

16

Assessments of the impacts of global economic crises on household food security: innovative approaches, lessons and challenges

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1. Introduction

The impact of the recent global economic shock has been well researched at the macro level. Initial analyses sought to simulate the potential impacts of the 2007–2008 global food and fuel price and financial crises on countries and households. Between 2000 and the peak of the food price crisis in 2008, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) cereal price index more than tripled. As households started to lose their purchasing power, discontented populations voiced their concerns in the form of socio-political unrest, especially in cities, such as in Haiti, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Indonesia. Although such manifestations constituted early evidence of the negative impact of the global food and fuel price crises, there was little direct empirical evidence that hunger and malnutrition were broadening and deepening. On top of these price crises, the global financial crisis began in mid-2007, culminating in widespread financial stress among major financial institutions in September 2008 and degenerating into a global recession. This widespread economic downturn dealt another blow to the resilience of poor households.

These developments led to a shift in the focus, which moved from the causes to the consequences of global economic crises and to the policy actions and responses required to mitigate their adverse impacts. To support governments in responding to these new global challenges, WFP initiated several assessments

to guide the design of appropriate interventions for alleviating food insecurity and enhancing nutrition status. The objectives of the assessments were to determine the country-specific channels through which impacts of the global food, fuel and financial shocks were transmitted, changes in the food security status of households, and mitigating responses that might be appropriate. This chapter provides insights into recent assessment approaches, findings and related response options. It is structured to reflect urban and rural differences, to the extent possible.

2. Assessment of the impacts of food, fuel and financial crises: new approaches

WFP country offices tracked the effects of soaring food and fuel prices and the global financial crisis of 2007–2008 on urban and rural households' food security and livelihoods. Several country assessments were carried out, and interventions were mounted accordingly. Two sets of analyses were undertaken: one to identify the countries most at risk from the global phenomena; and the other to identify effects at the local level.

2.1 The countries most vulnerable to global economic crises: a global selection approach

Prior to launching field assessments, WFP analysed macro-level data to identify countries likely to be vulnerable to the global food, fuel and financial crises, and therefore likely to have the largest changes in their food security profiles.¹ Regarding the global food and fuel price crisis, the underlying hypothesis was that the countries likely to exhibit high levels of food insecurity would be those that rely heavily on imported food and fuel commodities, have relatively large urban populations, are experiencing high inflationary pressures, and have populations that spend a significant proportion of their incomes on food. The countries most likely to be vulnerable to the global financial crisis would be those whose economies are linked to others', particularly if they have high levels of remittances, trade, tourism, foreign direct investment and official development assistance (ODA). In addition, the food security situation of these countries would be likely to deteriorate if it was already precarious before the crisis. The global analysis therefore included three food security-related factors – the level of the country's food deficit, the proportion of undernourished people in the population, and the proportion of underweight children – to help identify the countries most vulnerable to increased food insecurity. This preliminary analysis led to the identification of 40 countries as vulnerable to the global food and fuel price crisis or the global financial crisis, with high risk of further deterioration

of their food security situations. Field assessments to determine how households were affected by these global crises were carried out in some of the most vulnerable countries

Table 16.1 Countries most vulnerable to the global food, fuel and financial crises		
Region	Most vulnerable countries	
	Global food and fuel price crisis	Global financial crisis
Central Africa	Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), <i>São Tomé and Príncipe</i>	Equatorial Guinea, <i>São Tomé and Príncipe</i>
East Africa	<i>Burundi</i> , Ethiopia, <i>Eritrea</i> , Kenya, Rwanda, <i>Somalia</i> , United Republic of Tanzania, Uganda	<i>Burundi</i> , <i>Eritrea</i> , <i>Somalia</i>
Southern Africa	Angola, Comoros, Madagascar, <i>Malawi</i> , Mozambique, <i>Zambia</i> , <i>Zimbabwe</i>	Lesotho, <i>Malawi</i> , Swaziland, <i>Zambia</i> , <i>Zimbabwe</i>
West Africa	Benin, <i>Gambia</i> , Guinea, <i>Guinea-Bissau</i> , Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, <i>Togo</i>	<i>Gambia</i> , Ghana, <i>Guinea-Bissau</i> , Liberia, <i>Togo</i>
South and Southeast Asia	<i>Afghanistan</i> , Bangladesh, Indonesia, Myanmar, Nepal, <i>Pakistan</i> , <i>Timor-Leste</i>	<i>Afghanistan</i> , <i>Pakistan</i> , <i>Timor-Leste</i> , Tonga, Vietnam, Solomon Islands
Middle East, Central and Eastern Europe	Occupied Palestinian Territory, <i>Tajikistan</i> , Yemen	Belarus, Bulgaria, Estonia, Jordan, Moldova, <i>Tajikistan</i>
Latin America	<i>Haiti</i>	Dominica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guyana, <i>Haiti</i> , Jamaica, Nicaragua, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Suriname

Countries in italics are at high risk of being hit hard by both crises.

Source: WFP, Food Security Analysis Service, Rome.

2.2 Impacts of the global food and fuel price crisis on households: a quasi-EFSA approach

Although the impact of the price shocks at the macro level was well researched, findings could not be generalized to the household level. There was little understanding of how households were being affected. To fill this knowledge gap, in collaboration with partners, WFP undertook about 40 country assessments to identify the most affected households, and to assess their food security and livelihoods situation, coping mechanisms, priority needs, and ongoing mitigation responses.

Isolating the economic impact of the price shock from that of other types of shocks affecting the most vulnerable was challenging, particularly because most households were facing multiple and/or recurrent shocks. The more recurrent the shocks – natural disasters and human-incurred crises – that a country faces, the more vulnerable its households become to food insecurity and poverty. The assumptions underlying the assessment are therefore that rising prices would create a sharp increase in the incidence and depth of household food insecurity and poverty in both urban and rural areas, but that the severity would vary among households and livelihoods, given the different production, income, expenditure, nutrition, consumption and market dependency patterns. Household vulnerability is the degree to which households are exposed to food price shocks, and depends on whether households are net buyers or sellers. The worst-hit households are likely to be net buyers, whose capacity to cope with price fluctuation is weakened when they face high and volatile food prices. On the other hand, some households, including smallholding net food surplus producers, may enjoy real income increases, although the expected increases in net incomes may be offset by sticky wages in comparison with price increases, and higher input and processing costs following fuel price increases.

The WFP emergency food security assessment (EFSA) approach was applied² to assess the effects of the global food and fuel price rises. This comprises a range of rapid assessment approaches, focused primarily on understanding food consumption patterns and the changes to these that result from a shock. The primary impact of the global food and fuel price crisis was examined through household welfare – the real value of households' per capita consumption expenditures. A proxy food security indicator, the food consumption score (FCS),³ was used to assess the effects on food security. Additional indicators included food sources, income sources, expenditure patterns and coping strategies. The assessments aimed to compare the current situation with that prior to the increase in prices.

Comparisons among assessment findings should be made with caution, owing to methodological differences. Some of the assessments used a household

survey with random sampling, while others used purposive sampling. The majority of the assessments followed a rapid EFSA approach, using purposive sampling, key informants, community and focus group discussions and/or household interviews, depending on the country context and the resource and time constraints. The most complete and in-depth assessments analysed: (i) markets, for better understanding of how food markets performed during the high food price crisis; (ii) household food security, for better understanding of the impact of high food prices on specific demographic and livelihood groups, with details on the socio-economic characteristics of these groups; (iii) nutrition and health status, to determine recent changes in the prevalence of global and severe acute malnutrition, underweight and stunting among children aged 6 to 59 months; and (iv) the water and sanitation situation, to determine the implications of the high food price crisis on hygiene practices. Other assessments analysed secondary data to simulate the effects of price increases on households' expenditures and overall welfare, followed by rapid EFSA's to support the results. This approach was used in Pakistan. Although attempts were made to maintain a set of core indicators across all assessments, this was not always possible. In addition, the assessments focused on the effects of the crisis on food security, and did not provide details of the effects on non-food-related issues.

2.3 Impacts of the global financial crisis on households: a representative country case study approach

Rather than conducting many country assessments and covering a massive population, assessments of the impact of the global financial crisis were more focused and covered only seven countries. Case study countries were selected to ensure representation of all geographical regions and all the major channels through which the crisis could be transmitting vulnerability to the household level (Table 16.2). For example, Armenia represents an economy that is highly dependent on remittances from the Russian Federation and has high currency fluctuations; Nicaragua depends on remittances from and exports to the United States; Bangladesh demonstrates the implications for countries that depend on textile exports and migrant work/remittances; and Zambia the implications for countries with high reliance on mineral exports and tourism revenues. The Ghana case study looked at agricultural exports, and examined the crisis's effects on what is the only sub-Saharan African country to be on-track for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Of the seven countries, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) rated three – Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Nicaragua – as at medium risk from the crisis, while Armenia, Ghana, Tajikistan and Zambia were rated as high-risk.⁴

Each case study reviewed the country's macro-economic performance, and

Table 16.2 Potential vulnerabilities of case study countries to external factors

Country	External vulnerability factors
Armenia	Trade openness: 48.2% of GDP in 2007 Growth led by two sectors: construction with 25% of gross domestic product (GDP), and remittances with 20% of GDP in 2007
Bangladesh	Trade openness: 43% of GDP in 2008 Growth led by two sectors: garment industry with 80% of total exports and 16% of GDP, and remittances with 10% of GDP in 2008
Ethiopia	Trade openness: 43% of GDP in 2008 High exchange rate premium: expanding by an average of 18.3% in 2007/2008 Growth led by coffee exports: with 30% of the total export earnings
Ghana	High trade openness: 81% of GDP in 2007 Growth led by two sectors: services with 41% of GDP, and agriculture with 34% of GDP (driven mainly by cocoa and gold) in 2007.
Nicaragua	High trade openness: 84% of GDP in 2007 High economic dependence on textiles and apparel with 60% of total exports, and remittances with 13% of GDP in 2008
Tajikistan	High trade openness: 106% of GDP in 2007 High economic dependence on exports and remittances: aluminium, electricity and cotton accounted for more than 80% of exports, and remittances for 43% of GDP in 2008
Zambia	Trade openness: 75.6% of GDP in 2007 Growth led by two sectors: copper with 9% of GDP and 77% of total exports, and tourism with 6–10% of GDP in 2006

Trade openness is measured as the share of exports and imports in GDP.

Source: Adapted from Luma and Sanogo, 2009.

attempted to trace the transmission of the global crisis effects to the household level through a major channel, such as a decline in mineral or textile exports. Light and rapid data collection tools were used, such as key informant interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Key informants included senior government officials, development partners, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), research institutions and leading members of the private sector, and

were used to triangulate the secondary data review. Primary data was collected from FGDs and community interviews, to identify how households were affected. FGDs collected information on households' perceptions of vulnerability, including income sources, expenditures, coping strategies, priority needs and responses. Attempts were made to determine the changes that had occurred during the months around the peak of the crisis in September 2008.

A purposive sampling procedure was applied to enable follow-up of the communities and households that were directly affected. Urban and rural survey areas were identified through a literature review and key informant discussions on the dominant livelihoods that were most likely to be affected by the global financial crisis. Areas of particular interest were those with high rates of migration and dependence on remittances, high concentrations of agricultural labour and cash crops, high concentrations of non-agricultural unskilled labour, such as the textile industry, high levels of tourism, or industries with high levels of exports, such as minerals. For example, in Zambia, mining cities were visited, and households affected by lay-offs in mines were interviewed. In Bangladesh, the sampled communities were in towns with relatively high levels of textile industries and/or a high proportion of the population relying on migrant work. Control groups were selected in other areas to represent categories of livelihoods that were not directly affected by the crisis. FGD participants were identified with the help of key informants – village heads, health and education workers, government employees – in each selected location. At each location, separate FGDs were held for men and women by teams of five members: a supervisor, an organizer, a moderator, a note-taker, and a field writer. FGD equipment included voice recorders and notebooks.

Given the purposive nature of the case studies and the qualitative tools used, the findings cannot be generalized to the whole population. The surveys were designed to draw out respondents' perceptions of the impact of the global financial crisis. The validity of the results may also be affected by moderators' ability to lead the discussions with participants. A moderator has to allow participants to talk to each other, ask questions and express doubts and opinions, and has very little control over the interaction other than generally keeping participants focused on the topic; by its nature, focus group research is open-ended and cannot be entirely predetermined. The reliability of focus groups' perceptions may be reduced by internal cultural and hierarchical dynamics and lack of confidence within the group. As a result, moderators may not be able to ensure the full participation of all. Efforts to select groups that were homogeneous in terms of both sex and livelihoods aimed to reduce this bias.

3. Findings and lessons learned: the emergence of a new face of hunger

3.1 Impacts of the global food and fuel price crisis on households: already food-insecure households paid a heavy cost

In spite of the limitations mentioned in the previous paragraph, the assessment findings indicate that there were three levels of impacts, depending on whether countries depend more on imported staple foods, on substitutes for internationally traded food products, or on domestically produced foods that are not traded internationally (Sanogo, 2009). In general, the impacts on urban food security were more pronounced in countries that depend mostly on imported cereals – wheat, maize and rice (Table 16.3). These countries experienced the steepest increases in domestic food prices caused by a high price transmission effect. As a result, the impact on household food security was greater, because of the large proportion of net buyers, particularly in urban settings in countries with high food imports.

Assessment findings showed a new face of hunger in some countries. In Tajikistan, the most affected households in urban areas were government-salaried workers – previously considered a food-secure group – and petty traders. The proportion of households with a poor diet was higher in urban areas, at 37 percent, than rural areas, at 34 percent. In Pakistan, the price shock was strongly felt in rural areas, where total food expenditures rose more than for urban households. In both urban and rural areas, although households were able to increase expenditure to meet food needs, a large proportion was left unable to pay for medical care, rising from 6 percent in 2005/2006 to 30 percent in mid-2008. In Greater Monrovia, Liberia, 31 percent of urban households faced an income decline, resulting in a sharp drop in the proportion of households with adequate diet, from 64 to 40 percent.

In general, the assessments revealed that the most vulnerable and food-insecure in urban areas were those who were already poor and/or from lower-income households prior to the rise in food prices. Casual labourers, petty traders, female-headed households and households with a high dependency ratio tended to be among the worst affected. In several countries, the new face of hunger included mainly low-paid government-salaried workers, who were becoming food-insecure owing to a loss of purchasing power. Households employed a variety of coping mechanisms to deal with rising food prices. Many searched for additional income-earning activities, and household members who were previously not working, such as women and children, started looking for employment opportunities. There were indications that the quality of diets had deteriorated, and in Bangladesh the nutrition status of children and mothers declined and was negatively correlated with the food price hikes.

Table 16.3 Impact of the food price crisis on households in selected countries that depend on internationally traded staples					
Country	Main staple food items	Caloric contribution (%)	Average real price increase 2008/2007 (%)	Expenditure on food (% of total)	Household food security status
Nepal	Rice	37	44	59% (73% for the poorest 20% of the population)	12.7% of urban and 28% of rural households with poor FCS
	Wheat	14	28		
Afghanistan	Wheat	58	110	Increased from 40% to 78%	20% increase in households with poor FCS
	Rice	22	61		
Pakistan	Wheat flour	38	40	70% for the poorest households; 10% increase for rural households	Households with poor FCS increased from 23% to 28%
	Rice	7	68		
Tajikistan	Wheat	57	-	81% for rural and 62% for urban households	Rural households, 11% poor and 23% borderline FCS; for urban households, 15% poor and 22% borderline FCS
Liberia	Rice	28	-	Decreased from 57% to 50%, in favour of non-food expenditures; (91% of households increased total expenditures)	In poor urban neighbourhoods, households with poor FCS increased from 4% in December 2006 to 8% in June 2008. In urban areas, people with good FCS decreased from 64% to 40%
	Cassava	21	-		
	Wheat	9	-		
Ethiopia	Maize	21	147	68% for poor households in Addis Ababa	From January to June 2008, households with poor FCS increased from 3% to 5%; those with borderline FCS increased from 9% to 22%
	Wheat	18	74		
	Sorghum	10	133		
Lesotho	Maize	59	-	44% (98% of households increased food expenditures)	11% of urban households with poor FCS and 36% with borderline FCS

Source: Adapted from Sanogo, 2009.

3.2 Impacts of the global financial crisis on households: the emergence of new vulnerable areas and households

The findings of the case studies show that the primary effect of the global financial crisis on households is a loss of income due to the loss of employment and/or remittances (Luma and Sanogo, 2009). The most affected households were generally those dependent on export-oriented activities – cash crop smallholders, cash crop waged workers, mine workers, shea nut gatherers – and remittances. In all countries, substantial job losses were reported among households engaged in export-oriented sectors. By the end of the first quarter of 2009, large numbers of migrant workers from Bangladesh, Armenia and Tajikistan had lost their employment, with many returning to their home countries. Many were also deported. Except Zambia and Ghana, all countries experienced a substantial decline in export volumes. Currency depreciation occurred in all countries, leading to generalized inflation and increased costs for imported food, fuel and fertilizers, as well as higher debt repayments.

New vulnerable areas and households emerged as a result of the global financial crisis. Job losses did not necessarily occur among the poorest socio-economic groups, but often among the upper lower-income groups such as miners and urban garment factory workers. These household profiles are not the usual vulnerable groups, but represent a new vulnerable profile that is not known as poor in some countries. Areas with high concentrations of export-oriented activities, previously seen as well-off, became relatively vulnerable. For example, in Sylhet division of Bangladesh, remittance-dependent households that are not usually poor were particularly affected by the global financial crisis. These socio-economic groups often live in areas that are not usually served by humanitarian organizations, and affected households have little access to public welfare assistance or social safety nets. Secondary effects following the loss of employment and incomes were sometimes severe. In Zambia, loss of employment in the mines had serious implications for HIV/AIDS- and TB-affected households, because it resulted in a loss of access to good health services and treatment. In Armenia, small traders' incomes declined owing to reduced demand and/or increased purchases on credit. Fewer employment opportunities for casual labourers were also reported. Female-headed households tended to be the hardest hit, as in the case of shea nut gatherers in Ghana.

To cope with the loss of income, many households adopted a variety of coping mechanisms, including increased farming, increased purchases on credit or borrowing to meet health and education expenses, removing children from fee-paying schools and placing them in public ones, engaging in additional income-earning activities, and increasing their reliance on extended family support. Among the poorest households, the most common coping strategies were

food-related – households reduced the quality and quantities of food consumed, with serious implications for micronutrient deficiencies and malnutrition.

4. Innovative responses to global food, fuel and financial crises: an increase in market-based and urban interventions

WFP's responses to the 2007–2008 global economic crises were based on country assessments. Particular attention was paid to the increased needs in urban areas. WFP interventions were designed in close collaboration with partners, including governments and international and non-governmental organizations. WFP used the newly broadened programme tools outlined in its 2008–2013 Strategic Plan, including cash and voucher distributions. Key features of interventions included:

- increasing food assistance in urban areas where food was unaffordable and there was a risk of further discontent, as in Afghanistan, Haiti, Liberia and the Occupied Palestinian Territory;
- extending emergency school feeding to children throughout the school holidays, as in Guinea, Haiti and Senegal, and using schools as platforms for providing take-home rations to vulnerable families, as in Bangladesh, Liberia, the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Pakistan and Tajikistan;
- providing supplementary rations of nutritious food to malnourished children and women, as in Liberia, Nepal, Pakistan and Tajikistan;
- accelerating voucher programmes to provide people with access to food through the market, as in Afghanistan, Burkina Faso and Zambia, and providing cash transfers to support work activities, including urban youth employment projects, as in Bangladesh, Liberia, Nepal and Pakistan.

Generally, WFP responses to the high food price crisis did not include general food distribution in urban settings. A key lesson was that in urban populations, food insecurity due to high food prices was caused by restricted access to food rather than insufficient availability. As a result, targeted food assistance and non-food-based interventions, such as cash and vouchers, were considered more appropriate in urban settings (Table 16.4).

WFP scaled up the piloting of cash and voucher transfers in response to the high food price crisis, especially in urban settings (Figure 16.1). The benefit of implementing cash or voucher transfers in urban areas is that they are less likely to stimulate inflation, because of the presence of a large number of traders and functioning markets ready to respond with additional supply. The additional demand caused by a cash transfer programme is likely to be small relative to the overall market demand in an urban area, to the extent that market mechanisms

Table 16.4 Selected interventions in urban areas in response to the global crises

Country	Activities	Beneficiary type	Distribution channels
Afghanistan	Food for training, food for work, voucher programme	People with illness (including TB), female-headed households, large families with one adult, children, elderly people	Hospitals, district centres/schools, government/community representatives/NGOs
Haiti	Food for work, school feeding, mother-and-child health	Children 6 months to 5 years, primary schoolchildren, pregnant and lactating women, TB patients and HIV patients	Public institutions and NGO centres, schools, health centres, warehouses of emergency projects
Bangladesh	School feeding and cash for work	Primary schoolchildren and vulnerable households	Schools, NGO partners
Occupied Palestinian Territories	Voucher programme	Vulnerable people (disabled, poor, unemployed, etc.)	Bakery shops
Burkina Faso	Voucher programme and supplementary feeding	Poor households (vouchers), children 6–24 months, poor pregnant and lactating women (supplementary foods)	The Burkinabe Red Cross
Liberia	School feeding, mother-and-child health, supplementary and therapeutic feeding	Pregnant and lactating women, TB patients, orphans and vulnerable children	Schools through NGOs and government bodies, hospitals, health centres
Senegal	School feeding, blanket feeding	Primary schoolchildren, children 2–5 years	Schools
Zambia	Food vouchers	HIV/AIDS and TB patients, peri-urban farmers	Health facility, partner NGOs and local governments

Sources: WFP project documents.

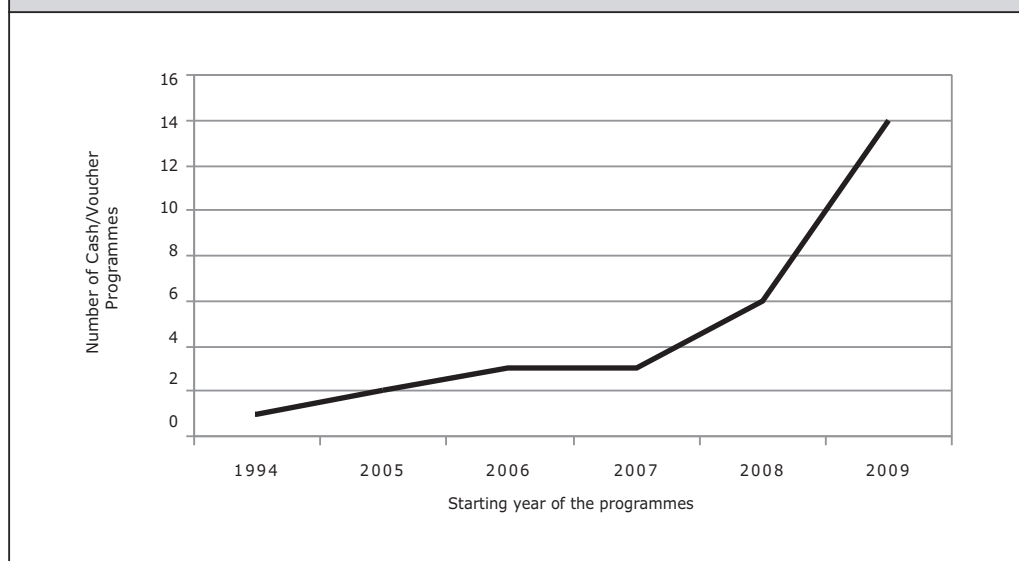
should be able to keep project-induced inflation in check (Magen, Donovan and Kelly, 2009). However, these assumptions may not hold true in large-scale cash or voucher transfers, so market prices should always be closely monitored, regardless of the assumed functioning of markets in urban settings.

5. Conclusions and challenges

The assessments showed increased food insecurity, especially among urban households, as a result of the global food, fuel and financial crises. However, the deterioration in food insecurity varied in degree and severity. The primary effect of the financial crisis on households was a loss of income, due to the loss of employment and/or remittances. The primary effect of the food and fuel price rises was on purchasing power.

The assessments also revealed that the worst affected were those who were already poor prior to the rise in food prices. However, the challenge of disentangling chronic food insecurity from transitory food insecurity makes it difficult to quantify changes in the food security situation. Casual labourers, petty traders, female-headed households and households with a high dependency ratio were among the worst affected, but these are usually the groups that are vulnerable to shocks. In some countries, however, a new face of hunger emerged,

Figure 16.1 Evolution in the numbers of WFP cash and voucher programmes



Source: WFP, 2009e.

consisting mainly of low-paid government-salaried workers, who became food-insecure owing to a loss of purchasing power.

Job losses due to the financial crisis did not necessarily occur among the poorest socio-economic groups, but rather among the upper lower-income groups, such as miners and urban garment factory workers, and in relatively wealthy geographical areas. The new faces of hunger to emerge from the global financial crisis were among previously upper lower-income population groups employed in export-oriented activities.

Many households adopted a variety of coping mechanisms in response to the global food, fuel and financial crises. These tended to be similar for both crises. Among households in the upper lower-income to lower-income groups, coping strategies included increased farming, increased purchases on credit and other borrowing to meet health and education expenses, removing children from fee-paying schools and putting them into public schools, engaging in additional income-earning activities, and increasing their reliance on extended family support. The poorest households tended to rely on coping strategies that were food-related, by reducing the quality and quantities of food consumed. This often has serious implications for micronutrient and overall nutrition status. The extent to which a country's food security and nutrition status deteriorates as a result of these crisis is positively correlated to its poverty.

In response to the global food, fuel and financial crises, WFP scaled up the piloting and implementation of market-based interventions, especially in urban areas – when the right conditions were in place. It also maintained its traditional food assistance activities, such as targeted food distributions, food for work, school feeding, small-scale income-generating projects, support to HIV/AIDS programmes, and targeted supplementary feeding of women and children.

The analytical outcomes of the assessments would have been enhanced and more comparable if standardized approaches had been applied consistently. In addition, assessment tools and indicators were primarily adapted from those developed for rural areas, so in the predominantly cash economies of urban areas, it was unclear what core set of indicators and corresponding thresholds would have been most appropriate. On the programming side, cash and vouchers are increasingly being considered as transfer modalities, but are still implemented as pilots rather than large-scale transfers. The targeting of these programmes remains a challenge, especially in urban settings where more complex targeting methods may be needed.

- ¹ These analyses were led by A. Husain of WFP's Food Security Analysis Service in Rome.
- ² For further details, see WFP, 2009b: www.wfp.org/content/emergency-food-security-assessment-handbook.
- ³ The FCS measures the diversity and frequency of food consumption over a seven-day recall period. The higher the score, the better the diet and the more food-secure the household.
- ⁴ Three of these country case studies – Bangladesh, Ghana and Zambia – overlapped with Overseas Development Institute (ODI) country case studies undertaken in the same period. Regarding the vulnerability of women and children to the global financial crisis, Ghana and Ethiopia are considered at the highest risk, culminating in a decelerating growth rate, low reductions in under-5 child mortality, and low performance in gender parity in school (Buvinic, 2009).

