 3.3: Number of Children Being Fed (US) During the Lead Up to the National Program

The chart indicates the instability of the program during the late Depression and early war years, as funding wavered, contingent on agricultural surpluses. The chart also indicates the quick uptake the program experienced as funding stabilized after the national legislation was passed in 1946. This clearly indicates not only a desire for the program by families with malnourished children, but also the importance of the war, as a defining moment around which this program could coalesce.

Funds for school lunch programs were to be used for food purchases and were based on per capita income per state relative to federal per capita income, as well as the number of children (ages 5 – 17) in the state. There was also a matching requirement of federal to state funds. In addition, schools who chose to participate in the program were required to serve lunches that met federal nutritional standards as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture, serve free or reduced cost meals to children that the school decided could not afford the meals, and utilize any commodities donated by the USDA. This requirement would become significant in later protests about the quality of the lunches themselves.

Changes were made in the following years to, essentially, tweak the formulas. For instance, in 1952 the formulas for granting food to Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands were redone.²⁷⁸ An experimental program ran for one year, between 1961 – 1962, to increase the amount of food available to especially needy schools, as it was those schools that had the largest number of children qualifying for free and reduced lunch that were least able to pay.²⁷⁹ In 1962 the formulas were rearranged to reflect the different participation in the states, so that states did not receive an equal amount of money across the board, but received funds based on how many children ate the lunches.

The Child Nutrition Act of 1966 built on the success of the National School Lunch Program and sought to extend those successes. This act brought the Special Milk Program under the auspices of the Child Nutrition Act, having previously operated under separate authorization, and piloted a school breakfast program, which continues today in some schools. The 1962 Act provided funds for equipment purchase and the extra staff that these program extensions would require. Finally, the Child Nutrition Act brought all these various programs, including school lunches, firmly under the authority of the Department of Agriculture. Other agencies that had been involved with school feeding included Health, Education and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The consolidation was designed to avoid any overlap of services and maintain uniform standards.

Despite these efforts, many children continued to go hungry in the 1960s. Part of the problem was that those school districts with the neediest children were also some

²⁷⁸ Public Law 489 – 81st Congress, Oct 31, 1949, 63, Stat 1058

²⁷⁹ Public Law 87-112, July 26, 1961, 60 Stat. 230: 75, Stat. 231

of the poorest school districts. They did not have the facilities with which to create lunches, nor the matching local funds to provide lunches. For instance, both small rural schools and older urban schools generally did not have lunchroom facilities. In addition, some people, including school principals, continued to disagree with the welfare aspect of the school lunch program, still seeing feeding children as the parent's responsibility,²⁸⁰ and echoing the ongoing debates about the nature of the emerging welfare state in the United States. A survey done in 1968 by the Committee on School Lunch Participation, a group formed out of five national women's groups in the US,²⁸¹ concluded that, despite national formulas and assistance:

Whether or not a child is eligible for a free lunch is determined not by any universally accepted formula, but by local decisions about administration and financing which may or may not have anything to do with the need of the individual child. And generally speaking, the greater the need of children from a poor neighborhood, the less the community is able to meet it.²⁸²

At the same time that the Committee's Report, *Their Daily Bread*, was published, The Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States published its report, *Hunger USA*. This book declared that at least 10 million people in the United States were suffering from hunger and malnutrition and identified 280 counties as 'hunger counties'. CBS followed up on this with a documentary about extreme hunger in May of 1968. Thus public attention focused on the issue of hunger in this country.

In response to the public concern over hunger, spurred by these various reports discussed above, a number of hearings were held by both houses of Congress. In 1969,

²⁸⁰ Gunderson, 1971, 21

²⁸¹ These groups were the National Council of Catholic Women, The National Council of Jewish Women, The National Council of Negro Women, Church Women United and the Young Women's Christian Association.

²⁸² Fairfax, 1968, 25

the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health was held. At the President's urging, the Food and Nutrition Service was created as a separate agency within the Department of Agriculture, specifically to administer all federal food aid programs, and efforts began to expand the school lunch program. Thus, after the program had been created, concerns with hunger itself were able to motivate action to improve the program, while those same concerns had been unable to motivate action in the earlier part of the century. It is likely that hunger can motivate action only after a program is already established.

Following this public pressure and legislative (re)action, various changes to the National School Lunch Program came in 1970. One of the more important changes was the establishment of uniform national guidelines to establish eligibility for free or reduced price lunches, instead of depending on local determinations of need. In tandem, both State agencies and local school boards were charged with seeing that the obligation to provide free and reduced price lunches was carried out. Further, layers of federal accountability were added such as the requirement that schools submit monthly reports on participation rates and a required annual plan for how the school will use the funding. Finally, the current formula of per meal cash reimbursements was established at this time. Although there have been additional legislative changes, the 1970 formulas have remained the basic method of determining fund allocation.

In the case of the US, the National School Lunch Program emerged only after the country's experience during WWII. As in the UK, WWII created a connection between national fitness, security and child malnutrition. In addition, a concern with women's employment and their ability to provide meals for their children served to

highlight attention on a school lunch program. Finally, agricultural subsidy formulas that had been put in place during the Great Depression contributed to the formation of the school lunch program, as lawmakers from agricultural states lobbied aggressively for a program that would allow for the continuation of these subsidy programs. Thus, it was a combination of the domestic concerns of the effects of women's employment, agricultural lobbies and the security frame that pushed the creation of the National School Lunch Program. However, while these domestic concerns were important, it was the security frame that was essential for focusing the national conversation on child malnutrition.

Analysis – UK and US

The fact that school lunches emerged in these two countries as national policy is a puzzle. Children are a politically powerless group who had previously been ignored by policy-makers. As the nascent welfare state in both the US and UK grew, children's concerns were largely left out of the picture. The paternalist welfare state of the UK focused on the concerns of the working-man, while the US welfare state can be classified as a maternalist welfare state due to the strength of women's organizations which focused on the concerns of mothers and infants.²⁸³ Children, especially school children, were left out of these nascent welfare states.

In order to explain this puzzle I argue that, in the cases of the US and UK, school lunches emerged as national policy due to the efforts of voluntary organizations, or policy entrepreneurs, largely composed of educators or others concerned about

²⁸³ Skocpol, 1992

education. However, it was not until the shock of war, or what could alternatively be considered the political opportunity of war, that school lunches were finally codified as national policy in both countries because these entrepreneurs were able to use the newly resonant security frame to discuss child malnutrition. Below, I demonstrate how my general theoretical framework explains the development of school lunch programs in these different settings. I use the same graphic I developed in the Introduction. Against a backdrop of agricultural subsidy programs or concerns, teachers and children's advocates reached out to use the language of security that was readily available due to the end of WWII. They were able to use this language and frame child malnourishment as a national security issue. The box representing agricultural subsidy programs is much bigger for these two cases than for other cases, and I have represented it here as being as large as the Internationalized Frames box. This represents the absolute necessity of this factor in the creation of these programs.

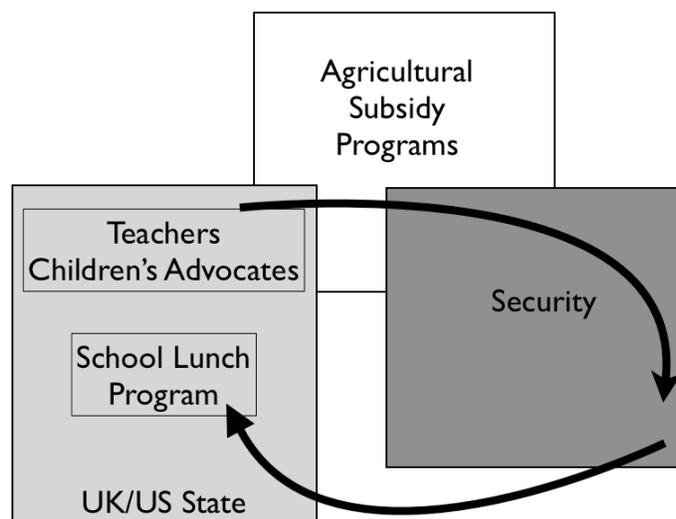


Figure 3.1: Development of School Lunches in the US and UK

The frame that was important in these two cases was the security frame. Security exists as an idea, created by the anarchic condition of the international system. Security emerges as a frame that can be taken advantage of by actors at times when national security is particularly threatened. This is what happened during WWII, and, in the UK case, the Boer War. Agents have often been able to use wars or other crises to “make persuasive claims concerning the need for change”.²⁸⁴ This understanding of war as a political opportunity depends on a constructivist interpretation of wars and crises as “events which agents intersubjectively interpret as necessitating change.”²⁸⁵ WWII, and to a lesser extent the Boer War in the UK, were events which were interpreted by the public and elites as momentous and gave a variety of policymakers the opening to push for a variety of social changes, including the welfare state in general²⁸⁶ and school lunch programs in particular.

The shock of war, interpreted as momentous and necessitating change by agents in both countries, gave policy entrepreneurs the chance to reframe child malnourishment in the important discourse of that moment: security. It was the shock that created the opportunity for a new frame. By declaring unfed children to be a security issue, feeding children becomes ‘above’ politics and necessitates certain, more invasive, kinds of state intervention because “the special nature of security threats

²⁸⁴ Widmaier, Blyth, and Seakbrooke, 2007, 750

²⁸⁵ Widmaier, Blyth and Seabrooke, 2007, 748

²⁸⁶ The Beveridge Report is credited with bringing the welfare state to the UK in 1942.

justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle them”,²⁸⁷ including massive new social programs.

Policy entrepreneurs used the concerns of security to argue that feeding programs were necessary for the future security of the country, as children would become the soldiers of the future. In this formulation children are constituted not as benign objects for survival or pleasure, but serve as vital pieces of capital in the “reproduction of sovereign communities in an economy of violence.”²⁸⁸ This reframing of children codified children as future citizens and as securitized objects of the state. Thus, in congruence with the ‘emotionally priceless’ child, there is also the securitized child. While the shift to valuing children for their emotional value worked to save children for childhood, valuing children for their future security value works to reserve children as weapons. This reframing, or additional frame, of children was essential for the creation of these programs and at the same time, this securitization of children represents another fundamental shift in the story of childhood.

In addition to the security concern created by the war, there was also a more practical concern created by the war: working mothers. In both countries large numbers of women entered the workforce as a necessary measure for war-time production. This created a situation in which it was more difficult for women to be at home to provide for their children. Related to this was the issue of rationing, which tended away from foods that were especially necessary for children’s health and growth. This made it even more difficult for mothers, let alone working mothers, to provide lunches for their

²⁸⁷ Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, 21

²⁸⁸ Campbell, 1998, 81

children. Thus, women's organizations and schools in particular pushed for the creation of school lunch programs.

The programs that were created to handle the issue of child malnourishment were couched in the language of security. However, while the efforts of voluntary organizations and the reframing of child malnourishment created by war were both necessary causes in the creation of school lunch programs, they were not sufficient to ensure the creation of school lunch programs. In each country, school lunch programs only emerged in conjunction with another necessary factor: agricultural interests. In the US, the role of agricultural interests is of utmost importance for understanding the emergence of the school lunch program. If the infrastructure of agricultural subsidies and school lunches as commodity dumping grounds had not been created during the Depression, it is unlikely that school lunches would have emerged as national policy at all. In the UK, agricultural concerns were equally important, but in a different way. Milk subsidy programs had resulted in school milk programs in 1924 and free milk was provided in all schools by 1935. Thus, similar to the US case, the infrastructure for at least one major domestic agricultural constituency, milk producers, was in place before the war. However, the infrastructure for other agricultural products was largely lacking. The war strengthened the desire of the British government to become agriculturally self-sufficient, but agricultural producers were reluctant to speed up production without assurances of a market. School lunch programs were seen as an assured market. Thus, the war's effect on agricultural policy was related to the decision to create a school lunch program.

Finally, the organizational context of both countries was also important. In the UK, the Beveridge package of comprehensive social service reforms for the UK welfare state was working its way through the political system and a school lunch program, as a matter of required policy, was only assured due to compromises in the Beveridge package. In exchange for lower cash benefits, the provision of in-kind benefits was emphasized in order to reassure the public.²⁸⁹ In the US lobbying pressure from agriculture was necessary to pass the National School Lunch Act. The federal government was so wary of balancing State-Federal interests that it is likely that without agricultural pressure the school lunch program would have existed only at the state level.

Despite the similarities between the cases, namely the use of the security frame, there are some interesting differences. In particular, cities became involved with the provision of school lunches much more quickly in the US than in the UK. This likely reflects the pattern of decentralization of political power in the US, which has historically given great freedom to its cities and states in deciding policy. Thus, in some ways it was a harder task for policy entrepreneurs to convince the federal government to take on school feeding than in the UK, which has historically operated in a more centralized manner. Another interesting difference is the relative quickness with which the US program became institutionalized compared to the UK case. In the UK case it took both the Boer War and WWII for the program to emerge in a meaningful way on the national level. While the Boer War did create some opportunity for policy entrepreneurs to begin pushing school lunch programs, WWII created a greater

²⁸⁹ Webster, 1997, 194

opportunity. This suggests that not all wars are equal in creating opportunity and that it depends very much on “broad mass intuitions of the moment”²⁹⁰ as to how effective policy entrepreneurs can be in taking advantage of political opportunity.

In both cases a number of important factors were at play, including agricultural interests, women’s employment, and policy entrepreneurs who were actively working to frame the issue of child malnourishment in different ways. In both countries, national school lunch programs emerged after policy entrepreneurs reframed the issue of child malnourishment from one of welfare or charity to one of an educational problem. Interestingly, different frames such as charity or education had worked to create programs at the local or even state level, but it took the security frame to produce a program at the national level. This first reframing was only able to occur after education became compulsory. The second necessary move was the shock of war, which allowed policy entrepreneurs the opportunity to reframe child malnourishment as a security problem. It was only after a war that the tension between who should be responsible for feeding children was resolved in favor of the state.

Canada – The Negative Case

Not all developed countries created school lunch programs as part of their welfare states, in response to the shock of war or because of agricultural surpluses. For instance, Canada does not have a national school lunch program. This is surprising for two reasons. The first is that Canada, like the UK and the US, is commonly considered a ‘liberal’ welfare state according to Esping-Anderson’s classifications, and yet only

²⁹⁰ Widmaier, Blyth and Seabrooke, 2007, 755

two of the three have school lunch programs. In addition, the lack of a school lunch program is surprising because Canada has historically had, and continues to have one of the necessary factors for school lunch programs – large agricultural surpluses. In fact, Canada donates much of its agricultural surplus to various international food aid programs, including the WFP’s school feeding program. In 2007 Canada pledged \$125 million to the World Food Programme, specifically for school feeding programs in Africa, which followed on previous contributions to school feeding in Ethiopia, Mali, Mozambique, Senegal and Tanzania. Thus, the Canadian government is not categorically opposed to school lunch programs.

Some might argue that Canada does not need a school lunch program, as it is an industrialized country. However, child poverty figures indicate that Canada is near the top of the list of industrialized countries for high child poverty.²⁹¹ Conservative estimates from 2007 suggest that one out of every 18 Canadian children is living in poverty,²⁹² while other estimates suggest that as many as 1 out of 5 Canadian children are living in poverty. The link between child poverty and child malnutrition is clear and a school lunch program would certainly help some of these children. However, it is only in the last 20 years that any Canadian organizations have focused on school lunch programs and only since 2007 that any demand for a national school lunch program has occurred.

I investigate the historical background that has resulted in Canada’s surprising lack of a school lunch program. I argue that, although Canada has long had sufficient agricultural surpluses to create a school lunch program, the gendered creation of the

²⁹¹ Bradbury and Jantti, 1999

²⁹² Singer and Hay, 2007, 1

Canadian welfare state encouraged married women to remain at home, hid the issue of child poverty and thus precluded the possibility of voluntary organizations organizing around any frame that would elevate the issue of child malnutrition onto the national stage. I discuss the creation of the Canadian welfare state and in particular the effects of social policy on married women in order to make this argument.

The Canadian welfare state is an odd beast, primarily because of the federal/provincial separation of powers created by the constitution. The constitution gives provinces certain powers such as jurisdiction over “the administration of justice, municipal institutions, and the establishment and maintenance of prisons, hospitals, asylums, and charitable institutions. The Federal government has jurisdiction over defense, criminal law, regulation of trade and commerce, banking, currency, rates and measures, inter-provincial transportation and communication, and other matters primarily related to economic development.”²⁹³ At first glance then the federal government is not involved in social policy at all and the reason for Canada’s lack of a school lunch program is that it is a provincial matter. However, that reading ignores the fact that the Canadian federal government inserted itself into national social policy beginning in the crisis period of the Great Depression and has not yet left that arena. Federal social policy has been contentious over the years because of the federal/provincial power split, but it has played a powerful role in the growth of the Canadian welfare state.

The Canadian welfare state emerged in the same historical period as most other welfare states and has followed a similar trajectory to the other ‘liberal’ welfare states.

²⁹³ Ismael, 2006, 16

For instance, the Canadian welfare state rose in response to the Great Depression and the realization that voluntary organizations could not handle the vast poverty produced by that economic crisis. This was followed by an expansion of the Keynesian welfare state from 1945 – 1980. That vision of the welfare state has been disappearing since 1980 due to the rise of neo-liberal ideology. For the purposes of this argument I will focus on the Canadian welfare state's action around children.

Different Canadian provinces began to take some responsibility for children in the late 1800s. For instance, by 1890 child labor was outlawed in most of the provinces, (although this law was not very well enforced) and by 1870 most provinces had made education compulsory.²⁹⁴ In addition, various voluntary organizations became concerned with the health of babies and the Victorian Order of Nurses worked across Canada to provide information to new mothers.²⁹⁵ These 'child savers' had a more sinister side however, as many of the 'saved' children were Aboriginal and were removed from their homes for health reasons.

Mothers began to be targeted for state help in various provinces as early as 1872.²⁹⁶ In particular, mothers who had been deserted or widowed were eligible for provincial aid. However, at this point in time a pattern of state morality that reflected certain views about the family began to be codified, as women who never married or who voluntarily left their husbands were denied any assistance from all the provinces. Demands for mother's allowances increased across Canada following WWI, due to the number of widowed mothers or women with injured husbands. Support for mother's

²⁹⁴ Finkel, 2006, 70

²⁹⁵ Finkel, 2006, 73

²⁹⁶ Finkel, 2006, 99

allowances differed by province, but with most provinces providing some aid by the 1930s.²⁹⁷ No province provided aid to single mothers, making clear the state's moral condemnation of single mothers.

Following the upheaval of the Great Depression and then WWII the federal government became involved in providing social programs. This was largely a political response by the Liberal and Conservative parties that saw support for the socialist party becoming a threat.²⁹⁸ The Canadian welfare state was patterned on the British welfare state and formally began with the Marsh Report, similar the UK's Beveridge Report. The Marsh Report was submitted to the legislature in 1943 and proposed a "comprehensive social security framework to protect worker's income against basic contingencies – unemployment, sickness and medical care, disability, old age and retirement, premature death, and family needs."²⁹⁹

The Marsh Report also included a recommendation for family allowances, which were adopted in 1944. Under the Family Allowance Act of 1944 benefits were payable to all children, through their mothers, at a monthly rate to help maintain the child.³⁰⁰ This was commonly referred to as the 'baby bonus', as it was a universal program, not based on need or income.³⁰¹ These were designed to weaken union support by evening out the wages between married and unmarried workers.³⁰² They were also designed to encourage married women, who had been called into the

²⁹⁷ Finkel, 2006, 101

²⁹⁸ Finkel, 2006, 126

²⁹⁹ Ismael, 2006, 25

³⁰⁰ This is different from the new Conditional Cash Transfer programs that are being used primarily in Latin America to feed children. Those programs require that the children attend school a certain amount of days per month and visit the doctor a specified number of times. The Canadian system simply gave parents money to help with the maintenance of their children.

³⁰¹ Poverty – A Short History http://www.shillington.ca/poverty/Poverty_a_short_history.pdf

³⁰² Finkel, 2006, 131

workforce during WWII, to go back to the home.³⁰³ The allowances were to partially compensate women for the wages they would forego by leaving work.

In addition to the family allowances, married women were forced back into the home by the removal of federal subsidies for daycare, guarantees that veterans would get their jobs back, and a reduction of the income tax reduction for married women's work. Government advertising schemes of the same period made it clear that a married woman's accepted role was in the home.³⁰⁴ The Canadian state used policy and advertising to get married women back into the home. This was partly due to economic concerns that did not see enough jobs available in the economy to every person, and it was also due to a gendered idea of how households should work.

The Canadian's government's efforts were successful. Compared to both the UK and the US, a far smaller number of married women were in the workforce. This can be seen in the table below.

Year	Canada	US³⁰⁵	UK
1930	-	11.7	10.6
1940	4.1	13.8	-
1950	10	21.6	32.6
1960	22.9	30.6	32.5

Table 3.4: Percentage of Married Women in the Workforce

There are clearly a great deal more married, working women in the US and UK than in Canada, particularly in the important post-WWII period. This is due to the federal, provincial, and employer policies that were biased against married women. For example, until 1955 the federal government placed restrictions on the employment and

³⁰³ Finkel, 2006, 131

³⁰⁴ Finkel, 2006, 132

³⁰⁵ The US and UK statistics are from Costa, 2000

advancement of married women. In addition, there was pervasive propaganda supporting the ideal of a nuclear family with a stay at home mother and a working father. This was so pervasive “as to virtually make invisible the many women who both raised children and worked outside the home.”³⁰⁶

The family allowances, other policies encouraging women to return to the home and pervasive propaganda about the nuclear family explain why Canada does not have a school lunch program. First, because mothers were expected to stay home and care for the children there were not the same concerns that occurred in other countries when mothers were at work and could not be expected to feed the children during the day. Second, the family allowances were to be used by the family for the care of the child – absolving the government of any other care. Third, the existence of family allowances worked, at least initially, to gloss over the problem of child poverty. How could there be child poverty when every child was provided a monthly allowance from the federal government? While poverty was discussed and targeted at the national level, most prominently in the “war on poverty round” that began in 1965 with a new federal pension plan and a federal/provincial grant program,³⁰⁷ child poverty did not appear as a particular issue until 1989. This is quite different from the US and UK where targeted concerns with child poverty began as early as the 1900s. Because child poverty was not seen as a particularly important issue, it was impossible for voluntary organizations to mobilize around the issue and create culturally resonant frames that would highlight the issue of child malnutrition.

³⁰⁶ Finkel, 2006, 194

³⁰⁷ Ismael, 2006, 28

Child poverty did not appear as part of the Canadian discourse until 1989,³⁰⁸ when an all-party resolution was passed calling for the elimination of child poverty by 2000. As I argued above, the lack of attention to child poverty was due to existence of the Family Allowance system. In addition, this lack of attention can be explained due to the way in which Canada's child benefit system had evolved, until 1989, as a "broad-based system that cover(ed) the large majority of families."³⁰⁹ In other words, child poverty was not singled out as an issue because all children were covered through tax exemptions. It was only when the tax exemptions were removed and the federal government shifted to an income-tested benefits system that the issue of child poverty was 'discovered'. In addition to the all-party resolution, other child poverty efforts include a (re)revised system of child tax benefits in 1992 and again in 1997. Furthermore, in 1991, Canada signed and ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, a year after the Convention was drafted, giving a clear international signal of its commitment to children's issues and rights.³¹⁰

In this section I have explained why Canada does not have a school lunch program, despite its similarities to the US and UK, which both do have this program. In short, the existence of family allowances, policies that encouraged married women to stay in the home and the propaganda about the nuclear family precluded the possibility of any frame being created that would bring the issue of child poverty and child malnutrition onto the national stage. Child poverty did not exist as a national concern until 1989. Whereas in the US and the UK, voluntary organizations concerned with

³⁰⁸ Ismael, 2006, 41

³⁰⁹ Battle, 2007, 26

³¹⁰ Howe and Covell, 2007, 1

child poverty were able to frame that issue in such a way that it appealed to the nation, within a context of agricultural surpluses, in Canada, the opportunity to create or manipulate a frame did not exist.

Conclusion

The development of school lunches is a story about society's changing conception of the role of the child and the role of the state. This story mirrors many of the changes that were occurring as states renegotiated their role in relationship to their citizenry, vis a vis the welfare state. Early objections to government-sponsored feeding programs hinged on the belief that parents held responsibility for their children and that providing food would lead to the pauperization of families. By the time school lunch programs became national policy, governments had agreed to take on this responsibility, but only after intervening factors such as agricultural interests and other political compromises encouraged this new role.

In the cases where school lunches became policy, this was dependent on voluntary organizations, operating in an economic context of agricultural surpluses or the desire for agricultural self-sufficiency, framing the issue of child malnutrition in such a way that it resonated at the national level. In these cases, the national context was threatened security, which made it possible for policy entrepreneurs to use a security frame. In addition, school lunch programs resolved a supply and demand problem. The issues of agricultural over-supply and self-sufficiency, when linked to the ideational demand of securing the nation through well-nourished children, produced

school lunch programs. This did not happen in all countries with agricultural surpluses. In some countries, like Canada, the necessary frames could not be produced.

Chapter Four: International Diffusion: The UN's World Food Programme

Starting in 1962 the majority of school lunch programs in the world were started by the UN's World Food Programme. The World Food Programme has exported the model of school lunch programs into seventy-two developing countries and currently feeds 21.7 million children. This main question that this chapter addresses is why has the UN's World Food Programme focused on school lunches as an important development tool? While many developed countries had indeed incorporated school lunch programs into national policy by the early 1960s, there was no precedent for establishing these programs in developing countries. In addition, school lunch programs are the only development program specified by name in the initial formulation of the World Food Programme. Considering the wide range of social and economic development programs that use food aid, this appearance of school lunch programs is an interesting puzzle. I argue that school lunch programs appear there for two reasons. First, school lunch programs were put on the agenda through the work of George McGovern, who used the frame of development to argue for the importance of school lunches. Second, school lunch programs represented a compromise position between those countries that thought a world food organization should focus on economic and social development, and those countries that wanted an international food aid organization to only focus on emergency food aid. There are two men in particular who can be signaled out for creating this compromise position: McGovern and B.R. Sen. In this case these two men can be considered policy entrepreneurs for bringing school lunches specifically into the World Food Programme.

McGovern was acting as a US representative at the FAO meeting to review an expert report on the Utilization of Food Surpluses and presented, mid-meeting, the astonishing proposal for the World Food Programme. McGovern was personally committed to a humanitarian objective of feeding children and to the idea of using food in order to create peace. He was operating in a time of US food surpluses as well as an international climate that was focused on the goal of development. McGovern used the readily available frame of development, as well as the material constraints of the US food aid program, in order to include school lunch programs in the initial formulation of the WFP. B.R. Sen was the Director-General of the FAO at the time and was personally committed to the use of food surpluses for economic development programs. Following McGovern's proposal for the World Food Programme, it was Sen who shepherded the program through the FAO and the UN, ensuring that a majority of countries would agree to the new program.

The second question this chapter addresses is the role of the WFP as a diffusion agent for school lunch programs. Since the early 1990s, twenty-six countries have taken over their school lunch programs from the World Food Programme. This makes the World Food Programme directly responsible for creating 1/3 of the government-run school lunch programs currently operating. In other words, the World Food Programme has served as a diffusing agent for school lunch programs. While the goal of any WFP-sponsored school lunch program is for the country to eventually take over management of the program, this certainly does not always happen. For instance, most of the countries that now operate conditional cash transfer programs had WFP funded school lunch programs, but decided to not continue school lunch programs after the WFP

phased out. Thus, those countries that continue school lunch programs after the WFP has left have made a conscious decision to continue the program. The mechanism of diffusion that is represented by these actions is the learning mechanism in which countries change their behavior because they have been presented evidence about the efficacy of a program.³¹¹

Background

The World Food Programme is the organization in the UN system that is exclusively concerned with food aid. The WFP is the primary conduit of food aid for development and emergency relief in the world. Its sister organization is the Food and Agriculture Organization, which is concerned with food production. The mandate of the WFP is to use food aid to support economic and social development, provide food and associated logistics support in times of emergency and generally promote world food security.³¹² The aims of the WFP are to

save lives, improve nutrition and quality of life of the world's most vulnerable people at critical times in their lives (and to) enable development by helping people build assets that benefit them directly and promoting the self-reliance of poor people and communities.³¹³

The logic behind the development projects that the WFP provides is that food aid will temporarily free “the poor of the need to provide food for their families, which gives them the time and resources to invest in lasting assets such as better houses, clinics and schools, new agricultural skills and technology.”³¹⁴ For example, an early development project focused on providing food to migrants in order to give them the time to settle

³¹¹ Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett, 2006,

³¹² World Food Programme website – wfp.org

³¹³ World Food Programme website; What We do: Introduction – wfp.org

³¹⁴ World Food Programme website; What We do: Development Projects – wfp.org

and cultivate their land;³¹⁵ a current project in Chad provides food to workers who are building earthworks to prevent water run-off.³¹⁶

School feeding programs have been an important component of WFP aid since its inception in 1961. In the initial UN Food and Agriculture Organization study, which laid out the foundations of the WFP, it was suggested that resources be made available for social development. School feeding programs were recommended for support as an integral part of human capital formation at the rate of \$500 million a year.³¹⁷ In 2004, WFP provided meals to 16.6 million children in 72 countries.³¹⁸ The objectives in WFP school feeding programs are to improve nutrition and health, increase school attendance by children of poor households (particularly girls) and encourage more regular school attendance. These objectives are related to improved human capital and a country's long-term development prospects.

In this chapter I first discuss the history of international food aid, with a particular focus on the US due to the important role the US took in creating the WFP, and then turn to proposals for multilateral food aid programs. My focus next moves to the creation of the WFP and how McGovern and Sen used the frame of development to include school lunch programs in the original programming choices of the WFP. Finally, I address the issue of diffusion and examine how the learning mechanism explains the way in which the WFP served as a diffusing agent.

³¹⁵ World Food Programme pamphlet, 1963, 5

³¹⁶ World Food Programme website; Current Operations: Chad – wfp.org

³¹⁷ Shaw, 2001, 24. It was predicted that it would cost \$7,000 million a year to feed all children between 5 and 14 in developing countries one meal a day of 60 grams of wheat.

³¹⁸ WFP, *Global School Feeding Report, 2005*, 2005. This number is higher than what I count in my survey of school lunch programs and is explained by the fact that the WFP includes pre-school feeding programs in their calculations while I did not in mine.

The History of Food Aid (with a focus on the US)

Food aid has likely existed in some form or another as long as communities and natural emergencies have existed. International food aid as government policy has a somewhat shorter history, beginning in 1812 when the US sent \$50,000 to be used to purchase food for the victims of the Venezuelan earthquake. While some called for a formal aid structure at this point, disagreements about the limits of Congressional authority hampered these efforts and US food aid occurred only in a piecemeal fashion during the earthquakes of 1902 in Martinique and of 1908 in Sicily. The only other international food aid at this time came from Great Britain, which provided periodic famine relief in Ireland in 1846/47 and in India in the 1890s.

While government sponsored international food aid was slight during this time period, voluntary agencies, particularly in the US, played a larger role. Food was privately donated during the Russian famine of 1891; the US Armenian Relief committee contributed food relief during the Armenian genocide in 1893-94; and a Central Cuban Relief Committee raised food donations for Cubans being placed in concentration camps by the Spanish during the Spanish-American War. These were all geographically targeted donations that likely relied on diaspora communities in the US. Voluntary organizations' interest and role in providing food aid has a long history in the US and will be addressed in Chapter Six when I analyze Catholic Relief Services.

The first international, long-term food aid provided by the US Congress followed the end of WWI. Relief was primarily supplied to “the various dismembered parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of Germany,” as well as Finland, the Balkan

States and parts of Belgium and France.³¹⁹ Some 6.23 million tons of food were shipped between 1918 and 1926. Not only did this food provide nourishment as these countries began their war recovery efforts, but it also provided an outlet for American food surpluses that had built up due to wartime agricultural requirements. This combination of American idealism and pragmatism would set the stage for future food aid programs, particularly the World Food Programme.

The next big international food aid program was the Marshall Plan, in which \$3.5 billion of food, feed and fertilizer was transferred, primarily from the US and Canada, to Europe. The food aspects of the Marshall Plan proceeded extremely smoothly, due to the previous experience of supplying food after WWI, as well as the creation during the 1930s of the US Commodity Credit Corporation. This organization was created under Executive Order on October 16, 1933 for the purpose of buying and selling agricultural commodities and making loans to farmers in order to maintain price supports and production controls. The CCC was the vehicle for managing agricultural surpluses and providing farmer subsidies. The CCC emerged directly from the Great Depression and US government concerns with falling farm income. Due to its experience in managing surpluses, the US was able to easily begin the Marshall Plan.³²⁰

Public Law 480

The Marshall Plan set the stage for the next US sponsored food aid program, Public Law 480. Under the Marshall Plan, commodities donated to European governments were sold by that government for its own local currency, in their regular

³¹⁹ Singer, et. Al., 1987, 18

³²⁰ I focus almost entirely in this history on US food aid programs. This is not to suggest that other countries did not have food aid programs, as some certainly did, but they worked primarily within colonial empires, rather than being more truly international.

market channels. Thus, the food aid worked to give European governments hard currency and to reduce surpluses from the world market. This type of transfer is considered program food aid, rather than project food aid, which is an important distinguishing mark between PL 480 and the World Food Programme. Program food aid provides budgetary and balance of payments relief for recipient governments, while project food aid provides support to field based projects in areas of chronic need.³²¹ In other words, US food aid, starting with the Marshall Plan, was heavily oriented towards the government's economic concerns.

Once Europe began to recover, demand for US farm products began to decline. Not only was Europe beginning to become food self-sufficient again, but there was not a large market for US imports elsewhere. However, during both WWI and WWII American farmers had been encouraged to increase production significantly in order to supply US troops and US allies. In addition, price supports had been instituted during the Great Depression, in part to deal with the surpluses that had been encouraged during WWI. The price supports continued to encourage excess production and produce agricultural surpluses, especially of those foods that were heavily subsidized. For instance, after a banner year in 1953, wheat stocks rose from 13 million tons to over 42 million tons. The surplus held by the US government was 25 million tons, equal to the level of world trade in wheat.³²²

These agricultural surpluses were a danger to US agricultural prices and producer incomes. In addition, the Korean War had just ended, reducing the immediate need of agricultural surpluses by the Army, as well as cementing the Cold War into

³²¹ Clay and Stokke, 2000, 25

³²² Singer, et. Al. 1987, 22

place. The agricultural lobbies, and particularly the grain traders, drove the passage of PL 480. Under the Marshall Plan the grain companies, such as Cargill and Archer Daniel Midlands, had acted as government agents in disbursing grain, using the network of trading contacts they had established in the 1930s as these companies had expanded their businesses internationally.³²³ These companies were well positioned to lobby for an agricultural act that would act as “a market expansion programme wrapped in the American flag of anti-communism,”³²⁴ and they got what they wanted. It was the twin concerns of agricultural surpluses and the containment of communism that led to PL 480, the main US food aid policy.

PL 480, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, was enacted by the 83rd Congress and signed by President Eisenhower on July 10, 1954. PL 480 was defined by three titles. Title I “authorized commodity sales to be paid for in the currency of the recipient country.”³²⁵ This allowed countries with insufficient foreign exchange to purchase US agricultural products, which it then sells through its normal market channels, much like the Marshall Plan. The US either grants or loans back about 80% of the currency for specified projects; these projects are usually related to economic development. The US uses the remaining 20% for such activities as developing overseas commercial markets for US food and fiber. In the first ten years of the Act’s operation, approximately \$9 billion was received in foreign currencies, and \$7 billion was granted or loaned back to those countries.³²⁶ Title II authorized the Commodity Credit Corporation to give voluntary organizations, such as CARE or

³²³ Broehl, 1992; Kneen, 2002

³²⁴ Kneen, 2002, 142

³²⁵ Leach, 1994, 3

³²⁶ McGovern, 1964, 19

Catholic Relief Services, surplus commodities for use both in the US and abroad. In the first ten years of operation, approximately 1.25 billion dollars worth of food was distributed through Title II.³²⁷ Title III authorized government-to-government food donations for famine relief. In the first ten years of operation, approximately 2.25 billion dollars worth of food was distributed under Title III.³²⁸ In addition, Title III permitted the President to barter food commodities for strategic material and goods not produced in the US. As you can see, in the first years of PL 480, the majority of the aid was distributed through Title I channels. Overall, in the very first year of operation 3.4 million metric tons of food were distributed; this rose to 14 million metric tons of food two years later.³²⁹ PL 480 was working hard to dispose of surplus commodities.

Despite its supposed foreign policy and humanitarian objectives this Act was clearly focused on national economic goals; Eisenhower declared that this Act will “lay the basis for a permanent expansion of our exports of agricultural products with lasting benefits to ourselves and peoples of other lands.”³³⁰ As can be seen in the amounts of food distributed under the different Titles, in the first decade of the program the emphasis was almost entirely on reducing the American agricultural surplus. This emphasis completely overshadowed the humanitarian objectives. Unfortunately, the American surplus was so great, and the price support system encouraged production at such a high level, that a domestic surplus continued to build. In addition, there were other problems with the program. For instance, a large amount of US-owned soft

³²⁷ McGovern, 1964, 19

³²⁸ McGovern, 1964, 20

³²⁹ Leach, 1994, 3

³³⁰ USAID. “The History of American Food Aid”.

http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/humanitarian_assistance/ffp/50th/history.html

currency reserves began to accumulate in some countries.³³¹ This raised some concerns about the potential for destabilization in developing countries due to the amount of control the US had over the money supply.³³² In addition, the new markets for American agricultural products continued not to appear, to the frustration of the program's original architects.

Due to the inefficiencies and frustrations with the program some changes began to be made as early as 1959. A new title, Title IV was added that allowed countries to buy US commodities on loan and pay for them in dollars on a long-term payment plan. More importantly, in 1959, Senate Bill 1711 changed the title of PL 480 to "The International Food For Peace Act". This new title primarily reflects the work of Senator Hubert Humphrey and Senator Fulbright who envisioned US agricultural supplies working effectively to "build the world conditions for peace"³³³ and to reduce human hunger. This new title reflected a growing international conversation that had begun to occur about the connections between hunger, peace and development. Thus there was some shift in US thinking that was occurring in the late 1950s that the use of agricultural surpluses for peace and hunger relief was more important than the simple reduction of agricultural surpluses for the sake of the American economy. The development frame, which was being actively created during this time period by the efforts of developing countries, was beginning to make inroads into US policy-making.

³³¹ Leach, 1994, 4

³³² Ruttan, 1993, 8

³³³ Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Senate Bill 1711. 1959

Food for Peace

Not only were Senators such as Humphrey beginning to push an agenda that saw food as a powerful tool for peace,³³⁴ using arguments about the connection between development and peace, but Kennedy's election also presaged a new era in how the US used food aid. Agricultural issues initially bored Kennedy but Senator Humphrey and Representative George McGovern pushed the idea of food for peace on him in such a way, linking agriculture with foreign policy, that he soon became a strong proponent of the idea.³³⁵ Kennedy began to work closely with Rep. McGovern in honing his ideas on food for peace. George McGovern was crucial for the further development of US food aid.

George McGovern was born and raised in South Dakota, eventually serving as both Representative and Senator from that state. McGovern was not raised as a farmer, (his father was a pastor) but growing up on the plains of South Dakota in the 1920s/30s, he saw clearly the importance, and the plight, of farmers. His government career was marked by a commitment to farmers, food security, and a multilateral approach to the solution of world problems.³³⁶ During an interview in 2004 with the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, McGovern spoke about the first time he witnessed hunger and the long lasting effects of that experience:

I've been interested in hunger since the Second World War, when I arrived in Naples harbor as a bomber pilot. There were several hundred hungry kids lined up on the docks on either side of our ship, shouting to us: "Babe Ruth! Butterfinger!" And the captain's voice came over the loudspeaker, telling us not to throw anything to them. An American troop ship had come in yesterday and they started throwing candy bars, and some of it fell in the water and a couple of

³³⁴ This was not a new agenda for Humphrey, as I will discuss below.

³³⁵ McGovern, 2001, 50

³³⁶ Shaw, 2001, 8

dozen kids drowned scrambling for that food. I'd never seen hungry people before. I grew up in South Dakota, in the Depression. We were poor, everybody was poor, but very few didn't have enough to eat.³³⁷

Starting early in his career McGovern was inspired to work on issues of hunger.

Even today, he continues to advocate for the reduction of world hunger, most recently working as a UN Global Ambassador on World Hunger for the World Food Programme. He has always been particularly concerned with feeding hungry children and has long pushed for international school lunch programs, first through the WFP and more recently by lobbying the US government to create the McGovern–Dole International Food for Education and Child Nutrition Program, which was created in 2002. In his letter of resignation from the Food for Peace office in 1963, which he left to seek a Senate office, he spoke generally of the achievement of food aid and then gave one priority recommendation, urging “that the United States take an even more active lead in providing a daily school lunch for every needy child in the world. No form of overseas assistance could return greater dividends for so little cost. We should undertake this task with renewed energy “because it is right””.³³⁸ McGovern believes that school meals are one of the best tools to aid development in the third world.³³⁹ McGovern’s consideration of school lunches as an important type of food aid is well documented.

At McGovern’s urging Kennedy gave a historic speech at the Mitchell South Dakota Corn Palace that summed up his thinking on the issues:

“I don’t regard the agricultural surplus as a problem. I regard it as an opportunity to use the food imaginatively, not only for our own people, but for

³³⁷ Minneapolis Star Tribune, “Q&A: George McGovern: Maybe for the first time in human history we can resolve world hunger” November 21, 2004

³³⁸ Shaw, 2001, 16,

³³⁹ McGovern, 2001, 31

people all around the world. . . (we must recognize that) food is strength, and food is peace, and food is freedom, and food is a helping hand to people around the world whose good will and friendship we want.”³⁴⁰

In the first days of Kennedy’s term, in literally his second Executive Order, Kennedy brought the Food for Peace program directly into the White House by appointing a White House director of the program. Kennedy appointed George McGovern to be the first director, and by bringing the office into the White House, removed the program from bureaucratic impediments that would likely have cropped up had the office been located in either the State Department or the Department of Agriculture. One of McGovern’s first moves was to use the power of language to cement the idea that this new food for peace program was about peace and development and not American economic needs, by directing his staff to no longer talk about ‘surplus disposal’: “we were in the business of feeding children, not disposing of garbage. Anyone who wanted to be in the disposal business should apply to the D.C. sanitation department.”³⁴¹ George McGovern played a powerful role as director of Food for Peace. He expanded the role of PL 480 towards more humanitarian and development objectives with the introduction of a number of Food for Wages projects, and by 1963 1 million tons of food were being shipped under Food for Peace auspices. In addition, he was the primary architect of the World Food Programme.³⁴²

Precursor Ideas to the WFP

While the US was moving forward on its own food aid programs, notably with the introduction of the Food for Peace programs and McGovern’s insistence on

³⁴⁰ McGovern, 2001, 50

³⁴¹ McGovern, 2001, 52

³⁴² Shaw, 2001, 6 - 9

regarding food aid as a development tool, the international community as a whole was also moving towards more constructive uses of food aid. There were two attempts to form an international food aid organization before the World Food Programme was formed. The first was a proposal from the Director-General of the FAO, Sir John Boyd Orr, in 1946. Boyd Orr recommended a series of actions to deal with the world's food problems. He proposed, in a general way, a World Food Board that would work to increase "the productive power of the great masses of people in the underdeveloped worlds" as well as "enable farmers in the highly developed areas to go ahead producing for the world's needs without the fear and the fact of surpluses and ruinous prices."³⁴³ Boyd Orr argued that this could best be accomplished under the auspices of the UN system, and he suggested that loans to increase production, technical assistance for starting farming projects and an international food storage system, were the essential elements of a World Food Board. However, his attempt to "reconcile the interests of producers and consumers of agriculture and trade" was not approved, largely due to the "power of sovereignty and self-interest";³⁴⁴ countries wanted to maintain control over their agricultural products and pricing.

A second attempt to create an international food aid organization was proposed in 1956, by Senator Humphrey in the US. Humphrey, concerned with the problem of world hunger and the relationship between hunger, peace and development, brought two resolutions to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. These two resolutions were debated on May 28 and 29 and each suggested the creation of a World Food Bank and/or an International Food and Raw Materials Reserve. These were debated in a

³⁴³ FAO "World Food Proposals: Why They Were Made, What They Aim At", 1946, 7.

³⁴⁴ Singer, et. Al. 1987, 27

subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations and Senator Humphrey took a leading role in discussing these resolutions.³⁴⁵ The first resolution, Senate Resolution 85, urged the President to consult with the UN to make a food bank, modeled after the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, from which member nations could borrow food or fibers.³⁴⁶ The second resolution, Senate Resolution 86, asked the President to consult with the UN in order to establish a reserve to store excess farm products and other raw materials in order to avoid price fluctuations. Both of these resolutions were designed, in Senator Humphrey's words:

to convert the burden of temporary excess production in single countries into a blessing for all nations. Both are designed to convert temporary surpluses from being a disturbing factor in domestic markets and in international economic relations, into what they can and should be – a powerful force for human well-being and peace among nations of the world.³⁴⁷

This statement makes a clear connection between the productive use of food surpluses and development.

The record of the hearings reveal a gulf between the Senators on the committee and a number of voluntary organizations, who are favorable to the proposals, and members of the Department of Agriculture, the State Department and certain mining representatives who are unfavorable to the proposals. A representative from the State Department debated with Senator Humphrey a great deal on the first day of the hearing and mostly focused on the administrative difficulties that setting up such a food bank would entail. He states “loan and repayments operations would be difficult to

³⁴⁵ The other Senators on the sub-committee included Fulbright (Arkansas), Aiken (Vermont) Capehart (Indiana) and Sparkman (Alabama).

³⁴⁶ Fiber such as cotton and wool are considered agricultural products and are affected by the same trade rules that affect other agricultural products.

³⁴⁷ Hearings on Senate Resolution 85 and S. 86. May 28, 1956. 3

administer, . . . and particularly for an international organization.”³⁴⁸ Senator Humphrey responded by pointing out the number of international organizations that seemed to be handling these problems sufficiently and refuted the State Department representative’s assertions that figuring out currency differences would be difficult by stating:

It is difficult when you deal in a multitude of currencies, in a multitude of markets and a multitude of problems relating to those markets, but you have already said that we are already doing this. Are you saying that we are so much smarter in international trade than anybody else? I gathered that we are not. Those British are pretty sharp, and the Dutch, Belgians, Norwegians, Danes and Swedes; they have all been living by their wits on international trade for years. Maybe it would be a good idea to bring them into an international agency and pool that brainpower.³⁴⁹

Senator Humphrey was convinced that the work of PL 480 was not sufficient to handle the growing problem of hunger in the world. He wanted a UN organized agency that would deal with hunger, due to his belief in multilateral solutions to world problems. In addition, he was very aware that the US was being accused of ‘dumping’ its agricultural surpluses on the world market. He clearly saw the advantages of a multilateral agency to defuse these concerns.³⁵⁰ Resolutions are designed to express the opinion of a committee or a congressional body and no action is required from a resolution. Neither of these resolutions made it out of the sub-committee. However, the mere discussion of these resolutions, while not taken up by the President, laid the ground for congressional acceptance of the World Food Programme.

A further step was taken by the US towards the World Food Programme in 1960, before Kennedy was elected president. On August 24, 1959, the Committee on

³⁴⁸ Hearings on Senate Resolution 85 and S. 86, May 28, 1956, 32

³⁴⁹ Hearings on Senate Resolution 85 and S. 86, May 28, 1956, 33

³⁵⁰ Hearings on Senate Resolution 85 and S. 86, May 29, 1956, 90

Foreign Relations, under Humphrey, passed forward the International Food for Peace Resolution. This resolution expressed the support of Congress for the President to explore an international food program and saw the purposes of that program as “combating extreme price fluctuations in the international market in food products, alleviating famine and starvation, helping absorb temporary market surpluses of farm products and economic and social development programs.”³⁵¹ This resolution gave the President permission, and urged him, to endorse a multilateral food program at the UN General Assembly meeting in September 1960. A letter accompanied this report from the Acting Secretary of State at the time, C. Douglas Dillon, which indicated the President’s willingness and desire to have the UN develop a plan for feeding hungry people. The President’s letter explicitly points out that it is “an objective of the United States to increase the prestige, authority and effectiveness of the United Nations system,” as well as the fact that “there are some developed areas where the recipient countries definitely prefer to receive foreign assistance through the United Nations system.”³⁵² This is an interesting acknowledgement of the political expediency of multilateral, rather bilateral, food aid.

Creation of the WFP

When George McGovern was appointed to lead the US Food for Peace program, under Kennedy, several key things were in place to make the creation of the World Food Programme more likely. The first was that Kennedy was devoted to using and participating in the UN in a more serious manner than some of his predecessors.

³⁵¹ Senate Report No 1922, August 24, 1959.

³⁵² Senate Report No. 1922, August 24, 1969. Appendix

Related, there was a greater commitment within the UN system to multilateral activity than there had been previously. The second was that, as we have seen, a number of international food programs had been proposed both internationally and at the domestic, US, level. Thus, the idea of a multilateral food program was not entirely new and the reasons for it had already been laid out in several earlier documents, such as Boyd Orr's proposal and Senate Resolutions 85 and 86. A world food program was not a new idea, but rather an emerging idea. The third was the positioning of George McGovern in the US government and B.R. Sen at the FAO. Both of these men had a strong vision and commitment to using agricultural surpluses for humanitarian objectives.³⁵³ The fourth was the emergence of the development frame in the late 1950s/early 1960s as developing countries put their concerns about development on the international agenda. Development concerns had emerged as one of the top issues of the 1960s and the UN declared the 1960s as the (first) Decade of Development. Thus, there was concentrated international attention to development issues at this point in time.

The seeds of the World Food Programme can be traced to the Freedom from Hunger Campaign. This campaign was an FAO project started by B.R. Sen in 1960 and was planned to coincide with the UN's Decade of Development. Sen was an Indian diplomat and had studied food and malnutrition issues since his experience as a relief commissioner during the Bengal Famine of 1942/43. He speaks in his autobiography of the "profound and abiding sense of guilt" suffered by all who were involved in the famine.³⁵⁴ This experience led him to focus on hunger issues, and particularly the role that food aid could play in alleviating hunger. In particular, he speaks of his life-long

³⁵³ Shaw, 2001, 8

³⁵⁴ Sen, B.R., 1982, 50

dream being a world without degrading poverty and hunger. Sen was acutely aware of the connection between development and food aid. He carried these convictions into all his diplomatic postings and particularly his tenure as the FAO's Director General from 1956 – 1967. Based on these convictions he worked to transform the FAO from a technical organization into a development agency.³⁵⁵

Sen's Freedom from Hunger campaign was primarily an educational campaign to bring attention in the international community to issues of malnutrition and hunger. As conceived by Sen, the campaign was devoted to bringing attention to the issues of hunger, to securing the participation of all concerned parties, to raise the enthusiasm of those parties and establish a higher level of "mutually profitable world trade to help raise the prosperity of both developed and developing countries."³⁵⁶ In light of this campaign and the new emphasis on development the UN General Assembly, in 1960, passed a resolution on the 'Provision of Food Surpluses to Food-Deficient Peoples through the United Nations System'.³⁵⁷ This resolution, after endorsing the Freedom from Hunger Campaign and recognizing the need for economic development in under-developed countries, specifically called for the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN to create procedures for disposing of surplus agricultural goods.³⁵⁸ In response to the General Assembly Resolution a small group of experts was convened by Sen to

³⁵⁵ Sen, B.R., 1982, 123

³⁵⁶ Sen, B.R., 1982, 138

³⁵⁷ This was the resolution Eisenhower had sought permission for in August 1960, detailed in Senate Report No. 1922, discussed above.

³⁵⁸ UN General Assembly Resolution No 1496 (XV), October 27, 1960

consider what sort of procedures might work for the disposal of surplus agricultural goods.³⁵⁹

Under Sen's direction the expert group produced a study titled *Development Through Food – A Strategy for Surplus Utilization*. The study was groundbreaking as it was “the first authoritative and responsible position treating food surpluses positively as potential contributions to economic development and growth, rather than negatively as an unwanted load to be got rid of with the least harmful effects.”³⁶⁰ The study called for food surpluses to be used for economic and social development, for countries to make their own decisions regarding food aid rather than donor countries making the decisions, for developing projects only within the overall context of a country's development program and, finally, that the utilization of food surpluses should not endanger the local economy.³⁶¹ The study drew distinctions between economic programs, social programs and land reform programs. Some of these categories would become collapsed within the WFP. Despite these general findings, the study contained no specific proposals for action. However, it readily conveyed the idea that the FAO was ready and willing to play its part in the organization of information and the coordination and distribution of food aid, dependent on what member countries envisioned as its role.³⁶²

An FAO Intergovernmental Advisory Committee was held on April 5 – 12, 1961 in order to discuss their study. This meeting was largely concerned with the

³⁵⁹ Luhe, 1986, Vol. II, pg 11, WFP internal document

³⁶⁰ Luhe, 1986, Vol. II, 15, WFP internal document

³⁶¹ Sen, B.R., 1982, 200

³⁶² FAO, Ad-hoc Advisory Committee on the Utilization of Food Surpluses, Summary Record of Seventh Meeting, April 10, 1961

minutia of the study and included extensive conversation on the issue of how a multilateral program might coordinate bilateral food transfers. On the third day of the meeting, April 7, an ad-hoc group was convened from within the meeting to prepare the report of the larger meeting. This ad-hoc group included representatives from the United States, Netherlands, Canada, France, Ghana and Pakistan and Sen.

McGovern had been asked by Kennedy to represent the US at this meeting³⁶³ and was part of the US delegation at the ad-hoc group. The first day of the ad-hoc meeting included conversations about the specific wording of phrases in the report, a debate about whether multilateral arrangements were useful to pursue, how much authority the FAO ought to be granted if a multilateral arrangement was approved and a debate between those who thought emergency foods needs were more important to pursue than social or development food aid.³⁶⁴ This issue was particularly contentious with some country delegations like Canada and the Netherlands advocating the FAO only take on emergency feeding situations and other countries, such as Pakistan, India and France stressing the need for economic or social programs for development. In fact, Pakistan specifically wanted to avoid any FAO role in emergency feeding out of a concern that this would expand the FAO's role past its constitutional abilities.

The only contribution McGovern offered during that first meeting was a concurrence with the Canadian delegation that a multilateral arrangement for food surpluses would be desirable and that “the United States delegation felt that some part of the initial effort should be devoted to school lunch programs and labor-intensive

³⁶³ Shaw, 2001, 6

³⁶⁴ FAO, Ad-Hoc Advisory Committee on the Utilization of Food Surpluses, Summary Record of the Sixth Meeting, Friday April 7, 1961

projects, as a means of giving FAO some operational experience.”³⁶⁵ This was the only mention of school lunches at the meeting. Given McGovern’s feelings about school lunches, it is unsurprising that he brought it up. The other substantive position taken by the US delegation was a statement recommending that the group work to “develop recommendations . . . to the Director-General for concrete proposals that would result in action.”³⁶⁶ The US delegation, more than the others, was thinking in terms of concrete plans of action.

Over that weekend, McGovern asked his staff to come up with a concrete proposal that would put teeth on the FAO’s study about the benefits of food aid. This was a surprise to the other members of the delegation who had not prepared for anything but giving advice to the FAO.³⁶⁷ However, McGovern persisted and received permission from Kennedy to propose a program with a

fund of \$100 million in commodities and cash contributions. For its part, the United States would be prepared to offer \$40 million in commodities, and the possibility of a supplementary cash contribution will be explored in Washington.³⁶⁸

This proposal also suggested an experimental period for the World Food Programme of three years and committed the program to work primarily on emergencies, school lunch programs or other labor-intensive projects in order to develop experience for the organization in managing different kinds of projects. I suggest that this served to bridge the gap between those countries that thought any such program should focus only on emergency food aid and those that thought a program should focus on social and

³⁶⁵ FAO, Ad-hoc Advisory Committee on the Utilization of Food Surpluses, Summary Record of the Sixth Meeting, April 7, 1961

³⁶⁶ FAO, Ad-hoc Advisory Committee on the Utilization of Food Surpluses, Summary Record of the Sixth Meeting, April 7, 1961,

³⁶⁷ Shaw, 2001, 7

³⁶⁸ McGovern, 1964, 108

economic development. It was an exceedingly detailed proposal, reflecting McGovern's ideological commitments and political pragmatism.³⁶⁹ The organization that did emerge from this proposal, the World Food Programme, followed many of the details in this proposal almost exactly. Because of this proposal McGovern is largely credited with "getting the World Food Programme off the ground."³⁷⁰ Likewise, the only official history of the World Food Programme considers the WFP to be one of the few international organizations created in such a personal way, based on one man's initiative and inspiration.³⁷¹

The proposal was very specific and spoke directly to US concerns about its own program, PL 480. The WFP would be restricted to project aid, not the kind of large-scale, bulk programme food aid that the US, and others, provided bilaterally. The US wanted no reduction in its ability to sell its commodities through Title I activities. In addition, in order to prove that the WFP was complementary to, rather than competing with, PL 480, its focus was on social projects, rather than economic or market development; thus, the emphasis on projects such as school lunches or food for work programs. Finally, the WFP, funded at \$100 million over three years, was a small program, especially compared to the \$1.3 billion per year the US was supplying under PL 480.

McGovern submitted his proposal during the resumed meeting of the ad-hoc group on Monday morning. When the proposal was presented the Chairman of the meeting asked McGovern if the United States was changing its position on the study,

³⁶⁹ Shaw, 2001, 8

³⁷⁰ Luhe, 1986, Vol. I, pg 17 WFP Internal Document

³⁷¹ Shaw, 2001, Chapter 2. On the other hand, Sen, in his autobiography largely takes the credit for the development of the World Food Programme.

which it had already submitted. McGovern replied that he was trying to implement with some specific action the broad objectives outlined in the report. He was giving the committee concrete proposals with which to work.³⁷²

The delegates from other countries at the meeting were surprised by the proposal, and even recessed to discuss whether or not the proposal was serious, but quickly accepted it. The immediate reaction at the meeting was one of profound gratitude both for the amount of the US contribution and the clear US commitment to multilateral food aid efforts. In particular, Canada, Ghana, the Netherlands and France spoke quickly in support of the proposal.³⁷³

Kennedy endorsed it in a press conference on April 21, 1961, making it clear that the US was committed to the new program. Both McGovern and Sen worked within their separate communities over the next six months to ensure its eventual passage. Because of the large commitment of the US, and Kennedy's desire to use food surpluses in a multilateral way, US acceptance of the plan was key. McGovern had to reconcile the interests of the US delegates to the UN, who wanted a much larger food aid organization that would focus more on economic and social development, with the interests of the US State Department, which wanted a smaller, experimental program that would focus more on emergencies.³⁷⁴ The WFP proposal, that provided a role for emergencies and school feeding, but not necessarily other social and economic programs, was a compromise between these two competing US interests. It seems

³⁷² FAO, Ad-hoc Advisory Committee on the Utilization of Food Surpluses, Summary Record of the Seventh Meeting, April 7, 1961.

³⁷³ FAO, Ad-hoc Advisory Committee on the Utilization of Food Surpluses, Summary Record of the Seventh Meeting, April 7, 1961

³⁷⁴ Shaw, 2001, 10

likely that school lunch programs were more acceptable to those people that only wanted emergency aid because feeding children is more politically palatable than other kinds of projects. In addition, school lunch programs provide immediate nutritional relief and can be partially regarded as emergency feeding. McGovern was aware of these considerations and understandings about school lunch programs when he made his proposal. I argue that, in addition to his belief in the intrinsic value of school lunch programs for development, his pragmatic consideration of these competing positions led him to insert school lunches into the original formulation and helped create US acceptance of the program before the UN General Assembly meeting.

Sen worked within the FAO to ensure the passage of the World Food Programme, first by the FAO and then by the General Assembly. Like McGovern, Sen had to find compromise positions between the countries (mostly developing countries) that were more interested in social and economic food aid and those more interested in only providing emergency food aid (mostly developed countries).³⁷⁵ In addition, Sen had to work with McGovern to make sure that any compromise in the FAO would be greeted favorably by the US, the largest party that had committed financially to the new organization. Sen was able to accomplish this compromise in the same way as McGovern, by insisting that emergency aid receive top billing, but that school lunches be included as a specific social and economic program. Countries that refused to accept other social and economic development programs found school lunch programs more acceptable, likely because children are regarded as more vulnerable than adults and more in need of protection. Sen was responsible for moving the original proposal both

³⁷⁵ Sen, B.R., 1982, 196

through the FAO as a whole and then into the General Assembly. He worked to keep school lunches in the final document in order to provide a compromise position between countries that wanted more aid for social and economic programs and countries that wanted aid only for emergency purposes.

By November, the FAO had created the “FAO/UN Proposal Regarding Procedures and Arrangements for Multilateral Utilization of Surplus Foods”. This proposal was much more specific than McGovern’s original proposal and included the specific rules of the WFP, which at the time was called SUD, Surplus Utilization Division. This proposal was composed of

arrangements to be made by countries in providing the resources needed, and by FAO and other cooperating international organizations in creating the mechanisms for handling these resources; and then secondly in terms of the procedures to be followed by recipient countries, contributing countries, and international organizations respectively.³⁷⁶

The proposal also contained all of the requirements of McGovern’s original proposal, including the beginning fund of \$100 million and the focus on emergency food aid, school lunch projects and labor intensive projects (in that order).³⁷⁷ Based on this proposal, on November 24, 1961 the FAO passed resolution No 1/61, “Utilization of Food Surpluses – World Food Programme”. Quickly thereafter, on December 19, 1961, the General Assembly passed Resolution 1714. This resolution authorized the creation of the WFP as a three-year experimental program with \$100 million in contributions to be jointly under the authority of the FAO and the UN. This new program was to

³⁷⁶ FAO/UN Proposal Regarding Procedures and Arrangements for Multilateral Utilization of Surplus Foods, November 4, 1961

³⁷⁷ FAO/UN Proposal Regarding Procedures and Arrangements for Multilateral Utilization of Surplus Foods, November 4, 1961

specifically focus on food emergencies, school feeding and implementing pilot projects for the use of economic and social development (in that order).

While emergencies had been listed as one of the primary purposes of the WFP, it was quickly discovered that responding to emergencies required a much larger institutional structure than the WFP yet possessed.³⁷⁸ Likewise, it was discovered that school feeding also required a greater institutional structure from both the WFP and the recipient country. Therefore, despite an interest in and promotion of school feeding, in the first three years school feeding was a relatively small proportion of the WFP activities. Thus, ironically, the WFP in the early years was more focused on economic and social development projects other than school feeding. These projects were especially focused on, “labor-intensive and rural development activities, particularly those having a demonstration value.”³⁷⁹ These projects included food for work programs that aimed at “agricultural development in terms of irrigation, afforestation, land improvement and the like . . . (as well as) those for the construction of housing or of feeder roads.”³⁸⁰ There were also projects that helped with the issues of migration and the settlement of new areas and projects that promoted livestock production.

School Lunch Programs

School lunch programs were included as a WFP policy area from the very beginning, being mentioned as a program to pursue in the offer from the US that laid the foundation for the WFP. These projects were formed with the same fundamental

³⁷⁸ FAO, Report on the World Food Program by the Executive Director, 1965, 27

³⁷⁹ FAO, Report on the World Food Program by the Executive Director, 1965, 16

³⁸⁰ FAO, Report on the World Food Program by the Executive Director, 1965, 17

considerations that still inform school feeding projects today: food was thought to improve school performance through improved nutrition and provide an incentive for children to attend school. This is an argument that finds value in school lunch programs due to their contribution to human capital development. School lunch programs were bound up in the development frame from the very beginning.

As the three-year experimental period drew to a close, a number of reports were published by the FAO. These were published under the direction of a UN General Assembly resolution, which had asked for reports on various aspects of the World Food Programme in order to determine whether or not to continue the organization.³⁸¹ The study on “Food Aid and Education” lays out the justifications for school feeding both in terms of nutritional benefits to children and economic development to the country as whole, discusses a hypothetical school feeding program and the attendant costs and then spends two short sections urging school feeding for post-primary institutions, such as secondary and technical schools, as well as adult literacy programs. The document makes clear the benefits of school lunch programs, while also acknowledging the problems with instituting them. At one point the study says

the general establishment of school canteens on a world-wide scale can scarcely be envisaged:

- a. because the priority devoted to primary teaching varies from one country to another;
- b. because even in those countries which wish to establish general primary education as rapidly as possible, the number of teachers and schoolrooms does not always permit this aim to be achieved;

³⁸¹ The topics of the other studies are “The Linking of Food Aid with Other Aid”, “Operational and Administrative Problems of Food Aid”, and “The Demand for Food and Conditions Governing Food Aid During Development”.

c. finally because for most countries to establish, to equip in however simple a manner and to maintain a network of canteens in all primary schools must remain a far too costly undertaking.³⁸²

It is a strangely contradictory document, acknowledging the problems with instituting school feeding programs and yet urging the expansion of those programs.

These same problems were acknowledged again in a 1969 report in which the WFP determined that it would be irresponsible to create large-scale feeding programs unless the “financial, technical, logistical and administrative resources required for their implementation were firmly secured from internal sources and external aid.”³⁸³ Thus, the WFP limited the number of places to which it could provide aid. In addition, the yearly variability in donated commodities makes planning difficult, especially for projects that require consistent food in order to be successful. A number of factors, related to the WFP institutional structure and general development difficulties, make it difficult to institute wide-spread school feeding.

While aware of these issues, as the WFP moved out of its experimental years school feeding projects became more institutionalized and made some substantial improvements in the lives of some children. By 1965 programs were in place in Mauritania, Togo, Afghanistan, Guinea and Bolivia. Over the next fifteen years programs would be started in another fifty-seven countries, during the greatest expansion of school feeding in the last 100 years. By 2005, 35 countries had so successfully worked with the WFP that they were considered ‘phased out’ and were running their own programs, and the WFP was working with another 53 countries to

³⁸² FAO, Food Aid and Education, 1965, 7

³⁸³ Shaw, 2001, 102

supply the food for their school lunch programs.³⁸⁴ Despite the difficulties laid out in the 1965 and 1969 documents, the WFP worked to implement these programs throughout the years.

Rules made during the WFP's initial, experimental phase, continue to operate today and affect school lunch programs. For instance, food aid is provided only when a country asks for it. The WFP will help a country prepare its request, but the initiative must come from the country that would like aid. In addition, the projects were not to depend on WFP aid for more than three years; it was hoped that either the transition to development would have taken place by then, or that the host country government would take over the project after three years. This clause has been less successful and modified over the years, in particular for school lunch projects where the transition time is ideally five to ten years.³⁸⁵ In addition, the projects are not to interfere with normal commercial activities. For example, if a project pays workers with food that they would then not buy from the local market, this would not be supported. However, a project that encouraged unemployed people to eat more, without depressing local markets, would be acceptable.³⁸⁶ School lunch programs fit this requirement particularly well.

The WFP has always maintained school feeding, even in years when emergencies loomed high on the agenda. We can see this support by examining how donated food commodities were divided up by the WFP. Of those commodities

³⁸⁴ WFP, School Feeding Report, 2006

³⁸⁵ These time rules were not iron-clad; for instance, the World Food Programme provided food in Jamaica for fourteen years.

³⁸⁶ FAO, World Food Programme (pamphlet), 1963, 8. Other considerations for approving projects included the technical feasibility of a project and whether or not local arrangements existed that could adequately handle the project.

earmarked for development projects, the WFP has somewhat consistently used a higher proportion of those commodities for agricultural and rural development projects. However, school feeding projects have, on occasion, used as much as 58% of the yearly commitments that were budgeted for development projects.³⁸⁷ The low point for school feeding was in 1981, when only 17% of the commodity commitments were used in school feeding programs, while in 1990, 1992, 1993 and 1994, school feeding programs received 50% or greater of the commodities committed to development projects.

To give a sense of how much food was being used, the total value of the donated commodities averaged out at 650 million dollars worth of agricultural goods per year through the 1980s, but fell precipitously in the 1990s, to 325 million dollars of agricultural goods per year.³⁸⁸ To take an average year as an example - in 1979 there was a total of 492 million dollars worth of donated commodities. Of that total, 217 million dollars worth was devoted to projects that focused on agricultural production, 62 million dollars worth was devoted to projects that focused on rural infrastructure, 44 million dollars worth was devoted to projects that focused on settlement, 149 million dollars worth was devoted to projects that focused on primary education and 16 million dollars worth was devoted to projects that focused on secondary or other education. Thus, there is consistent support, particularly for school feeding programs at the primary schooling level.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁷ The numbers and percents in the next two paragraphs are derived from D. John Shaw's Table 5.3, pg 85 which he sourced from the World Food Programme.

³⁸⁸ This fall in the 1990s was linked directly to the US 1990 Farm Bill, which changed the way the US disbursed their agricultural aid.

³⁸⁹ Within the category of school feeding, primary education and Mother and Child Health Centres have always received a greater proportion of the aid than secondary or other educational training. The percent of aid devoted to secondary education consistently remained below 5% of the aid devoted to development projects each year. Of the aid devoted to school feeding, the aid specifically for secondary education

However, this kind of consistent support for school feeding programs has been threatened ever since the 1990s. Beginning in the 1990s there was a sudden uptick in emergencies and a subsequent loss of food aid available for development purposes. From 1992 to 1993 the value of foodstuffs used in primary schools dropped from 230 million dollars worth of donated commodities to 132 million dollars worth. The decline was even more precipitous the next year when only 73 million dollars worth of food aid was available for school feeding.³⁹⁰ Suddenly, 2/3 of WFP expenditures began going towards emergency relief, reversing three decades where approximately 3/4 or more of expenditures had been going towards development. This shift in WFP programming reflected a real escalation in both man-made and natural disasters beginning in the 1980s with events such as the Soviet-Afghanistan War, the African food crisis of the 1980s, and continuing in the 1990s with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, wars in the former Yugoslavia and the Rwandan genocide.³⁹¹ In addition, this shift in the early 1990s reflected a new governing structure that required greater coordination between UN bodies. In particular, the WFP and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees became involved in a new working relationship that saw the WFP become the agency charged with feeding refugees.³⁹² The number of refugees throughout the world numbered 18 million in 1993, up from 11 million in 1980 and in 1997/98 “some 50 million people were the victims of forced displacement”; to cope with this the World

tended to range from about 15 – 25% of the yearly total. A similar difference is observed when one looks at the number of projects within each category from the beginning of the WFP in 1963 to 1995. Within those years there were 200 primary school projects compared to 41 secondary school projects, with the primary schools receiving 2,077 million dollars worth of commodities and the secondary schools receiving 241 million dollars worth of commodities.³⁸⁹

³⁹⁰ Shaw, 2001, 85, Table 5.3

³⁹¹ Shaw, 2001, Chapter 6

³⁹² Shaw, 2001, 168

Food Programme has “assumed a major role in providing life-saving food to refugees and displaced persons.”³⁹³ As both the real numbers of man-made disasters increased, and the new governing structure demanded greater attention to the food needs of refugees, development funding has fallen. The number of countries from which the WFP phased out a school lunch program increased dramatically in the 1990s, while even greater numbers of countries were phased out in the 2000s, likely reflecting this very real decrease in funds for development projects.

Analysis

Why did the WFP include school lunch programs as an important component of its development projects from the very beginning of the organization’s founding? School lunches are the only specifically named development program in the WFP’s founding documents. I argue that school lunches were included in the original WFP plans for two reasons. The first was that George McGovern used the frame of development that was readily available in the UN system at the time to put school lunch programs on the agenda. He was motivated to do so because of his concern for hungry children and his belief in the use of food aid for development. Second, school lunch programs represented a compromise position between those countries that wanted an international food aid organization to focus only on emergency aid and those countries that also wanted food aid to focus on economic and social development. School lunch programs were politically palatable to those countries that wanted a food aid organization to only concentrate on emergency aid. George McGovern and B.R. Sen

³⁹³ Shaw, 2001, 168

negotiated this compromise position, against the backdrop of US agricultural surpluses, by using the frame of development to argue for the inclusion of school lunches.

Below, I demonstrate how my theoretical framework partially explains the development of school lunch programs as a part of WFP policy. I use the same graphic I developed in the Introduction. Importantly, in this case, my theoretical framework can only explain the first step for school lunches emerging as WFP policy. For the first step, McGovern used the frame of development in order to argue that school lunches would improve human capital and thus lead to improved development prospects for a country as a whole. You will notice that instead of WFP school lunch programs emerging against a backdrop of agricultural surpluses, as the other cases did, the US food aid regime was a necessary factor for their emergence. I represent this by pulling that box into the foreground to illustrate McGovern's awareness of how important the US food aid regime's reaction was for creating the WFP.

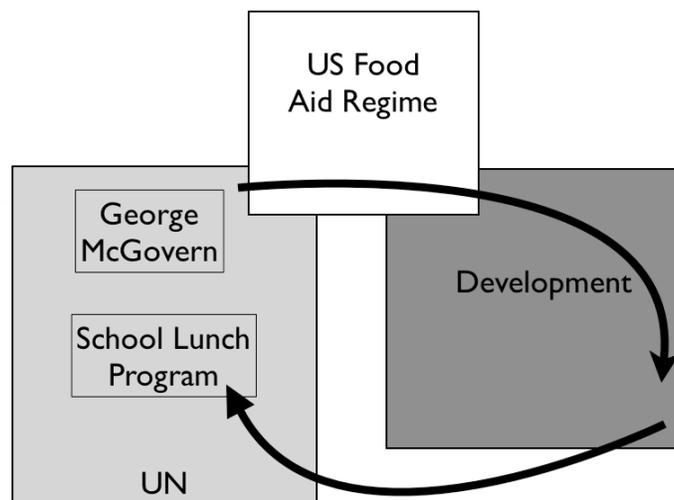


Figure 4.1: Development of School Lunches as WFP Policy

The frame that was important in this case is the development frame. Development emerged as an important part of the international discourse in the late 1950s and early 1960s as newly decolonized countries brought these concerns to the forefront. Thus, the development frame was uniquely available and positioned for use by policy entrepreneurs in the early 1960s. Importantly, the frame of development used in the early 1960s was different than development thinking today; instead of a definition of development that is focused only on economic growth, development in the 1960s also included a moral and humanitarian component.³⁹⁴ As many former colonies gained independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and joined the UN, the UN became much more aware of and concerned with the development challenge, which required efforts to eliminate not only poverty but also hunger, illiteracy and disease.³⁹⁵ These concerns were emphasized by the United Nations during the first Decade of Development, which started in January 1961. In addition, while development later, in the 1980s, became synonymous with IMF calls to reduce state involvement in the economy, in the 1960s developmental thought called explicitly for state involvement in the economy.³⁹⁶ In particular, state involvement focused on the development of industry and the creation of both infrastructure and human capital to support industry. Subsidized school lunches, provided by either a state or an international organization, fit these goals of human capital creation and were welcomed for that reason. Thus, there was an ideational context of development thinking that focused on humanitarian

³⁹⁴ UNICEF. "The 1960s: Decade of Development" *The State of the World's Children 1996*.
www.unicef.org/sowc96/1960s.htm

³⁹⁵ Jackson, 2008

³⁹⁶ Rapley, 2007, 2

concerns and human capital creation. This developmental thinking was located within the UN organizations as well as the international community of states. Thus, at this point in time, development was a readily available frame upon which policy entrepreneurs could draw.

In addition, the material, international factor of US agricultural surpluses and the corresponding US food aid regime were important factors in the development of school lunch programs. The US food aid regime was concerned with balancing a domestic need for surplus food disposal against the selling of surplus commodities on international markets. Because the US was the original funder of the program, its agricultural needs were an important consideration as the rules for the organization were created. McGovern was very aware of these considerations.³⁹⁷

The second step that ensured school lunches emerged as WFP policy was the necessity for McGovern and Sen to create a compromise position between countries that saw food aid as useful only for emergency purposes and other countries that wished to have food aid available for social and economic development. McGovern had to create this compromise with the US policy community and Sen had to negotiate the same debate within the FAO. The inclusion of school lunches served to create a compromise position between these two camps. School lunches emerged as the result of that compromise because school lunches were regarded as an obvious good and did not have to be debated endlessly.³⁹⁸ There was an “ingenuous belief” at the time that school lunches “must do good to beneficiaries”.³⁹⁹ As such, school lunches were more easily

³⁹⁷ Shaw, 2001, 9

³⁹⁸ Luhe, 1986, Vol. II, 4, WFP Internal Document

³⁹⁹ Luhe, 19986, Vol. II, 13, WFP Internal Document

acceptable by those countries and policymakers that wanted a world food organization to only focus on emergency aid.

School lunches were some of the World Food Programme's first projects. This is because policy entrepreneurs, concerned with child hunger, included them in the proposal for the World Food Programme by stressing the potential of school lunches to raise human capital, an argument that fit the ideational context of the time. Today, WFP funding for school lunch programs is disappearing as the WFP focuses more of its attention on emergencies. However, I find it likely that school lunch programs will continue as an important WFP program despite the fact that developmental thinking no longer encompasses moral and humanitarian concerns or state intervention. This is largely because the rules by which the World Food Programme is guided favored school lunch programs at the time, and continues to do so today. For instance, school feeding easily fits the bill of project-oriented food aid, required under the McGovern proposal.⁴⁰⁰ In addition, school feeding was, and is, seen as a non-complex project with little room for misapplication or misuse; this is due to the fact that food is supplied for immediate consumption and there is a fairly simple action line between food, school attendance, and smarter government bureaucrats.⁴⁰¹ Finally, school feeding represents additional consumption, which is necessary under the FAO Principles of Surplus Disposal. In other words, school feeding is an opportunity to use food surpluses with no fear of disturbing normal commercial markets.⁴⁰² WFP sponsored school lunch

⁴⁰⁰ FAO, Operational and Administrative Problems of Food Aid, 1965, 50

⁴⁰¹ FAO, Report on the World Food Program by the Executive Director, 1965, 38

⁴⁰² FAO, Food Aid and Education, 1965, 4

programs will continue, despite the disappearance of frame that underlay their creation, because of the organizational rules of the WFP.

Diffusion and the WFP

The World Food Programme has operated school lunch programs in seventy-two countries over the last forty years. The WFP has phased out of thirty-five countries and in twenty-six of those phased out countries the government has taken over the provision of school lunches. The countries that are phased out WFP countries and have continued their school lunch programs are: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Botswana, Brazil, Chile, Cyprus, Dominica, Ecuador, Gabon, Guyana, Jamaica, Jordan, Mauritius, Morocco, Namibia, Philippines, Portugal, Seychelles, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tonga, Uruguay and Venezuela. In most of these cases the method of feeding children by providing school lunches was successfully spread, or diffused, by the WFP into these countries.⁴⁰³

Diffusion is essentially the phenomenon of states that are connected in some way acting alike or making similar policy choices, despite different levels of social and economic development or political structure.⁴⁰⁴ Diffusion is based on an assumption about information flows; the assumption is that states that are proximate, or connected in some way, share information.⁴⁰⁵ Diffusion studies look to “a countries’ shared language, culture or religion, common membership in an international organization and

⁴⁰³ In a few of these cases the country had already started a feeding program, asked for WFP support at some point and then were phased out after a short period of time. This is the case in Brazil and Portugal.

⁴⁰⁴ Weyland, 2005, 262

⁴⁰⁵ Simmons and Elkins, 2004

exchanges in trade, mail and phone⁴⁰⁶ to explain information flows. Information flows result in coercive, competitive, emulative or learned behavior, all of which can result in policy diffusion.

In general, diffusion explanations operate on an international level, assuming that state behavior is conditioned either by other states or international organizations. Models that are adopted at the domestic level come from an external source. It is clear that external factors are an important reason for diffusion due to the variety of states that adopt similar policies. However, in order to understand how diffusion works one must consider the process by which the policy choices of either an international organization or other states are translated into local outcomes. In other words, every national government has to make the choice to adopt a policy.

The four mechanisms to explain why national governments adopt policies that are commonly used in the international policy diffusion literature are competition, coercion, learning and normative emulation.⁴⁰⁷ Competition makes little sense in this case as it is unclear with whom the WFP would be competing by creating school lunch programs. Coercion would assume that WFP forces countries to continue programs after they have phased out. Although the WFP phases out programs with the plan that a country will continue the program, this does not always happen. For instance, Mexico, Paraguay and Turkey were recipients of WFP school lunch programs, but today depend entirely on a conditional cash transfer model to feed their children. They have clearly rejected the school lunch program model of the WFP.

⁴⁰⁶ Linos, 2004, 8

⁴⁰⁷ Weyland, 2005

A more likely explanation is either learning or normative emulation. While both learning and emulation are theoretically based in constructivism, the two mechanisms are quite different. Learning suggests that countries use data from others to change or inform their beliefs about causal relationships and thus their policy choices.⁴⁰⁸ The emulation approach suggests that countries change or adopt policies due for symbolic reasons. These differences can be understood by considering that emulation focuses on the actor (the government) and what that government did, while learning focuses on the policy itself.⁴⁰⁹ In the following paragraphs I demonstrate that a modified learning mechanism best explains the way in which the World Food Programme acts as a diffusing agent. I do this by first demonstrating that the normative emulation does not explain the diffusion of school lunch programs between the WFP and phased out countries, and then I turn to analyze the learning mechanism.

The normative emulation approach would assume that the WFP reshapes the preferences of the domestic government; this type of argument sees the WFP as promoting school lunch programs as an innovative symbol of modernity.⁴¹⁰ When a country chooses to continue a school lunch program, that country would be sending a signal to the rest of the world about its legitimacy as a modern country. This argument stems from sociological institutionalism and the work of theorists trying to explain a world whose societies, organized as nation-states, are structurally similar along many unexpected dimensions and change in unexpectedly similar ways.⁴¹¹ These theorists argue that this similarity, or isomorphism, occurs through global cultural and

⁴⁰⁸ Simmons, Dobbins and Garrett, 2006, 8

⁴⁰⁹ Shiphon and Volden, 2008, 842

⁴¹⁰ Weyland, 2005, 274

⁴¹¹ Meyer, Boli, Thomas, Ramirez, 1997, 145

associational processes.⁴¹² The causal force then is “an expanding and deepening Western world culture that emphasizes Weberian rationality” and constitutes the “legitimate or desirable goals for (states, organizations and individuals) to pursue.”⁴¹³ In addition, world culture supplies the conception of how certain actors should behave. World-approved policy is adopted by states either because it fits their self-identity, or because domestic elements push for conformity with these policies.⁴¹⁴ Boli and Thomas further argue that international nongovernment organizations, created by world culture, work to carry forward world culture. Most INGOs come from the West and are enactors of that Western culture. Because INGOs are commonly regarded as legitimate and neutral bodies they work to diffuse the same principles of Western culture throughout the world.⁴¹⁵ This research paradigm can easily explain similar behavior and structures by dissimilar actors with dissimilar interests,⁴¹⁶ as well as the role that the World Food Programme would have in ensuring uniform adaption.

One of the strong claims of the normative emulation argument is that a phenomenon called ‘decoupling’ exists. I will evaluate the WFP’s role as a diffusion agent by examining the decoupling argument. Decoupling refers to the idea that states will adopt policies not because they believe in them, particularly if the policies are normatively based, but because the state wishes to be regarded as a modern state. The decoupling thesis was developed by Meyer and Rowan’s 1977 work on educational institutions, which “suggested that formally adopted standards and procedures” that had

⁴¹² Meyer, Boli, Thomas, Ramirez, 1997, 144

⁴¹³ Finnemore, 1996, 325

⁴¹⁴ Meyer, Boli, Thomas, Ramirez, 1997, 161

⁴¹⁵ Boli and Thomas add universalism, world citizenship and rationalizing progress to rationality and individualism as the core features of Western culture (Boli, and Thomas, 1999, 35).

⁴¹⁶ Finnemore, 1996, 334

been adopted to address formal government mandates, “were decoupled from the ongoing routines of teaching and administration.”⁴¹⁷ Martha Finnemore, in her 1993 study of UNESCO and the creation of science policy bureaucracies, came to similar conclusions, suggesting that “norms promulgated within the international system” influenced the creation of science policy bureaucracies in states, regardless of the appropriateness of such a bureaucracy or “whether they (a state) have any science to coordinate”.⁴¹⁸ Thus, the decoupling argument, within the normative emulation argument, would suggest that countries continue their WFP school feeding programs, not because there is a need for a feeding program, but because a feeding program, and the ensuing bureaucracy, indicates something about the status of a country to its peers.

In order to assess the decoupling argument for the WFP I used the Global Hunger Index in order to assess whether or not countries that continue their programs in fact need the programs. I used the Global Hunger Index in Chapter Two to assess hunger and school lunches and focused on country rankings. In addition to rankings, the Global Hunger Index also scores the countries on a range from 1.59 for Belarus to 42.70 for Burundi. Scores above 10 are considered serious, scores greater than 20 are alarming and scores greater than 30 can be considered extremely alarming.⁴¹⁹ The mean is 15. It is important to note that the Global Hunger Index is produced separately from the World Food Programme and is not used by the World Food Programme when considering phase-out decisions.

⁴¹⁷ Westphal and Zajac, 2001, 202

⁴¹⁸ Finnemore, 1993, 593

⁴¹⁹ Wiseman, 2006, 13

Of the twenty-six countries that have continued their program, nine are not included in the Global Hunger Index, because their nutrition status is too high to be included in the rankings. Importantly, several of these countries, such as Barbados, Cyprus, and Portugal were phased out several decades ago, before the Global Hunger Index had been created, making it impossible to assess the nutrition status of the country at the time the program was phased out, but also making it clear that their nutritional status has improved substantially since their involvement with the World Food Programme. The remaining seventeen countries are included in the Global Hunger Index, indicating some level of malnutrition. I have included a chart that shows both the current rank and Global Hunger Index over time for these countries, below.

Rank	Country	GHI 1981	GHI 1992	GHI 1997	GHI 2003
3	Chile	3.87	3.93	2.37	1.87
12	Uruguay	4.57	5.20	3.50	2.74
20	Mauritius	14.07	8.47	7.73	3.80
21	Syria	8.77	7.17	6.73	4.23
23	Jordan	7.34	4.47	4.83	4.73
27	Jamaica	7.07	6.67	5.43	5.27
28	Brazil	10.43	8.50	6.70	5.43
34	Ecuador	13.70	10.13	7.73	6.22
36	Morocco	13.70	7.20	7.40	6.42
43	Venezuela	6.13	6.17	7.93	7.83
49	Gabon	16.17	13.63	10.83	9.00
51	Guyana	-	15.17	12.83	9.83
58	Thailand	23.37	17.83	13.80	12.36
71	Namibia	18.19	23.03	22.32	17.50
72	Philippines	22.40	21.80	19.63	17.55
76	Botswana	23.93	18.53	16.37	18.57
85	Togo	23.90	23.70	21.23	21.10

Table 4.1: Global Hunger Index for Phased Out WFP Countries

Out of a ranking that runs from 1 to 119, these countries fall between the ranks of 3 and 76, and the lowest ranking for the majority of the countries is 58. Only four of the nineteen countries have such severe malnutrition problems that their Global Hunger Index score is above 15, the mean, and these four countries, Namibia, the Philippines, Botswana, and Togo score 17.5, 17.55, 18.57, and 21.10 respectively, making all but Togo not too far above the mean. The other thirteen countries tend well above the mean, ranging from a score of 1.87 (Chile) to a score of 12.36 (Thailand). Thus, these countries, all of which have been phased out relatively recently, all continue to have problems with malnutrition in their countries, although not such severe problems as the countries with which the WFP is still involved. School lunch programs are useful to these countries, suggesting that the decoupling thesis, an important theory within the normative emulation framework is incorrect in this case. This provides strong evidence against the normative emulation argument to explain how the WFP works as a diffuser.

Instead I turn my attention to the learning mechanism. In order to understand the WFP's role as a diffuser we must first understand the way in which the WFP phases out of a country. The WFP phases out a country's school lunch program only when a certain socio-economic standard has been reached, such that the most vulnerable populations are guaranteed access to "basic amenities such as health, education and food."⁴²⁰ To phase out the WFP asks for government commitment and community involvement and promises continued technical support. The WFP leaves a country with experience in managing the programs, infrastructure for the programs, an expectation for the program by the community and the promise of future help. Thus, diffusion

⁴²⁰ WFP, Global School Feeding Report, 2006, 22

occurs at least initially simply because the program already exists and is strongly supported. There is an institutional ‘stickiness’ to these programs,⁴²¹ partly because of the way the WFP phases out. This is the first step in the diffusion process that has occurred with WFP phased out countries.

Historical institutionalist arguments are useful in understanding the path dependent nature of school lunch programs in ex-WFP countries. Historical institutionalists argue that specific organizations may come and go, but emergent institutional forms will be isomorphic to existing ones because political actors extract causal designations of the world around them, and this informs their approaches to new problems.⁴²² In other words, institutions become ‘sticky’, and when policy-makers set out to design or redesign institutions they are constrained by that which they can conceive.

However, it is not enough that the program exists. National policy-makers must choose to continue the program by pledging the resources or gaining promises for the resources. This is the second step in the diffusion process. For this to occur learning must take place; a country must learn that the program is useful or successful in the country when the country is responsible for it. There is evidence that learning has taken place in the transition from WFP programs to country-run programs. All countries from which the WFP phased out their school lunch programs continued those school lunch programs, at least initially. Several of those countries did discontinue their programs after a few years, but switched to feeding children through conditional cash transfer programs. Every country that at one point had a WFP school lunch program, except

⁴²¹ Thelen, 1999

⁴²² Thelen, 1999

China, continues to feed children in some way, and China is currently piloting projects in several cities.⁴²³

Policymakers in the phased out countries determined that school lunch programs worked in their domestic contexts and choose to continue them. While school lunch programs may not accomplish the goals the World Food Programme set for them, the programs are obviously successful by whatever standards the country sets. Not all the phased out countries have continued school lunches; for instance, the three countries that only operate conditional cash transfer programs at this point (Mexico, Paraguay and Turkey) were at one point WFP school lunch program recipients. Those three countries have decided that school lunch programs do not work for their needs. Another thirteen of the WFP phased out programs are running school lunch programs and conditional cash transfer programs simultaneously, further demonstrating that the phased out countries are making rational choices about the types of programs that work for their domestic context.

At a simple level the learning mechanism for policy diffusion assumes that rational actors look at the available policy choices and choose those that are most successful.⁴²⁴ The learning mechanism depends on an assumption that policy-makers use their time, resources and rational decision-making processes to choose the best policy for their government.⁴²⁵ That some countries stop their school lunch programs proves that this kind of rational decision-making does occur. The assumption is that because some countries choose to stop their programs, the other countries choose to

⁴²³ Latner, 2008

⁴²⁴ Simmons and Elkins, 2004, 174; Weyland, 2005, 279; Simmons, Dobbin and Garret, 2006, 8

⁴²⁵ Weyland, 2005, 282 In addition to success, learning can happen through communication networks, as well as cultural reference groups (Simmons and Elkins, 2004, 175)

continue their programs. Thus, while diffusion occurs initially simply because the programs already exist with a high level of support, diffusion occurs in the long-term because the countries learned that the programs work.

However, the learning that theorists of diffusion usually mean is external learning, while I am arguing that the learning that took place was internal learning. External learning is the type of learning that occurs when a country looks at its neighbors and learns from its successes.⁴²⁶ Internal learning, what I point to in these cases, is learning that occurs from ones' own policy successes or failures. Thus, the learning mechanism of diffusion is helpful in understanding this case, but in a modified form. The external influence was the path dependent nature of the institution that the WFP created in each country. However, for diffusion to have successfully occurred, an internal process must also take place. In these countries, I argue that this internal process was a learning process, albeit modified from the learning process associated with diffusion.

Conclusion

The WFP operates as one of the most important diffusers of school lunch programs into the developing world. I argue that the WFP incorporated school lunch programs into its programming due to the work of George McGovern and B.R. Sen, who were committed to ending child hunger, and included school lunch programs in the original formulation of the WFP as well as structuring the rules of the organization such that school lunch programs would fit well within those guidelines. They used the frame

⁴²⁶ Shipan and Volden, 2008, 845

of development that was popular in the international community at the time to push for school lunch programs, in part by offering school lunches as a compromise between countries wanting a food aid organization to focus on emergency food aid and countries wanting a food aid organization to focus on social and economic development. Since inception the WFP has served as a primary diffuser of school lunch programs. The WFP's role as a diffusion agent is based in the strength of the programs they leave behind when the WFP phases out of a country, as well as the learning that subsequently takes place that school lunch programs are useful for that country. School lunch programs are continuing to spread around the world, not only through the WFP, but also as some developing countries choose to adopt the programs on their own, and as different types of organizations implement school lunch programs. The next two chapters turn to these developments.

Chapter Five: International Fragmentation I: India's Mid-Day Meals Program

In this chapter I begin to assess a new trend in the provision of school lunches to children. The majority of school lunch programs that were started between 1900 and the mid-1990s were organized either by the state in developed countries or the UN's World Food Programme (WFP). In recent years there has been a trend towards the state in developing countries, non-governmental organizations and even regional organizations organizing the programs instead. In addition, during this period moral concerns have become somewhat more dominant and social services, including school lunches, have begun to be privatized.

In this chapter I analyze the emergence of the Mid-Day Meals Program in India, a state organized program in a country considered lower-middle income by the World Bank. This program emerged as a surprise in the field of school feeding in 2001 and is now the largest state organized school feeding program in the world. My argument provides some insights into the emergence of this program. In this case policy entrepreneurs, who include human rights activists and the Indian Supreme Court, pushed for the creation of this program using a human rights frame.

India has long experience with food related provision schemes and particularly ones focusing on children. Various efforts to fight malnutrition have existed since the 1920s. In 1974 India proclaimed a National Policy on Children, which opened the path for a variety of national programs to be created. One of the most successful of these programs is the Integrated Child Development Service, which was started in 1975 and provides supplemental nutrition, immunizations, pre-school education and check-ups to

pre-school children, infants, pregnant women and nursing mothers.⁴²⁷ The program has reduced the number of severely malnourished young children - seeing declines from 15.35% of the population to 8% of the population.⁴²⁸ While this program has been very successful, program services stop at the age of 6, leaving school children unaccounted for.

Following the pattern we saw in the UK and US, efforts to reduce malnutrition in school children have been more piecemeal and slower in emerging. For instance, the state of Tamil Nadu has had a successful state-wide school lunch program since 1982, while the National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education has been on the books since 1995, but was ignored until recently. Thus, school children have been largely left out of malnutrition schemes that focused substantially on infants and mothers or worked only in certain areas.

This changed following an Indian Supreme Court decision on November 28, 2001. This landmark decision directed all state governments to introduce hot mid-day meals in any school that received government assistance. While there are certainly many implementation problems facing the new program, 120 million children are currently covered by the scheme, making it the largest school lunch program in the world. Not only is the Indian mid-day meals program the largest school lunch program in the world, it is one of the few that was prompted by an explicit concern with human rights. The Supreme Court decision occurred after a case was brought through public litigation by a human rights organization, the People's Union for Civil Liberties,

⁴²⁷ Government of India. Ministry of Women and Child Development. . "Child Development"

⁴²⁸ Government of India. Ministry of Women and Child Development. . "Child Development"

arguing for a right to food. The Supreme Court found in favor of this right and has been actively involved in overseeing the transition of programs that existed on paper into programs that exist in schools. The Indian Supreme Court and People's Union for Civil Liberties were instrumental in the Indian case in implementing the Mid-Day Meals Scheme.

In this chapter I focus first on the Tamil Nadu scheme and then turn to understanding the mid-day meal situation in the rest of the country. Mid-day meals, although included in national law since 1995, gained new traction as a social program following the 2001 Supreme Court right to food decision. I focus on this decision and the results of that decision. Throughout the chapter I focus on the role of policy entrepreneurs in moving mid-day meals forward. In addition, I emphasize the way in which the use of a human rights frame, a right to food frame, was instrumental in moving the country towards actually implementing mid-day meals. I find that policy entrepreneurs took advantage of a particular historical moment when the Indian state had achieved agricultural self-sufficiency in order to press their demand for food provision schemes using a human rights frame. Even as Indian agricultural moves away from being self sufficient, the human rights frame and the bureaucratic structure to support these programs are strong enough that these programs, and in particular the Mid-Day Meals program, will remain an established state social program.

Tamil Nadu

The state of Tamil Nadu first implemented a forerunner of the Mid-Day Meals Scheme as early as the 1920s and served as an example to the rest of India as they

looked to create a nation-wide program. The state of Tamil Nadu is located in the southeast corner of India, and is the 11th largest state in India. In 1923, while India was still under colonial rule, some schools in Madras City⁴²⁹ began experimenting with school lunches in primary schools. The Corporation of Madras introduced the schemes in an effort to alleviate malnutrition and to encourage school attendance.⁴³⁰ Following this, voluntary organizations began funding school lunches in other schools across Tamil Nadu. The Dravidian movement, a movement for human rights for lower castes, was founded in Tamil Nadu. This movement stresses education as a way to encourage human rights, and even then used a human rights frame to encourage child feeding. In 1956, as the Dravidian movement formally entered the Tamil Nadu political scene, they organized a ‘people’s movement’ for charity that focused on school improvement. That year, school lunches began operating in 8000 elementary schools, providing lunch for 200,000 children.⁴³¹ These lunches were still provided on a purely voluntary basis, but by the following year, 1957, the state government was contributing 6 paise⁴³² per child for the scheme with another 4 paise being raised by donation.

There is a story that is repeated in several of the primary sources about the beginning of governmental involvement in providing mid-day meals. The story is that the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, K. Kamaraj, was waiting outside of his car for a number of cows to pass on the road. He saw a young boy driving the cows and stopped the boy to ask him why he was not in school. Supposedly, the boy replied, “If I go to

⁴²⁹ This city, the capital city, is now called Chennai.

⁴³⁰ Government of India. Ministry of Human Resource Development. “Origin and Growth of School Lunch Programme in Tamil Nadu”

⁴³¹ Rajivan, 2001, 4

⁴³² A unit of a rupee

school, will you give me food to eat? I can eat only if I earn”. This encounter is supposed to have sparked Kamaraj’s interest in the school lunch program that had already been established by the people.⁴³³

Up until 1961 the meals largely consisted of rice and sambar, which is a vegetable stew composed with tamarind and pigeon peas and is one of the national dishes of Tamil Nadu,. The menu for the meals in the late 1950s is below:⁴³⁴

Monday and Friday: Cooked rice 12 ounces and Sambar eight ounces

Tuesday: Curds rice 16 ounces and Kootu two ounces

Wednesday: Tamarind rice 15 ounces and Sambar eight ounces

Thursday: Kaambam rice 12 ounces and Sambar eight ounces

In 1961,CARE offered food commodities for the program and these were quickly accepted and integrated into the menus. The commodities included milk powder, vegetable oil, corn meal and bulgur wheat.⁴³⁵ After the CARE commodities were introduced the meals were alternated so that one day was a CARE day and the next, a rice day.

At this point in time headmasters were responsible for preparing the meals, and children were often used in the preparation process. This tended to result in a significant loss of education time. In 1967 the system was modified so that the food was now created in Central Kitchens and then delivered to the schools, already prepared. However, problems with vehicles and bad roads meant that students did not

⁴³³ This story was repeated in several different texts, including: Right to Food Campaign “Mid-Day Meals: A Primer;” *Times of India*, May 21, 2003 “Where Welfare Works”; Pratap, 2003

⁴³⁴ Government of India. Ministry of Human Resource Development. “Origin and Growth of School Lunch Programme in Tamil Nadu”

⁴³⁵ Government of India. Ministry of Human Resource Development. “Origin and Growth of School Lunch Programme in Tamil Nadu”

always get the meal they had been promised. Thus, there were less feeding days under this new system.

However, beginning in 1967 support for the program began to increase, which corresponded with the Dravidian movement gaining political power with the election of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) party as the ruling party in the state. As the DMK party consolidated power, efforts were made through the 1980s to streamline the system and expand coverage as much as possible. This corresponded with the general social democratic political orientation of the party. Chief Minister at the time, MG Ramachandran, deserves much of the credit for creating the political goodwill necessary to get the program running in a more efficient manner. Today, Tamil Nadu has one of the most efficiently organized school lunch systems in India. Every primary school has three staff members who deal solely with the school meals program: a cook, a helper and an organizer who handles logistics and accounts. All of the children in the state are covered by the program, which in 1994, the last date for which I could find solid numbers, was 7.4 million children. In 2003 an independent survey conducted by the Centre for Equity Studies, New Delhi reported that “it was a joy to observe the mid-day meal in Tamil Nadu - a living example of what can be achieved when quality safeguards are in place.”⁴³⁶ The school feeding program in Tamil Nadu is associated with an increase in school enrollment in that region and also has enabled households in the region to increase their spending on items other than food.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁶ Dreze and Goyal, 2003. 8

⁴³⁷ Babu and Hallam, 1989

The Rest of India

While Tamil Nadu is the shining example of a state successfully providing school meals, other areas in India have not done so well. A survey completed in 1994 by the Education Planning Commission reported that thirteen states were administering school meals, covering 20.48 million children.⁴³⁸ This is out of an estimated 340 million children in India at that time.⁴³⁹ The majority of this coverage (37%) was in Tamil Nadu. However, the states of Kerala, Gujarat, West Bengal and Karnataka did have some coverage; each of these states covered approximately 1 - 3 million children. Interestingly, Kerala and Karnataka share borders with Tamil Nadu; perhaps the presence of a program there can be explained by diffusion effects. In addition, West Bengal and Kerala have long had a strong Communist party presence, which might also explain the presence of school meals in these states. I am uncertain why Gujarat supplied school meals prior to national level orders.

These other states provided food only through primary school, while Tamil Nadu provided food up through age 15. In all the states, the types and amounts of food varied. For instance, in the state of West Bengal only bread is served in the district of Calcutta, while cooked food is served in some other districts. Likewise, the implementing agency in each of these states varies greatly. In Karnataka the scheme is run by the Education Department, while in Tamil Nadu the scheme is run by the Social Welfare Department.

⁴³⁸ This survey was conducted as part of the planning process of the central government as they considered legislating full coverage. Government of India, Ministry of Law and Education "Mi-Day Meals Schemes in Operation"

⁴³⁹ This is my estimate from the 1991 estimate from the Population Division of the United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs.

In 1995 national legislation was passed for the National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education. In the mid-1990s, India achieved agricultural self-sufficiency, and began to have an excess of grain stocks; the fruits of the Green Revolution were being reaped. In addition, the government began to emphasize primary education as key to Indian development. The government was using an education frame to push for school feeding. These two conditions led to the adoption of this legislation, inspired by the Tamil Nadu experience. The national programme was “intended to give a boost to universalization of primary education, by increasing enrollment, retention and attendance and simultaneously impacting on nutrition of students in primary classes.”⁴⁴⁰ Under this program, the Central Government was to supply all government-aided primary schools with 100 grams of wheat or rice per student per day, free of cost. The cost of collecting and transporting the grain from the nearest Food Corporation of India godown, or warehouse, was to be paid by the state. The Central Government was willing to reimburse for transportation to rural areas at a rate of Rs.50 per quintal. The amount of food grains and reimbursement was to be determined by student enrollment and attendance and the local school districts were to implement the cooking and provision of the foods, although they were given the flexibility to do so with parent-teacher or non-governmental organizations. While the program was being implemented, the Central Government offered to provide “foodgrains at the rate of 3 kgs per student per month . . . distributed to all children in

⁴⁴⁰ Government of India. Department of Education School Education and Literacy. “Guidelines of national Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, launched in August 1995”. point 1

the classes I to V subject to a minimum attendance of 80 percent.”⁴⁴¹ The families were able to receive food in exchange for student attendance at school. However, attention towards this program was quickly eclipsed as major national elections were held in 1996, scrambling the political landscape of India.

Following the 1995 rule, school enrollment increased but this did not mean that school attendance increased. Although there was an 80% attendance requirement, this was not enforced, and often it was the parents who came to the school to pick up the food, while the children were working somewhere else.⁴⁴² In addition, the program was never implemented as planned. Most of the states did not have the resources to suddenly build kitchens, hire cooks and helpers, or even pay for the transportation of the food grains. Thus, most states and students took the 3 kgs and ignored the part about cooking meals. Interestingly, while Tamil Nadu continued to provide meals, as it always had, Karnataka actually stopped meal service provision and simply took the dry rations.⁴⁴³ Thus, in a state that had previously covered primary school children with hot noon meals, this coverage was dropped after 1995. Justification for this was based on the time it took teachers to help prepare the meals and that, under this new program, more attention could be given to teaching. After pressure from parents, an effort to reinstitute mid-day meals in seven districts of the state was begun in October 2000.⁴⁴⁴

Generally speaking, despite a Central government push for universal primary education (begun in 1997) and the instrumental use a school meal program could have

⁴⁴¹ Government of India. Department of Education School Education and Literacy. “Guidelines of national Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, launched in August 1995”. Point 12

⁴⁴² *The Times of India*. December 3, 2001. “Parents Lap Up Mid-Day Meals in Schools”

⁴⁴³ *The Times of India*, February 1, 2001, “Meal Schemes for School Children”

⁴⁴⁴ *The Times of India*, October 2, 2001, “Mid-Day Meal Scheme in 7 Districts from Oct 8”

in achieving that goal, little progress was made on mid-day meals nation-wide. The education frame did not work to create action throughout the country. Mid-day meals were used in the late 1990s as part of different party's platforms and manifestos,⁴⁴⁵ but rarely came to fruition on the ground. Some analysts indicated that one of the problems was precisely that the issue of poverty alleviation had become so politicized and that different political parties brought different poverty priorities into office. Thus, different schemes either were abandoned or pushed down in priority with each new government.⁴⁴⁶

The Supreme Court Order

The issue of mid-day meals came to a head in 2001, when a public interest litigation case, based on the right to food, was brought to the Supreme Court, asking that the State enforce its various food provision schemes. This litigation case explicitly used a human rights frame to understand hunger and the Supreme Court gladly used the same human rights frame in making its decision. Two institutions are important in understanding the 2001 Supreme Court order insisting on the provision of mid-day meals. The first is the Indian constitution and the second is the Indian Supreme Court.

The Indian Constitution, written between 1947 and 1949, can be considered a transformative constitution, in a manner similar to the S. African constitution. It was a constitution written as much to govern the country as to envision "the social and economic transformation India would undergo."⁴⁴⁷ Human rights are explicitly

⁴⁴⁵ *The Hindu*, February 4, 1998. "TMC manifesto aims at 'cooperative federalism'"

⁴⁴⁶ *The Hindu*, February 21, 1997. "Editorial: Poverty alleviation: continuity a casualty"

⁴⁴⁷ Kothari, 2004, Section 2.2

included in the Indian constitution, in Part III and Part IV. Part III contains the ‘Fundamental Rights’ or what we might think of as civil and political rights: the right to equality, the right to free speech and expression, the right to freedom of movement and the right to freedom of religion. This section on ‘Fundamental Rights’ also includes the right to life. Part IV covers social and economic rights, such as the right to education, health, housing and livelihood, under the Directive Principles of State Policy.⁴⁴⁸ The ‘Fundamental Rights’ are justiciable but the Directive Principles are not; this is clearly stated in Art 37 of the Constitution, which says:

The provisions contained in this Part shall not be enforceable by any court, but the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws.⁴⁴⁹

The initial declaration of the ‘Fundamental Rights’ by the Congress party had included social rights. Several members of the party felt strongly that these rights, and a strong social program, should be justiciable. However, arguments that the economy was simply not yet capable of providing these rights won the day. This was worrisome to those party members who therefore insisted on including the word strive in the next clause, Article 38, which promotes the state’s role in seeking the welfare of the people. Article 38 reads: “The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life.”⁴⁵⁰ One of the Congress Party members stated that the word strive was necessary in that Article

⁴⁴⁸ Government of India. Ministry of Law and Justice. “Constitution of India”.

⁴⁴⁹ Government of India. Ministry of Law and Justice. “Constitution of India”.

⁴⁵⁰ Government of India. Ministry of Law and Justice. “Constitution of India”. Article 38.

because he did not want the government to use the excuse that they did not have the money to follow the directions of the Constitution. Thus, Article 38 imposes an obligation on the government to strive to realize these social rights even when the resources are not adequate.⁴⁵¹ This obligation was to prove crucial in a number of Supreme Court cases, particularly the right to food case.

The second important institution for the Mid-day Meals Program is the Indian Supreme Court. The Indian Supreme Court was established by the Constitution as the highest court of the land, which usually takes appeals from the provincial High Courts or cases of human rights violations. Following the Emergency, the Supreme Court became the last resort of the oppressed and bewildered.⁴⁵² The Emergency was declared on June 25, 1971, following Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's conviction by the Allahabad High Court on issues of corruption. Strikes and protests swept across the country and President Ahmed declared a State of Emergency on Gandhi's advice. During the Emergency democracy was essentially entirely suppressed. The Supreme Court began, at that time, to become an activist court.⁴⁵³

Since that time, the Indian Supreme Court has been unusual in its willingness to hear cases and act in a broad capacity to address "aspects of social rights in a way that challenges many received notions of the judicial role."⁴⁵⁴ Starting with cases in the late 1970s the Supreme Court began to recognize a number of social rights as encompassed by the right to life. Thus, Court decisions began to fold the Directive Principles of State Policy into the 'Fundamental Rights'. These moves by the court in the last twenty years

⁴⁵¹ Kothari, 2004, Section 2.2

⁴⁵² Kothari, 2004, Section 3.1 (Baxi, 1987)

⁴⁵³ Kothari, 2004, Section 3.1

⁴⁵⁴ Kothari, 2004, Section 1

are radical for the promotion and enforcement of human rights, and activists were not dumb to the Court's potential.

A number of people's organizations, such as the People's Union for Civil Rights, the Socio-Legal Information Centre and Akal Sangrash Samiti, and intellectuals such as Jean Dreze, an influential Indian economist, had been working on the issue of a right to food for several years. In the late 1990s there was increasing agitation around food issues, as hunger continued despite legislated food schemes and national agricultural self-sufficiency. These various organizations began working more closely together to press for the right to food. There was a core group that focused on the issue of a right to food, but there was also a lot of attention placed on developing local networks to "carry out research, build support and put pressure on government agencies."⁴⁵⁵ The People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) took a leadership role in this campaign and chose to file a petition for a public interest litigation case with the Supreme Court. For a successful petition, the PUCL depended on these local networks to gather and provide professionally acceptable data. In order to collect this data the local organizations not only did secondary material research, but also gathered first hand reports from affected people. This data collection technique worked as a mobilization tool for the right to food, helping create the momentum for the national right to food campaign.⁴⁵⁶ This grass-roots support made the public interest litigation a 'live issue' heading into the Supreme Court.

The People's Union for Civil Liberties is an Indian human rights organization, founded in 1976, to work in a specifically non-partisan manner for Civil Liberties and

⁴⁵⁵ Choudhury, 2002, 21

⁴⁵⁶ Choudhury, 2002, 21

Human Rights.⁴⁵⁷ It was founded out of the protests that occurred during the National Emergency. PUCL took as its mission to “protect the rights of the people that are always under attack, irrespective of the type of government in power.”⁴⁵⁸ PUCL works on human rights issues such as children’s rights, academic freedom, the death penalty, dalits, gender equality, religious intolerance, and economic rights.⁴⁵⁹ PUCL activists work primarily to mobilize public opinion to support human rights, using the courts and the press for their work. They also investigate incidents of human rights violations and publish those findings in the press or make them public by other means.⁴⁶⁰ PUCL has been involved in a number of different human rights campaigns since its founding. In 2000 it began to campaign for the right to food.

In April 2001, PUCL filed a petition with the Supreme Court on the right to food. They had taken on the issue after there were widespread starvation deaths in the state of Rajasthan during the droughts of the late 1990s and early 2000s, despite excess grain being stored in the Food Corporation of India’s godowns. They petitioned the Court to enforce the food schemes already in place, such as the Mid-Day Meals Scheme from 1995, and to enforce the Famine Code, which permits for the release of grains in

⁴⁵⁷ Peoples Union for Civil Liberties, Homepage, www.pucl.org

⁴⁵⁸ Raj, Pushkar. India People’s Union for Civil Liberties, www.pucl.org/history2.htm

⁴⁵⁹ People’s Union for Civil Liberties Homepage, www.pucl.org

⁴⁶⁰ Interestingly, PUCL does not accept money from any funding agency, Indian or foreign; they meet all expenses through their members and other activists.

times of famine.⁴⁶¹ This petition triggered a public interest litigation case on the right to food.⁴⁶²

The petition by the PUCL was grounded in the right to food, derived from the right to life. The petition dealt only with the drought and famine situation in the state of Rajasthan, which is a primarily agricultural region, “dependent on the caprices of the Monsoon.”⁴⁶³ Rajasthan had experienced drought for the previous two years and both extreme hunger and starvation deaths were reported. The Chief Minister of Rajasthan had pleaded with the Central government for two years to supply free wheat from the government surplus for the Rajasthan people.⁴⁶⁴ The petition argued that these deaths and the refusal to disburse excess grain was a violation of the Indian government’s “obligation to protect a citizen’s right to life enjoined on them by the Indian Constitution,” particularly when “50 million tonnes of grain (were) lying idle in public godowns.”⁴⁶⁵

The petition raised the following questions to the court:

- “Does the right to life mean that people who are starving and who are too poor to buy food grains ought to be given food grains free of cost by the State from the surplus stock lying with the state, particularly when it is reported that a large part of it is lying unused and rotting?”
- Does not the right to life under Article 21 of the Constitution of India include the right to food?

⁴⁶¹ *People’s Union for Civil Liberties v. Union of India and Ors, in Supreme Court of India, Civil Original Jurisdiction, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 196 of 2001*. The Famine Code had been put in place by the British, and ensured that “anyone needing food in a famine area had only to turn up at a work site . . . to get work. At the end of the day she would get half her wages in grain” (Gonsalves, 2002). The Famine Code was entirely ignored during the famines of the late 1990s.

⁴⁶² A public interest litigation case is a court case fought on behalf of a whole section of the public. The petitioner does not have to belong to the group he/she is petitioning for. It is often used in India for human rights issues.

⁴⁶³ People’s Union for Civil Liberties “Rajasthan PUCL Writ in Supreme Court on Famine Deaths” point 20

⁴⁶⁴ Gonsalves, 2002; People’s Union for Civil Liberties “Rajasthan PUCL Writ in Supreme Court on Famine Deaths”, point 46

⁴⁶⁵ People’s Union for Civil Liberties. Rajasthan PUCL Writ in Supreme Court on Famine Deaths

- Does not the right to food, which has been upheld by the Hon'ble Court, imply that the state has a duty to provide food especially in situations of drought, to people who are drought affected and are not in a position to purchase food?⁴⁶⁶

The petition goes on to flesh out these arguments. In regards to the rights mentioned above, it is argued, in point 25, that the primary duty of the Government, in a welfare state, is to secure the welfare of the people, and that Article 21 of the Indian constitution imposes the obligation of preserving life on the state. The petition cites the case of *Paschim Bangal Khet Mazdoor Samity v State of W. Bengal (1996)*⁴⁶⁷ to argue that the state cannot avoid this constitutional obligation due to financial constraint.

Furthermore, the petition argues, in point 26, that the right to life is

secured only when a man is assured of all facilities to develop himself and is freed from those restrictions that inhibit his growth. All human rights are designed to achieve this object. The Right to Life guaranteed in any civilized society implies the right to food, water, shelter, education, medical care and a decent environment. These are basic human rights known to any civilized society. The civil, political, social and cultural rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Conventions or under the Constitution of India cannot be exercised without these basic human rights”

The petition also cites another Supreme Court case, *Francis Coralie v Union Territory of Delhi (1981)*, in which the Court decided “that the right to life includes the right to live with human dignity and all that goes along with it, namely the bare necessities of life such as adequate nutrition, clothing and shelter over the head.”⁴⁶⁸ Thus, the petition clearly grounds itself in Indian case law as well as the relevant international treaties about the rights to life and food.

⁴⁶⁶ People’s Union for Civil Liberties. Rajasthan PUCL Writ in Supreme Court on Famine Deaths, pg. 1

⁴⁶⁷ In this case, the Supreme Court held providing adequate medical treatment, regardless of cost, is one of the obligations of the State in a welfare state.

⁴⁶⁸ People’s Union for Civil Liberties. Rajasthan PUCL Writ in Supreme Court on Famine Deaths, pt 26

The petition finished by asking the Supreme Court to order enforcement of the Famine Code, to release food grains free of charge, to provide relief to all persons unable to work and to “make any other relief or order that the court thinks necessary and appropriate.”⁴⁶⁹ The petition was filed in April and the Court responded initially on July 23, 2001 and recognized the right to food as part of the right to life, under the Constitution. The court said:

In case of famine there may be shortage of food, but here the situation is that amongst plenty there is scarcity. Plenty of food is available, but distribution of the same amongst the very poor and the destitute is scarce leading to malnourishment, starvation and other related problems.⁴⁷⁰

Thus, not only did the Supreme Court recognize the right to food as part of the right to life, but also included distribution and access to food as part of the right.

However, this decision was not the final word on the case. Several more hearings were held and several interim orders were passed. The first, on November 28, 2001, was an interim order in which the court ordered State governments to implement everything the PUCL petition asked for and, in addition, asked that State governments “should progressively implement the mid-day meal scheme in schools.”⁴⁷¹ This was a very interesting and monumental decision, as the PUCL petition had not asked for the implementation of the Mid-Day Meals Programme. In this case the Supreme Court went above and beyond what had been asked in the petition and used their authority to force the state governments to implement the already existing Mid-Day Meals Programme.

⁴⁶⁹ People’s Union for Civil Liberties. Rajasthan PUCL Writ in Supreme Court on Famine Deaths, pg 53, Prayer

⁴⁷⁰ Kothari, 2004, Section 4.2

⁴⁷¹ *People’s Union for Civil Liberties v Union of India and Ors In the Supreme Court of India, Civil Original Jurisdiction, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 196, 2001.*

The 2001 order for the Mid-Day Meal scheme directed

State Governments/ Union Territories to implement the Mid-Day Meal Scheme by providing every child in every Government and Government assisted Primary Schools with a prepared mid day meal with a minimum content of 300 calories and 8-12 grams of protein each day of school for a minimum of 200 days. Those Governments providing dry rations instead of cooked meals must within three months start providing cooked meals in all Govt. and Govt. aided Primary Schools in all half the Districts of the State (in order of poverty) and must within a further period of three months extend the provision of cooked meals to the remaining parts of the State.⁴⁷²

Thus, the Mid-Day Meal scheme, as well as the other food provision schemes, was declared as an entitlement, or right, of the poor. In addition, the Court took the step of directing implementation of all these schemes within very strict time frames in order to ensure accountability. In this case, not only did the Supreme Court even further expand the right to life, but it also developed enforcement mechanisms at the micro-level.

In the hearings surrounding the case, several government officials attempted to argue that there simply were not the resources to implement and enforce these food schemes. The Court replied, although not in its official, written decision, “Cut the flab somewhere else.”⁴⁷³ Previous court decisions had held that financial incapacity was not an excuse for denying fundamental rights,⁴⁷⁴ and this case was to be no different. This echoed the founder’s direction in the Constitution that financial constraint was not to be a reason to deny rights.

The PUCL petition and the Supreme Court decision were clearly grounded in a human rights frame. PUCL asked for a ruling on a right to food and they received that

⁴⁷² Supreme Court Order of November 28, 2001, Item No. 6 Court No. 2 Section Pil A/N Matter, Supreme Court of India, Record Of Proceedings, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 196, of 2001.

⁴⁷³ *The Times of India*, December 7, 2001, Give Cooked Meals to Students, Orders SC; Gonsalves, 2002.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ratman Municipality v Viridichand* (1980).

ruling, while the country received a massive expansion of social programs that dealt explicitly with hunger. While many of these programs had been on the books, they were often unenforced. In this case, a human rights frame, created at an international level over many years by human rights activists, was particularly resonant in the context of the Indian Supreme Court's progressive stance on human rights and the Indian constitution. The education frame, advanced earlier by the government, was unsuccessful in creating a program with real results, while the human rights frame worked to create a concrete program.

Since The Ruling

The Supreme Court ruling has had several effects. The first has been the galvanization of the national right to food campaign. This campaign saw a large increase in the number of people and groups interested in the campaign. However, implementation of the mid-day meals program was less immediate. Implementation straggled on up until 2004, which was another important year for efforts to increase the numbers of children who were actually being served by the Mid-day Meal Scheme.

The Supreme Court decision on enforcing the large number of already-existing food schemes galvanized activists who were concerned with the issue. After the decision, the right to food campaign took off, with hundreds of groups joining the campaign. Colin Gonsalves, one of the PUCL lawyers, called the case, "one of the most successful cases we have done," speaking directly about the huge take-off in the campaign.⁴⁷⁵ Following the Supreme Court decision, the right to food campaign

⁴⁷⁵ ESCR-Net. Caselaw: "People's Union for Civil Liberties, v. Union of India and Ors"

became organized as a decentralized and informal network of organizations and individuals working on right to food issues. The campaign does have a small secretariat, the work of which is largely done by volunteers. Most of the major players in the Indian right to food world are involved with the Secretariat. The campaign focuses its efforts on organizing public hearings, rallies, dharnas, padyatras, conventions, action-oriented research, media advocacy, and lobbying of Members of Parliament.⁴⁷⁶ In addition, the campaign has held annual national conventions on right to food issues since 2004. The campaign has focused a lot of its attention on the issue of mid-day meals. On April 9, 2002, the campaign sponsored a national day of action on mid-day meals.

Despite the Supreme Court's orders and the growing campaign for the right to food, progress on the implementation of mid-day meal programs has been uneven. While some states embraced the program, others delayed implementation. For instance, Rajasthan embraced the mid-day meal program, despite continued problems with funds from the Central government.⁴⁷⁷ This was likely due to the attention hunger issues were already receiving in the state, both from the government and the activists. One of the biggest problems that faced Rajasthan was that supplies for the meals were provided based on the previous years enrollment figures, but because the meals were being provided, enrollment jumped radically. In a state survey of 63 schools, enrollment increased 23 percent in total, and 36 percent for girls.⁴⁷⁸ While perhaps not all of this is

⁴⁷⁶ Right to Food Campaign. <http://www.righttofoodindia.org/campaign/campaign.html>

⁴⁷⁷ *The Hindu*, November 13, 2002. "Mid-Day Meals in Rajasthan"

⁴⁷⁸ *The Hindu*, November 13, 2002. "Mid-Day Meals in Rajasthan"

due to the provision of meals, some of it likely is.⁴⁷⁹ On the other hand, in July 2003, the Leader of the Opposition alleged that the Municipal Corporation of Delhi had failed to provide the meals, in violation of the Supreme Court order.⁴⁸⁰ This accusation was found to be true; when the Municipal commissioners looked into the issue they found that mid-day meals were being provided in less than 400 of the Municipal Corporation's 1,900 primary schools.⁴⁸¹

A survey was sponsored by the Centre for Equity Studies, New Delhi in early 2003 to assess the state of mid-day meals. The results of the survey were picked up and discussed in all the major Indian news outlets, adding to a general conversation about the utility of the meals program.⁴⁸² The survey was able to provide a general assessment of which states were providing mid-day meals, and which were not. This is reflected in the chart below. In addition, the survey examined 3 states in detail. This survey took place over four months, between January and April 2003 and examined 27 villages each in the 3 states (Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Karnataka).

⁴⁷⁹ The same year that mid-day meals began to be provided, the State government had started a universal education drive, so separating the effects of the meals and the education drive on enrollment is difficult.

⁴⁸⁰ *The Hindu*, July 5, 2003. "MCD failed to supply mid-day meals"

⁴⁸¹ *The Hindu*, July 17, 2003. "Officials taken to task over mid-day meal"

⁴⁸² Pratap, 2003; Dreze and Goyal 2003.

Full Implementation	Partial Implementation	Token Implementation	No Implementation	Recent Data Not Available
Rajasthan	Maharashtra	West Bengal	Uttar Pradesh	Goa
Gujarat	Orissa	Punjab	Bihar	Pondicherry
Madhya Pradesh	Uttarakhand		Jharkhand	Assam
Chhattisgarh			Haryana	Jammu and Kashmir
Andra Pradesh				Himachal Pradesh
Karnataka				Arunachal Pradesh
Kerala				Mizoram
Tamil Nadu				Manipur
Sikkim				Nagaland
Tripura				

*Figure 5.1: Mid-Day Meal Implementation Across India as of 2003*⁴⁸³

The survey found that mid-day meals were being served in almost all the states but faulted the quality of the food in some of the states. For instance, the survey mentions that “Karnataka provides the most convincing menu: aside from rice with sambar, schoolchildren there often enjoy other items such as vegetables, pongal (rice boiled with whole sugar), lemon rice and even sweets like kshira and sajjitha.”⁴⁸⁴ This is contrasted with the ghoogri, a gruel of boiled wheat and whole sugar, served in Rajasthan and the rice with dal or vegetables served in Chhattisgarh.⁴⁸⁵ This reflects the amounts of money each state spent on its programs: Rajasthan spent only 50 paise per child per day, while Karnataka spent 1 raj per child per day. The ghoogri that was served in Rajasthan had also been criticized by a 2002 Hindu piece, alleging that it was

⁴⁸³ Dreze and Goyal, 2003, 3

⁴⁸⁴ Dreze and Goyal, 2003, 3

⁴⁸⁵ Ghoogri is gruel made of boiled wheat mixed with gur; oil and peanuts are occasionally added.

of poor quality wheat. Whether or not the wheat was poor quality, students in Rajasthan did complain of stomach upset more often than students in other states. This could be attributable to the long period of time needed to cook ghoogri, as ghoogri is hard to digest when under-cooked.⁴⁸⁶

The survey did find evidence indicating that the introduction of meals had increased enrollment, particularly among girls. The survey was able to compare enrollment figures from the previous year, provided by the Education Department, with the 2003 school year. They noted jumps from 17% to 29% enrollment and a fairly steady, 18%, increase in female enrollment. In addition, the survey found evidence that the mid-day meals did alleviate classroom hunger and helped socialize children into sharing, particularly with children of another caste.⁴⁸⁷ Finally, the survey spoke positively about the effects of the mid-day meal program on women, as the programs created employment opportunities for women; in fact, there are some states that include a hiring preference for women in their program guidelines.

The survey also dealt with the issue of the unhygienic quality of the food. Critics pointed to stories of children feeling sick after eating the food. This had been a concern since Tamil Nadu implemented its program. In Tamil Nadu it was discovered that political opponents of the politician that first implemented the program were dropping dead lizards into the vats of food to hijack the supposedly populist, vote-getting scheme.⁴⁸⁸ In the case of the Centre for Equity Studies survey, it was found that, although there had been some cases of sickness, those cases had only occurred in

⁴⁸⁶ Dreze and Goyal, 2003, 8

⁴⁸⁷ This last issue seems debatable and I will address it in a section below.

⁴⁸⁸ Pratap, 2003, www.outlookindia.com

the early years of the program and were blamed on the lack of quality safeguards that now exist.⁴⁸⁹

Due to the lack of implementation the Supreme Court stayed involved in the right to food case. In 2002 the Court appointed two Court Commissioners, Dr N.C. Saxena and S.R. Sankaran, to monitor the case. In an interim order of May 2, 2003, the Supreme Court responded to Colin Gonsavles, lawyer for the PUCL, who had brought the non-compliance of many states to the Court's attention. In particular, the states of Bihar, Jharkhand and Uttar Pradesh were singled out as being non-compliant on the issue of mid-day meals. Each state was required to submit to the court its reasons for noncompliance. The lawyers for Uttar Pradesh and Jharkhand did not even bother submitting a reply of any sort, while the lawyer for Bihar submitted an affidavit that the state was going to start the scheme soon. The Court found all these responses unsatisfactory and remarked about the Bihar submission: "The affidavit could not be more vague than what it is."⁴⁹⁰ These states, and the others that had not yet implemented a program, such as West Bengal and Maharashtra, were ordered to "make a meaningful beginning of the cooked Mid Day Meal Scheme in at least 25% of the District, which may be most poor."⁴⁹¹

By January 2004 this had not yet been accomplished. An education professor, interviewed by journalists from *India Together*, opined that the lack of program implementation was because politicians and bureaucrats see that "there are very few

⁴⁸⁹ Dreze and Goyal, 2003, 10, Parikh and Yasmeen, 2004.

⁴⁹⁰ Supreme Court of India. Interim Order of May 2, 2003. Case of PUCL vs UoI and Ors.

⁴⁹¹ Supreme Court of India. Interim Order of May 2, 2003. Case of PUCL vs UoI and Ors.

rent-seeking opportunities in such low budget schemes.”⁴⁹² Indeed, political will was clearly responsible for either implementation or non-implementation, as evidenced by the way in which Rajasthan, a relatively poor state, embraced the scheme. These authors also offer that “India’s new tribe of self-perpetuating politicians is subliminally aware that an educated population is certain to demand good governance and accountability from them.”⁴⁹³ I am less convinced by this claim, but do find plausible the idea that a lack of political, bureaucratic and societal will can be blamed for the lack of program implementation.

2004: A New Program

In 2004, the possibilities for achieving mid-day meals improved drastically. Two things happened: another Supreme Court order and a newly elected Federal coalition government, the Progressive Democratic Alliance, composed of the Congress party and leftist parties from Kerala and West Bengal. In April 2004, following reports by the Court Commissioners, the Court issued yet another order - this time ordering the state governments to implement the program by September. In addition, the new government made social programs a priority. The support of the leftist parties was crucial for the government being able to be formed, and due to this support there was more potential for action on social services. The President’s address to Parliament in July included a promise to universalize and implement the mid-day meals program, and by October 2004 a revised National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education was passed. This Programme was designed to help universalize the mid-day

⁴⁹² Parikh and Yasmeen. 2004, www.indiatogether.com

⁴⁹³ Parikh and Yasmeen, 2004, www.indiatogether.com

meal scheme and improve the quality of the food. The objectives were similar to the 1995 guidelines, to boost the universalization of primary education and to provide nutritional support to those students in the primary stage,⁴⁹⁴ but the document itself was very different, running close to twenty pages, while the previous document was four pages. The new guidelines promise greater monies from the central government and include detailed monitoring programs. Importantly, the new guidelines also require mid-day meals to be continued during the summer in drought-affected areas.⁴⁹⁵ This would prevent the kinds of deaths that occurred in Rajasthan in 1999/2000.

There were other changes as well. The revised guidelines promised the same amount of grain per child, but promised reimbursement for the actual cost of grain transportation and assistance in meeting the cooking cost at a rate of 1 R per child, per school day.⁴⁹⁶ Overall responsibility for the programs remained at the level of the state, such as providing infrastructure (kitchens and cooking and storage containers), making the logistic and administrative arrangements and all other financial costs not provided by the Central government.⁴⁹⁷ The revised guidelines are much more detailed than the 1995 guidelines, including the designation of committees to oversee the program at the national, state, district and bloc levels, and a number of admonitions that the meals should be of good quality, that they be safely prepared, that the meals are to be varied from day to day, that the community should get involved, that the meals should be used

⁴⁹⁴ Government of India. Department of School Education and Literacy. Guidelines of revised national Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, 2004. pt. 3.1

⁴⁹⁵ Government of India. Department of School Education and Literacy. Guidelines of revised national Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, 2004. pt. 3.4.5

⁴⁹⁶ Government of India. Department of School Education and Literacy. Guidelines of revised national Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, 2004. pt.3.4

⁴⁹⁷ Government of India. Department of School Education and Literacy. Guidelines of revised national Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, 2004. pt. 3.3

for socialization skills, and that the meals be monitored by various different agencies, all of which are spelled out in great detail.

The continued pressure from the Court and the greater financial support from the Central government seems to have had the desired effect on the laggard states, such that some of those states actually implemented the program, while others at least passed orders about it, even if they did not yet implement it.⁴⁹⁸ Thus, late 2004 and 2005 was marked by states seeming to implement the program.

NGO Involvement

During this period there was also a marked increase in the number of domestic NGOs that partnered with the state to provide the meals. This had been encouraged under the revised guidelines. Specifically, Point 3.5.4 discusses Management at the local level and states:

At the local level, State governments will be expected to assign responsibility for implementation and supervision of the programme to an appropriate body e.g. Gram Panchayat, Village Education Committee, Parent Teacher Association or School Management-cum-Development Committee. Responsibility for cooking would as far as possible be assigned to local women's self-help groups (SHG), Youth Clubs or good NGOs where available.⁴⁹⁹

The Point goes on to discuss the appropriate use of centralized kitchens in urban areas and states:

⁴⁹⁸ Zaidi, 2005,

⁴⁹⁹ Government of India. Department of School Education and Literacy. Guidelines of revised national Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, 2004. pt. 3.5.4

Examples of this pattern are Naandi Foundation Hyderabad-Secunderabad and ISKCON in Bangalore, each of which operates a kitchen for a large cluster of schools.⁵⁰⁰

Thus, the National guidelines not only clearly devolve responsibility for the actual running of the program to non-state bodies, but also point to NGOs as being particularly good models to follow. This represents the codification of a trend that had begun in the early 2000s, as various NGOs offered to provide the mid-day meals program as a charity measure.

The rise in NGO involvement with Mid-day Meals also likely reflects a pragmatic stance on the part of the national government that was seeing its stores of excess foods diminish as the agricultural gains made from the Green Revolution began to stagnate in the early 2000s. A combination of rapid population growth, fragmentation of land holdings, an increase in imports under the new rules of the WTO and a switch to export crops all contributed to the stagnation of agricultural production.⁵⁰¹ As the state acquired less excess food, there was less ability to deliver excess food to schoolchildren. This made NGOs more appealing as providers of school lunches.

The revised Guidelines even include “Detailed Guidelines for associating NGOs in Mid-Day Meal Programme”. These include the required caloric content of the meals, a non-discrimination requirement, a liability statement absolving the Central government of liability and accounting requirements. The non-discrimination requirement is particularly interesting due to the important role that caste discrimination

⁵⁰⁰ Government of India. Department of School Education and Literacy. Guidelines of revised national Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, 2004. pt. 3.5.4

⁵⁰¹ Infochange India “Agriculture and Food Security: Background and Perspective” 2008

plays in Indian society. One of the ‘socializing’ aspects of the meals was thought to be that they would bring together children of different castes and reduce discrimination in the future. However, the meals programs were generally dogged by claims of caste discrimination⁵⁰² because children from different castes refused to eat together. Thus, it is interesting to see the Central government mandating to NGOs something that it had not been able to do itself.

Although several NGOs had started to provide meals as early as 2001, after the Revised Guidelines were released NGO involvement increased. In fact, the heads of Municipal Corporations began to urge NGOs to come to their district and supply the food for them! The mayor of one of these Municipal Corporations argued that cooking food on the school premises created a fire risk, so voluntary organizations should come forward as a safety measure.⁵⁰³

Voluntary organizations, while not agreeing with that line of reasoning, tend to argue that they are simply better at providing the meals. For instance, the Chairman of the Lok Shikshana Trust argued that NGOs view the provision of meals as a social service while for the government it is viewed as additional work, suggesting that government employees would do such additional work less well.⁵⁰⁴ The head of another NGO, Akshaya Patra, sees the NGO role as one of putting pressure on the government to improve service provision. In an interview he stated: “When people see that a private NGO can do so much for children, those who create influence in society,

⁵⁰² *The Hindu*, “Hero by Name and Deed”, January 21, 2001; Frontline, “Untouchable Lunch?” August 1, 2003

⁵⁰³ *The Hindu*, “NGOs aid Sought for Mid-Day Meal Scheme”, July 31, 2004

⁵⁰⁴ *The Hindu*, “Entrust Meal Scheme to Mutts and NGOs, Government Told”, November 10, 2005

go to leaders and ask them why they are not doing it.”⁵⁰⁵ Finally, opinion writers in some of the local papers expressed the more general opinion that “governmental involvement is the kiss of death” and urged NGOs to run all mid-day meal programs.⁵⁰⁶

Thus, as the mid-day meal scheme continues to be more fully implemented, a number of NGOs have become the primary suppliers of the meals and services, although they are usually funded in some measure by the government. One of the largest of these is the Akshaya Patra Foundation, run by the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON).⁵⁰⁷ ISKCON started Akshaya Patra in 2000 and served 1500 students; in 2007, Akshaya Patra served 800,000 children daily. The organization receives 50% of its funding from the government and donations make up the rest of the funding.⁵⁰⁸ The program has grown exponentially and is considered one of the most successful NGO-run school lunch programs in the world, as well as being the largest NGO-run program. The organization has streamlined technology in order to prepare large amounts of food by working out of 11 centralized kitchens. The meals are cooked daily and then distributed to the schools; this cuts down on the amount of work and money that has to come out of the school.

Akshaya Patra means ‘inexhaustible vessel’ in Sanskrit and one of the tenets of the program is that children can eat as much as they want, instead of being given only a set amount of food. The idea of this kind of program originated as far back as 1974 when the founder of ISKCON, Shрила Prabhupada, declared that no one within ten miles

⁵⁰⁵ *The Hindu*, “For that one Hot Meal”, June 23, 2004

⁵⁰⁶ *The Indian Express*, “Some Food for Thought”, October 9, 2005

⁵⁰⁷ This is the Hare Krishna movement

⁵⁰⁸ Akshaya Patra Financial Information, http://www.akshayapatra.org/financial_information.html

of an ISKCON temple should go hungry.⁵⁰⁹ Interestingly, ISKCON, while based in traditional Krishna consciousness, which originated in India, was started in New York City by the son of an important Indian Krishna theologian. Thus, there are domestic and international roots for this NGO. In addition, while news reports from India consistently identify ISKCON and Akshaya Patra with one another, on each organization's website there is no mention of the other.

When Akshaya Patra was founded, school districts and Municipal Corporations clamored for Akshaya Patra to take over their mid-day meals program. The program has been praised as one of the best public-private partnerships in Indian history,⁵¹⁰ one of the most successful NGO school lunch programs in the world, and is even being included in the Harvard Business School's curriculum as a case study for good management.⁵¹¹ However, local ardor for Akshaya Patra, while still quite high, began to dim somewhat in 2004. The concerns are not with the quality or amount of food, both of which are generally deemed to be quite high, but with staffing. As Akshaya Patra solidified its hold on the Mid-day Meals Program, concerns mounted that those already employed in the local mid-day meals program would become unemployed, especially women, youth and people from lower castes.⁵¹² There were also some complaints that a US-based organization would be given such a role in India.⁵¹³ In addition, charges were leveled against the organization in the Legislative Assembly that ISKCON was using images of starving Indian children in order to collect donations, and

⁵⁰⁹ *The Hindu*, "A meal from Lord Krishna", November 21, 2002

⁵¹⁰ *The Hindu*, "BMP launches Mid-day Meal Scheme", June 29, 2002

⁵¹¹ *Hindustan Times*, "Mid-day Meal on Harvard Students' Plate", September 6, 2007

⁵¹² *The Hindu*, "Move to Bring in ISKCON for Meal Scheme Opposed", November 5, 2004; *The Hindu*, "Midday Meal Scheme Workers Stage Protest", May 15, 2007

⁵¹³ *The Hindu*, "Move to Bring in ISKCON for Meal Scheme Opposed", November 5, 2004

that this money was going to ISKCON to support religious activities instead of the feeding program.⁵¹⁴ Despite these concerns and allegations, Akshaya Patra continues to become the major non-governmental organization supplying mid-day meals, and both central and municipal governments alike continue to request its services. The organization plans to serve 1 million meals a day by 2010.⁵¹⁵

Analysis

India created the world's largest school lunch program in 2001 with a Supreme Court ruling that declared a right to food and listed specific programs that had to be implemented in order for that right be supported. This development was surprising based on India's pattern of social services; while India has long had a number of progressive social programs for younger children, children above the age of six had largely been left out of these schemes. I argue that this program emerged due to the efforts of policy entrepreneurs, such as activists and the Supreme Court, who used a human rights frame to press for the meaningful implementation of the Mid-Day Meals Programme.

Below, I demonstrate how my general theoretical framework explains the development of the Mid-Day Meals program using the general theoretical graphic from the Introduction. Against a backdrop of agricultural self-sufficiency that occurred in the mid-1990s, right to food activists used a frame of human rights to pressure the Supreme Court, which used this same human rights frame to order the creation of the Mid-Day Meals program. There are two steps to the creation of the Indian Mid-Day Meals

⁵¹⁴ *The Hindu*, "ISKCON denies Charges Against It", April 4, 2007. ISKCON denied these charges.

⁵¹⁵ Akshaya Patra website, akshayapatra.org

Programme. The first was policy entrepreneurs using the frame of human rights to press for the emergence of the Mid-Day Meals Programme and the strong interest the Supreme Court took in actively pressing for the program and overseeing its implementation. The second step was the delegation of responsibility from the state to NGOs, which was possible only after the 2004 change in government and the new guidelines that were subsequently passed allowing NGO delegation. My argument provides insight into the first step - policy entrepreneurs used the frame of human rights to press for the creation of the program. Organizational context, the Indian state, partly explains the second step, but theories of delegation would be useful here.

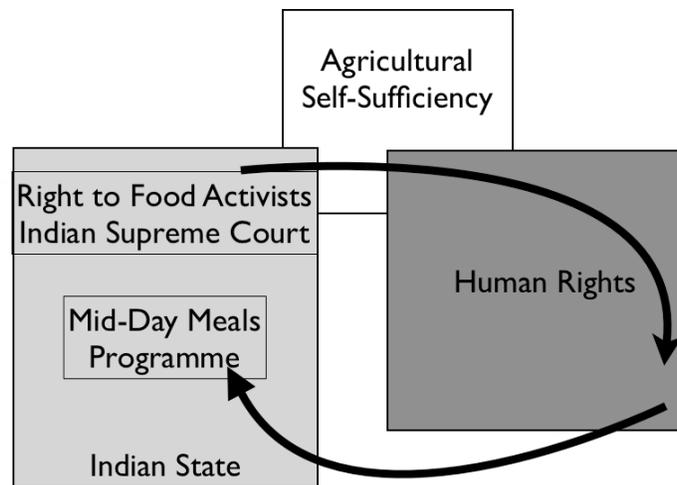


Figure 5.2: Development of School Lunches in India

The frame that was important in this case was a human rights frame. Human rights are a powerful international idea about how people should be treated by their

governments and by one another. Human rights claims have become more resonant in the international system in recent years as the efforts of activists over the last century and a half have paid off. This is demonstrated by the codification of more and more international human rights treaties, as well as recent developments such as the creation of the International Criminal Court. While human rights claims are certainly subject to limits, a human rights frame was particularly resonant at this point in time both internationally and in India, with its history of engaging with human rights both in its constitution and through its Supreme Court.

A Right to Food

The Indian Supreme Court decision, finding in favor of the right to food, also issued orders and appointed commissioners to oversee eight food schemes, including the mid-day meal program.⁵¹⁶ All of these schemes already existed in some form, but the Supreme Court order “converted the benefits of these schemes into legal entitlements”⁵¹⁷ or rights. Thus, the Supreme Court order updated and enforced previously existing legislation, within a new context of human rights. Not only was this decision an important milestone in the international struggle for the right to food, but this decision was also a radical reframing of food provision schemes as necessary for the protection of human rights. The Indian Supreme Court was able to use the human rights frame to create the Mid-Day Meals Programme. Not only did it use a human

⁵¹⁶ The other schemes are: the Integrated Child Development Services, the Public Distribution System, Antyoda Anna Yojana, Annapurna, the National Old Age Pension scheme, the National Maternity Benefit Scheme and the National Family Benefit Scheme.

⁵¹⁷ Right to Food Campaign, “Mid-Day Meal: A Primer”, 2005, 8

rights frame, but India also has taken the lead in clearly laying out the right to food, as well as creatively implementing the right to food.

Human rights are “literally the rights that one has simply because one is a human being.”⁵¹⁸ Nutrition is a human right because it would be impossible to live a life at all, and particularly a life of dignity, without nourishment. There is no question whether or not there is a human right to food on paper. However, the treaties or covenants within which this right is encapsulated have often been vague on state obligations for social and economic rights. In particular, the principle of progressive realization has allowed states to lag in their enforcement of economic and social rights. India has, with a few other states such as South Africa and Brazil, become a leader in recognizing and implementing the right to food.

The human right to food is recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Article 25: “Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services.”⁵¹⁹ The right to food is also recognized in Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in very similar language to the Universal Declaration:

1. The State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to adequate food, clothing and housing and the continuous improvement of living conditions. The State Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international cooperation based on free consent.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁸ Donnelly, 2003, 10

⁵¹⁹ Lauren, 1998, 302

⁵²⁰ International Covenant On Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, GA res 2200A (XXI), 21 UNGAOR Supp (No. 16) at 49, UN Doc. A/6316 (1966), 993 UNTS 3, entered into force Jan 3, 1976.

However, this statement is preceded by Article 2, which states:

1. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take steps, individually and through international assistance and co-operation, especially economic and technical, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant by all appropriate means, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures.⁵²¹

The principle of progressive realization laid down in this document has arguably slowed action towards the right to food.

The right to food is discussed in further documents. At the World Food Summit in 1996, the Heads of State “reaffirmed the right of everyone to have access to safe and nutritious food, consistent with the right to adequate food and fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger.”⁵²² This was followed by the Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security in 2004 that was created by an Intergovernmental Working Group founded during the *World Food Summit: five years later*. In addition, in September of 2000, the UN Commission on Human Rights created a Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, with the mandate to “examine, monitor and report on the implementation of the right to food to the Commission, as well as to promote the conceptual development of the right to food.”⁵²³

We also find a right to food listed specifically for children. In fact, one of the strongest statements on the right to food is found in the Convention on the Rights of the

⁵²¹ International Covenant On Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, GA res 2200A (XXI), 21 UNGAOR Supp (No. 16) at 49, UN Doc. A/6316 (1966), 993 UNTS 3, entered into force Jan 3, 1976.

⁵²² Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security, Report of the 30th Session of the Committee on World Food Security (CFS), Supplement, FAO Doc. CL 127/10-Sup. 1, Annex 1 (2004)

⁵²³ Eide and Kracht, 2005, 210

Child. Both the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1924) and the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child contain explicit provisions mandating the feeding of children. For instance, the Geneva Declaration states that “The child that is hungry must be fed”⁵²⁴ and the Declaration of the Rights of the Child contains Principle 4:

The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end, special care and protection shall be provided to both him and to his mother, including adequate pre-natal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical service.⁵²⁵

While neither of these instruments was hard law of any sort, they arguably laid the groundwork for including food in the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990. This convention is also not hard law and in fact has some of the fewest enforcement mechanisms of any human rights convention. Regardless, this convention does address food. Two articles of this convention deal with the right to food. Article 24 states that

1. State Parties recognize the right of the child to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health. State Parties shall strive to ensure that no child is deprived of his or her right of access to such health care services.
2. State Parties shall pursue full implementation of this right and, in particular, shall take appropriate measures:
 - a. To combat disease and malnutrition, including within the framework of primary health care, through, inter alia, the application of readily available technology and through the provision of adequate nutritious food and clean drinking water.

And, in Article 27

1. State Parties recognize the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child’s physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.

⁵²⁴ Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, adopted Sept 26, 1924, League of Nations O.J. Spec. Supp. 21, at 43 (1924)

⁵²⁵ Declaration of the Rights of the Child, G.A. res 1386 (XIV) 14 UN GAOR Supp. (No. 16) at 19, UN Doc A/4354 (1959).

2. The parents or others responsible for the child have the primary responsibility to secure, within their abilities and financial capacities, the conditions of living necessary for the child's development.
3. State Parties, in accordance with national conditions and their means, shall take appropriate measures to assist parents and others responsible for the child to implement this right and shall in case of need provide material assistance and support programs, particularly with regard to nutrition, clothing and housing.⁵²⁶

Thus, we see at the international level a clear indication that there is a right to food and particularly for children. However, while there is a right to food, and particularly for children, it is not codified *how* this right is to be fulfilled nor do these human rights documents contain clear enforcement mechanisms. The Mid-Day Meals program in India, with the clear decision of the Supreme Court supporting the right to food and the Mid-Day Meal Programme, provides direction for one way that this right might be fulfilled. The right to food, like many other social rights, has been notoriously difficult to implement, in part due to the principle of progressive realization. However, school lunch programs are one clear way for governments to fulfill their obligations on the right to food.

Conclusion

The case of the Indian Mid-Day Meals scheme is an interesting case with which to examine emerging social policy, particularly in the developing world, as well as the right to food. The Mid-Day Meals scheme works to improve the nutrition of a large number of schoolchildren in India, which is likely to lead to better development prospects for the country as a whole.⁵²⁷ I have argued that the implementation of the

⁵²⁶ Convention on the Rights of the Child, GA res 44/25, annex, 44 UN GAOR Supp. (No. 49) at 167 UN DOC A/44/49 (1989) entered into force Sept 2 1990

⁵²⁷World Food Programme, "Global School Feeding Report, 2006", 2006

Mid-Day Meals scheme would not have been possible without the efforts of policy entrepreneurs such as right to food activists and the Indian Supreme Court. These groups were very good at using a particular, historical moment when there were excess foods and continuing to successfully push for the program, even in the changed agricultural circumstances of the early 2000s.

Interestingly, the creation of the Indian program is largely a domestic development. Although human rights is an internationalized frame, as I argued in the Introduction, other international factors do not play greatly into the India case. This is surprising because India develops its program in the international fragmentation period, after the World Food Programme has already operated as a diffusing agent for school lunch programs in the developing world. This is also surprising because India has, over the years, often been on the receiving end of international food aid. For instance, CARE contributed to the Tamil Nadu program in the 1960s, a great deal of US food aid was sent to India in the 1960s and WFP money has been used in India to fund Mother and Child Health Centers. In addition, in five Indian states the WFP currently supplies micro-nutrient fortified biscuits as a mid-morning snack to pre-school children through the Integrated Child Development Services program. Thus, there has certainly been international involvement in India's child feeding schemes, but there is not evidence that indicates this involvement affected the Mid-Day Meals Programme.

The Indian case is particularly important, due to its emergence from economic and social rights. The creation of the Mid-Day Meals scheme within the context of a human right to food has helped signal a way in which states can meet their commitments to international human rights treaties regarding the right to food. By

making school meals a legal entitlement, as in India, other countries could reach their goals of promoting development and improving human rights. India has emerged as a global norm leader on this issue. India, and in particular the Supreme Court, actively used an internationalized frame of human rights to motivate action on child malnutrition. In turn, India has actively pushed the realization of the right to food into any discussion of economic and social rights.

However, as the Indian agricultural situation continues to deteriorate with food imports rising, the staying power of this program is likely to be tested. There are positive indications that this program will continue. First, the success of the various voluntary organizations in maintaining attention on the Mid-Day Meals Programme indicates that the program will be secure. In particular, Akshaya Patra, driven both by the self-regarding goal of maintaining itself as an organization and the goal of increasing its religious presence, is unlikely to stop serving lunches. Thus, it is likely we will see policy entrepreneurs continuing to play a role in this program, although it remains to be seen what frame they use to justify its existence. Second, the bureaucratic structure that has been created within the Indian state for this program will likely fight for the maintenance of this program.⁵²⁸ Third, the push by the government for NGOs to take on the work of the program, and their ready acceptance, indicates that the program will continue into the future. In fact, as the agricultural situation in India deteriorates, programs like the Mid-Day Meals Programme will be more essential than ever.

The India case, along with the cases I explore in the next chapter, is part of the international fragmentation phase. In this phase a number of new developments have

⁵²⁸ DiMaggio and Powell, 1983

occurred that are not limited to the new kinds of organizations providing lunches. First, moral claims have begun to motivate action in this phase. In the India case, activists used a human rights frame in order to create action on child malnourishment. Human rights are moral claims about what it means to be human and what is the proper way to behave towards humans. When the developed states created programs they largely couched their arguments in terms of security concerns. It is very different to have a state-based program, like the Indian program, be couched instead in the language of human rights.

Second, there is trend in the international fragmentation phase to devolve responsibility for social welfare programs from the state to non-governmental organizations. In the US and UK cases, as well as the India case, the school lunch program is evidence of a changed relationship between the state and its citizens. While in the earlier cases of the US and the UK, the state took over a measure of responsibility for its citizens, in the form of feeding children, in the case of India, the state has encouraged a devolution of this responsibility out of its hands into the hands of non-governmental organizations, both domestic and international. These actions are representative of a general trend of privatizing social services that has been occurring in the developed world as well. If this trend continues, this could indicate an enormous change for welfare states around the world.

Chapter Six: International Fragmentation II: Catholic Relief Services, Africa's Home Grown School Feeding Programme and a Return Trip to Canada

In this chapter I continue to examine the last phase in the development of school lunch programs: international fragmentation. This phase, beginning in the mid-1990s, is composed of a variety of different kinds of organizations taking control over school lunches, such as the state in developing countries, non-governmental organizations and regional organizations. In the last chapter I discussed the case of India, which is illustrative of the state in a developing country initiating a program. In this chapter I present three, separate case studies that focus on the other organizational types seen in the international fragmentation phase: a non-governmental organization, a regional organization and many small, local organizations. The first case study is on the American private voluntary organization, Catholic Relief Services. The second is on a new program in Africa called the Home Grown School Feeding Programme. I also relook briefly at the case of Canada, and consider the wide variety of efforts by voluntary organizations that have occurred since 1989 towards feeding children in that country. The majority of the chapter though focuses on Catholic Relief Services and Africa's Home Grown School Feeding Programme, as the Canadian case does not operate at a national or governing organization level.

One of the hallmarks of the international fragmentation phase has been the tendency of the World Food Programme to increasingly partner with NGOs to provide school lunches and to continue phasing out of countries. The first tendency began in the mid-1990s, as budget pressures on the WFP forced them to partner with NGOs in order

to deliver school lunches. The relationships between the WFP and NGOs have become so institutionalized that the WFP now publishes an annual report on its relations with NGOs, produced a handbook for NGOs on *How to Work With the WFP* and publishes a tri-annual newsletter for its NGO partners.⁵²⁹ The NGOs include local and international organizations such as: Catholic Relief Services, Save the Children (US), World Vision International, CARE International, German Agro Action, the Danish Refugee Council, the Norwegian Refugee Council, Food for the Hungry, Australia Adventist Dev & Relief Agency, Action Contre la Faim Network, Caritas Internationalis, Movimondo-Molisv and the Lutheran World Federation.⁵³⁰ Catholic Relief Services is the largest of these partners in the provision of school lunches, making it a good case with which to analyze this new trend.

The second tendency, that of rapidly phasing out countries, is also brought on by budget pressures. In Africa the Home Grown School Feeding Programme has been created to take over WFP-created programs in certain countries. This provides a good illustration of the mechanisms of diffusion between the WFP and phased out countries. In addition, Africa's Home Grown School Feeding Programme is indicative of this new trend towards different types of organizations taking on a larger role in providing school lunches. Instead of a state, international organization or non-governmental organization, the Home Grown School Feeding has been created by a regional

⁵²⁹ The handbook was published in 2005, the newsletter began to be published in 2002 and the annual reports began to be published in 2005. These are all relatively new publications, indicating the newly important status of NGOs to the WFP.

⁵³⁰ WFP "School Feeding "More than Just Implementing Partners"
http://www.wfp.org/food_aid/school_feeding/Partners_ngos.asp?section=12&sub_section=3

organization, which is an entirely new development for school lunch programs. This program could be an important test for the future of school lunch programs.

Each of these different organizational types, NGOs and regional organizations, has some important similarities and differences from one another, particularly regarding school feeding. Catholic Relief Services is an American private voluntary organization, driven by a specifically religious mission, while Africa's Home Grown School Feeding Programme is operated by a regional organization that is focused on economic development. In addition, Catholic Relief Services has been providing school lunch programs around the world since 1954, while the Home Grown School Feeding Programme has only been operating since 2003. However, neither of these programs feeds particularly large amounts of children; Catholic Relief Services currently feeds 800,000 children each year with its programs, while the Home Grown School Feeding Programme feeds, optimistically, 1 million children each year. These are very low numbers compared to the 21.7 million children fed by the World Food Programme's in 2006, and the 30.5 million children fed by the US government in 2007.

Both of these cases illustrate how different types of organizations deliver school lunch programs. Because of the difference in the type of organization that provides the program, both cases provide good tests for my theoretical arguments. In addition, there is a powerful alternative explanation that I explore. Perhaps private organizations are interested in promoting their own private goals through the provision of food. For instance, in the case of Catholic Relief Services programming, perhaps the organization uses food aid to spread Catholicism. I explore this alternative explanation and find little to justify it. Instead, I find that my arguments help us understand both cases. In both

cases policy entrepreneurs use internationalized frames to justify or create action. In the case of Catholic Relief Services it is a frame of human dignity that stems from its ideological basis of Catholic social teaching, while for HGSF it is a frame of local economic development.

Catholic Relief Services

Catholic Relief Services (CRS) is the largest WFP partner for the provision of school lunches, as well as being the only large, American, private voluntary organization that still runs its own school feeding programs. The American private voluntary organization Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE) is the other large, American organization that delivers international food aid, but that organization stopped its school feeding programs in the mid-1990s. In fact, both Catholic Relief Services and CARE had been directed by USAID to phase out school feeding. While CARE did cease its school feeding programs, Catholic Relief Services restructured its organization in order to continue school feeding despite the USAID directive. The difference between the two organizations' actions creates an interesting puzzle as to why CRS continues school feeding, even in the face of government pressure to phase it out. The answer to this puzzle can be found by examining the history of Catholic Relief Services and their school feeding programs. I argue that school feeding, for Catholic Relief Services, is bound up in the frame of human dignity, stemming from the organization's foundational philosophy of Catholic social teaching. This frame both creates the organization's identity and directs its actions as an

organization; as such, school lunch programs both emerged and continue due to this frame.

Below, I look briefly at the history of American food aid organizations before turning to an overview of Catholic Relief Services' activities and the ideological motivation of the organization. Next, I look at the history of the organization. I then explore Catholic Relief Services' school lunch programs in more detail before turning to analyze how and why Catholic Relief Services provides school lunch programs. Finally, I present an alternative explanation for understanding why Catholic Relief Services provides school lunch programs and argue that this alternative explanation does not explain how and why Catholic Relief Services provides school lunch programs.

American Food Aid and the Organizations that Deliver It

Catholic Relief Services is one of the largest American, private voluntary organizations that provides international food aid. American organizations have been involved in food aid since 1812, when some organizations began donating food aid to the victims of natural and man-made disasters overseas. While American voluntary organizations assisted with food aid in the aftermath of WWI, their role in delivering food aid was cemented with the inception of PL 480, in 1954. This program was created by the US government largely to deal with the twin problems of agricultural surpluses that had built up due to subsidy policies put in place during the Great Depression, and the looming threat of communism. There are four titles in PL 480 and

each specifies the different ways that food can be used as aid.⁵³¹ Of interest to this case is PL 480 Title II; these funds must be used by private voluntary organizations (PVOs) for developmental use. There are two PVOs that have historically received around 85% of the Title II food aid funds: Catholic Relief Services and Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE). These are, by both their own and the government's assessment, the largest, most experienced and most effective users of US food aid.⁵³²

PL 480 Title II requires that at least 76% of Title II commodities have to be used for “non-emergency development activities of US PVOs or cooperatives or intergovernmental and multilateral organizations such as the World Food Program.”⁵³³ PVOs (private voluntary organizations) have generally provided food aid under Title II guidelines either by direct feeding projects or monetizing commodities to generate local currencies that are then used to create other projects that address poverty.⁵³⁴ PVOs tend to work with local organizations, which do the bulk of distributing food or running other projects. This set-up enables PVOs to spread their work over a large geographical area and helps build in-country capacity to provide services. Until the 1980s most PVOs concentrated on small development projects with an immediate impact rather than looking at food distribution determined by long-term development objectives. In the 1980s USAID began encouraging PVOs to consider the long-term development objectives of their programs.

⁵³¹ PL 480 titles were discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

⁵³² GAO 1990; CRS Testimony before the House International Relations Committee, May 2006

⁵³³ GAO, 1994, 1

⁵³⁴ Monetization is a newer practice that was legislated in the mid-1980s in response to food aid groups' complaint about funding their operations. This practice has recently become controversial when, in 2007, CARE turned down \$45 million in US commodities that it had previously been taking for monetization purposes.

At least one of the motivations for funneling food aid through PVOs is political. Both the government and PVOs understand that American food aid that comes from a non-government source is less likely to be accused of political manipulations. Monsignor Edward Swannstrom, Executive Director of Catholic Relief Services in the 1950s, testified in front of the House of Representatives in 1957 to this effect:

(The point of impact) may well be summed up in the remarks of our representative in India who wrote some months ago that the Communists had little trouble in making a propaganda case against the aid given through governmental channels, but that they could find no way to cope with the effectiveness of the voluntary distributions because these gifts were freely given with no strings of any kind through counterpart agencies in their lands interested simply and solely in the welfare of the individual.⁵³⁵

This same reasoning was repeated in testimony by the vice-president of Overseas Operations at Catholic Relief Services in testimony before the House International Relations Committee in 2006. The vice-president argued that because of the conditions revealed by 9/11, food aid is more essential than ever to “bridge the gap between cultures” and put “an American face on thousands of tons of food delivered to Muslim populations.”⁵³⁶ While some might argue that a Catholic organization might not be welcome in Muslim countries, Catholic Relief Services clearly sees itself as an American organization first and a Catholic organization second. In addition, Catholic Relief Services delivers bags of food clearly marked “Gift of the United States” while its staff are not necessarily wearing visible symbols of Catholicism.

⁵³⁵ House Committee, on Agriculture, “Food Disposal Abroad by Voluntary Agencies” May 9 and 15, 1957

⁵³⁶ Callahan. Testimony before the House International Relations Committee, May 2006

What Catholic Relief Services Does and Why

As noted above, Catholic Relief Services is one of the two organizations most involved in distributing food aid internationally. Catholic Relief Services is “the overseas relief and development agency of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) and the US Catholic Community”.⁵³⁷ Today, the organization serves 80 million people in more than 100 countries and has, throughout its history, been the largest American voluntary organization to concentrate on overseas work. Started to work on issues of refugee resettlement after World War II, the organization has expanded its work to encompass the following six service areas: emergencies, hunger, education, health, peace and helping at home. Specifically, CRS works on advocating for improved development policy at both the US and international levels and implements a number of programs in developing countries such as creating community health centers, developing agriculture, improving water and sanitation systems, running a micro-finance program and emergency programming. Its work originated in European countries affected by WWII, but, beginning in the 1950s, the organization began expanding into parts of the developing world, particularly Latin America, and now runs programs throughout the world. This expansion was driven by the prominent place Catholic Relief Services had achieved in US developmental funding, the end of colonial rule and a continued sense from the American Catholic community that overseas development work was parts of its Catholic responsibilities as understood through the lens of Catholic social teaching.

Catholic social teaching drives Catholic Relief Services; it is the ideological

⁵³⁷ Catholic Relief Services website, www.crs.org/about/executives/

foundation and motivation for the organization. Catholic social teaching has existed since the late nineteenth century and is recorded in various church and papal documents. It is a teaching that stems from Hebrew and Christian texts as well as “the traditional philosophical and theological teachings of the Church.”⁵³⁸ Catholic social teaching is rooted in a belief in human dignity. All human life is considered sacred and

the dignity of the human person is the starting point for a moral vision for society. This principle is grounded in the idea that the person is made in the image of God. The person is the clearest reflection of God among us.⁵³⁹

This belief is the starting point for the other major themes in Catholic social teaching which include certain rights and responsibilities for the poor, the community and government, as well as a focus on economic justice, the stewardship of God’s creation, the promotion of peace and a commitment to global development.

Catholic social teaching was given a great boost following the Second Vatican Council, or Vatican II in the early 1960s. Vatican II was a radical break with certain Catholic traditions and created a number of important, progressive documents related to Catholic social teaching. In addition to a general stronger base for Catholic social teaching, there were also a number of pronouncements in these new documents that affected hunger and development, all of which have greatly informed the work of Catholic Relief Services. For instance, a specific command to feed the hungry is contained in the documents that comprise Catholic social teaching. The Second Vatican Council’s Pastoral Constitution in 1965 issued *The Church in the Modern World, Gaudium et Spes*. This document was an important reworking of how the Church saw

⁵³⁸ Catholic Social Teaching, Office for Social Justice, St. Paul and Minneapolis.
http://www.osjspm.org/social_teaching_documents.aspx

⁵³⁹ Catholic Social Teaching, Office for Social Justice, St. Paul and Minneapolis.
http://www.osjspm.org/major_themes.aspx

itself in the modern world and it contained the following injunction:

Faced with a world today where so many people are suffering from want, the council asks individuals and governments to remember the saying of the Fathers: "Feed the people dying of hunger, because if you do not feed them you are killing them," and it urges them according to their ability to share and dispose of their goods to help others, above all by giving them aid which will enable them to help and develop themselves.⁵⁴⁰

In addition to the direct commands contained in Catholic social teaching to feed the hungry, there is also a command to work towards full human development. In Pope Paul VI's 1967 papal encyclical *On the Development of People's* he called for reconceptualizing development away from a purely economic model towards a model that called for defeating poverty, growing knowledge, growing an awareness of other cultures and creating peace.⁵⁴¹ A statement made by the global community of bishops in 1971, *Justice in the World*, followed this encyclical. This statement reiterated the idea of human development called for by Pope Paul VI, but also called for development choices to be made by low-income countries themselves. They argued, "all peoples should be able to become the principal architects of their own economic and social development."⁵⁴² Many of these bishops were from low-income countries and saw too much power over development choices concentrated in the hands of the economically elite countries.

The mission of Catholic Relief Services explicitly reflects the religious nature of the organization:

Our mission is to assist impoverished and disadvantages people overseas, working in the spirit of Catholic Social Teaching to promote the sacredness of human life

⁵⁴⁰ Second Vatican Council, 1965, number 69

⁵⁴¹ Korgen, 2007, 5

⁵⁴² World Synod of Catholic Bishops, 1971, number 71

and the dignity of the human person. Although our mission is rooted in the Catholic faith, our operations serve people based solely on need, regardless of their race, religion or ethnicity. Within the United States, CRS engages Catholics to live their faith in solidarity with the poor and suffering of the world. The fundamental motivating force in all activities of CRS is the Gospel of Jesus Christ as it pertains to the alleviation of human suffering, the development of people and the fostering of charity and justice.⁵⁴³

The mission statement makes obvious the deep effect that Catholic social teaching has on the organization.

Brief History of Catholic Relief Services

Catholic Relief Service's origins can be traced to the National Catholic War Council. The National Catholic War Council was founded in 1917 to unify the American Catholic response to World War I and raise money for the war effort, as well as staff welfare centers in Western European countries that had been affected by the war. In 1922 the name of the organization was changed to the National Catholic Welfare Council, following a controversy with the Vatican,⁵⁴⁴ and its duties changed so that it no longer raised money, but when appealed to, referred those appeals to other parts of the Catholic Church. Throughout the 1930s the NCWC continued to pass appeals for overseas aid onto different parts or dioceses of the Catholic Church. However, as World War II began, the NCWC began to organize a general appeal for overseas relief. As the war continued a number of voluntary organizations began to think ahead to post-war aid, and the Catholic Church and the National Catholic Welfare Council were no exception. In 1942 President Roosevelt created the National War Fund

⁵⁴³ www.crs.org

⁵⁴⁴ American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives
<http://libraries.cua.edu/achrcua/ncwc.html#CRS>

in order to centralize agencies' aid requests and not overwhelm local communities with many, separate requests for aid. In order to join this centralized fund the Catholic Church set up an agency called the War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Council in January 1943. This sub-agency would take the name Catholic Relief Services when it was incorporated in June 1943.

While Catholic Relief Services is now located in Baltimore, it was first located in New York City in order to be close to arriving refugees and the ports for shipping relief supplies overseas. In the first year of operation, 1943, CRS was given \$2,370,000 from the National War Fund. This money was spent on health, welfare and relief activities and could not be spent on religious activities. If the Catholic Church wanted to conduct religious activities in coordination with its relief activities, it had to fund them in other ways. CRS worked with the National War Fund through 1946, and then turned to the Catholic community for funding in 1947.

The initial focus of CRS's effort was on refugee resettlement. This was partly due to the NCWC's early and continuing efforts to aid Catholic refugees of Jewish background even before WWII began. One of the organization's particular priorities was the needs of child refugees. This was due to the three initial leaders of CRS and their career focus on children.⁵⁴⁵ All three of these men had worked with children in various settings, including welfare agencies and orphanages, in New York City. These experiences left them particularly concerned with the needs of children in a post-war situation.

⁵⁴⁵ These three men were Monsignor Bryan J. McEntegart, Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle and Edward E. Swanstrom. (Egan, 1988, 18)

Catholic Relief Services' children's aid efforts began with a clothing drive. Started in one church in Lancaster, PA, in 1945, the Children-in-Need campaign spread quickly throughout the country. That particular campaign lasted only a year, but in that year over six hundred thousand pounds of clothes were donated and then distributed in the Displaced Persons Camps in Europe. The clothes included brand new clothes, handmade garments and slightly worn clothes. These supplies were quickly used up and in 1948 a new appeal for children's clothes was launched through the NCWC. The goal of this initial plea was one million items of clothing.⁵⁴⁶ This goal was accomplished within less than a year and the program was so successful at both receiving and handing out donations that it continued as the Holy Father's Collection for Children until 1978, when Pope Paul VI died.

Catholic Relief Services' School Lunch Programs

In addition to the clothing drives and a program called "Help-A Child",⁵⁴⁷ Catholic Relief Services operates school lunch programs. Catholic Relief Services has been implementing school feeding programs around the world since the advent of Title II funds. Its programs were not designed with improvements in education in mind, but rather were designed entirely to improve a child's short-term food security. School feeding was, for Catholic Relief Services, "all about feeding hungry children."⁵⁴⁸

Unfortunately, there is no archived data on how many or in what countries Catholic

⁵⁴⁶ There was some controversy with this program because the donated clothing occasionally included religious clothing items, which were handed out to needy children. Some argued that because Catholic Relief Services received some monies from the federal government that this was a violation of the principle of church and state.

⁵⁴⁷ This is the type of program where a person gives money to support a particular child and receives updates on that child's life.

⁵⁴⁸ Anne Sellers

Relief Services operated school lunch programs during the early years of the program. Everyone I interviewed or contacted at Catholic Relief Services agreed on this. There is almost no data for how many programs or how many children were fed in the first several decades of the organization's existence. This dearth of knowledge is documented by a GAO report in 1990 that specifically signaled out Catholic Relief Services for its lax accounting and evaluation abilities.⁵⁴⁹

Catholic Relief Services did begin keeping better numbers in the 1990s. By the 1990s CRS had 15 projects operating simultaneously, serving 1.2 million children. This was the largest PVO organized school feeding effort ever. However, in the mid-1990s USAID was restructured, lost a number of staff positions and changed towards a more results-oriented climate.⁵⁵⁰ This was to prove problematic for Catholic Relief Services as USAID supplies 85% of the money for Catholic Relief Services' school feeding programs. School feeding programs were targeted by the newly restructured USAID based on the argument that there was not enough evidence that school feeding programs addressed long term food security; a directive was issued for PVOs to phase out school feeding programs, unless feeding programs operated as part of "an education-reform-focused effort in the targeted area."⁵⁵¹ This resulted in the immediate phasing out of several CRS projects. However, while many of the PVOs dependent on USAID funding for school feeding did phase out its programs entirely, Catholic Relief Services refused. Instead the organization rethought its programs from an education perspective and revamped the school feeding programs.

⁵⁴⁹ GAO, 1990

⁵⁵⁰ Hackett, Testimony before the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, July 27, 2000

⁵⁵¹ Interview with Anne Sellers, Catholic Relief Services

The revamped program is based on a model called Food-Assisted Education. This model focuses on “interventions supporting long-term education objectives that are being implemented with food (among other) resources and thus aims to have short term food security impact in addition to a long-term food security impact.”⁵⁵² The idea of Food-assisted Education places the emphasis “on the role of food as a resource for education.”⁵⁵³ CRS complements food with other interventions such as distributing micronutrients supplements, providing hygiene and nutrition education to parents, training teachers, improving school infrastructure, and strengthening Parent Teacher Associations.⁵⁵⁴ In addition to the pressure from USAID, the Catholic Relief Services decision to change the focus of its programming stems from the World Conference on Education for All at Jomtien, Thailand in 1990. At this conference the signatories committed to universal access to basic education by 2000. While the conference might not have changed much in the way of countries’ actual commitments to basic education⁵⁵⁵ it did change the way development agencies considered the link between food and education. Interviews with staff at Catholic Relief Services were revealing as to the effects of this change. While Food-assisted Education is considered a more ‘holistic’ model for school feeding which allows for ‘deeper programming’, there is some regret that this model inevitably results in fewer children being fed.⁵⁵⁶

USAID’s funding priorities continue to affect PVOs. In 2006 USAID announced 16 priority countries for Food for Education projects and several of Catholic

⁵⁵² Janke, 2001, 4; Hackett Testimony, 2000

⁵⁵³ Janke, 2001, 5

⁵⁵⁴ Hackett Testimony, 2000

⁵⁵⁵ Arnove and Torres, 2003, 61

⁵⁵⁶ Anne Sellers, Catholic Relief Services, phone interview December 20, 2008

Relief Services' largest school feeding operations were NOT on that list (including Benin and Ghana) and have had to be phased out. Today, CRS has projects operating in 8 countries and feeds approximately 800,000 children. These countries include: Benin (phasing out), Burkina Faso, Ghana (phasing out), Haiti, Mali, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Zimbabwe. These countries are among some of those that rank highest on the Global Hunger Index. There is regret among the staffers at Catholic Relief Services that they are not currently able to serve more children.

Analysis

Catholic Relief Services remains committed to providing school lunches, despite a reduction in funding from USAID. As an organization they take advantage of all the available funding sources they can for providing school lunches⁵⁵⁷ and defied the USAID 1995 directive to phase out school lunches. Why? The answer stems in part from the early commitment to child welfare issues, brought on by the early leaders and from organizational inertia. Certainly the infrastructure that exists around CRS' school lunch programs and the funding stream that has long been accessible from USAID creates a vested interest for the organization to maintain these programs. However, I am unconvinced that these are the only reasons that CRS has maintained its school lunch programs. Other agencies, such as CARE, dropped its school lunch program in spite of what would have been similar organizational inertia. I argue that a more complete answer to this puzzle can be found in the Catholic ideology that infuses the organization and which frames the organization's understanding of their role and school

⁵⁵⁷ Catholic Relief Services has begun using USDA money from the McGovern-Dole Food for Education program to support their programming in addition to USAID money.

lunches as organizational policy.

Below, I demonstrate how my general theoretical framework explains both the emergence and continuation of school lunch programs as Catholic Relief Services' policy. In this case, against a backdrop of the PL 480 program, Catholic Relief Services creates school lunch programs, driven by the frame of human dignity. There is an important difference between this case and the others. In the other cases policy entrepreneurs used internationalized frames to frame the issue of child malnutrition. They used the discourse of the internationalized frame in order to discuss child malnutrition and justify their organizational actions or demands. Unlike the other cases, Catholic Relief Services both uses the frame of human dignity to justify their programming and is also constituted by its frame to do this programming. I believe that the frame of human dignity can be considered a sub-frame of the humanitarian frame, with its emphasis on a responsibility born by others to alleviate suffering. The frame provides the identity of the organization, that of a humanitarian organization. The organization's identity dictates the actions it engages in, and it then uses the frame of human dignity to justify those actions, such as feeding children. In other words, the frame and the organization are mutually constitutive. This is a very different situation than the other cases in which actors rationally manipulate frames, rather than being constituted by them. In the other cases the actors are concerned with child malnutrition for other reasons than the frame that finally justifies program creation. In the graphic below, I represent the process by which the frame and the organization mutually constitute one another by the use of a double arrow between the frame and the organization.

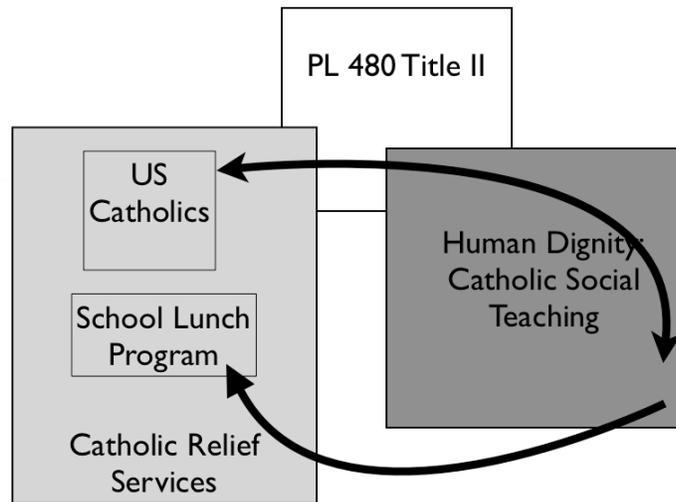


Figure 6.1: Development of School Lunches in Catholic Relief Services

The frame that is important for this case is a frame of human dignity, stemming from the teachings of Catholic social teaching. Catholic Relief Services’ organizational belief system is rooted in a commitment to human dignity, and it is this commitment that results in its ongoing efforts to feed children. A focus on human dignity creates an obligation to help the poor and the vulnerable. Catholic social teaching, being rooted in Christian texts, argues that the obligation to the poor stems from “the radical command to love one’s neighbor as one’s self.”⁵⁵⁸ The ideals of Catholic social teaching and the related internationalized frame of human dignity explain why CRS has adamantly supported school feeding programs over the years, in the face of criticism from its government funding sources. School lunch programs fit nicely with Catholic social teaching. They answer specific commands to feed the poor and the vulnerable, to think

⁵⁵⁸ US Catholic Bishops, 1986

of development in a holistic manner and to promote local control over the development process. In this case not only is the frame used to justify the creation and continuation of the programs, the frame almost demands the creation of school lunch programs.

Catholic Relief Services has always been guided by Catholic social teaching. This was true during its founding, was strengthened following the progressivism of Vatican II and continues to guide its actions today. For instance, in the late 1990s many of the areas in which CRS worked were devastated by civil conflicts. The agency began to examine how its development programming could better address the root causes of those conflicts. The agency turned to Catholic social teaching, and in particular the Catholic conception of justice, in order to guide its reflection process as well as the new programs that were implemented.⁵⁵⁹ The ideals of Catholic social teaching are integrated into every project that Catholic Relief Services does and explains why the organization has continued its school lunch programs despite pressure to discontinue the programs.

Alternative Explanations

An alternative explanation for this case would be that Catholic Relief Services is motivated by self-interest, which would be to expand Catholic education by using food to increase school attendance or convert people to Catholicism. However, this alternative explanation is not born out by the facts. In the first place they largely assist public schools rather than Catholic schools. For instance, except for in Haiti, 90-100%

⁵⁵⁹ Cilliers and Gulick, 2004, 4

of the schools in which they operate are publicly run.⁵⁶⁰ Second, the countries in which they are currently operating, Benin (phasing out), Burkina Faso, Ghana (phasing out), Haiti, Mali, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Zimbabwe are not necessarily Catholic countries. The chart below indicates the percentage of Catholics living in each country. Thus, the only country that is a high percentage Catholic is Haiti.

Country	Percent Catholic⁵⁶¹
Benin	23
Burkina Faso	11.73
Ghana	12.43
Haiti	65.36
Mali	1.5
Sierra Leone	2.9
Sudan	9.13
Zimbabwe	8.79

Table 6.1: Catholic Populations In CRS Countries

What is telling as well is that these countries all score high on the Global Hunger Index, which I introduced in Chapter Two. The chart below shows the Global Hunger Index for those countries where Catholic Relief Services is currently operating school lunch programs. It is important to remember that the Global Hunger Index scores the countries on a range from 1.59 to 42.70, with scores above 10 being considered serious and scores greater than 20 alarming.⁵⁶² The mean is 15.

⁵⁶⁰ Anne Sellers, Catholic Relief Services

⁵⁶¹ The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church. <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/country/sc1.html>

⁵⁶² Wiseman, 2006, 13

Country	Global Hunger Index ⁵⁶³
Benin	17.7
Burkina Faso	25
Ghana	14.87
Haiti	25.3
Mali	28.07
Sierra Leone	35.20
Sudan	25.67
Zimbabwe	23.20

Table 6.2: Global Hunger Index for CRS Countries

Except for Ghana, from which Catholic Relief Services is phasing out, all of these countries are above the mean Global Hunger Index of 15. In other words, this evidence suggests that Catholic Relief Services is guided more by a concern with providing food and aid to some of the poorest and most hungry countries than by any sense of a Catholic obligation or Catholic missionary values. This conclusion is further supported by a follow-up email to the US organizer of Catholic Relief Services School Feeding Program who wrote, unprompted, that “our education programs generally (including school lunch interventions) are inspired much more by Catholic Social Teaching (such concepts as dignity of each individual, option for the poor, subsidiarity, and solidarity) than by any effort to promote Catholicism.”⁵⁶⁴ Thus, I find this alternative explanation unconvincing and believe that my argument, which focuses on Catholic social teaching, to be more probable.

⁵⁶³ Wiseman, 2006, 15

⁵⁶⁴ Anne Sellers, email dated February 11, 2009

Conclusion

The school lunch programs that Catholic Relief Services promotes provide an interesting twist to my argument. In this case the policy entrepreneurs, Catholic Relief Services staff, did not search for a frame that would fit into a domestic context. Instead, the frame, that of human dignity stemming from Catholic social teaching, has guided the organization throughout its history. In this case, policy entrepreneurs, the leaders of Catholic Relief Services, are still guided by a frame of human dignity to create and continue school lunch programs.

Africa's Home Grown School Feeding Programme

While some parts of the world, notably parts of Asia and Latin America, have reduced the number of malnourished children in the last twenty years, Africa is one of the areas of the world where hunger has not abated. Within Africa the situation is the worst in sub-Saharan Africa where it is estimated that 1/3 of the population is chronically undernourished. Indeed, while the WFP phased out of many countries, particularly in Asia and Latin America, the need for WFP programs in Africa remains acute and is easily the region where the majority of the WFP's school feeding programs exist. In Africa there are an estimated 50 million school children that are malnourished. In a novel effort to reduce hunger the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) unveiled the Home Grown School Feeding Programme in 2003. In partnership with the World Food Programme and the Millennium Hunger Task Force, NEPAD proposed starting this new school-feeding project in 9 countries, Mali, Senegal, Nigeria, Ghana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Kenya and Ethiopia.

The Home Grown School Feeding Programme is based on the goal of stimulating local agricultural production by purchasing local products for use in school feeding projects. Schools form a contract with local farmers that “include a floor price for their products, lessening their risk.”⁵⁶⁵ The program is designed to create markets for local farmers. The Programme provides market incentives to local farmers, saves money for the school due to the lessened transportation costs, improves student nutrition and improves the economic welfare of the local community by providing food-processing jobs. This type of program is being experimented with on a local level in places like the US, UK and some other developed countries, but this is the first time this type of program has been attempted on a large scale. The Home Grown Programme has a two-pronged approach to African development: the economic development of local agriculture and human capital development through education. School feeding programs have been developed over the last sixty years specifically to improve human capital; however, less attention has been paid to the positive role they could play in immediate economic development.⁵⁶⁶ The Home Grown Programme is a clever program, designed to use school feeding programs to promote a more holistic idea of development.

Despite the impact of the program on several different types of development, I argue that the economic development frame, that of promoting local economies, was the most important for the emergence of the Home Grown Programme. School feeding programs have been operating in Africa, run by the WFP, since the WFP began operating school feeding programs in 1965. There has been little initiative on the part

⁵⁶⁵ International Food Policy Research Institute, July 2004, 2

⁵⁶⁶ Attention has certainly been paid to the negative role these programs could have in economic development as critics have often pointed to the way in which US surplus foods as food aid can lead to depressing local agricultural prices.

of African governments to take over these programs; only a few African countries have been phased out of the WFP school feeding over the years and this was always on the initiative of the WFP, not the country itself. In fact, of all the regions in the world Africa is the most dependent on the WFP for school feeding programs. In the early 2000s African leaders, interested in African solutions to African problems, began focusing on agriculture as key to African recovery. School feeding programs fit into leaders' goals for renewing African agriculture, and it was when this connection to local economies was realized that the Home Grown Programme was created.

Background

The Home Grown Programme was created in 2003 against a backdrop of new development initiatives at the international and African level. Internationally, the Millennium Development Goals were announced in 2000 and resulted in a renewed, international emphasis on ending hunger, expanding universal education, improving child and maternal health, as well as gender equality, combating HIV/AIDS and working towards environmental sustainability.

In addition, in the late 1990s/early 2000s an international consensus began to emerge around the importance of 'Community Driven Development'.⁵⁶⁷ International bodies such as the World Bank and the United Nations Center for Regional Development have endorsed the idea, and the World Bank in particular has organized working groups and funds around the idea since the late 1990s.⁵⁶⁸ Community Driven

⁵⁶⁷ Nel, et. Al, 2001, 3

⁵⁶⁸ World Bank. "International Conference on Local Development," June 2004

Development focuses on community engagement/empowerment and argues that funds should be focused on local development institutions and processes.

At a regional level, at the end of the 1990s, Africa began focusing its energies on African renewal. As the world emerged from the Cold War, Africa saw a chance for itself, free from the outside interference that had characterized the Cold War, to reclaim Africa for Africans. In addition, African leaders were pushing hard in the late 1990s for debt relief due to the creation of the IMF HIPC Initiative and Jubilee 2000. In order to qualify for the IMF's HIPC Initiative countries have to show intent to improve their economic situation; thus, in an effort to improve their chances for achieving debt relief, African leaders began to develop a number of plans that would show their readiness and willingness to not fall prey to international lending in the future. In addition, driven by their efforts to achieve debt relief, African leaders began thinking seriously about "the political, social and economic recovery of the African continent."⁵⁶⁹

New Partnership for African Development

One of the results of this attention to debt relief and development, both regionally and internationally, was the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). The Home Grown Programme is a program of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). NEPAD was created in 2001 as an overarching policy framework for African development; "the primary goals are to eradicate poverty,

⁵⁶⁹ Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs. "Historical Overview of NEPAD"

promote sustainable growth and development, integrate Africa in the world economy, and accelerate the empowerment of women.”⁵⁷⁰

NEPAD is actually the merging of two separate plans for African’s renewal - the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme and the OMEGA Plan for Africa. These plans had been developed by different leaders and focused on slightly different paths to development. President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President Abdlazia Bouteflike of Algeria designed the Millennium Partnership, inspired by the UN Millennium Declaration of 2000.⁵⁷¹ Their plan focused on the “eradication of poverty through economic, social and political development”⁵⁷² and looked to form a partnership with the developed world to improve African development. The OAU Summit tasked them with creating the plan in July 2002, after the three of them had worked together to engage outside creditors for the cancellation of Africa’s debt.⁵⁷³

President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal developed the OMEGA Plan. The plan focuses specifically on economic development and calls for a “new partnership with the rest of world, managed by a global authority under the direct responsibility of the UN Secretary General.”⁵⁷⁴ While both plans were attempts to forge African solutions to African problems there are significant differences between them. The Millennium Plan is very broad in its definition of development and calls for democracy and good governance to be incorporated into notions of development. The OMEGA Plan focuses

⁵⁷⁰ NEPAD in Brief. www.nepad.org

⁵⁷¹ Gaye, 2001,

⁵⁷² Mingo and Wehner, 2001, 1

⁵⁷³ Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs. “Historical Overview of NEPAD”

⁵⁷⁴ Gaye, 2001, 1

more narrowly on economic growth as the definition of development and offers concrete goals and ideas, such as “a proposal to establish five main private universities. . . to boost the quality of tertiary education on the continent.”⁵⁷⁵

Until the World Economic Forum in Davos, January 2001, the authors of the two plans were unaware of the existence of the other plan. Following this meeting the plans were both presented at the 5th Extraordinary Summit of the Organization of African Unity in March 2001 and it was decided that the plans should be integrated. Those at the Summit thought it best for Africa to present one, unified development plan to the global community. Over the next three months the two plans were integrated and then presented in July 2001 to the OAU Summit as the New African Initiative. This document was unanimously adopted and in October 2001, at the meeting of the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee, the final document was approved, as was the name change to New Partnership for African Development.⁵⁷⁶

NEPAD operates as the development program of the African Union (the successor organization to the Organization of African Unity) and its Steering Committee is comprised of the Personal Representatives of the NEPAD Heads of State and Government.⁵⁷⁷ NEPAD builds on both the Millennium and OMEGA plans. It includes good governance and democracy as goals of development, as well as including specific economic goal of raising the gross domestic product growth rate. In particular, NEPAD calls for African solutions to African problems⁵⁷⁸ and considers agriculture,

⁵⁷⁵ Mingo and Wehner, 2001, 2

⁵⁷⁶ Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs. “Historical Overview of NEPAD”

⁵⁷⁷ NEPAD “NEPAD in Brief”

⁵⁷⁸ African Union, “NEPAD”.

human development, the environment and infrastructure as the priority sectors for increased investment.⁵⁷⁹

A Focus on Agriculture

For each of its priority sectors NEPAD has developed a Programme plan. The agriculture plan is the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme, which was initiated in 2002. The Home Grown Programme is first mentioned in this document as one of the ways to improve agriculture. The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme is the “framework for the restoration of agriculture growth, food security, and rural development in Africa.”⁵⁸⁰ The NEPAD Steering Committee created the Comprehensive Agriculture Programme in 2002, with assistance from the FAO. It was quickly endorsed by the African Ministers of Agriculture and is beginning to be implemented. The Comprehensive Agriculture Programme is focused on “extending the area under sustainable land management”, creating “reliable water control systems, “improving infrastructure and trade-related capacities for market access”, increasing the food supply and reducing hunger and improving agricultural research and technology.⁵⁸¹ The Home Grown Programme is part of the Comprehensive Agriculture Programme and fits the goal of increasing the food supply and reducing hunger.

Plans for the Home Grown Programme under the Comprehensive Agriculture Programme ask that up to 50% of the program cost be born by international partners.

⁵⁷⁹ “NEPAD, NEPAD in Brief”

⁵⁸⁰ NEPAD Secretariat, 2002, 1

⁵⁸¹ NEPAD, November 2002, 1

The WFP has emerged as the most prominent partner and provides both technical and financial assistance. In Ghana and Nigeria WFP support is mostly limited to technical support for setting up programs and governance structures, while in Senegal, Mali, Ethiopia and Uganda the WFP has assisted by buying local foods for disbursement in WFP school feeding and other food aid programs.⁵⁸² In all countries the WFP, as well as national governments, are working to provide farmers with better information about soil fertility, seed supply and water management.⁵⁸³

The Home Grown Programme was proposed in 2003 and the first countries did not start to implement the program until 2005. Nigeria was the first country to begin a program, in 2005, and saw enrollment increase by 13% to 500% in each of the 12 states in which the program was piloted.⁵⁸⁴ However, these numbers were quoted from a Nigerian government official and should be taken with a grain of salt as the program was shut down entirely for a brief period of time in 2007 due to corruption issues. In addition, as of January 2007, 115,000 school children were being fed through the Home Grown Programme in Senegal.⁵⁸⁵ In Kenya, the government announced in September 2008 that they would extend the Home Grown Programme to 450,000 school children.⁵⁸⁶

While the numbers are promising, there have been implementation problems. For instance, many of the states have not enacted laws at the federal level to support the program and the funding for the program has been sporadic from many countries’

⁵⁸² World Food Programme Support to NEPAD Report. Period of Report: July 2006 – June 2007.

⁵⁸³ International Food Policy Research Institute. “The Promise of School Feeding”

⁵⁸⁴ Africa News, September 18, 2007. “Nigeria: FG Increases Funding For School Feeding”

⁵⁸⁵ Africa News, January 19, 2007 “Senegal: Food Keeps African Children in School”

⁵⁸⁶ Kenya: Major Boost to School Feeding, September 10, 2008 allafrica.com

governments.⁵⁸⁷ In addition, the AU officially set the target of implementing the Home Grown Programme in 20% of African countries by 2008; this target has obviously not been met.

However, it is still very early in the program's history, and there is at least a rhetorical commitment to the program by NEPAD, the AU, the WFP and many country governments. In addition, African delegates to the 2006 Global Child Nutrition Forum created the African Network for School Feeding Programmes. This new organization is designed to help ensure the stability of the Home Grown Programme and is focused on developing national capacities for that purpose. This includes tasks like assisting with program management, creating legislation, providing advice on technical matters like the logistics of food procurement and food quality, and ensuring community participation.⁵⁸⁸ The organization is composed largely of those who work either for the World Food Programme or the different countries' School Food Programme officers.⁵⁸⁹ The organization has not been very active and has restricted its activities to attending already scheduled conferences on child nutrition. Despite this, its web presence and presence at meetings such as the annual Global Child Nutrition Forum meetings, along with the support from the WFP and the AU, do indicate that there is support for the program at both national, regional and international levels.

There is reason to be cautious about quick adoption of the program. If farmers cannot increase their production fast enough to meet demand by the schools, then the cost of food could be increased throughout the local community. This would cut into

⁵⁸⁷ Kolawole, July 8, 2008

⁵⁸⁸ Afaokwa, 2007

⁵⁸⁹ The following countries are members of the network: Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Zambia, Malawi, Mali, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Benin, Angola, Senegal

poor people's food budget and cause even more hunger. Thus, it is important to scale up the program slowly, so that supply and demand will match, and the program itself does not cause further hunger or market disruptions.⁵⁹⁰ The slow adoption that is occurring, although frustrating to NEPAD, might be most appropriate for the future success of the programs and its overarching goal of development.

Analysis

The Home Grown Programme does not create new school feeding programs. Schools that use the Home Grown Programme program are schools that are already familiar with school lunch programs provided through the WFP and are taking control over their own programs through the Home Grown Programme. Thus, this is not a case of school lunch program emergence, but one of a change in ownership over an already existing program. This is an example of diffusion from the WFP. This case points to one of the problems with diffusion explanations; it is not enough for the model to have been created and then diffused, but there must also be a local, or organizational reason, for the program's continued existence. My theoretical framework helps to make sense of the way in which the diffused model was kept, but using a very different rationalization. In this case, policy entrepreneurs, the NEPAD Secretariat, used an internationalized frame of promoting local development, and specifically the frame of promoting local agricultural development, to justify the creation of new ownership over already existing school feeding programs. This was a frame that fit well with what NEPAD was trying to accomplish for the region at the time.

⁵⁹⁰ International Food Policy Research Institute. "The Promise of School Feeding", July 2004,

Below, I demonstrate how my general theoretical framework explains the development of the Home Grown Programme. In this case, the NEPAD Secretariat used a frame of development, which was readily available due to a renewed international and African concentration on development, to create the Home Grown Programme. The material background box for this case is debt relief, rather than agricultural surpluses, and has been changed in the graphic to reflect this difference. I consider this the material background condition because the rules by which a country could ask for debt relief include the requirement that a country demonstrate intent to develop, and the Home Grown School Feeding Programme does just that. This is an interesting difference from the previous cases where the material background factor was agricultural surpluses, either domestic or global. In this case, the program organizers hope to increase the production of agricultural goods, rather than using the program as a way to get rid of agricultural goods. While the material, background box has changed, the other boxes in the argument remain the same, as does the general argument.

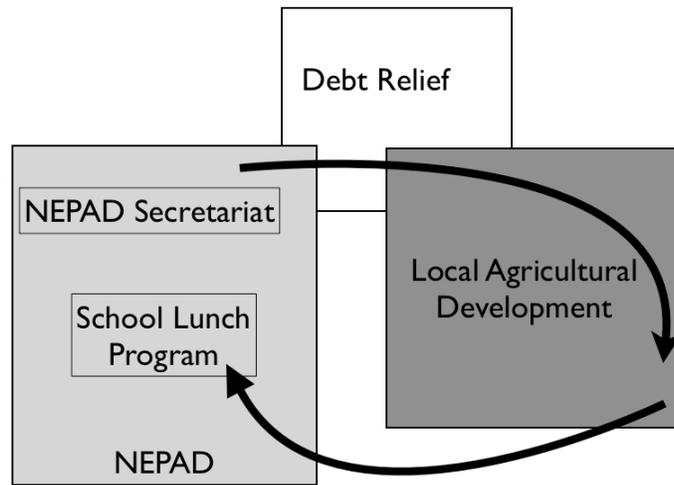


Figure 6.2: Development of Africa's Home Grown School Feeding Programme

The frame that is important in this case is a local agriculture development frame. Home Grown School Feeding is based primarily on the economic benefits to local farmers, with less attention paid to the moral concerns of hungry children or the importance of education for human development. In other words, policy entrepreneurs, who were focused on improving agriculture, saw school feeding as a way to meet that primary goal. It was the hope of being able to create local markets for local farmers and reduce dependence on the global system of agricultural trading that inspired the creation of the Home Grown Programme. The NEPAD Secretariat used a frame of local agricultural development to press for the creation of school feeding, focusing on the benefits to farmers first and to children second.

While it might seem counter-intuitive that the frame of local agricultural development is an internationalized frame, that frame is international in two ways. The

first is that the idea of focusing on local agriculture comes from the concept of Community Driven Development, which, as mentioned, emerged as an international consensus and has been pushed particularly by international organizations. The second reason the frame can be considered internationalized is because the frame represents a deliberate effort to disengage from the global agricultural trading and food aid system, which has often operated at a disadvantage to Africa. At the same time, a call for local agriculture development is intimately imbricated in global food flows. Not only is the program dependent on international sources for at least 50% of its funding, but a concern with local agriculture exists only because of the abuses of the global agricultural system. Thus, the frame had decidedly international origins.

There is an interesting difference between the development frame used by the NEPAD Secretariat and the development frame used by the World Food Programme. While both frames are ostensibly about development, the World Food Programme is focused on human capital development, which is, in some ways, about social, redistributive justice in the international system. The Home Grown Programme, using the frame of local economic development, is focused on deliberately disentangling from the neoliberal project foisted on so many African countries during the last several decades. Thus, while the diffusing agent, the WFP, and the organization into which the model has been diffused, use the frame of development, there are important differences between the two development frames.

This case is particularly interesting because child malnutrition is a secondary concern in the maintenance of school lunch programs. In the other cases policy entrepreneurs were actively working to change the discourse around the issue of child

malnutrition, while in this case the concern is with economic development. Child nutrition is a solution to the problem in this case, rather than being the problem itself. This suggests that school lunch programs can serve multiple purposes within a community, and presents an intriguing model for other countries.

While the Home Grown Programme case presents some challenges to my argument, it generally fits into the overall theoretical framework, which sees policy entrepreneurs taking advantage of frames at the international level, or produced by the international, to justify the creation or continuation of a program. This case is emblematic of a new order in school feeding programs in which new frames to justify programs are proliferating and new types of organizations are taking over primary program delivery from the WFP in the developing world. In this case the frame is one of local economic development and the organization is a regional organization. This case also provides a good example of how diffusion theorists need to take local or organizational concerns into consideration when considering how diffusion occurs. In this case, the model remains, but the rationalization, or motivating frame, is different.

Canada

As I discussed in Chapter Three, Canada does not have a national school lunch program. This is a surprise because of its identification as a liberal welfare state and its history of agricultural surpluses. However, as I argued in Chapter Three, this is due to a lack of attention to child poverty, created and maintained by the Family Allowance system and the Canadian government's efforts to keep women out of the workforce. Since 1989, the issue of child poverty has been 'discovered' in Canada due to a revision

of the Family Allowance system. Since the discovery of poverty, different organizations have both begun to provide school lunches to children and pressure the national government to provide those lunches. The new growth in attention to school lunches lends support to my argument. The issue of child malnutrition must be considered problematic before organizations can even use frames to argue for school lunches; if an issue does not exist, it is impossible for frames to be constructed to address the issue.

Below, I look briefly at some of the new efforts to feed children in Canada. Although these programs currently operate at the local or provincial level, making my theoretical arguments less valid, these programs are instructive for understanding how quickly efforts to feed children sprang up following the 1989 ‘discovery’ of child poverty. In addition, these efforts stand as further examples of the sorts of school feeding efforts that are occurring in the international fragmentation phase.

School meals in Canada range from school food cupboards run by teachers to full meal programs with paid staff and community involvement.⁵⁹¹ There is not a comprehensive inventory of school feeding programs, but a survey by Health Canada indicated that some kind of school feeding goes on in every province or territory. This same survey indicates that volunteers who were concerned about the large number of children coming to school hungry drove most programs. At this point, a charity frame drives the creation of these programs. On occasion students are charged for meals, but more often the funding for these various programs comes from local boards of education, municipal grants, corporate sponsors, school associations, and voluntary

⁵⁹¹ Hyndman, 2000

associations that are exclusively devoted to school feeding. Below I detail three of the sorts of solutions that have been organized to deal with school feeding.

National

Breakfast for Learning⁵⁹² was founded in 1992 by the editors of Canadian Living Magazine⁵⁹³ in an effort to ensure that all children are able to attend school without being hungry. It is the only national organization dedicated solely to supporting child nutrition projects in Canada. The organization works by providing funds to local community groups, run by volunteers, who institute nutrition programs appropriate for their community. These funds can be used to buy food, equipment or pay staff. For instance, a school in Edmonton used its initial Breakfast for Living grant to install a school kitchen and now depends entirely on local donations to sustain the program.⁵⁹⁴ These programs operate in every province and territory in Canada. According to its own statistics the organization has helped over 1.5 million children since 1992. The program has increased its operations every year since it was founded and in 2007 fed 230,065 children through 2,367 programs at the price of \$2,544,313.⁵⁹⁵ The organization has recently begun a campaign for a government-funded national school nutrition program. Individuals, foundations and corporations fund the organization. Some of these corporate sponsors include Canadian Living Magazine, A&P Canada Co, and Wal-Mart. Although the primary focus of this organization is on ensuring access to food,

⁵⁹² Breakfast for Learning website, <http://breakfastforlearning.ca/english/index.html>

⁵⁹³ Canadian Living is a women's magazine that regularly covers topics such as family, relationships, food, health and style.

⁵⁹⁴ Dorrell, "Why Canada Needs a National School Food Program", Canadian Living, November 2007

⁵⁹⁵ Breakfast for Learning, Data from Breakfast for Learning Annual Report, 2007

beginning in 2000 the organization's internal conversation turned to ensuring healthy food as well.

Local

An example of a local organization is the School Lunch Association.⁵⁹⁶ An interchurch group in the City of St. Johns, Newfoundland founded this group in 1989. While doing a report on food banks the group discovered that a number of children in that city were kept home from school due to a lack of lunch. The parents were ashamed to send their children to school with no lunch. Today, they serve 2,700 students in 11 schools across the Northeast Avalon of Newfoundland. All students are accepted for the program, regardless of ability to pay. Their focus is to remove the stigma associated with receiving free school meals; they accomplish this by having all students pay with a brown envelope so that one cannot see if there is money in the envelope or not. They are funded largely through donations by other parents, individuals or corporations, including ExxonMobil and The Telegram. The provincial government does support the program with an annual grant of \$100,000, or about 28% of the organization's yearly budget.⁵⁹⁷

The Future

The Children's Health and Nutrition Initiative⁵⁹⁸ was started in January 2007 and is focused on building a coalition that will work to provide safe and healthy food to Canada's children. The group's first step is to call for a nutritious breakfast, snack or lunch to be available to all Canadian children under the age of 18. This group is not

⁵⁹⁶ School Lunch Association website, <http://www.schoollunch.ca/default.asp>

⁵⁹⁷ Government of Newfoundland and Labrador News Release. "Province Supports School Lunch Program" January 18, 2008

⁵⁹⁸ Children's Health and Nutrition Initiative website, <http://www.childrensfood.ca/chni.htm>

interested in mandating that the federal government supply the food; instead they think that existing local organizations and parent groups should supply these programs. However, this group does want federal funding to expand the programs or build them, on a local level, where food programs do not yet exist. They envision a commitment by the federal government of \$250 million for the first year with an increase of \$250 million every year for the first five years. This group is concerned with healthier food more so than simply supplying food at all. This mirrors the new focus by countries such as the UK, France and Italy for healthier foods within their already existing school lunch programs. This coalition plans to tackle the issue of a lack of food in schools and unhealthy foods in schools or at home at the same time.

The Canadian case is a further illustration of the international fragmentation period in the provision of school lunches. Unlike Catholic Relief Services or the African Home Grown School Feeding Programme, these programs are not organized by one centralized agency, but rather are sprouting up at the local, provincial or national level. In addition, these different organizations are taking on different tasks, ranging from feeding children to lobbying the federal government. At this point these organizations do not fit into my theoretical framework. This is in part because there is not a national program, which is what my theoretical framework seeks to explain. In addition, these are still, for the most part, local/provincial organizations using a frame of charity, and we have seen that the frame of charity can work at the local level. Canada at this stage is a late adopter of school lunch programs. Perhaps, due to effects of diffusion and the widespread presence of these programs, there is less need for internationalized frames for the creation of a school lunch program. Or, perhaps, unlike

in the past, a charity frame will be successful in the current environment. Nevertheless, this will be a very interesting case to watch over the next several years.

Conclusion

These three case studies are illustrative of the sorts of changes taking place in the world of school feeding during the international fragmentation phase. In particular, different kinds of organizations are starting to become more important players in the provision of school lunches. This is potentially a very important change to school lunch programs, particularly in the developing world. In some ways this change reflects a general trend towards privatization taking place in social service provision globally. It is unclear at this point in time what the results of this change might be regarding how many children are fed. One of the problems for all of these organizations is their dependence on other agencies to fund their work. If this funding dries up, or, as in the CRS case in 1995, is affected by politics, this could be a problematic development for children's nutrition.

Each of the two larger organizational cases is illustrative of very different types of frames. The frame of human dignity guides Catholic Relief Services' actions, while the Home Grown Programme was created under the frame of local economic development. While these are very different frames, there is an important connection between the two. Each shares a vision of a better life for those whom it affects. In other words, both frames are based in a morality that both seeks to improve lives and finds it imperative to do so, albeit through very different means. In addition, the different Canadian organizations are largely couching their arguments in a language of

morality – that feeding children is quite simply the right thing to do; while these arguments did not work in the past to pressure governments to create national programs, perhaps in the near future, they will. The theme of morality that runs through the organizations involved in school lunch programs during the international fragmentation period is an important difference from the security frame originally used to create programs. This suggests that scholars ought to take seriously the impact of morality in understanding policy, giving further impetus to a move away from strictly rationalist ways of understanding policy.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions: A New Norm

The story of school lunches is a story about the changing relationship between the family and its governing institutions, be they the state or another type of organization. At the turn of the century, around the world, it was an assumption that the family or close community was responsible for the physical care of their children. Over the last hundred years that assumption has been reworked. It is now considered the responsibility of both the family and society as a whole, represented in the form of the state or another type of organization, to physically care for children. This represents a fundamental reworking of the role of families.

In this last chapter I address this fundamental shift in the role of the families by assessing whether or not a new norm is emerging that speaks to that shift. I conclude that a new norm is indeed emerging, not only about who should feed families, but how that feeding should happen. In addition, I address how my specific argument about school lunches helps expand our definitions of social policy and summarize my argument.

A New Norm

I suggest at the beginning of the dissertation that the emergence of school lunch programs is the concrete embodiment of an emerging norm. This emerging norm is that there is a public responsibility to feed children; feeding children is no longer the sole province of the family. This is a norm that continues to compete with the idea that the care of a child, and in particular the feeding of children, is a family responsibility. This

norm reworks the relationship between families and the state, or society as a whole and addresses the fundamental moral issue of malnourished children.

A norm is a standard of behavior appropriate for an actor with a given identity,⁵⁹⁹ and these assumptions about that behavior are shared by a “collectivity of actors.”⁶⁰⁰ In other words, a norm exists as a shared assessment about appropriate behavior.⁶⁰¹ The question of how do we know a norm exists depends on the reaction of a community, society, state, some collectivity, to different behaviors. Norm breaking behavior produces disapproval or condemnation, while norm-conforming behavior produces praise or no reaction at all if the norm is deeply ingrained.⁶⁰² We are, in general, able to know a norm only through indirect evidence, either through the discourse around the subject or through behavioral change.

There are a number of pieces of behavioral and discursive evidence seen throughout the case studies that suggest that this is becoming a new norm. These include both state and international organization behavior. In particular, the case of Canada, which has started to see some pressure on the issue of feeding children, the number of states that continue school lunch programs after the WFP leaves and the number of states that choose to run school lunch programs despite being agricultural importing states all suggest state behavior consistent with this norm. Likewise, the rise in conditional cash transfer programs at both the state level and international level, and the way in which the World Food Programme reacted to the food crisis that occurred

⁵⁹⁹ Katzenstein, 1996, 5

⁶⁰⁰ Checkel, 1999, 83

⁶⁰¹ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 892

⁶⁰² Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 892

through the first part of 2008 provide further behavioral evidence of the norm. I discuss each of these below.

In particular, the Canadian case that was discussed in Chapter Three and Chapter Six presents evidence that this norm is being taken more seriously. This country did not develop a school lunch program at the same time as other, like countries, but today a number of voluntary organizations are beginning to provide meals. The efforts that have been organized in Canada in the last twenty years to address the issue of child malnutrition are important in terms of getting children fed. In addition, the work towards child feeding programs in Canada suggests that a norm that demands responsibility for children's nutrition is emerging. Groups at very different levels, national, provincial, and local, have begun supporting the cause and have promoted different solutions to the problem such as breakfasts. The efforts by these groups to change their government's action provide further proof that a norm is emerging.

One of the puzzles I raised in Chapter Two was about the twenty-two agricultural-importing countries that have government funded and supported school lunch programs. These twenty-two countries are either Lower Middle Income or Upper Middle Income countries on the World Bank income classifications scale, which suggests that they do not have excess monies for social spending. And yet, these countries provide school lunches. The likely answer to this puzzle is precisely that these countries feel normatively committed to providing children with food.

In Chapter Four I examined how the World Food Programme has served as a diffuser of school lunch programs. I analyzed the phased out WFP countries as to

whether or not they continued to have school lunch programs. While not every one of these countries did continue to have a school lunch program, most notably Mexico, Paraguay and Turkey, every country did continue to feed children in some way. This result suggests a normative commitment to feeding children.

In addition to the countries that supply school lunch programs despite their low economic status, countries that continue programs after the WFP has left, or countries such as Canada that are beginning to consider programs, the countries that are adopting conditional cash transfer programs are further evidence of this new norm. Twenty-one countries currently operate conditional cash transfer programs. All but three of these countries simultaneously operate school lunch programs, although usually in different parts of the country. The majority of these programs have been started since 2000, with the exception of Mexico, which started its program in 1997. Interestingly, there is a regional homogeneity to these programs with the majority being concentrated in Latin America.

Conditional cash transfer programs work by providing cash benefits to parents, usually the mothers, if the child attends school a certain number of days a month. Often, in addition to attendance, the child or family is required to make a certain number of visits to a health care professional. It is assumed that the cash will be spent on providing food for the children. The World Bank supports conditional cash transfer programs over traditional school lunch programs with funding and technical assistance,⁶⁰³ and some have argued that conditional cash transfers are the most

⁶⁰³ World Bank Website, “Conditional Cash Transfers”

innovative social development programs in years⁶⁰⁴ and a ‘magic bullet for development’.⁶⁰⁵ A more thorough analysis of conditional cash transfer programs is a project for another time. What is useful about conditional cash transfer programs here is that their development is further evidence that a norm that ascribes responsibility for feeding children is emerging. While that might seem counter-intuitive, as it is the parents (mothers) doing the actual feeding, these programs are based in a logic that parents need help providing the food and that it is the responsibility of another entity to provide the means for that food.

The evidence so far has looked largely at state-level developments that suggest an emerging norm. There is also evidence from the World Food Programme that suggests this is an emerging norm. During the last half of 2007 and the first half of 2008 world food security was dramatically threatened by a sudden rise in agricultural prices. This crisis had many causes, including a rise in oil prices, poor climatic conditions, speculation, increased biofuels production, and changing demographic and consumer patterns.⁶⁰⁶ In two countries, Kenya and Cambodia, the World Food Programme had to temporarily suspend the school lunch program as it scrambled to find available foods and money.⁶⁰⁷ While this looks like a setback for this emerging norm, by August 2008 the programs in both countries had been restored due to the decision made by the WFP’s Executive Board in June 2008, which created a new four year strategic plan emphasizing the use of school lunch programs along with emergency aid

⁶⁰⁴ Janvry and Sadoulet, 2004

⁶⁰⁵ Dugger, New York Times, January 3, 2004

⁶⁰⁶ UNCTAD Document, May 30, 2008

⁶⁰⁷ Harman, May 21, 2008

and a new warning system.⁶⁰⁸ At this meeting the WFP decided to expand school lunch programs to cover children during the summer season in Liberia, Burundi and Senegal. Thus, while the initial reaction to the crisis did mean that WFP programs in a few states were suspended, they have since been restored and there is a larger commitment from the WFP for school feeding programs now than since the mid-1990s.

Taken together these pieces of evidence suggest that the idea that feeding children is no longer only the responsibility of the family is gaining credence in the international system. Children in a majority of states are provided food by some organization other than their family. This trend, which began in the early 1900s, is now well established in many developed and developing countries as well as the programmatic playbook of important international organizations such as the UN and the World Bank. In addition, developed countries that have not previously had school feeding programs are beginning to feel pressure from domestic actors to institute such a program.

Emergent norms often follow a pattern whereby the norm is institutionalized in international law before a norm cascade can occur.⁶⁰⁹ This institutionalization has occurred for this norm. The basis for this norm is the right to food. The right to food was first enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and a specific right to food for children was declared even earlier in the 1924 Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child. However, it was not until the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991 that the language changed such that states now bore a responsibility to feed children if the family could not. In the previous incarnations the party responsible

⁶⁰⁸ The UN System Response to the World Food Security Crisis, July 31, 2008

⁶⁰⁹ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 900

for feeding children was left unclear. For instance, the Geneva Convention in 1924 says only that “the child that is hungry must be fed”⁶¹⁰ and the Declaration on the Rights of the Child in 1954 says, “The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical service.”⁶¹¹ It is one thing to say that a right exists, it is another entirely to lay out in international human rights law who is responsible for enforcing that right. This is finally codified in the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991 when it is stated, in Article 27 that:

3. State Parties, in accordance with national conditions and their means, shall take appropriate measures to assist parents and others responsible for the child to implement this right and shall in case of need provide material assistance and support programs, particularly with regard to nutrition, clothing and housing.⁶¹²

This is the first time that a responsible party is tied to the right of a child to have food. As mentioned in the first chapter, the early 1990s and 2000s are the second great wave of school lunch program emergence, likely following the Convention on the Rights of the Child and renewed attention in the 1990s to children’s rights in general.

While the Convention on the Rights of the Child finally specified state parties as responsible for providing food to children if their families cannot, there is no direction through international law as to how this right is to be fulfilled. Perhaps then there is a second norm pointed to by this study which is that school lunch programs and cash transfer programs are the way in which to fulfill the human right of a child to have food. If that is the case, we are seeing a regulative norm emerge from a prescriptive norm

⁶¹⁰ Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, adopted Sept 26, 1924, League of Nations O.J. Spec. Supp. 21, at 43 (1924)

⁶¹¹ Declaration of the Rights of the Child, G.A. res 1386 (XIV) 14 UN GAOR Supp. (No. 16) at 19, UN Doc A/4354 (1959).

⁶¹² Convention on the Rights of the Child, GA res 44/25, annex, 44 UN GAOR Supp. (No. 49) at 167 UN DOC A/44/49 (1989) entered into force Sept 2 1990

which itself emerged from an even more general prescriptive norm. I have illustrated below the way I see these norms fitting together.

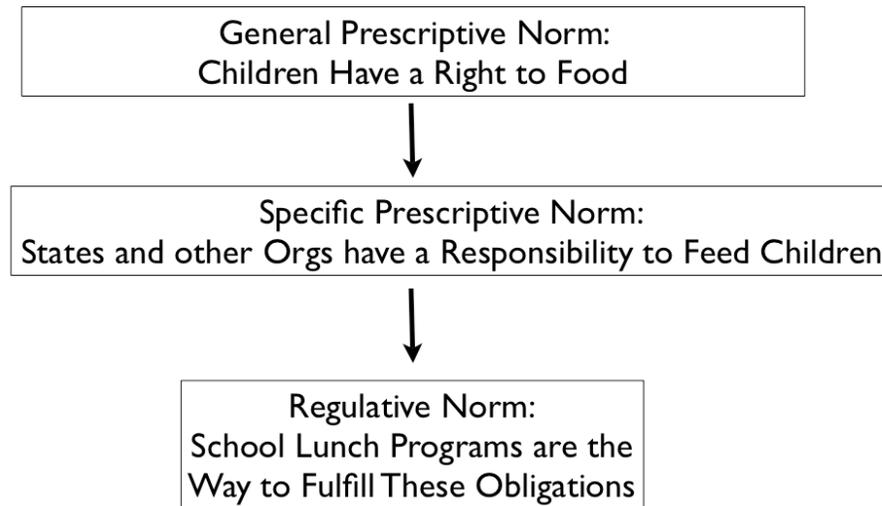


Figure 7. 1: Nested Children's Feeding Norms

This is clearly a series of nested norms within a general regime of children's rights. The development of these specific norms regarding food and school lunch programs is a positive step in general in the children's rights regime. In addition, the emergence of these norms suggests that historically intransigent issues, such as malnutrition, might now have a better future.

Effectiveness of School Lunch Programs

In order to bolster the above claim that the development of a norm regarding school lunch programs is a positive step for the children's rights regime, it is necessary

to discuss the effectiveness of school lunch programs. There have been very few systematic evaluations of school lunch programs on a global level. The evidence that is available is largely composed of individual country, or even region or village specific studies, that evaluated the impact of a school-feeding program. One of the problems with doing true, scientific experiments has been the ethical qualms of researchers who have been reluctant to withhold food in areas of hunger.⁶¹³ Likewise, school officials, whom are uninterested in experimental design and interested in supplying food to children, can corrupt studies.

There have been some recent studies that have aggregated the data from the various case studies. These recent studies come to similar conclusions regarding the effectiveness of school feeding programs. The two areas in which school feeding seems to consistently be effective are in improving school attendance and in reducing short-term hunger.⁶¹⁴ Examples of improvement in short term nutritional status come from studies in Jamaica, the US, Peru, Bangladesh, Malawi and Jordan.⁶¹⁵ Improvement in school attendance has been documented in Burkina Faso, Malawi, Niger, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and in almost all World Food Programme school feeding projects. In addition, a body of evidence is starting to build that suggests micro-nutrient fortification through school feeding, particularly iron and iodine which are linked with cognition, is successful.

⁶¹³ Greenlough, et. Al, October 2007 – This article succinctly summarizes data from 18 studies on school feeding programs that cover five continents and eight decades.

⁶¹⁴ Village Hope, Inc., 2008; Greenlough, et. Al., October 2007; Miller del Rosso, 1999

⁶¹⁵ The results of these studies are gathered from Miller del Rosso (1999), the WFP's Hunger and Learning 2006 Series and Dowlah (2002).

Other than these three effects, opinions diverge as to the effectiveness of school feeding programs. Some studies have found that school feeding does create long-term nutritional improvements, particularly in low and middle income countries,⁶¹⁶ while other studies have been less likely to find long-term nutritional improvements. The evidence seems to be mixed as to whether the programs improve a child's nutritional status in the long-term.⁶¹⁷ Some studies find that the interconnected nature of nutrition to other variables such as environmental factors, genetics, hygiene practices and sanitation makes school feeding for long-term nutritional improvement less effective;⁶¹⁸ others have found that long-term nutritional status is unaffected because children who are given food at school are sometimes denied food at home.⁶¹⁹ However, other studies have found more favorably that nutrition interventions can positively affect long-term nutritional deficiency.⁶²⁰

Related to the mixed evaluations on long-term nutritional status, there is also little evidence that suggests that school lunch programs improve human capital. In general, school lunch programs on their own cannot improve human capital if other factors such as school infrastructure, teacher quality and laws supporting primary education are not in place. In fact, school lunches can sometimes have a negative effect on education because increased attendance leads to school crowding. In addition, the

⁶¹⁶ Greenlagh, et. Al, October 2007

⁶¹⁷ Faaland, et. Al, 2000, 233.

⁶¹⁸ Tomlinson, 2007

⁶¹⁹ Greenlagh, et. Al, October 2007

⁶²⁰ Greenlagh, et. Al, October 2007

influx of new students to schools can sometimes slow the learning process, as these students, having suffered malnutrition, are more likely to be slower learners.⁶²¹

Finally, other evaluations reveal that school lunch programs do not target the poorest of the poor very effectively, because the meals do not offset the opportunity cost to the parents of sending their children to school. This makes school meals ineffective at the goal of providing food to those children whom most need it.⁶²² This suggests a need for other types of nutrition interventions to reach these children.

In order to improve school feeding programs various studies point in similar directions. The following are factors that will enhance the efficacy of a school feeding program: programs should be directed towards children with a clear nutritional deficiency; schools should be well organized; interventions should be developed in consultation with the local community; the food supplement should fit the local culture and palate; and measures should be in place to ensure that the food is actually consumed.⁶²³ Other suggestions for improving school feeding programs include integrating school feeding with other nutrition and health interventions, developing monitoring systems in order to evaluate the program on specific outcomes and identifying alternative funding or more efficient delivery systems.⁶²⁴

In general school lunch programs are effective at alleviating short-term hunger and improving school attendance. The programs are less effective at many of the goals the international community sets for them, specifically human capital development. This is largely due to the lack of infrastructure that accompanies many school lunch

⁶²¹ WFP, *Hunger and Learning*, 2006; based on a study from Bangladesh.

⁶²² Levinger, 1986

⁶²³ Greenlagh, et. Al. October 2007.

⁶²⁴ Miller del Rosso, 1999

programs. However, this does not make school lunch programs ineffective. Rather, it suggests that the international community might consider changing the goals of school lunch programs to focus on the moral issue of feeding children, which school lunch programs do accomplish. This indicates that school lunch programs can be an important part of the children's rights regime.

Social Policy

This study is a study of a particular type of social policy. The field of social policy originally coalesced around studying state actions “to reduce economic inequality by providing certain floors on income and services and preventing income loss due to certain risks.”⁶²⁵ This idea of social policy reflects the original efforts of the state to make the lives of their citizens better; it reflects the purposes of the original welfare states. As such, academics were simply studying what occurred. However, this definition, with its emphasis entirely on the working-man, did much to obscure from study other ways in which the state made efforts to make better the lives of its other citizens, especially children.

In addition, these studies were almost entirely based on the experiences of Western European countries and the United States, further obscuring the reality of social policies that were occurring either in developing countries or at the level of international organizations. In fact, there are several difficulties with using the terminology of the welfare state literature, which was developed primarily to analyze and explain Western European institutions. The first difficulty is that the welfare state

⁶²⁵ Amenta, 2003, 97

literature and resulting social policy has relied on two fundamental assumptions: capitalism and a relatively autonomous state.⁶²⁶ These two conditions do not necessarily hold for developing countries. Second, the effects of colonialism cannot be understated for welfare provision in developing countries. Broadly speaking, welfare institutions in developing countries reflect their colonial legacy. Colonial powers were primarily concerned with economic development and welfare institutions reflect this. The location of the organizations tended to follow the economic centers and programs in general were seen as “peripheral and residual: provision was to be made at the minimum level possible consonant with a response to the problem perceived.”⁶²⁷

The focus of the original scholars who explored social policy on welfare states in the West, while providing a clear definition around which to organize a research program, has resulted in theories that cannot explain social policy creation around issues other than income inequality or in other settings than Western capitalist democracies. More recent work has begun to question the fundamental definition of social policy and expand that definition to consider public spending on the welfare of citizens.⁶²⁸ A broader definition is necessary to properly assess the variety of policies that currently affect people around the world. A broader definition must also take into consideration the wide variety of organizations through which social policy is now affected, such as international organizations, non-governmental organizations and regional organizations.

⁶²⁶ Gough and Wood, 2004, Introduction and Conclusion

⁶²⁷ MacPherson and Midgley, 1987, 77

⁶²⁸ Amenta, Bonastia and Caren, 2001, 213

In addition, it is unlikely that the theories that have already been developed will necessarily explain social policies included under this broader definition. In particular, a social policy that primarily affects children is unlikely to be explained by conventional theories designed to explain income protections. My work shows that the conventional theories of social policy do not explain the development of school lunch programs. In particular, I found problematic the exclusive focus within these theories on material and national factors. Even those theories that allow for the influence of ideas, such as post-materialism, ignore the very real effect that international structures, both ideational and institutional, can have on domestic policy-making. It is important to consider the ways in which these different factors work together in the production of policy.

School Lunches as Social Policy

In this dissertation I examined the emergence of school lunch programs. Unlike other conventional theories of policy emergence, which find causal power solely in agentic or structural approaches, I argue that policy entrepreneurs use internationalized frames that suit their particular domestic context to produce school lunch programs. Thus, this is an agentic approach, which acknowledges the way in which the international system structures the available ideational frames. Diffusion explanations, commonly used by international relations scholars to explain policy emergence, do not pay proper attention to the importance of domestic or organizational actors nor the organizational context. This approach is too top-down to explain the emergence of school lunch programs. On the other hand, many approaches to policy emergence that

originate from the field of comparative politics do not pay proper attention to the important role that international institutions, and particularly international ideational structures, play in the development of policy. My approach speaks to the deficiencies in these theoretical frameworks and seeks to integrate an understanding of policy emergence that pays attention to the effects of international institutions and the important role of domestic, or organizational, actors.

In explaining school lunch program emergence I focus particularly on the role played by policy entrepreneurs. These policy entrepreneurs, who can include teachers, activists and government officials, are interested in feeding children. These actors work within the confines of either their state or their organizational context. They are driven by the fundamental belief that it is wrong for children to starve. However, individual states, and the international system as a whole, have historically been disinterested in the issue of child malnutrition. Thus, in order to create action on the issue of child malnutrition these actors had to frame the issue of child malnutrition in such a way that it would appeal to their organizational context. The frames, or ideas about child malnutrition, that have been most successful at creating action are those that can be considered internationalized, in that, having been created by state actors in the past, now exist as internationally institutionalized ideas about states' goals. That is, these ideas were created by interactions within the international community of states and have been deemed appropriate by the international community of states. The policy entrepreneurs actively looked for and then strategically manipulated these international ideas in order to meet their goal of creating feeding programs for children.

Ideas are fundamental to my argument. Ideas are a necessary factor for the emergence of these programs. School lunch programs would not have been created without the work of policy entrepreneurs to frame the issue of child malnutrition in a way that resonated with the organizational culture, and particularly the concerns of that organization when the program was created. Entrepreneurs are constrained by their organizational context. Their ability to create programs within their organizational context depended on the entrepreneurs tying ideas about child malnutrition into larger ideational frameworks that were operative at the time the programs were established, such as security, development, human rights or humanitarianism concerns.

These internationalized frames can be usefully understood as ideational cultural structures within the overall structure of the international system. I take this term from Alexander Wendt, but flesh out more completely how cultural structures operate, by giving clear examples of different cultural structures. For instance, I find development, security, human rights and humanitarianism to be ideational cultural structures. These structures were created by the interactions of the players in the international system and have now become institutionalized within the structure of the international system. They created new, shared knowledge that guides state behavior.

In my case studies, policy entrepreneurs were able to manipulate the shared knowledge of each cultural structure, or internationalized frame, by stressing how child malnutrition could affect the state interests. These frames which were able to motivate action on the issue of child malnutrition are thus particularly powerful frames that resonate within the organizational context because of their structural positioning in the international system and the way in which that structural positioning influences state

behavior. By analyzing each of these internationalized frames within my case studies, I have contributed to efforts to more clearly specify a constructivist understanding of international structure.

However, material concerns cannot be entirely ignored. Feeding children depends to a certain extent on the availability of food for that purpose. Thus, a material background condition for the creation of school lunch programs is global agricultural surpluses. This is another necessary factor, although it is a background necessary factor. Global agricultural surplus is a background condition because agricultural surpluses do not explain in their entirety why countries adopt programs; as I demonstrated in Chapter Two, there are many countries that have these surpluses and do not have school lunch programs and many countries that do not have surpluses but do have school lunch programs. However, all school lunch programs exist and were created in a time of global agricultural surpluses. Thus, I consider these concerns to be a background condition.

I represent the process by which policy entrepreneurs, acting within the constraints of their organizational context, as well as the necessary background condition of global agricultural surpluses work to produce school lunch programs below. This serves as a general theoretical framework to explain my cases. As we have seen, each case fits into this framework to greater or lesser degrees. This chart indicates that entrepreneurs are deeply embedded within their organizational context. The graphic illustrates the way in which policy entrepreneurs, constrained both by their organizational context as well as the global material context actively reach out of their organizational context to find and then strategically manipulate internationalized

frames. These frames then must resonate within the organizational context in order to produce a school lunch program. This is not a process whereby the international reaches into the organizational context, but rather one in which the policy entrepreneurs are explicitly engaged in the process of finding international ideas which will best suit their organizational needs. The frame that works for each organization is dependent on the historical moment within which each organization is embedded. The frames exist ‘out there’, as international cultural structures for entrepreneurs to take advantage of, when the organizational conditions are right.

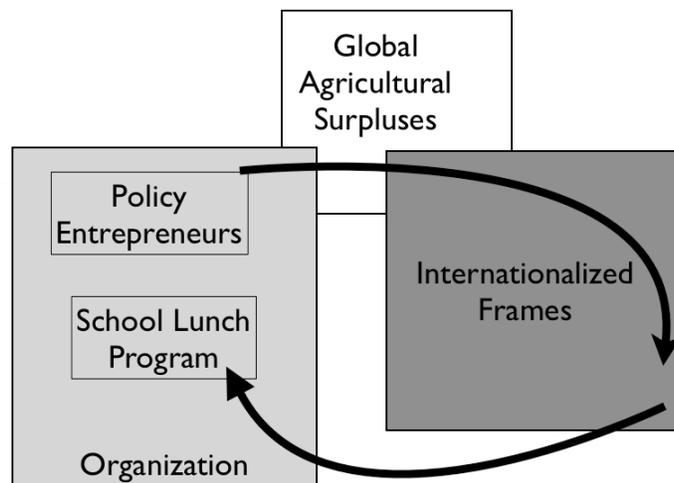


Figure 7.2: General Process By Which Policy Entrepreneurs Use Internationalized Frames to Produce School Lunch Programs

I found the theoretical framework detailed above to be useful in understanding the specific process by which programs emerged in different organizational contexts and time periods. I used case studies in order to trace the historical, global emergence of school lunch programs by focusing on the three phases in their emergence. I

examined the historical emergence of the programs, which was largely based in developed countries facing security threats, by focusing on the United States and the United Kingdom. These two countries represent the early phase of program emergence, approximately 1900 – 1960. In this case policy entrepreneurs who were concerned with the issue of child malnutrition tried for several decades to create school lunch programs at the national level. These entrepreneurs used frames of charity and education, before finally being able to create traction on the issue in the aftermath of war. At this point they were able to link concerns with child malnutrition to concerns with national security. In addition, agricultural interests and high female employment during WWII were important contributing factors to the emergence of these two programs.

The next phase I examined, international diffusion, is marked by the development of the UN's World Food Programme and its focus on creating school lunch programs in a large number of developing countries. This phase runs from the start date of the WFP, 1961, until 1995 when the WFP's funding priorities shifted. In this case it was the work of George McGovern and B.R. Sen, driven by a principled interest in feeding children and the political pragmatism of using agricultural supplies for peace that created the necessary compromise between countries interested in food aid for emergencies and countries interested in food for social and economic development. This compromise effectively worked school lunch programs into the original formulation for the World Food Programme. In addition, the rules designed for the World Food Programme have, at least partially, ensured the place of school lunch programs in WFP programming.

Finally, I moved on to the newest phase in the development of school lunches, international fragmentation, which began in 1995. During this period a number of different organizations have begun to create school lunch programs, concerns with morality have become more important and the global trend towards the privatization of social services is exemplified. The WFP is no longer the only body creating school lunch programs in the developing world. Instead, developing countries are creating programs on their own initiative (India), non-governmental organizations are continuing their efforts at creating school lunches (Catholic Relief Services), and a regional organization has begun transferring power over school lunch programs from the WFP to itself (Home Grown School Feeding). In the case of India, human rights activists were able to harness the power of a progressive Supreme Court and create a school lunch program in fulfillment of a human right to food. The Mid-Day Meals Programme is the largest school lunch program in the world and is thus well positioned to provide food for many children who need it. Interestingly, in this case the government is now handing off responsibility for day-to-day operations of the program to a statewide NGO by continuing to fund 50% of the program.

The case of Catholic Relief Services highlights the central role that Catholic Social Teaching, as the ideological basis of that organization, has played in both justifying and demanding the creation of school lunch programs. In fact, in the face of a USAID directive to phase out school lunch programs, the organization restructured its delivery model in order to continue these programs. This indicates the strong tie the organization has to providing children with food in that model.

Africa's brand-new Home Grown School Feeding Programme is a fascinating case. In this case African leaders are using a frame of local economic development to continue WFP-created school lunch programs, but under a totally different rationale than that with which they were created. This case highlights the importance of domestic agency in the creation or continuation of these programs, as it is entirely due to the work of African leaders interested in African solutions to African problems, that these school lunch programs are continuing at all. In addition, this case provides insight on how a program type that was diffused by an international organization manages to stay relevant once the diffusing agent has left.

Finally, voluntary organizations in Canada have begun pressing at a local, provincial and national level for school lunches. These efforts only began after the problem of child poverty was 'discovered' with the creation of a new child benefits program. These organizations are currently using a frame of charity and it is unclear whether or not the efforts will be successful on a national level. Nevertheless, this is an important part of the international fragmentation phase as it shows even late adopters of school lunch programs slowly implementing programs.

Each of these chapters and cases highlights a different phase in the development of school lunch programs as a global phenomenon in the fight against child malnutrition. Within the phases there are a number of different, and useful, comparisons to be made. For instance, each of these cases focuses on a different organizing body for the school lunches. The state itself, an international organization, a regional organization and a non-governmental organization each worked, within

different phases, to implement these programs. The chart below shows which organizations were operating in which time period.

	State	Int'l Org	NGO	Regional Org
1900 - 1960	US/UK			
1961 - 1995		WFP	CRS	
1995 - present	India	WFP	CRS	HGSF

Table 7.1: Organizing Body for School Lunches by Phase

It is clear that the state has worked well as an organizing agent only in the early and late phases, that the international organization and non-governmental organization has worked well in both the diffusion and the fragmentation phase and that the regional organization has only worked during the present phase. This partly reflects the very development of international organizations, which did not begin in a meaningful way until the post-WWII period. Not only does the presence of every type of organization in the present period indicates that a variety of organizations can take on similar duties in today's international environment, but it seems likely that this variety of organizations is necessary to handle the task of feeding children, due to the complexity of child poverty and malnutrition.

Interestingly, it is only the state organized programs that feature the connection between women's employment and school lunch programs. In the early cases concerns with the problematic overlap between women's employment and feeding children were voiced both by women's and industrial organizations, as well as state level industrial planners. In the Indian case the program was designed to increase women's employment by using preferential hiring requirements, but women's employment was

not an intervening variable for the creation of the program, as it was in the US and UK. Women's employment concerns do not feature heavily in the decisions of either international or non-governmental organizations to initiate a program.

In addition to differences in organizing agent, each case also highlights a different frame that is successfully used to create a school lunch program. Different organizing agents use different frames at different times, such as security, development (which encompasses local economic development and human capital development) and a general frame of humanity, which covers both human rights and human dignity. These are arrayed in the chart below by time period and which kind of organization used which frame.

	Security	Development	Humanity
1900 – 1960	State (US, UK)		
1961 – 1995		Int'l Org (WFP)	NGO (CRS)
1995 – present		Regional Org (HGSF)	NGO (CRS) State (India)

Table 7.2: Frames by Phase

While different frames are present at different times, they also operate along very different timelines. In particular, a security frame is likely to motivate action more quickly than the other frames. A security concern necessitates immediate action in a way that the others do not. The other goals, such as development or human rights, can be thought of as operating along a much slower timeline, and might therefore be less likely to motivate action in an immediate way.

In addition to a difference in timeliness, these different frames can be arrayed on a continuum that runs from a motivation that is clearly self-interested, such as security

concerns, to motivations that are clearly moral, such as humanity or development concerns. An education frame, which is tried by most of the organizations, never works despite its seeming affinity with the issue. An education frame presents an argument that connects child malnutrition to the good of a country in a complex manner, as it requires people to understand the link between child hunger, learning and improved country prospects. It would appear that despite the complexities inherent in policy making, clearly moral or clearly self-interested frames are better for motivating action than frames that actually address the complexity of an issue. In addition, it is interesting to note that the moral frames of humanity or development seem to work more successfully now, in the present period, than the security frame. This suggests that frames that appeal towards more moral reasoning might be better suited for contemporary times, when discussing issues such as child malnutrition. While frames of charity did not work to create action on a national scale in the early 1900s, perhaps they will today. The Canadian case will be particularly interesting to watch and track the success or failure of the groups pushing for national legislation, many of which are currently using a charity frame.

The use of frames that appeal to moral reasoning is one of the major developments during the international fragmentation phase. Moral arguments often focus on the responsibility of those who cause harm to those whom they have harmed.⁶²⁹ There is a convincing argument that affluent nations, and particularly ex-colonial powers, are morally responsible to the hungry because these countries created the global economic conditions that produce world hunger. However, regardless of the

⁶²⁹ Lafollette and May, 1996, 74

causal responsibility for hunger, I believe that there is an argument to be made that the international community has a moral obligation to work to alleviate hunger. Simply by being in a position to do good, to alleviate hunger, the international community, and particularly the developed states, have a moral obligation to do so.⁶³⁰ In particular, the international community has a moral obligation to hungry children, who neither chose the circumstances of their birth, nor are able to leave their situation. While a shared moral responsibility emerges from the common vulnerability that all people can experience, this is particularly so for children.⁶³¹ Thus, the international community has a moral obligation to feed children. School lunch programs, regardless of their successes at other goals such as development, are one way to fulfill a moral obligation to feed children. In the international fragmentation phase, it seems that these connections between hunger and morality are beginning to be acknowledged. I find these developments promising, as hunger is, without a doubt, an issue whose moral component obligates action.

Another important development in the international fragmentation phase is the important role for privatization in the creation of school lunch programs. For instance, in India the Mid-Day Meals Program was more fully implemented after various NGOs took over the provision of the lunches, and in Canada it is the efforts of private groups that are beginning to create school lunch programs. Indeed, even Catholic Relief Services can be considered to operate as a privatized entity of USAID. This trend towards the privatization of social services is certainly not confined to the issue of school lunches. Since the 1980s social services in both developed and developing

⁶³⁰ Singer, 1972; LaFollette and May, 1996, 82

⁶³¹ LaFollette and May, 1996, 77

countries have been increasingly privatized, as governments seek to save money and governments are seen as less able to efficiently provide services.

Due to the global pervasiveness of privatized social services, some might argue that privatization could be regarded as an internationalized frame, on par with security, development or human rights. Privatization could be regarded as a framing device because, thinking back to the original definition of frames, privatization helps actors make sense of the world and “prioritize their interests and goals”.⁶³² However, I do not think that privatization is an internationalized frame on par with security, development or human rights. This is primarily because I argue that internationalized frames exist as intersubjective understandings of what a state or organization’s goals should be.

Privatization is not a goal but rather *a method* for accomplishing goals related to social service provision. Internationalized frames are the why, while privatization is the how.

Furthermore, if we consider internationalized frames to be what Wendt calls cultural structures, as I do in this dissertation, privatization clearly does not operate as a combination of micro and macro international structures. In fact, at this point I do not think that privatization can be considered a structural component of the international system at either a micro or macro level. It instead exists as a tool of actors in the international system. I do not preclude the possibility that privatization may yet become a structural component of the international system, emerging through the interactions of domestic actors and being pushed out to the international system in much the same way as the internationalized frames that I examined. However, at this point, I do not find

⁶³² Bleich, 2002, 1063

convincing arguments that see privatization as an internationalized frame such as the other frames I examine in this dissertation.

Conclusion

The emergence and spread of school lunch programs has been a major social policy development over the last hundred years. This policy has reworked the relationship between families and society, and has resulted in more children being assured of food. My project, in working to understanding the emergence and subsequent spread of this particular social policy, has tried to incorporate an understanding of ideational international structures into a primarily agentic view of policy-making. I have tried to open up the ‘black box’ of the state or organization to see how policy entrepreneurs work to frame policy debates and create action. In particular, I have explored how internationalized frames, or cultural structures, affect policy-making.

My research suggests that a renewed attention to morality in international politics might be prudent for both policy-makers and scholars. Moral considerations were prominent in the early study of international relations,⁶³³ but these sorts of concerns dropped out of the field as the behavioral revolution advanced. More recently, moral concerns have been brought back into the field, largely through the efforts of constructivist scholars.⁶³⁴ However, the field of comparative social policy has not yet experienced such a consistent ideational turn as international relations. I believe that

⁶³³ For instance, both Carr and Morgenthau considered morality in their analysis of international politics.

⁶³⁴ Price, 2008; Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 887

comparative social policy would benefit from the insights into morality, as well as other ideational phenomena, offered by constructivist international relations theory.

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