Use of Federal and Community Food and Nutrition Assistance Programs

Households with limited resources employ a variety of methods to help meet their food needs. Some participate in one or more of the Federal food and nutrition assistance programs or obtain food from emergency food providers in their communities to supplement the food they purchase. Households that turn to Federal and community food and nutrition assistance programs typically do so because they are having difficulty in meeting their food needs. The use of such programs by low-income households and the relationship between their food security status and use of food and nutrition assistance programs provide insight into the extent of their difficulties in obtaining enough food and the ways they cope with those difficulties.

This section presents information about the food security status and food expenditures of households that participated in the three largest Federal food and nutrition assistance programs and the two most common community food assistance programs. (See box, "Federal and Community Food and Nutrition Assistance Programs.") It also provides information about the extent to which food-insecure households participated in these programs and about the characteristics of households that obtained food from community food pantries. Total participation in the Federal food and nutrition assistance programs, participation rates of eligible households in those programs, and characteristics of participants in those programs are not described in this report. Extensive information on those topics is available from the USDA's Food and Nutrition Service.²⁷

Methods

The December 2007 CPS food security survey included a number of questions about the use of Federal and community-based food and nutrition assistance programs. All households with incomes below 185 percent of the Federal poverty threshold were asked these questions. In order to minimize the burden on respondents, households with incomes above that range were not asked the questions unless they indicated some level of difficulty in meeting their food needs on preliminary screener questions (listed in footnote 6). The questions analyzed in this section are:

- "During the past 12 months...did anyone in this household get food stamp benefits, that is, either food stamps or a food-stamp benefit card?" Households that responded affirmatively were then asked in which months they received food stamp benefits and on what date they last received them. Information from these three questions was combined to identify households that received food stamps in the 30 days prior to the survey.
- "During the past 30 days, did any children in the household...receive free or reduced-cost lunches at school?" (Only households with children between the ages of 5 and 18 were asked this question.)
- "During the past 30 days, did any women or children in this household get food through the WIC program?" (Only households with a child age 0-5 or a woman age 15-45 were asked this question.)

²⁷Information on Federal food and nutrition assistance programs, including participation rates and characteristics of participants, is available from the Food and Nutrition Service website at www. fns.usda.gov. Additional research findings on the operation and effectiveness of these programs are available from the ERS website at www.ers.usda.gov/briefing/foodnutritionassistance.

Federal and Community Food and Nutrition Assistance Programs

Federal Food and Nutrition Assistance Programs

USDA's Food and Nutrition Service (FNS) administers 15 domestic food and nutrition assistance programs. The three largest programs are:

- The Food Stamp Program (FSP). The program provides monthly benefits for eligible low-income households to purchase approved food items at authorized food stores. Clients qualify for the program based on available household income, assets, and certain basic expenses. In an average month of fiscal year 2007 (October 1, 2006 through September 30, 2007), the FSP provided benefits to 26.5 million people in the United States. The average benefit was about \$96 per person per month, and total Federal expenditures for the program were \$33.0 billion.
- The National School Lunch Program. The program operates in about 100,000 public and nonprofit private schools and residential child-care institutions. All meals served under the program receive Federal subsidies, and free or reduced-price lunches are available to low-income students. In 2007, the program provided lunches to an average of 31 million children each school day. About half of the lunches served in 2007 were free, and an additional 10 percent were provided at reduced prices.
- The Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). The program is a federally funded preventive nutrition program that provides grants to States to support distribution of supplemental foods, health care referrals, and nutrition education for low-income pregnant, breastfeeding, and nonbreastfeeding postpartum women, for infants in low-income families, and for children in low-income families who are younger than 5 years old and who are found

to be at nutritional risk. Most State WIC programs provide vouchers that participants use to acquire supplemental food packages at authorized food stores. In fiscal year 2007, WIC served an average 8.3 million participants per month with an average monthly benefit of about \$39 per person.

Community Food-Assistance Providers

Food pantries and emergency kitchens are the main direct providers of emergency food assistance. These agencies are locally based and rely heavily on volunteers. The majority of them are affiliated with faith-based organizations. (See Ohls et al., 2002, for more information.) Most of the food distributed by food pantries and emergency kitchens comes from local resources, but USDA supplements these resources through The Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP). In 2007, TEFAP supplied 340 million pounds of commodities to community emergency food providers. Over half of all food pantries and emergency kitchens received TEFAP commodities in 2000, and these commodities accounted for about 14 percent of all food distributed by them (Ohls et al., 2002). Pantries and kitchens play different roles, as follows:

- Food pantries distribute unprepared foods for offsite use. An estimated 32,737 pantries operated in 2000 (the last year for which nationally representative statistics are available) and distributed, on average, 239 million pounds of food per month. Households using food pantries received an average of 38.2 pounds of food per visit.
- Emergency kitchens (sometimes referred to as soup kitchens) provide individuals with prepared food to eat at the site. In 2000 an estimated 5,262 emergency kitchens served a total of 474,000 meals on an average day.
- "In the last 12 months, did you or other adults in your household ever get emergency food from a church, a food pantry, or food bank?" The use of these resources any time during the last 12 months is referred to in the rest of this section as "food pantry use." Households that reported using a food pantry in the last 12 months were asked, "How often did this happen—almost every month, some months but not every month, or in only 1 or 2 months?" Households reporting that they did not use a food pantry in the last 12 months were asked, "Is there a church, food pantry, or food bank in your community where you could get emergency food if you needed it?"

• "In the last 12 months, did you or other adults in your household ever eat any meals at a soup kitchen?" The use of this resource is referred to as "use of an emergency kitchen" in the following discussion.

Prevalence rates of food security, food insecurity, and very low food security, as well as median food expenditures relative to the cost of the Thrifty Food Plan, were calculated for households reporting use of each food and nutrition assistance provider and for comparison groups of nonparticipating households with incomes and household compositions similar to those of food assistance recipients. Statistics for participating households excluded households with incomes above the ranges specified for the comparison groups. The proportions of food-insecure households participating in each of the three largest Federal food and nutrition assistance programs—the Food Stamp Program, National School Lunch Program, and the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)—were calculated, as well as the proportion that participated in any of the three programs. These analyses were restricted to households with annual incomes below 185 percent of the poverty line because most households with incomes above this range were not asked whether they participated in these programs.

The numbers and proportions of households using food pantries and emergency kitchens were calculated at the national level and, for food pantries, by selected household characteristics. Households were not asked these questions, and were assumed not to have used these resources, if they had incomes above 185 percent of the poverty line and gave no indication of food insecurity on either of two preliminary screener questions (listed in footnote 6). Analysis indicated that this screening procedure excluded only a negligible number of households that may have used these facilities.

Estimates of the proportion of households using emergency kitchens based on the CPS food security surveys almost certainly understate the proportion of the population that actually uses these providers. The CPS selects households to interview from an address-based list and therefore interviews only persons who occupy housing units. People who are homeless at the time of the survey are not included in the sample, and those in tenuous housing arrangements (for instance, temporarily doubled up with another family) also may be missed. These two factors—exclusion of the homeless and under representation of those who are tenuously housed—bias estimates of emergency kitchen use downward, especially among certain subgroups of the population. This is much less true for food pantry users because they need cooking facilities to make use of items from a food pantry.²⁹ Therefore, detailed analyses in this section focus primarily on the use of food pantries.

Finally, among households that participated in the three largest Federal food programs, the proportions who also obtained food from food pantries and emergency kitchens were calculated. This analysis was restricted to households with annual incomes below 185 percent of the poverty line.

Data for all calculations were weighted using food security supplement weights. These weights, provided by the Census Bureau, are based on sampling probabilities and enable the interviewed households to statistically represent all civilian households in the United States.

²⁸Some program participants reported incomes that were higher than the program eligibility criteria. They may have had incomes below the eligibility threshold during part of the year, or subfamilies within the household may have had incomes low enough to have been eligible.

²⁹Previous studies of emergency kitchen users and food pantry users confirm these assumptions. For example, a nationally representative survey of people who use food pantries and emergency kitchens found that about 36 percent of emergency kitchen clients and 8 percent of households that received food from food pantries were homeless in 2001 (Briefel et al., 2003).

Food Security and Food Spending of Households That Received Food and Nutrition Assistance

The relationship between food security and the use of food and nutrition assistance programs is complex. There are reasons to expect that households that report using food and nutrition assistance programs in a one-time survey can either be more food secure or less food secure than low-income households not using those programs. Since the programs provide food and other resources to reduce the severity of food insecurity, households are expected to be more food secure after receiving program benefits than before doing so. On the other hand, it is the more food-insecure households, those having greater difficulty meeting their food needs, that seek assistance from the programs.³⁰ Just over half of food stamp households, 47 percent of households that received free or reduced-cost school lunches, and 42 percent of those that received WIC were food insecure (table 12). The prevalence rates of very low food security among households participating in the Food Stamp Program or receiving free or reduced-cost school lunches were about twice those of nonparticipating households in the same income ranges and with similar household composition. About 69 percent of households that obtained emergency food from community food pantries were food insecure, and 39 percent had very low food security. Seventy percent of households in which someone had eaten at an emergency kitchen were food insecure and 47 percent had very low food security.

A possible complicating factor in the preceding analysis is that food insecurity was measured over a 12-month period. An episode of food insecurity may have occurred at a different time during the year than the use of a specific food and nutrition assistance program. A similar analysis using a 30-day measure of food insecurity largely overcomes this potential problem because measured food insecurity and reported use of food and nutrition assistance programs are more likely to refer to contemporaneous conditions when both are referenced to the previous 30 days. That analysis (see appendix D and table D-2) found associations between prevalence rates of food insecurity and the use of food and nutrition assistance programs that were similar to those in table 12, although 30-day prevalence rates were somewhat lower than the corresponding 12-month rates.

Households that received food and nutrition assistance—except for WIC—also spent less for food than nonrecipient households (table 13).³¹ Typical (median) food expenditures of households that received food stamps were 87 percent of the cost of the Thrifty Food Plan.³² The corresponding statistics were 83 percent for households with children who received free or reduced-price school lunches, and 82 percent for households that received emergency food from food pantries. Typical food expenditures for nonparticipating households in the eligible income ranges for food stamps and free and reduced-price school lunches were higher than those of participating households. Food spending in WIC households, however, did not differ significantly from that of non-WIC households with children under age 5 and in the same income range.

³⁰This "self-selection" effect is evident in the association between food security and food program participation that is observed in the food security survey. Participating households were less food secure than similar nonparticipating households. More complex analysis using methods to account for this self-targeting is required to assess the extent to which the programs improve food security (see Wilde and Nord, 2005; Gundersen and Oliveira, 2001; Gundersen and Gruber, 2001; Nelson and Lurie, 1998).

³¹Food purchased with food stamps is included in household food spending as calculated here. However, the value of school lunches and food obtained with WIC vouchers is not included. Food from these sources supplemented the food purchased by many of these households.

³²The maximum benefit for food stamp households is approximately equal to the cost of the Thrifty Food Plan. About 30 percent of the Food Stamp Program caseload receives the maximum benefit. Households with countable income receive less.

Table 12

Percent of households by food security status and participation in selected Federal and community food assistance programs, 2007

Catagony	Food coours	All	With low	With very low food
Category	Food secure	All	food security	security
		F		
Income less than 130 percent of poverty line:				
Received food stamps previous 12 months	46.6	53.4	30.8	22.5
Received food stamps all 12 months	50.0	50.0	29.1	20.9
Received food stamps 1 to 11 months	41.9	58.1	33.4	24.7
Did not receive food stamps previous 12 months	74.9	25.1	15.6	9.5
Income less than 185 percent of poverty line; school-age children in household:				
Received free or reduced-price school lunch previous 30 days	53.3	46.7	31.5	15.2
Did not receive free or reduced-price school lunch previous 30 days	78.8	21.2	13.9	7.3
Income less than 185 percent of poverty line; children under age 5 in household:				
Received WIC previous 30 days	58.5	41.5	30.3	11.2
Did not receive WIC previous 30 days	69.8	30.2	21.8	8.3
Income less than 185 percent of poverty line:				
Received emergency food from food pantry previous 12 months	30.8	69.2	30.5	38.7
Did not receive emergency food from food pantry previous 12 months	76.2	23.8	15.8	7.9
Ate meal at emergency kitchen previous 12 months	29.9	70.1	22.7	47.5
Did not eat meal at emergency kitchen previous 12 months	72.0	28.0	17.3	10.7

Source: Calculated by ERS using data from the December 2007 Current Population Survey Food Security Supplement.

Table 13
Weekly household food spending relative to the cost of the Thrifty
Food Plan (TFP) by participation in selected Federal and community
food assistance programs, 2007

Category	Median weekly food spending relative to cost of the TFP	
	Ratio	
Income less than 130 percent of poverty line:		
Received food stamps previous 30 days	0.87	
Did not receive food stamps previous 30 days	.95	
Income less than 185 percent of poverty line; school-age children in household:		
Received free or reduced-price school lunch previous 30 days	s .83	
Did not receive free or reduced-price school lunch previous 3	0 days .92	
Income less than 185 percent of poverty line; children under age 5 in household:		
Received WIC previous 30 days	.86	
Did not receive WIC previous 30 days	.90	
Income less than 185 percent of poverty line:		
Received emergency food from food pantry previous 12 mont	hs .82	
Did not receive emergency food from food pantry previous 12		

Participation in Federal Food and Nutrition Assistance Programs by Food-Insecure Households

Somewhat more than half (53.9 percent) of food-insecure households received assistance from at least one of the three largest Federal food and nutrition assistance programs during the month prior to the December 2007 food security survey (table 14). The Food Stamp Program reached 33.0 percent, the National School Lunch Program 33.6 percent, and the WIC program 12.5 percent.³³ Just over half of households classified as having very low food security participated in one or more of the three largest Federal food and nutrition assistance programs, and the largest share of these (34.9 percent) participated in the Food Stamp Program.³⁴

Use of Food Pantries and Emergency Kitchens

Some 3.9 million households (3.4 percent of all households) obtained emergency food from food pantries one or more times during the 12-month period ending in December 2007 (table 15). A smaller number—535,000 households (0.5 percent)—had members who ate one or more meals at an emergency kitchen. (See box on page 29 for descriptions of these facilities.) Households that obtained food from food pantries included 6.8 million adults and 3.9 million children. Of the households that reported having obtained food from a food pantry in the last 12 months, 42 percent reported that this had occurred in only 1 or 2 months; 28 percent reported that it had occurred in almost every month; and the remaining 30 percent reported that it had occurred in "some months, but not every month" (analysis not shown). These statistics indicated a higher frequency of visits to food pantries than in 2006. Thus, even though the percentage of households that reported obtaining emergency food from pantries changed little, if at all, from the previous year, the total number of visits to food pantries increased by about 12 percent based on reasonable assumptions about the number of visits indicated by each response.³⁵

Use of Food Pantries and Emergency Kitchens, by Food Security Status

Use of food pantries and emergency kitchens was strongly associated with food insecurity. Food-insecure households were 17 times as likely as food-secure households to have obtained food from a food pantry, and 19 times

³³These statistics may be biased downward somewhat. It is known from comparisons between household survey data and administrative records that food program participation is underreported by household survey respondents, including those in the CPS. This is probably true for food-insecure households as well, although the extent of underreporting by these households is not known. Statistics are based on the subsample of households with annual incomes below 185 percent of the poverty line. Not all these households were eligible for certain of the programs. (For example, those without pregnant women or children and with incomes above 130 percent of poverty would not have been eligible for any of the programs.)

³⁴The statistics in table 14 were also calculated for households that were food insecure during the 30-day period prior to the survey. In principle, that analysis is preferable because food security status and use of programs are more certainly contemporaneous than when food insecurity is assessed over a 12-month period. However, the results differed only slightly from those in table 14 and are not presented separately.

³⁵This calculation was based on assigning 1.5 visits to those who reported they obtained food "in only 1 or 2 months," 6 visits for those who reported "some months but not every month" and 11 visits to those who reported receiving food "almost every month."

Table 14

Participation of food-insecure households in selected Federal food assistance programs, 2007

_			
Program	Share of food-insecure households that participated in the program during the previous 30 days ¹	Share of households with very low food security that participated in the program during the previous 30 days ¹	
	Percent		
Food stamps	33.0	34.9	
Free or reduced-price school lunch	33.6	28.1	
WIC	12.5	9.1	
Any of the three programs	53.9	50.9	
None of the three programs	46.1	49.1	

¹Analysis is restricted to households with annual incomes less than 185 percent of the poverty line because most households with incomes above that range were not asked whether they participated in food assistance programs.

Table 15
Use of food pantries and emergency kitchens, 2007

	Pantries			Kitchens		
Category	Total ¹ Users		Total ¹	Users		
	1,000	1,000	Percent	1,000	1,000	Percent
All households	116,729	3,918	3.4	116,746	535	0.46
All persons in households	295,867	10,732	3.6	295,872	1126	.38
Adults in households	222,665	6,825	3.1	222,687	864	.39
Children in households	73,202	3,907	5.3	73,185	262	.36
Households by food security status:						
Food-secure households	103,813	1,225	1.2	103,841	150	.14
Food-insecure households	12,904	2,646	20.5	12,897	354	2.74
Households with low food security	8,187	1,180	14.4	8,181	126	1.54
Households with very low food security	4,717	1,466	31.1	4,716	228	4.83

¹Totals exclude households that did not answer the question about food pantries or emergency kitchens. Totals in the bottom section also exclude households that did not answer any of the questions in the food security scale.

Source: Calculated by ERS using data from the December 2007 Current Population Survey Food Security Supplement.

as likely as food-secure households to have eaten a meal at an emergency kitchen (table 15). Furthermore, among food-insecure households, those with very low food security were much more likely to have used a food pantry or emergency kitchen than were those with low food security.

A large majority (79.5 percent) of food-insecure households, and even of households with very low food security (68.9 percent), did not use a food pantry at any time during the previous year. In some cases, this was because there was no food pantry available or because the household believed there was none available. Among food-insecure households that did not use a food pantry, 28 percent reported that there was no such resource in their community, and an additional 17 percent said they did not know if there was one (statistics not tabulated). Still, 68 percent of food-insecure households that knew there was a food pantry in their community did not make use of it.

About 32 percent of households that used food pantries were classified as food secure. However, just over half (53 percent; analysis not shown) of these food-secure households reported at least some concerns or difficulties in obtaining enough food by responding positively to 1 or 2 of the 18 indicators of food insecurity, indicating marginal food security. (A household must report occurrence of at least three of the indicators to be classified as food insecure; see appendix A). Households with marginal food security (those that reported one or two indicators of food insecurity) were about twelve times as likely to have used food pantries and emergency kitchens as were households with high food security (those that that reported no indicators of food insecurity).

Use of Food Pantries, by Selected Household Characteristics

The use of food pantries varied considerably by household structure and by race and ethnicity (table 16). Households with children were nearly twice as likely as those without children to use food pantries (4.7 percent compared with 2.7 percent). Food-pantry use was especially high among households with children headed by single women (10.6 percent), while use by married couples with children (2.5 percent) and households with elderly members

Table 16
Use of food pantries by selected household characteristics, 2007

Category	Total ¹	Pantr	Pantry users		
	1,000	1,000	Percent		
All households	116,729	3,918	3.4		
Household composition:					
With children < 18 yrs	39,222	1,839	4.7		
At least one child < 6 yrs	17,330	942	5.4		
Married-couple families	26,596	672	2.5		
Female head, no spouse	9,407	995	10.6		
Male head, no spouse	2,607	134	5.1		
Other household with child ²	612	39	6.4		
With no children < 18 yrs	77,507	2,078	2.7		
More than one adult	45,162	863	1.9		
Women living alone	18,281	748	4.1		
Men living alone	14,064	467	3.3		
With elderly	27,526	629	2.3		
Elderly living alone	10,747	310	2.9		
Race/ethnicity of households:					
White non-Hispanic	82,746	2,040	2.5		
Black non-Hispanic	14,201	1,022	7.2		
Hispanic ³	13,271	700	5.3		
Other	6,511	156	2.4		
Household income-to-poverty ratio:					
Under 1.00	11,726	1,921	16.4		
Under 1.30	17,445	2,441	14.0		
Under 1.85	27,396	2,977	10.9		
1.85 and over	65,570	541	.8		
Income unknown	23,763	399	1.7		
Area of residence: ⁴					
Inside metropolitan area	97,205	3,093	3.2		
In principal cities ⁵	32,910	1,241	3.8		
Not in principal cities	47,651	1,140	2.4		
Outside metropolitan area	19,524	825	4.2		
Census geographic region:					
Northeast	21,221	681	3.2		
Midwest	26,462	887	3.4		
South	43,077	1,410	3.3		
West	25,970	939	3.6		

¹Totals exclude households that did not answer the question about getting food from a food pantry. They represented 0.7 percent of all households.

 $^{^2\}mbox{Households}$ with children in complex living arrangements, e.g., children of other relatives or unrelated roommate or boarder.

³Hispanics may be of any race.

⁴Metropolitan area residence is based on 2003 Office of Management and Budget delineation. Food pantry statistics by area of residence are comparable with those for 2004 and later years but are not precisely comparable with those of earlier years.

⁵Households within incorporated areas of the largest cities in each metropolitan area. Residence inside or outside of principal cities is not identified for about 17 percent of households in metropolitan statistical areas.

(2.3 percent) was lower than the national average. Use of food pantries was higher among Blacks (7.2 percent) and Hispanics (5.3 percent) than among non-Hispanic Whites (2.5 percent), consistent with the higher rates of poverty and food insecurity of these minorities. In spite of their lower use rate, non-Hispanic Whites comprised a majority (52 percent) of food-pantry users because of their larger share in the general population.

Sixteen percent of households with incomes below the poverty line received food from food pantries, compared with 0.8 percent of households with incomes above 185 percent of the poverty line. ³⁶ Among households with incomes above the poverty line but below 185 percent of the poverty line, about 1.1 million (3.0 million less 1.9 million) used food pantries in 2007, comprising 27 percent of all households using food pantries and 6.7 percent of households in that income range.

Use of food pantries was higher in principal cities of metropolitan areas (3.8 percent) and in nonmetropolitan areas (4.2 percent) than in metropolitan areas outside of central cities (2.4 percent). There was not a large regional variation in the use of food pantries.

Combined Use of Federal and Community Food and Nutrition Assistance

Both Federal and community food and nutrition assistance programs are important resources for low-income households. To design and manage these programs so that they function together effectively as a nutrition safety net, it is important to know how they complement and supplement each other. The extent to which households that participate in Federal food and nutrition assistance programs also receive assistance from community food assistance programs provides information about these relationships.

Just over one in four (27.5 percent) of the households that received food stamps in the month prior to the survey also obtained food from a food pantry at some time during the year (table 17). Those households comprised 44.7 percent of all households that reported using a food pantry. Food pantry use was somewhat less common among households with members who participated in the National School Lunch Program (18.5 percent) and WIC (19.0

³⁶Use of food pantries by households with incomes higher than 1.85 times the poverty line was probably slightly underreported by the CPS food security survey. Households in this income range were not asked the question about using a food pantry unless they had indicated some level of food stress on at least one of two preliminary screener questions (listed in footnote 6). However, analysis of the use of food pantries by households at different income levels below 1.85 times the poverty line (and thus not affected by the screen) indicates that the screening had only a small effect on the estimate of food pantry use by households with incomes above that range.

Table 17

Combined use of Federal and community food assistance programs by low-income households, 2007

-		-			
	Share of category that obtained food	Share of food	Share of category that ate meal at	Share of	
	from food	pantry users in	emergency	emergency kitchen users	
Category	pantry	category	kitchen	in category	
		Percent			
Received food stamps previous 30 days	27.5	44.7	4.1	48.0	
Received free or reduced-price school lunch previous 30 days	18.5	34.3	1.4	18.5	
Received WIC previous 30 days	19.0	15.3	1.4	8.0	
Participated in one or more of the three Federal programs	20.6	63.7	2.6	59.0	
Did not participate in any of the three Federal programs	5.9	36.3	0.9	41.0	

¹Analysis is restricted to households with annual incomes less than 185 percent of the poverty line because most households with incomes above that range were not asked whether they participated in food assistance programs.

percent). A sizeable majority of food pantry users (63.7 percent) received food from at least one of the three largest Federal food and nutrition assistance programs. The remainder of food-pantry users (36.3 percent) did not participate in any of these Federal programs.

Only small proportions (from 1.4 to 4.1 percent) of households that received assistance from the three largest Federal food and nutrition assistance programs reported that any household member had eaten a meal at an emergency kitchen during the 12 months prior to the survey. Nevertheless, these households comprised a sizeable share of emergency-kitchen users in the housed population. Among households with incomes less than 185 percent of the poverty line who reported that someone in the household ate one or more meals at an emergency kitchen, 48.0 percent received food stamps, 18.5 percent received free or reduced-cost meals in the National School Lunch Program, 8.0 percent received WIC benefits, and 59.0 percent participated in at least one of these three programs. These statistics probably overstate the actual shares of emergency kitchen users who participate in the Federal food and nutrition assistance programs, however. The households most likely to be underrepresented in the food security survey—those homeless or tenuously housed—are also less likely than other households to participate in those programs.