

RESEARCH BRIEF: BREAKFAST FOR HEALTH



School Breakfast Participation Improves Children's Dietary Intake

- School breakfast participants are more likely to consume diets that are adequate or exceed standards for important vitamins and minerals (e.g., vitamin A, vitamin C, calcium, phosphorous).^{1,2,3}
- Children and adolescents who skip breakfast tend to have poorer nutrient intakes than those who eat breakfast.^{4,5} Eating breakfast regularly has been linked with greater intake of fiber, calcium, iron, vitamin C, and other vitamins and minerals, and lower intake of fat, cholesterol, and sodium.^{6,7,8}
- A recent literature review concludes that the new school nutrition standards improve nutrition-related outcomes among students, especially in terms of improving fruit and vegetable selection and consumption.⁹
- Children who participate in school breakfast are more likely to consume fruit and milk at breakfast.¹⁰
- Low-income children who eat school breakfast have better overall diet quality than those who eat breakfast elsewhere or skip breakfast.¹¹ Similarly, low-income students who eat both school breakfast and lunch have significantly better overall diet quality than low-income students who do not eat school meals.¹² An improvement in dietary quality also may extend to the family members of children with access to the breakfast program.¹³

School Breakfast Decreases the Risk of Food Insecurity

- School breakfast offered at no cost to all students* may eliminate disparities between food-secure and food-insecure children in terms of eating breakfast at all.¹⁴
- Students with improved nutrient intake as a result of a program that offers school breakfast at no cost to all students report decreases in symptoms of hunger.¹⁵
- Access to school breakfast decreases the risk of marginal food insecurity and breakfast skipping, especially for low-income children.^{16,17,18}
- Rates of food insecurity among children are higher in the summer — a time when many do not have access to the good nutrition provided by the school meal programs available during the academic year.^{19,20}

School Breakfast May Protect Against Childhood Obesity

- School breakfast participation is associated with a lower body mass index (BMI, an indicator of excess body fat), lower probability of being overweight, and lower probability of obesity.^{21,22,23,24}
- Food-insecure girls participating in the school lunch, school breakfast, or Supplemental Nutrition Assistance (SNAP, or food stamps) programs (or all three programs combined) have a lower risk of being overweight compared to food-insecure girls from non-participating households.²⁵
- Participation in federally funded meals provided in child care, preschool, school, or summer settings is associated with a lower BMI among young, low-income children.²⁶
- Children and adolescents who eat breakfast have more favorable weight-related outcomes (e.g., lower BMI, lower waist circumference, lesser likelihood of being chronically obese, decreased risk for obesity) in the short term and long term than those who skip breakfast.^{27,28,29,30,31,32,33,34,35,36}

*Offering breakfast at no cost to all students is sometimes referred to as "universal breakfast" or "universal-free breakfast." The program helps remove the stigma for low-income children of participation in school breakfast and thereby increases participation among students generally, but particularly low-income students.

-
- Increasing participation in the federal nutrition programs — including school breakfast — is a healthy eating and childhood obesity prevention strategy recommended by two Institute of Medicine (IOM) committees and the White House Task Force on Childhood Obesity.^{37,38,39}

School Breakfast Participation Protects Against Other Negative Health Outcomes

- Breakfast skipping among children and adolescents is associated with a number of poor health outcomes and health-compromising behaviors, including higher blood cholesterol and insulin levels, smoking, alcohol use, physical inactivity, disordered eating, and unhealthy weight management practices.^{40,41,42,43,44,45}
- School breakfast, including breakfast offered at no cost to all students, has been linked with fewer visits to the school nurse, particularly in the morning.⁴⁶
- School breakfast participation, especially breakfast offered at no cost to all students, positively impacts children's mental health, including reductions in behavioral problems, anxiety, and depression.^{47,48}
- Food insecurity is associated with some of the most costly health problems in the U.S., including diabetes, heart disease, and depression.^{49,50,51,52,53} Children experiencing hunger are more likely to have lower physical functioning, more frequent stomachaches and headaches, mental health problems (e.g., depression, anxiety, behavioral problems), and to be in poorer health.^{54,55,56,57,58,59,60}

School Breakfast Helps Improve Student Academic Performance and Behavior; Skipping Breakfast Impairs Development and Learning[†]

- Students who participate in school breakfast show improved attendance, behavior, and academic performance as well as decreased tardiness.^{61,62}
- Students who eat breakfast the morning of a standardized test have significantly higher scores in spelling, reading, and math, compared to those who do not eat breakfast.⁶³
- Students who are undernourished have poorer cognitive functioning when they miss breakfast.⁶⁴
- Children and adolescents experiencing hunger have lower math scores, poorer grades, and are more likely to repeat a grade.^{65,66}

Breakfast in the Classroom Programs[‡] and Programs Offering Breakfast at no Cost to all Children in the Cafeteria Yield Other Positive Results[†]

- Programs offering breakfast at no cost to all students and breakfast in the classroom boost student breakfast participation.^{67,68,69,70,71,72}
- Breakfast in the classroom is associated with more students eating breakfast as well as better overall dietary quality.⁷³
- Student math and reading achievement test scores improve when breakfast is moved out of the cafeteria and into the classroom.⁷⁴
- Students attending schools that offer breakfast at no cost to all students are more likely to consume a nutritionally substantive breakfast and to consume significantly more calcium, magnesium, phosphorus, fruit, and dairy products at breakfast, when compared to students from schools with a traditional means-tested school breakfast in the cafeteria program.⁷⁵
- Children who increase their school breakfast participation as a result of a school breakfast program offered at no cost to all students show greater improvements in math scores, attendance, punctuality, depression, anxiety, and hyperactivity than children whose participation remains unchanged or decreases.⁷⁶

[†]For more information, read FRAC's *Breakfast for Learning* brief available at www.frac.org.

[‡]Breakfast in the classroom programs are an increasingly popular alternative to traditional, before-the-bell, cafeteria-based breakfast programs. Breakfast is brought in from the kitchen in containers that keep dishes at the right temperature, or is picked up from carts in the hallways as students enter class. Typically this breakfast is offered at no cost to all students. Such programs boost school breakfast participation and remove the stigma associated with participation.

This brief was originally prepared in September 2011 and updated in the spring of 2014 and October 2016 by FRAC's Heather Hartline-Grafton, DrPH, RD, Senior Nutrition Policy and Research Analyst.

Endnotes

- ¹ Bhattacharya, J., Currie, J., & Haider, S. J. (2006). Breakfast of champions? The School Breakfast Program and the nutrition of children and families. *Journal of Human Resources*, 41(3), 445-466.
- ² Clark, M. A., & Fox, M. K. (2009). Nutritional quality of the diets of U.S. public school children and the role of the school meal programs. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 109(2 Supplement 1), S44-S56.
- ³ Gleason, P., & Suito, C. (2001). Children's diets in the mid-1990s: dietary intake and its relationship with school meal participation. *Special Nutrition Programs*, CN-01-CD1. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, Office of Analysis, Nutrition and Evaluation.
- ⁴ Deshmukh-Taskar, P. R., Nicklas, T. A., O'Neil, C. E., Keast, D. R., Radcliffe, J. D., & Cho, S. (2010). The relationship of breakfast skipping and type of breakfast consumption with nutrient intake and weight status in children and adolescents: the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey 1999-2006. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 110(6), 869-878.
- ⁵ Rampersaud, G. C., Pereira, M. A., Girard, B. L., Adams, J., & Metz, J. D. (2005). Breakfast habits, nutritional status, body weight, and academic performance in children and adolescents. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 105(5), 743-760.
- ⁶ Affenito, S. G., Thompson, D. R., Barton, B. A., Franko, D. L., Daniels, S. R., Obarzanek, E., Schreiber, G. B., & Striegel-Moore, R. H. (2005). Breakfast consumption by African-American and white adolescent girls correlates positively with calcium and fiber intake and negatively with body mass index. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 105(6), 938-945.
- ⁷ Affenito, S. G., Thompson, D., Dorazio, A., Albertson, A. M., Loew, A., & Holschuh, N. M. (2013). Ready-to-eat cereal consumption and the School Breakfast Program: relationship to nutrient intake and weight. *Journal of School Health*, 83(1), 28-35.
- ⁸ Kerver, J. M., Yang, E. J., Obayashi, S., Bianchi, L., & Song, W. O. (2006). Meal and snack patterns are associated with dietary intake of energy and nutrients in US adults. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 106(1), 46-53.
- ⁹ Hartline-Grafton, H. (2016). *Research Shows that the School Nutrition Standards Improve the School Nutrition Environment and Student Outcomes*. Washington, DC: Food Research & Action Center.
- ¹⁰ Condon, E. M., Crepinsek, M. K., & Fox, M. K. (2009). School meals: types of foods offered to and consumed by children at lunch and breakfast. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 109(2 Supplement 1), S67-S78.
- ¹¹ Basiotis, P. P., Lino, M., & Anand, R. S. (1999). Eating breakfast greatly improves school children's diet quality. *Nutrition Insight*, 15. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion.
- ¹² Hanson, K. L., & Olson, C. M. (2013). School meals participation and weekday dietary quality were associated after controlling for weekend eating among U.S. school children aged 6 to 17 years. *Journal of Nutrition*, 143, 714-721.
- ¹³ Bhattacharya, J., Currie, J., & Haider, S. J. (2006). Breakfast of champions? The School Breakfast Program and the nutrition of children and families. *Journal of Human Resources*, 41(3), 445-466.
- ¹⁴ Khan, S., Pinckney, R. G., Keeney, D., Frankowski, B., & Carney, J. K. (2011). Prevalence of food insecurity and utilization of food assistance program: an exploratory survey of a Vermont middle school. *Journal of School Health*, 81(1), 15-20.
- ¹⁵ Kleinman, R. E., Hall, S., Green, H., Korzec-Ramirez, D., Patton, K., Pagano, M. E., & Murphy, J. M. (2002). Diet, breakfast, and academic performance in children. *Annals of Nutrition and Metabolism*, 46(Supplement 1), 24-30.
- ¹⁶ Bartfeld, J., Kim, M., Ryu, J. H., & Ahn, H. (2009). The School Breakfast Program participation and impacts. *Contractor and Cooperator Report*, 54. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture.
- ¹⁷ Bartfeld, J. S., & Ahn, H. M. (2011). The School Breakfast Program strengthens household food security among low-income households with elementary school children. *Journal of Nutrition*, 141(3), 470-475.
- ¹⁸ Bartfeld, J. S., & Ryu, J. H. (2011). The School Breakfast Program and breakfast-skipping among Wisconsin elementary school children. *Social Service Review*, 85(4), 619-634.
- ¹⁹ Nord, M., & Romig, K. (2006). Hunger in the summer: seasonal food insecurity and the National School Lunch and Summer Food Service programs. *Journal of Children and Poverty*, 12(2), 141-158.
- ²⁰ Nalty, C., Sharkey, J., & Dean, W. (2013). School-based nutrition programs are associated with reduced child food insecurity over time among Mexican-origin mother-child dyads in Texas Border Colonias. *Journal of Nutrition*, 143, 708-713.
- ²¹ Gleason, P. M., & Dodd, A. H. (2009). School breakfast program but not school lunch program participation is associated with lower body mass index. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 109(2 Supplement 1), S118-S128.
- ²² Millimet, D. L., Tchernis, R., & Husain, M. (2010). School nutrition programs and the incidence of childhood obesity. *Journal of Human Resources*, 45(3), 640-654.
- ²³ Millimet, D. L., & Tchernis, R. (2013). Estimation of treatment effects without an exclusion restriction: with an application to the analysis of the School Breakfast Program. *Journal of Applied Economics*, 28, 982-1017.
- ²⁴ Wang, S., Schwartz, M. B., Shebi, F. M., Read, M., Henderson, K. E., & Ickovics, J. R. (2016). School breakfast and body mass index: a longitudinal observational study of middle school students. *Pediatric Obesity*, published online ahead of print.
- ²⁵ Jones, S. J., Jahns, L., Laraia, B. A., & Haughton, B. (2003). Lower risk of overweight in school-aged food insecure girls who participate in food assistance: results from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics Child Development Supplement. *Archives of Pediatric and Adolescent Medicine*, 157(8), 780-784.
- ²⁶ Kimbro, R. T., & Rigby, E. (2010). Federal food policy and childhood obesity: a solution or part of the problem? *Health Affairs*, 29(3), 411-418.
- ²⁷ Alexander, K. E., Ventura, E. E., Spruijt-Metz, D., Weigensberg, M. J., Goran, M. I., & Davis, J. N. (2009). Association of breakfast skipping with visceral fat and insulin indices in overweight Latino youth. *Obesity*, 17(8), 1528-1533.
- ²⁸ Affenito, S. G., Thompson, D., Dorazio, A., Albertson, A. M., Loew, A., & Holschuh, N. M. (2013). Ready-to-eat cereal consumption and the School Breakfast Program: relationship to nutrient intake and weight. *Journal of School Health*, 83(1), 28-35.
- ²⁹ Barton, B. A., Elderidge, A. L., Thompson, D., Affenito, S. G., Striegel-Moore, R. H., Franko, D. L., Albertson, A. M., & Crockett, S. J. (2005). The relationship of breakfast and cereal consumption to nutrient intake and body mass index: the National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute Growth and Health Study. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 105(9), 1383-1389.
- ³⁰ Deshmukh-Taskar, P. R., Nicklas, T. A., O'Neil, C. E., Keast, D. R., Radcliffe, J. D., & Cho, S. (2010). The relationship of breakfast skipping and type of breakfast consumption with nutrient intake and weight status in children and adolescents: the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey 1999-2006. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 110(6), 869-878.
- ³¹ Fiore, H., Travis, S., Whalen, A., Auinger, P., & Ryan, S. (2006). Potentially protective factors associated with healthful body mass index in adolescents with obese and nonobese parents: a secondary data analysis of the third national health and nutrition examination survey, 1988-1994. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 106(1), 55-64.
- ³² Merten, M. J., Williams, A. L., & Shriver, L. H. (2009). Breakfast consumption in adolescence and young adulthood: parental presence, community context, and obesity. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 109(8), 1384-1391.
- ³³ Niemeier, H. M., Raynor, H. A., Lloyd-Richardson, E. E., Rogers, M. L., & Wing, R. R. (2006). Fast food consumption and breakfast skipping: predictors of weight gain from adolescence to adulthood in a nationally representative sample. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 39(6), 842-849.
- ³⁴ Timlin, M. T., Pereira, M. A., Story, M., & Neumark-Sztainer, D. (2008). Breakfast eating and weight change in a 5-year prospective analysis of adolescents: Project EAT (Eating Among Teens). *Pediatrics*, 121(3), e638-645.
- ³⁵ Wojcicki, J. M., Schwartz, N., Jiménez-Cruz, A., Bacardi-Gascon, M., & Heyman, M. B. (2012). Acculturation, dietary practices and risk for childhood obesity in an ethnically heterogeneous population of Latino school children in the San Francisco bay area. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 14(4), 533-539.
- ³⁶ Blondin, S. A., Anzman-Frasca, S., Djang, H. C., & Economos, C. D. (2016). Breakfast consumption and adiposity among children and adolescents: an updated review of the literature. *Pediatric Obesity*, 11(5), 333-348.

- ³⁷ Institute of Medicine. (2009). *Local Government Actions to Prevent Childhood Obesity*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.
- ³⁸ Institute of Medicine. (2011). *Early Childhood Obesity Prevention Policies*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.
- ³⁹ White House Task Force on Childhood Obesity. (2010). *Solving the Problem of Childhood Obesity within a Generation*. Available at: http://www.letsmove.gov/sites/letsmove.gov/files/TaskForce_on_Childhood_Obesity_May2010_FullReport.pdf. Accessed on October 16, 2016.
- ⁴⁰ Cohen, B., Evers, S., Manske, S., Bercovitz, K., & Edward, H. G. (2003). Smoking, physical activity and breakfast consumption among secondary school students in a southwestern Ontario community. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 94(1), 41-44.
- ⁴¹ Kapantais, E., Chala, E., Kaklamanou, D., Lanaras, L., Kaklamanou, M., & Tzotzas, T. (2011). Breakfast skipping and its relation to BMI and health-compromising behaviours among Greek adolescents. *Public Health Nutrition*, 14(1), 101-108.
- ⁴² Keski-Rahkonen, A., Kaprio, J., Rissanen, A., Virkkunen, M., & Rose, R. J. (2003). Breakfast skipping and health-compromising behaviors in adolescents and adults. *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 57(7), 842-853.
- ⁴³ Schembre, S. M., Wen, C. K., Davis, J. N., Shen, E., Nguyen-Rodriguez, S. T., Belcher, B. R., Hsu, Y. W., Weigensberg, M. J., Goran, M. I., & Spruijt-Metz, D. (2013). Eating breakfast more frequently is cross-sectionally associated with greater physical activity and lower levels of adiposity in overweight Latina and African American girls. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 98(2), 275-281.
- ⁴⁴ Smith, K. J., Gall, S. L., McNaughton, S. A., Blizzard, L., Dwyer, T., & Venn, A. J. (2010). Skipping breakfast: longitudinal associations with cardiometabolic risk factors in the Childhood Determinants of Adult Health Study. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 92(6), 1316-1325.
- ⁴⁵ Zullig, K., Ubbes, V. A., Pyle, J., & Valois, R. F. (2006). Self-reported weight perceptions, dieting behavior, and breakfast eating among high school adolescents. *Journal of School Health*, 76(3), 87-92.
- ⁴⁶ Bernstein, L. S., McLaughlin, J. E., Crepinsek, M. K., & Daft, L. M. (2004). Evaluation of the School Breakfast Program Pilot Project: final report. *Nutrition Assistance Program Report Series*, CN-04-SBP. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, Office of Analysis, Nutrition, and Evaluation. (The findings on school nurse visits were only observed for the 2001-2002 school year in this report)
- ⁴⁷ Kleinman, R. E., Hall, S., Green, H., Korzec-Ramirez, D., Patton, K., Pagano, M. E., & Murphy, J. M. (2002). Diet, breakfast, and academic performance in children. *Annals of Nutrition and Metabolism*, 46(Supplement 1), 24-30.
- ⁴⁸ Murphy, J. M., Pagano, M. E., Nachmani, J., Sperling, P., Kane, S., & Kleinman, R. E. (1998). The relationship of school breakfast to psychosocial and academic functioning: cross-sectional and longitudinal observations in an inner-city school sample. *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine*, 152(9), 899-907.
- ⁴⁹ Gundersen, C., & Ziliak, J. P. (2015). Food insecurity and health outcomes. *Health Affairs*, 34(11), 1830-1839.
- ⁵⁰ Fitzgerald, N., Homi-Fiedler, A., Segura-Pérez, S., & Pérez-Escamilla, R. (2011). Food insecurity is related to increased risk of type 2 diabetes among Latinas. *Ethnicity and Disease*, 21(3), 328-334.
- ⁵¹ Shin, J. I., Bautista, L. E., Walsh, M. C., Malecki, K. C., & Nieto, F. J. (2015). Food insecurity and dyslipidemia in a representative population-based sample in the US. *Preventive Medicine*, 77, 186-190.
- ⁵² Seligman, H. K., Laraia, B. A., & Kushel, M. B. (2010). Food insecurity is associated with chronic disease among low-income NHANES participants. *Journal of Nutrition*, 140(2), 304-310.
- ⁵³ Leung, C. W., Epel, E. S., Willett, W. C., Rimm, E. B., & Laraia, B. A. (2015). Household food insecurity is positively associated with depression among low-income Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program participants and income-eligible nonparticipants. *Journal of Nutrition*, 145(3), 622-627.
- ⁵⁴ Alaimo, K., Olson, C. M., Frongillo, E. A., Jr., & Briefel, R. R. (2001). Food insufficiency, family income, and health in U.S. preschool and school-aged children. *American Journal of Public Health*, 91(5), 781-786.
- ⁵⁵ Slack, K. S., & Yoo, J. (2005). Food hardship and child behavior problems among low-income children. *Social Service Review*, 79(3), 511-536.
- ⁵⁶ McLaughlin, K. A., Green, J. G., Alegría, M., Jane Costello, E., Gruber, M. J., Sampson, N. A., & Kessler, R. C. (2012). Food insecurity and mental disorders in a national sample of U.S. adolescents. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 51(12), 1293-1303.
- ⁵⁷ Ryu, J. H., & Barfield, J. S. (2012). Household food insecurity during childhood and subsequent health status: the early childhood longitudinal study - kindergarten cohort. *American Journal of Public Health*, 102(11), e50-e55.
- ⁵⁸ Casey, P. H., Szeto, K. L., Robbins, J. M., Stuff, J. E., Connell, C., Gossett, J. M., & Simpson, P. M. (2005). Child health-related quality of life and household food security. *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine*, 159(1), 51-56.
- ⁵⁹ Goldman, N., Ettinger de Cuba, S., Sheward, R., Cutts, D., & Coleman, S. (2014). *Food Security Protects Minnesota Children's Health*. Boston, MA: Children's HealthWatch.
- ⁶⁰ Kimbro, R. T., & Denney, J. T. (2015). Transitions into food insecurity associated with behavioral problems and worse overall health among children. *Health Affairs*, 34(11), 1949-1955.
- ⁶¹ Murphy, J. M. (2007). Breakfast and learning: an updated review. *Journal of Current Nutrition and Food Science*, 1, 3-36.
- ⁶² Basch, C. E. (2011). Breakfast and the achievement gap among urban minority youth. *Journal of School Health*, 81(10), 635-640.
- ⁶³ Ptomey, L. T., Steger, F. L., Schubert, M. M., Lee, J., Willis, E. A., Sullivan, D. K., Szabo-Reed, A. N., Washburn, R. A., & Donnelly, J. E. (2016). Breakfast intake and composition is associated with superior academic achievement in elementary schoolchildren. *Journal of the American College of Nutrition*, 35(4), 326-333.
- ⁶⁴ Taras, H. (2005). Nutrition and student performance at school. *Journal of School Health*, 75(6), 199-213.
- ⁶⁵ Alaimo, K., Olson, C. M., & Frongillo, E. A., Jr. (2001). Food insufficiency and American school-aged children's cognitive, academic and psychosocial development. *Pediatrics*, 108(1), 44-53.
- ⁶⁶ Shanafelt, A., Hearst, M. O., Wang, Q., & Nanney, M. S. (2016). Food insecurity and rural adolescent personal health, home, and academic environments. *Journal of School Health*, 86(6), 472-480.
- ⁶⁷ Bernstein, L. S., McLaughlin, J. E., Crepinsek, M. K., & Daft, L. M. (2004). Evaluation of the School Breakfast Program Pilot Project: final report. *Nutrition Assistance Program Report Series*, CN-04-SBP. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, Office of Analysis, Nutrition, and Evaluation. (The findings on school nurse visits were only observed for the 2001-2002 school year in this report).
- ⁶⁸ Barfield, J., Kim, M., Ryu, J. H., & Ahn, H. (2009). The School Breakfast Program participation and impacts. *Contractor and Cooperator Report*, 54. Washington, DC: U.S.
- ⁶⁹ Murphy, J. M., Pagano, M. E., Nachmani, J., Sperling, P., Kane, S., & Kleinman, R. E. (1998). The relationship of school breakfast to psychosocial and academic functioning: cross-sectional and longitudinal observations in an inner-city school sample. *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine*, 152(9), 899-907.
- ⁷⁰ Nanney, M. S., Olaleye, T. M., Wang, Q., Motyka, E., & Klund-Schubert, J. (2011). A pilot study to expand the school breakfast program in one middle school. *Translational Behavioral Medicine*, 1(3), 436-442.
- ⁷¹ Corcoran, S. P., Elbel, B., & Schwartz, A. E. (2016). The effect of breakfast in the classroom on obesity and academic performance: evidence from New York City. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 35(3), 509-532.
- ⁷² Anzman-Frasca, S., Djang, H. C., Halmo, M. M., Dolan, P. R., & Economos, C. D. (2015). Estimating impacts of a breakfast in the classroom program on school outcomes. *JAMA Pediatrics*, 169(1), 71-77.
- ⁷³ Ritchie, L. D., Rosen, N. J., Fenton, K., Au, L. E., Goldstein, L. H., & Shimada, T. (2015). School breakfast policy is associated with dietary intake of fourth- and fifth-grade students. *Journal of the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics*, 116(3), 449-457.
- ⁷⁴ Imberman, S. A., & Kugler, A. D. (2014). The effect of providing breakfast in class on student performance. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 33(3), 669-699.
- ⁷⁵ Crepinsek, M. K., Singh, A., Bernstein, L. S., & McLaughlin, J. E. (2006). Dietary effects of universal-free school breakfast: findings from the evaluation of the school breakfast program pilot project. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 106(11), 1796-1803.
- ⁷⁶ Murphy, J. M., Pagano, M. E., Nachmani, J., Sperling, P., Kane, S., & Kleinman, R. E. (1998). The relationship of school breakfast to psychosocial and academic functioning: cross-sectional and longitudinal observations in an inner-city school sample. *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine*, 152(9), 899-907.