TRANSFORMING FOOD SYSTEMS TO DELIVER NUTRITIOUS FOODS

THE VITAL ROLES OF FORTIFICATION AND BIOFORTIFICATION



GAIN Discussion Paper n°10

February, 2022

Penjani Mkambula, Ekin Birol, Valerie M Friesen, Hilda M Munyua, Daniel Alberts, Destan Aytekin, Bho Mudyahoto, Erick Boy, Mduduzi NN Mbuya





ABOUT GAIN

The Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN) is a Swiss-based foundation launched at the UN in 2002 to tackle the human suffering caused by malnutrition. Working with governments, businesses and civil society, we aim to transform food systems so that they deliver more nutritious food for all people, especially the most vulnerable.

ABOUT HARVESTPLUS

HarvestPlus is a CGIAR research programme which aims to improve nutrition and public health by developing and promoting biofortified food crops that are enriched with nutrients. Founded in 2003 and hosted by the International Food Policy Research Institute in Washington, DC, HarvestPlus provides global leadership on biofortification evidence, technology, and policy.

Recommended citation: Mkambula P, Birol E, Friesen VM, Munyua HM, Alberts D, Aytekin D, Boy E, Mbuya MNN. Transforming food systems to deliver nutritious foods: the vital roles of fortification and biofortification. Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN) and HarvestPlus. Discussion Paper #10. Geneva, Switzerland, 2022. DOI: https://doi.org/10.36072/dp.10

© The Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN)

This work is available under the Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial-Share Alike 4.0 IGO licence (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 IGO; https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/). Under the terms of this licence, you may copy, redistribute and adapt the work for non-commercial purposes, provided the work is appropriately cited, as indicated below. In any use of this work, there should be no suggestion that GAIN endorses any specific organisation, products or services. The use of the GAIN logo is not permitted. If you adapt the work, then you must license your work under the same or equivalent Creative Commons license. The contribution of third parties do not necessarily represent the view or opinion of GAIN.

Acknowledgements: The authors would like to acknowledge Stella Nordhagen and Keith Lividini for reviewing this paper as well as Florencia Vasta and Michael Tedla Diressie for preparing the maps of fortification and biofortification programmes, respectively. All photographs included in this document have been taken with consent for use in publications.

GAIN DISCUSSION PAPER SERIES

The GAIN Discussion Paper series is designed to spark discussion and debate and to inform action on topics of relevance to improving the consumption of nutritious, safe foods for all, especially the most vulnerable.

The Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN) Rue de Varembé 7 1202 Geneva Switzerland T: +41 22 749 18 50 E: info@gainhealth.org

www.gainhealth.org



SUMMARY

An estimated 2 billion people globally are affected by micronutrient deficiencies, while around one third of the global population is at risk of at least one micronutrient deficiency. Micronutrient deficiencies, also known as hidden hunger, can be linked to significant disease burden and economic loss. Food-based approaches to tackling micronutrient deficiencies include improving the micronutrient content of widely consumed foods through large-scale food fortification or biofortification, both of which have been proven to be efficacious, costeffective, and scalable in increasing micronutrient intakes and improving associated biological outcomes. The literature is replete with evidence on the efficacy, acceptability, and cost-effectiveness of each of these approaches but with few discussions of their complementarity. In this paper, we present a narrative review of food fortification and biofortification and highlight their complementary roles in helping transform food systems to deliver healthy and accessible foods for all.

We find that there are three critical conditions required to maximise the potential impact of these two complementary interventions: 1) programmes aligned with the needs, constraints, and opportunities of the population in terms of consumption patterns, supply chains, and market structures; 2) easy-to-implement, cost-effective, and real-time monitoring of programme delivery, coverage, cost, and nutrient intakes; and 3) a rigorous evidence-base, including lessons learnt, to help inform policy and programme design and assist food systems transformation through the everyday foods consumed by all.

Large-scale food fortification and biofortification are not – individually or together – silver bullets for addressing micronutrient deficiencies, but they represent a golden opportunity to strengthen food systems through their backbones (i.e., staple foods and condiments), to deliver healthier diets for all.

KEY MESSAGES

- Large-scale food fortification and biofortification are proven to be efficacious, effective, acceptable, cost-effective, and scalable interventions to improve nutrient intakes and health outcomes
- By scaling both large-scale food fortification and biofortification, multiple food vehicles can be enriched, coexisting deficiencies can be addressed, and different population segments reached.
- By enriching widely consumed staples and condiments, large-scale food fortification and biofortification can transform food systems without requiring changes in consumer behaviour or significant costs to consumers or producers/processers.

BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVE

Micronutrient deficiencies (also known as hidden hunger) affect a large proportion of the world's population (an estimated 2 billion people) and can be linked to illnesses, disability, and even death as well as associated economic losses (1). When left unaddressed, hidden hunger limits children's ability to reach their full potential, adults' productivity and income, and countries' economic development and growth for generations to come (2). Widespread deficiencies in key micronutrients such as folate, iodine, iron, vitamin A, and zinc are associated with perinatal complications, poor growth, impaired cognitive development, and increased risk of morbidity and mortality (1). More broadly, six out of top ten risk factors driving the global burden of disease are diet-related (3). Additionally, the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, coupled with the effects of ever-growing climate crises and conflicts, could exacerbate malnutrition, including micronutrient deficiencies, particularly in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) and among young children and other vulnerable populations (4–6).

The ideal solution for alleviating hidden hunger is consumption of a varied and diverse diet that provides enough micronutrients to meet an individual's physiological needs. Unfortunately, such diets are often not available or affordable to many households, particularly in LMICs: an estimated 3 billion people cannot afford a healthy diet (7). Foodbased approaches, such as the improvement of the micronutrient content of widely consumed foods and condiments through industrial fortification or biofortification, are proven to be efficacious, cost-effective, and scalable solutions to improving micronutrient intakes and associated health outcomes (8).

Large-scale food fortification (LSFF), also known as industrial or mass fortification, is the addition of one or more vitamins and/or minerals to staple foods at the point of processing. LSFF programmes have been in effect since the 1920s, when salt iodisation programmes were initiated in Switzerland and Michigan, USA (9). Based on early successes of salt iodisation in decreasing goitre incidence, food fortification was scaled up and expanded to milk (vitamin D), flour and bread (B vitamins and iron), and other staples and condiments.

Biofortification (also known as nutrient enrichment) of staple crops is the use of conventional crop breeding methods to produce varieties with greater density of bioavailable vitamins and minerals in addition to improved productivity, resistance to biotic and abiotic stresses, climate resilience, and food palatability (10). Biofortification was conceptualised in the 1990s and was consolidated as a programmatic strategy with the formation of the HarvestPlus programme of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) in 2003 (10). Delivery of biofortified planting material through pilot projects began in Uganda and Mozambique in 2006-2007 (11). Subsequently, programmes were established across several countries (including Bangladesh, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, and Zambia).

The literature is replete with evidence on the efficacy, potential impact, and costeffectiveness of LSFF and biofortification (12), but with few discussions of the combination of these two interventions (12,13). In this paper, we present a narrative review of these two approaches to improving diets and elucidate their position as key food systems interventions. In doing so, we additionally seek to clarify the circumstances in which they should be prioritised, individually and in combination. To inform further policy and programme priorities, we finally present the current progress in their scale up and implementation and identify gaps and opportunities.

HOW EFFICACIOUS, EFFECTIVE, AND COST-EFFECTIVE ARE FORTIFICATION AND BIOFORTIFICATION INTERVENTIONS?

LARGE-SCALE FOOD FORTIFICATION

The efficacy (i.e., the performance under ideal and controlled settings) of LSFF has been welldemonstrated (8,14,15). The evidence confirms that the consumption of fortified foods can improve micronutrient status and functional outcomes related to micronutrient deficiencies across different population groups for a range of micronutrients (e.g., iron, folic acid, iodine, vitamin A, vitamin D, and zinc) and food vehicles (e.g., wheat flour, maize flour, rice, salt, oil, sugar, soy and fish sauces, bouillon, and milk) (12).

The effectiveness (i.e., the performance in real world programmatic settings) of LSFF has been similarly demonstrated in high-income countries and to a lesser extent in LMICs. In many high-income countries, LSFF has been credited for its positive impact on various micronutrient deficiency disorders, including the elimination of pellagra and beriberi from flour fortification with B vitamins (niacin and thiamine, respectively) (16,17), reduction in neural tube defects (NTDs) from cereal grain fortification with folic acid (18–20), elimination of rickets from milk fortification with vitamin D (17), and the reduction in goitre prevalence from salt iodisation (21). In LMICs, measurable improvements in micronutrient and health status have also been demonstrated, including reductions in anaemia (from iron fortification), goitre (salt iodisation), NTDs (folic acid fortification), and vitamin A deficiency (22). However, several critical factors that limit effective and sustainable implementation of LSFF programmes have also been identified. These include poor compliance with standards and inadequate monitoring and enforcement, which may limit the potential impact of these programmes and for which there is often limited data available (12).

The benefit-cost ratios — the ratio of the economic benefits relative to the costs — of LSFF are impressive and are the reason it has been consistently ranked as one of the best development interventions (23). With estimates of 30:1 for iodine in salt, 46:1 for folic acid in wheat or maize flour, and 8:1 for iron in wheat or maize flour (24), LSFF ranks higher than immunisation coverage, water and sanitation provision, and malaria control.

BIOFORTIFICATION

The efficacy of biofortified staple crops in reducing micronutrient deficiencies among vulnerable populations in LMICs, namely children under 5, school children, adolescent/young women, and women of reproductive age, is well-demonstrated for several biofortified crops, including iron biofortified beans (25,26), iron-biofortified pearl millet (27), vitamin A-biofortified cassava (28,29), vitamin A-biofortified maize (30–32), and vitamin A-biofortified sweet potato (33–35). Studies have also shown that consumption of biofortified crops resulted in significant improvements in functional, cognitive, and health outcomes such as improved memory and ability to pay attention (36,37) and improved reaction time (37). For iron-biofortified crops, studies have found improved ability to do every day physical tasks, also known as work efficiency (38). For vitamin A-biofortified crops, research has identified reductions in prevalence and duration of diarrhoea for children under five (39); protection

from oxidative stress, chronic diseases, and age-related retinal degeneration (30); improved ability to see in dim light (40); and improved vitamin A content of breast milk (41). Efficacy of zinc biofortification (and LSFF) for reducing zinc deficiency is difficult to establish due to the dearth of zinc biomarkers sensitive enough to detect the effect of food-based zinc interventions on zinc outcomes. In lieu of zinc deficiency biomarkers, several health outcomes related to zinc deficiency have been investigated. For example, zinc-biofortified wheat was found to result in significant reductions in morbidity outcomes, such as days spent sick with pneumonia, vomiting, and fever (42). Studies comparing absorption of zinc-biofortified rice and wheat to their zinc-fortified counterparts found zinc biofortification to be at least as good a source of bioavailable zinc as zinc fortification (43–45).

Since biofortification is a more recent intervention than LSFF, and given that effectiveness studies for agricultural-nutrition interventions such as biofortification require significant time and resource investments, the only completed effectiveness studies to date have been on vitamin A-biofortified sweet potato (35,46). These studies found delivery of this biofortified crop to result in significant adoption and consumption thereof; significant increases in vitamin A intakes among women and children; and significant improvement in vitamin A status for children in intervention households.

There is a significant body of *ex ante* cost-effectiveness analyses of several biofortification interventions (see, e.g., (47,48)). These studies, and meta-analysis thereof, found most biofortification interventions to be highly cost-effective according to the World Bank criteria of cost (in USD) per Disability-Adjusted Life Year (DALY) saved (49). Based on such *ex ante* analyses, the Copenhagen Consensus ranked interventions that reduce micronutrient deficiencies, including biofortification, among the highest value-for-money investments for economic development. As per their analysis, for every USD invested in biofortification, as much as 17 USD of benefits may be gained (50).

OVERVIEW OF FORTIFICATION AND BIOFORTIFICATION INTERVENTIONS

WHAT IS THE PREMISE?

Both LSFF and biofortification aim to increase the density and/or bioavailability of specific micronutrients in widely consumed staple foods and condiments. The rationale for focusing on these everyday food vehicles is to reach a large proportion of the population without having to significantly change food production, purchase, and consumption patterns. While these interventions are not targeted to specific population groups, by targeting staple foods they have a high likelihood of reaching vulnerable groups whose diets consist mainly of staple foods that are widely available and affordable but often low in micronutrients and leave them at a high risk of micronutrient deficiencies.

Many commonly consumed food vehicles are fortified and/or biofortified with different nutrients (Table 1). There is some overlap of food vehicles, nutrients, and countries across the two interventions (for example, zinc in wheat flour, rice, and maize and vitamin A in maize). Conversely, other food vehicles are only fortified industrially, such as milk, oil, and salt, or only biofortified, such as beans, cassava, pearl millet, and sweet potato.

There is a wealth of global guidance on how to select food vehicles and set fortification levels in LSFF depending on the population of interest and micronutrient needs and consumption patterns in that population (51). For biofortification, there is a user-friendly tool called the Biofortification Priority Index (BPI) for identifying the most cost-effective and highest-impact country-crop-micronutrient combinations (52). Guidance for setting micronutrient targets for breeding biofortified crops is also available (53).

| Food vehicle | Large-scale food fortification | Biofortification |
|--------------|--|-------------------|
| Beans | - | Iron and zinc |
| Cassava | - | Vitamin A |
| Maize | Iron, Calcium, Zinc, Folic acid, Vitamin | Vitamin A or Zinc |
| | B12, Vitamin A, Zinc, Thiamine, | |
| | Niacin, Vitamin B6, and/or Vitamin D | |
| Milk | Vitamin A and/or Vitamin D | - |
| Oil | Vitamin A, Vitamin D, and/or Vitamin | |
| | К | - |
| Pearl millet | - | Iron |
| Rice | Iron, Folic acid, Vitamin B12, Vitamin | |
| | A, Zinc, Thiamine, Niacin, and/or | Zinc |
| | Vitamin B6 | |
| Sweet potato | - | Vitamin A |
| Salt | lodine, Iron | - |
| Wheat | Iron, Calcium, Zinc, Folic acid, Vitamin | |
| | B12, Vitamin A, Zinc, Thiamine, | Zinc |
| | Niacin, Vitamin B6, and/or Vitamin D | |

HOW ARE FORTIFICATION AND BIOFORTIFICATION DELIVERED WITHIN FOOD SYSTEMS?

LSFF and biofortification interventions are implemented within food supply chains, which is one of the three major components of food systems (in addition to food environments and consumer behaviour) (54). All three components are influenced by various drivers that ultimately determine nutrition and health outcomes. In brief, the food supply chain for staple crops consists of six steps: 1) plant breeding research and development; 2) agricultural production; 3) storage and distribution; 4) processing; 5) packaging and distribution; and 6) retail and markets (Figure 1).

Both LSFF and biofortification have the same ultimate goal and premise of tackling micronutrient deficiencies through improving the micronutrient content of staple foods, as described above. Despite this broader shared programme theory, the ways in which the goal is achieved and the points of entry into the food supply chain differ.

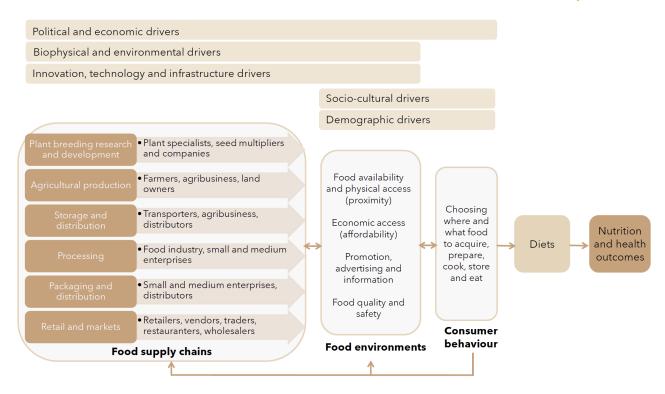


Figure 1. Simplified conceptual framework of foods systems for diets and nutrition focusing on staple crop supply chains (adapted from High Level Panel of Experts 2017 (54))

The LSFF delivery model utilises the existing food supply chain, with one additional step added at the point of processing whereby nutrients (in the form of premix) are added to the foods before they are packaged and sold. After that point, the packaged foods continue through the supply chain to retail outlets, after which the consumer obtains the food (by purchasing it or receiving it formally or informally) and ultimately consumes added nutrients in the foods that they already consume regularly.

LSFF is often ensured by government mandates or legislation (55). The legislation stipulates the categories of foods included in the fortification programme, the level or range of nutrient to be added by industry, the agency responsible for regulation and enforcement of the legislation, and the penalties for non-compliance. As such, fortification programmes often include support for government capacity to monitor and enforce, industry incentives to comply, and consumer engagement to identify and select fortified brands (56,57).

The biofortification delivery model similarly utilises the existing food supply chain. At the point of plant breeding research and development, varieties are bred through conventional plant breeding methods to contain higher levels of certain micronutrients. These varieties are then multiplied and released by licensed seed companies, national systems, and/or humanitarian programs and then acquired by smallholder farmers for planting. The resulting foods produced are higher in micronutrient density for specific nutrients. These foods are then often consumed directly by the farming households and any surplus continues through the food supply chain to retail outlets and markets, where they reach the consumer. As the biofortified food product moves along the food supply chain, mechanisms are needed to identify the crop as being biofortified, especially in cases where the micronutrient trait is invisible (e.g., iron- and zinc-biofortified crops).

For both strategies, an enabling environment can also play a pivotal role in the depth and breadth to which they can be scaled. Such an enabling environment includes – but is not limited to – investments in public research and development (e.g., product development for LSFF, plant breeding for biofortification), setting mandatory minimum standards for micronutrient content of seeds, grains, and foods, and inclusion of foods in input subsidy programmes and procurement policies.

WHERE AND HOW WELL ARE THESE INTERVENTIONS BEING DELIVERED?

LARGE-SCALE FOOD FORTIFICATION

Globally, mandatory or voluntary fortification legislation is currently in effect in 145 countries for salt, 99 countries for wheat flour, 19 countries for maize flour, and 36 countries for oil (58) (Figure 2). Furthermore, 84 additional countries have recently been identified as candidates for new LSFF programmes (56). For illustration, Box 1 draws from available programme records and evaluation evidence (59,60) to illustrate a successful LSFF programme in Costa Rica.

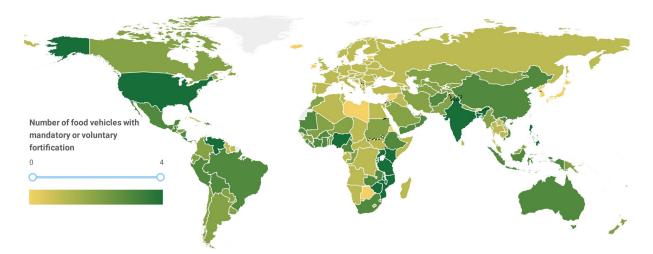


Figure 2. Map of countries with mandatory or voluntary fortification programs (source data: Global Fortification Data Exchange 2020 (58))

Surveys and, recently, household and market coverage data are collected through specific assessments such as the Fortification Assessment Coverage Toolkit (FACT) surveys (61). Quality of fortification is typically defined as compliance with national fortification standards for the type and amount of fortificant added to the food vehicles. Data on fortification quality may be collected as part of regulatory monitoring systems but are not always publicly available, and the frequency and methodology of collection vary widely between countries (62).

The coverage and quality data available for current fortification programmes reveal several gaps in design and implementation, which limit the potential effectiveness of many programmes. These aggregated results are described in detail elsewhere (62); in summary, the potential for impact at the population level varies widely from programme to programme. Specifically, foods that have high population coverage in a fortifiable (i.e., industrially

processed) form, like oil/ghee and salt, have the highest potential for impact; however, not all are reaching that potential due to poor quality (either a lack of fortification in general or fortification below standards). Other fortified foods, such as wheat and maize flour, have lower coverage in a fortifiable form, which reduces their potential reach in a population; they also face with similar quality issues to oil/ghee and salt.

The collection and use of data on quality and coverage for programme design and decision making is critical to maximise the impact of LSFF programmes globally.

BOX 1. INGREDIENTS FOR SUCCESSFUL STAPLE FOOD FORTIFICATION IN COSTA RICA

Costa Rica began to address micronutrient deficiencies by adding iodine and fluoride to salt in 1974 and 1989, respectively. In response to the 1996 National Nutrition Survey, which found persistently high levels of micronutrient deficiencies in the country, the government established the cross-sectoral National Micronutrient Commission and worked with the private sector to fortify staple foods. Towards this end, the Ministry of Health carefully selected a basket of staple foods to be fortified with micronutrients that were deficient in the diet. Mandatory fortification of wheat flour began in 1997, maize flour in 1999, milk in 2001, and rice in 2002. The choice of vehicles considered the consumption patterns of the most vulnerable groups. Of note, the government pursued a model where costs were borne by the private sector and the consumer and negotiated with industry to take primary ownership of fortification programmes.

Monitoring data from 2000 to 2012 showed good compliance with fortification mandates for wheat and maize flour and for liquid and powdered milk, at levels that contributed the desired additional nutrient intakes for children (59). Consistent with these observations, the country observed significant declines in the prevalence of anaemia, iron deficiency, and iron-deficiency anaemia between 1996 and 2008. There was equity in this impact – the decreases were more pronounced in rural and urban areas than in metropolitan area of the capital city. An examination of the programme impact pathway illustrated that these changes could be attributed to the programme (60).

This case study illustrates that where LSFF programmes are designed, implemented, and monitored adequately, impact can be achieved (59).

BIOFORTIFICATION

As of the end of 2019, over 340 biofortified varieties of 12 staple crops have been formally released for production in over 40 countries across Africa, Asia, and Latin America (63) (Figure 3). Having kicked off in 2010, delivery efforts for biofortification are relatively new and still at a smaller pilot scale in many countries. Product development, delivery, and implementation research for biofortified crops are spearheaded by the CGIAR's International Potato Center (CIP) and HarvestPlus. In the past decade, these two organisations have been working closely with the public sector, private sector, and UN and NGO partners to bring biofortified planting materials to farming households and biofortified foods to consumers in several countries across Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

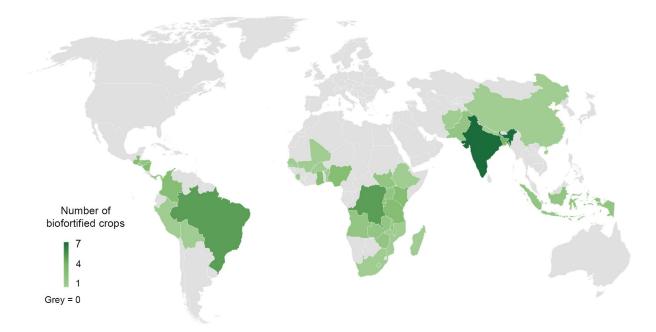


Figure 3. Map of countries with released biofortified crops (data source: (63))

Currently, biofortification has been included in national nutrition policies in Africa (e.g., Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda) and Asia (e.g., Bangladesh and Pakistan) as well as in agricultural policies in many more countries (64). Additionally, foods made from biofortified foods are now being included in public programmes, such as school feeding programmes in 11 countries (e.g., vitamin-A orange fleshed sweet potato (OFSP) in Gambia, Malawi, Mozambique, and Nigeria (65)). By the end of 2019, an estimated 8.5 million smallholder farming households were reached with biofortified iron beans and pearl millet, vitamin A cassava, maize, and OFSP, and zinc rice and wheat through HarvestPlus-led efforts and an additional 6.8 million farming households with OFSP vines through CIP-led efforts (63).

BOX 2. INNOVATIVE DELIVERY MODELS FOR SCALING IRON-BIOFORTIFIED BEANS IN RWANDA

Rwanda's iron-biofortified bean programme was initiated in 2010 by HarvestPlus, the Rwanda Agricultural Board (RAB), and the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT). This collaborative programme involved all actors along the bean value chain, from national bean breeders and farmers to retail food companies and consumers, to ensure sustainability and scale. Delivery approaches included sales through authorised agro-dealers; direct marketing by the HarvestPlus country team in local markets; a payback system distributing iron-biofortified bean seeds conditional on the farmer giving back a previously agreed-upon portion of their harvest to the programme, and seed swaps in which local bean grains are exchanged for iron bean seeds. Informal dissemination also occurred through social networks (66,67). A 2019 iron bean adoption study recommended that for long-term adoption, policymakers should focus on: 1) direct marketing to speed initial and continued adoption and 2) payback mechanisms to reduce dis-adoption (66). Social networks increased adoption, suggesting that the positive effect of learning about and obtaining planting material from neighbours outweighs potential negative effects of free-riding or strategic delay (66).

According to monitoring and evaluation data, by the end of 2018, 442,000 households were growing iron beans and an estimated 20% of the beans grown in Rwanda were of iron varieties. A cost-benefit analysis of the programme from 2010-2018 showed that for every dollar invested in the programme, 3 dollars' worth of benefits (in yield and health gains) were accrued (68).

There is strong government endorsement of biofortification in Rwanda, where biofortification is included in the national nutrition action plan. Rwandan authorities recently issued national standards for biofortified bean seeds and grain, which promoted fair trade, improved food processing, and boosted private-sector investment (69). In 2019, a multi-stakeholder platform, consisting of RAB, local non-governmental organisations, and seed multipliers, was developed to encourage and sustain private-sector engagement and further scale up delivery.

ARE THE INTERVENTIONS REINFORCING EACH OTHER?

There are currently no evaluations of the efficacy and cost-effectiveness of combined LSFF and biofortification interventions. However, some modelling studies have explored their potential complementarity. For example, a study in Zambia explored the optimal programme portfolio for tackling vitamin A deficiency by modelling various combinations of two current programmes, i.e., vitamin A-fortified sugar and vitamin A supplementation as part of Child Health Weeks, along with potential new programmes, including vitamin A-fortified vegetable oil and maize flour and vitamin A-biofortified maize (70). The study found that vitamin A oil fortification was the most cost-effective intervention but having both vitamin A-biofortified maize and vitamin A-fortified oil programmes increased coverage (especially in rural areas) without a significant increase in costs. A similar analysis was carried out in Cameroon to identify the most cost-effective combination of vitamin A interventions among vitamin Afortified oil and bouillon cube, vitamin A-biofortified maize, and periodic vitamin A supplementation for children (13). The study found that in certain regions of the country (e.g., in the South and in urban areas) fortification had the potential to eliminate vitamin A deficiency, while vitamin A supplementation and vitamin A-biofortified maize would be needed to tackle vitamin A deficiency in the maize-consuming Northern region.

There are some inherent differences in how the two interventions are delivered. First and most notably, the entry points into the food supply chain in the food system differ: at processing for LSFF and prior to production for biofortification. Second, LSFF requires more substantial changes in practices among supply chain actors with processors needing to obtain high-quality premix, equipment to fortify, and training to fortify properly and undertake quality assurance and quality control. Comparatively, with biofortification the key behaviour change required is for farmers to choose to grow the biofortified varieties over the non-biofortified varieties they currently grow. In theory, this is simple but may come with its own set of challenges depending on availability of the biofortified planting material and its agronomic competitiveness compared to non-biofortified alternatives; it may also be challenging for aggregators and processors to be able to segregate the biofortified food from the non-biofortified variety if the micronutrient traits are invisible (e.g., for high-iron beans and zinc-biofortified crops).

Third, monitoring of the quality of programme delivery will vary between LSFF and biofortification in terms of how it is done and by whom. For example, in a mandatory LSFF programme, monitoring at production and market level is typically a government mandate whereby checks are done during which food samples are collected and tested to assure that those foods that are required to be fortified do in fact contain the added nutrient in the amounts required by the fortification standards. Comparatively, biofortification is not currently legislated in any country (except for pearl millet iron and zinc minimum breeding standards in India) and instead is included as an action area in national policies and strategies of several LMICs (i.e., 15 in Africa, 3 in Asia, 6 in Latin America and the Caribbean). As such, currently there are no national regulatory requirements exist for standards or the regular collection and testing of samples. However, a voluntary standard for zinc-biofortified wheat, maize, and rice was recently publicly released (71).

There are natural complementarities across the two interventions. For example, micronutrient needs and food consumption patterns (and availability of food vehicles) vary by population, socio-economic status, and geography; therefore, one fortified or biofortified food vehicle is not likely sufficient to fill all nutrient gaps in the population. Rather a combination of foods with different nutrients (biofortified, fortified, and other micronutrient-dense foods such as animal-source foods, nuts, legumes, and fresh fruits and vegetables) is needed. As a result, the decisions around which foods to fortify and which biofortified crop varieties to release should be based on population-specific contextual factors (i.e., micronutrient need, consumption patterns, availability, and affordability) that are regularly reviewed.

Where there is an overlap in food vehicles and/or nutrients, it is important to consider the opportunities in the food supply chain and market structures to decide which intervention(s) to prioritise and/or where there may be benefits to overlapping them. For instance, LSFF may not be the best approach where widely produced staples are consumed without processing or are processed by many local, small-scale producers with limited capacity to fortify. In this context, ensuring availability of biofortified staple crops could help address gaps in

micronutrient intakes. While in other instances, some populations that would be reached by each intervention are inherently different, so there is some complementarity in overlapping them. Overall, it is important to increase the nutritional quality of all crops bred and all foods processed, while ensuring that the new varieties of crops are suitable for different agroecological environments and a changing climate, and that processed foods are healthy and attractive to consumers. Given ever-changing consumer preferences, trade opportunities, and production technologies and environments, food systems and diets should be continuously evaluated, and additional interventions (or intensity and coverage of existing interventions) should be considered in case of gaps or excesses in any micro- or macronutrients.

Although there are no documented examples, it is plausible that there may be some negative implications of overlapping LSFF and biofortification. For example, if both interventions include the same micronutrients and if other dietary sources provide high levels of that nutrient for some sub-populations and/or in addition to other sources of the nutrient (e.g., supplementation), there could be a risk of excessive intakes in some segments of the population (72,73). This would occur, for example, if industrial fortification with vitamin A was being undertaken for oil and sugar while simultaneously biofortifying maize and cassava with vitamin A – both within the context of a supplementation programme. Such a scenario would indicate gaps in programme design, since added micronutrient contents should consider population and sub-population level needs and potential to benefit.¹

Further research is needed to understand current food environments, consumers' diets, micronutrient intakes and deficiencies, and their dynamics across time and seasons, rural versus urban areas, and different demographic and socio-economic characteristics, so as to evaluate potential contributions of LSFF or biofortification vis-à-vis current intakes and other complementary programmes. In any case, it is important to remember that both interventions add to micronutrient intakes but are not the only sources in the diet. As such, continual assessment of micronutrient intakes in the total diet and how much each intervention contributes to shifting intakes is needed. In the long term, diet diversification is the goal, and multiple complementary and well-targeted strategies can work towards this end.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, we described the centrality of LSFF and biofortification as food systems interventions that can contribute to shifting distributions of nutrient intakes towards adequacy, i.e., "making all boats rise." While neither is a silver bullet – individually or together – for resolving the pervasive problem of hidden hunger, in this paper we have described similarities, differences, and potential synergies.

We conclude by noting three critical ingredients required to maximise the potential impact of these two complementary interventions. First, programmes must be designed in line with the

¹ It is worth noting that provitamin A carotenoids are highly unlikely to increase the risk of vitamin A toxicity, because although β -carotene can be converted to vitamin A, the conversion of β -carotene to vitamin A decreases when body stores of vitamin A are high (74). Risk of excessive intake is also limited for iron. Globally, infrequent wide-scale implementation of iron supplementation programmes for young children and low compliance in women of reproductive age likely reduces potentially risky overlaps of iron interventions (e.g., fortified complementary foods, plus supplements, plus micronutrient powders in children) (75). Given highly controlled iron absorption and metabolism, excess in other vulnerable groups is low.

needs of the population in terms of consumption patterns, supply chains, and market structures. This is good practice for each intervention but particularly important for delivering the interventions in combination. By scaling both fortification and biofortification, multiple food vehicles can be enriched, coexisting deficiencies can be addressed, and different population segments can be reached. Second, monitoring of programme delivery, coverage, and nutrient intakes (from all dietary sources) is essential. This suggests a need for metrics and methods (31,37). Ideally, coverage indicators for industrially fortified and biofortified foods can be incorporated into routine household surveys, such as Demographic and Health Surveys, Household Consumption and Expenditure Surveys, and Living Standards Measurement Studies, to facilitate monitoring. Third, and finally, national-level guidance should be developed on how best to design and layer micronutrient deficiency mitigation interventions in a manner that builds on their synergies, improves cost-effectiveness, and ensures effective coverage, particularly among those most at-risk of deficiency. Such guidance would be useful for consideration by countries as they develop roadmaps and action plans to transform their food systems by 2030 to deliver nutritious food for all.

To inform policy and programme priorities, further research is needed to conduct implementation and compliance studies and impact evaluations to demonstrate the performance and impact of LSFF and biofortification interventions in combination, specifically quantifying the contribution of these strategies to nutrient intakes in the diet. LSFF and biofortification are not silver bullets, but they represent a golden opportunity to strengthen food systems through their backbones (i.e., staple foods), to deliver healthier diets for all.

REFERENCES

- 1. Bailey RL, Jr KPW, Black RE. The Epidemiology of Global Micronutrient Deficiencies. Ann Nutr Metab. 2015;66(Suppl. 2):22–33.
- 2. Horton S. The economic impact of micronutrient deficiencies. In Karger; 2004. p. 187–202.
- Murray CJL, Aravkin AY, Zheng P, Abbafati C, Abbas KM, Abbasi-Kangevari M, et al. Global burden of 87 risk factors in 204 countries and territories, 1990–2019: a systematic analysis for the Global Burden of Disease Study 2019. The Lancet. 2020 Oct;396(10258):1223–49.
- 4. Fore HH, Dongyu Q, Beasley DM, Ghebreyesus TA. Child malnutrition and COVID-19: the time to act is now. The Lancet. 2020 Aug 22;396(10250):517–8.
- Osendarp S, Akuoku JK, Black RE, Headey D, Ruel M, Scott N, et al. The COVID-19 crisis will exacerbate maternal and child undernutrition and child mortality in low- and middleincome countries. Nat Food. 2021 Jul;2(7):476–84.
- Laborde D, Herforth A, Headey D, de Pee S. COVID-19 pandemic leads to greater depth of unaffordability of healthy and nutrient-adequate diets in low- and middle-income countries. Nat Food. 2021 Jul;2(7):473–5.
- 7. FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP, WHO. The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2020. Transforming food systems for affordable healthy diets. Rome: FAO; 2020.
- 8. Bhutta ZA, Das JK, Rizvi A, Gaffey MF, Walker N, Horton S, et al. Evidence-based interventions for improvement of maternal and child nutrition: what can be done and at what cost? The Lancet. 2013 Aug;382(9890):452–77.
- Bishai D, Nalubola R. The History of Food Fortification in the United States: Its Relevance for Current Fortification Efforts in Developing Countries. Econ Dev Cult Change. 2002 Oct;51(1):37–53.
- 10. Pfeiffer WH, McClafferty B. HarvestPlus: Breeding Crops for Better Nutrition. Crop Sci. 2007 Dec 1;47(S3):S-88.
- 11. Arimond M, Ball A-M, Bechoff A, Bosch D, Bouis H, Brauw A, et al. Reaching and Engaging End Users (REU) Orange Fleshed Sweet Potato (OFSP) in East and Southern Africa [Internet]. 2010 Aug [cited 2021 May 17]. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ricardo-Labarta/publication/290433361_Reaching_and_Engaging_End_Users_REU_Orange_Flesh ed_Sweet_Potato_OFSP_in_East_and_Southern_Africa/links/5697b14e08aea2d74375b61 e/Reaching-and-Engaging-End-Users-REU-Orange-Fleshed-Sweet-Potato-OFSP-in-Eastand-Southern-Africa.pdf
- Osendarp SJM, Martinez H, Garrett GS, Neufeld LM, De-Regil LM, Vossenaar M, et al. Large-Scale Food Fortification and Biofortification in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: A Review of Programs, Trends, Challenges, and Evidence Gaps. Food Nutr Bull. 2018;39(2):315–31.

- Vosti SA, Kagin J, Engle-Stone R, Luo H, Tarini A, Clermont A, et al. Strategies to achieve adequate vitamin A intake for young children: options for Cameroon. Ann N Y Acad Sci. 2019/12/03 ed. 2020 Apr;1465(1):161–80.
- Allen L, de Benoist B, Dary O. Guidelines on food fortification with micronutrients. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization and Food and Agriculture Organization; 2006.
- 15. Das JK, Salam RA, Kumar R, Bhutta ZA. Micronutrient fortification of food and its impact on woman and child health: a systematic review. Syst Rev. 2013;2(1):67.
- 16. Fletcher RJ, Bell IP, Lambert JP. Public health aspects of food fortification: a question of balance. Proc Nutr Soc. 2004 Nov;63(4):605–14.
- 17. Canadian Public Health Association (CPHA). Food fortification with vitamins and minerals [Internet]. 2015 [cited 2020 Nov 5]. Available from: https://www.cpha.ca/food-fortification-vitamins-and-minerals
- Honein MA, Paulozzi LJ, Mathews TJ, Erickson JD, Wong L-YC. Impact of folic acid fortification of the US food supply on the occurrence of neural tube defects. Jama. 2001;285(23):2981–6.
- 19. Berry RJ, Bailey L, Mulinare J, Bower C, Dary O. Fortification of Flour with Folic Acid. Food Nutr Bull. 2010 Mar 1;31(1_suppl1):S22–35.
- 20. Caudill MA, Cruz AC, Gregory JF, Hutson AD, Bailey LB. Folate Status Response to Controlled Folate Intake in Pregnant Women. J Nutr. 1997 Dec 1;127(12):2363–70.
- 21. Andersson M, de Benoist B, Rogers L. Epidemiology of iodine deficiency: Salt iodisation and iodine status. Best Pract Res Clin Endocrinol Metab. 2010 Feb 1;24(1):1–11.
- 22. Keats EC, Neufeld LM, Garrett GS, Mbuya MNN, Bhutta ZA. Improved micronutrient status and health outcomes in low- and middle-income countries following large-scale fortification: evidence from a systematic review and meta-analysis. Am J Clin Nutr. 2019;109(6):1696–708.
- 23. Horton S. The Economics of Food Fortification. J Nutr. 2006 Apr 1;136(4):1068–71.
- 24. Garrett GS, Matthias D, Keats EC, Mbuya MNN, Wouabe E. Doubling down on food fortification to fortify the future [Internet]. 2019 [cited 2020 Nov 3]. Available from: https://ww2.gatesfoundation.org/ideas/articles/food-fortification-to-fortify-the-future
- 25. Finkelstein JL, Mehta S, Villalpando S, Mundo-Rosas V, Luna SV, Rahn M, et al. A Randomized Feeding Trial of Iron-Biofortified Beans on School Children in Mexico. Nutrients. 2019 Feb 12;11(2):E381.
- 26. Haas JD, Luna SV, Lung'aho MG, Wenger MJ, Murray-Kolb LE, Beebe S, et al. Consuming Iron Biofortified Beans Increases Iron Status in Rwandan Women after 128 Days in a Randomized Controlled Feeding Trial. J Nutr. 2016 Aug 1;146(8):1586–92.
- Finkelstein JL, Amy Fothergill, Laura S. Hackl, Jere D. Haas, Saurabh Mehta. Iron biofortification interventions to improve iron status and functional outcomes. In: Proceedings of the Nutrition Society [Internet]. 2019. p. 1475–2719. Available from: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/proceedings-of-the-nutrition-

society/article/iron-biofortification-interventions-to-improve-iron-status-and-functional-outcomes/399C46BD1FD416195833FFD586C2DC5B

- Talsma EF, Melse-Boonstra A, Kok BPH de, Mbera GNK, Mwangi AM, Brouwer ID. Biofortified Cassava with Pro-Vitamin A Is Sensory and Culturally Acceptable for Consumption by Primary School Children in Kenya. PLOS ONE. 2013 Sep;8(9):e73433.
- 29. Afolami I, Mwangi MN, Samuel F, Boy E, Ilona P, Talsma EF, et al. Daily consumption of pro-vitamin A biofortified (yellow) cassava improves serum retinol concentrations in preschool children in Nigeria: a randomized controlled trial. Am J Clin Nutr. 2021 Jan 4;113(1):221–31.
- 30. Palmer AC, Craft NE, Schulze KJ, Barffour M, Chileshe J, Siamusantu W, et al. Impact of biofortified maize consumption on serum carotenoid concentrations in Zambian children. Eur J Clin Nutr. 2018 Feb;72(2):301–3.
- 31. Gannon B, Kaliwile C, Arscott SA, Schmaelzle S, Chileshe J, Kalungwana N, et al. Biofortified orange maize is as efficacious as a vitamin A supplement in Zambian children even in the presence of high liver reserves of vitamin A: a community-based, randomized placebo-controlled trial. Am J Clin Nutr. 14AD Oct 8;100(6):1541–50.
- 32. Palmer AC, Siamusantu W, Chileshe J, Schulze KJ, Barffour M, Craft NE, et al. Provitamin A-biofortified maize increases serum β-carotene, but not retinol, in marginally nourished children: a cluster-randomized trial in rural Zambia. Am J Clin Nutr. 2016 May 11;104(1):181–90.
- 33. Jaarsveld PJ van, Faber M, Tanumihardjo SA, Nestel P, Lombard CJ, Benadé AJS. β-Carotene-rich orange-fleshed sweet potato improves the vitamin A status of primary school children assessed with the modified-relative-dose-response test. Am J Clin Nutr. 2005 May;81(5):1080–7.
- 34. Low JW, Arimond M, Osman N, Benedito Cunguara, Zano F, Tschirley D. A food-based approach introducing orange-fleshed sweet potatoes increased vitamin A intake and serum retinol concentrations in young children in rural Mozambique. J Nutr. 2007 May;137(5):1320–7.
- 35. Hotz C, Loechl C, de Brauw A, Eozenou P, Gilligan D, Moursi M, et al. A large-scale intervention to introduce orange sweet potato in rural Mozambique increases vitamin A intakes among children and women. Br J Nutr. 2012;108(1):163–76.
- Scott SP, Murray-Kolb LE, Wenger MJ, Udipi SA, Ghugre PS, Boy E, et al. Cognitive Performance in Indian School-Going Adolescents Is Positively Affected by Consumption of Iron-Biofortified Pearl Millet: A 6-Month Randomized Controlled Efficacy Trial. J Nutr. 2018 Sep;148(9):1462–71.
- 37. Wenger MJ, Stephanie E Rhoten, Murray-Kolb LE, Scott SP, Boy E, Gahutu J-B, et al. Changes in Iron Status Are Related to Changes in Brain Activity and Behavior in Rwandan Female University Students: Results from a Randomized Controlled Efficacy Trial Involving Iron-Biofortified Beans. J Nutr. 2019 Apr;149(4):687–97.
- Luna SV, Pompano LM, Lung'aho M, Gahutu JB, Haas JD. Increased Iron Status during a Feeding Trial of Iron-Biofortified Beans Increases Physical Work Efficiency in Rwandan Women. J Nutr. 2020 May 1;150(5):1093–9.

- 39. Jones KM, de Brauw A. Using Agriculture to Improve Child Health: Promoting Orange Sweet Potatoes Reduces Diarrhea. World Dev. 2015;74:15–24.
- 40. Palmer AC, Healy K, Barffour MA, Siamusantu W, Chileshe J, Schulze KJ, et al. Provitamin A Carotenoid-Biofortified Maize Consumption Increases Pupillary Responsiveness among Zambian Children in a Randomized Controlled Trial. J Nutr. 2016 Dec;146(12):2551–8.
- 41. Palmer AC, Jobarteh ML, Chipili M, Greene MD, Oxley A, Lietz G, et al. Biofortified and fortified maize consumption reduces prevalence of low milk retinol, but does not increase vitamin A stores of breastfeeding Zambian infants with adequate reserves: a randomized controlled trial. Am J Clin Nutr. 2021 May 1;113(5):1209–20.
- 42. Sazawal S, Dhingra U, Dhingra P, Dutta A, Deb S, Kumar J, et al. Efficacy of high zinc biofortified wheat in improvement of micronutrient status, and prevention of morbidity among preschool children and women - a double masked, randomized, controlled trial. Nutr J. 2018;17:86.
- Rosado JL, Hambidge KM, Miller LV, Garcia OP, Westcott J, Gonzalez K, et al. The Quantity of Zinc Absorbed from Wheat in Adult Women Is Enhanced by Biofortification. J Nutr. 2009;139(10):1920–5.
- 44. Brnić M, Wegmüller R, Melse-Boonstra A, Stomph T, Zeder C, Tay FM, et al. Zinc Absorption by Adults Is Similar from Intrinsically Labeled Zinc-Biofortified Rice and from Rice Fortified with Labeled Zinc Sulfate. J Nutr. 2016 Jan;146(1):76–80.
- 45. Signorell C, Zimmermann MB, Cakmak I, Wegmüller R, Zeder C, Hurrell R, et al. Zinc Absorption From Agronomically Biofortified Wheat Is Similar to Post-Harvest Fortified Wheat and Is a Substantial Source of Bioavailable Zinc in Humans. J Nutr. 2019 May 1;149(5):840–6.
- 46. Hotz C, Loechl C, Lubowa A, Tumwine JK, Ndeezi G, Masawi AN, et al. Introduction of βcarotene-rich orange sweet potato in rural Uganda resulted in increased vitamin A intakes among children and women and improved vitamin A status among children. J Nutr. 2012 Aug 8;142(10):1871–80.
- 47. Meenakshi JV, Johnson NL, Manyong VM, Degroote H, Javelosa, Josyline, Yanggen D, et al. How cost-effective is biofortification in combating micronutrient malnutrition? An ex ante assessment [Internet]. Washington DC: HarvestPlus; 2010. Available from: https://www.ifpri.org/publication/how-cost-effective-biofortification-combatingmicronutrient-malnutrition-ex-ante
- Birol E, Asare-Marfo D, Fiedler J, Ha B, Lividini K, Moursi M, et al. Cost-effectiveness of biofortification [Internet]. Washington DC: International Food Policy Research Institute; 2014. Available from: https://www.ifpri.org/publication/cost-effectiveness-biofortification
- 49. Lividini K, Fiedler JL, Fabiana F. De Moura, Moursi M, Zeller M. Biofortification: A review of ex-ante models. Glob Food Secur. 2018;17:186–95.
- Horton S, Alderman H, Rivera JA. Copenhagen Consensus 2008 Challenge Paper Hunger and Malnutrition. 2008 May 11; Available from: https://www.copenhagenconsensus.com/sites/default/files/CP_Malnutrition_and_Hunger _-_Horton.pdf

- Allen L, de Benoist B, Dary O. Guidelines on food fortification with micronutrients. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization and Food and Agriculture Organization; 2006.
- 52. Saltzman A, Birol E, Oparinde A, Andersson MS, Asare-Marfo D, Diressie MT, et al. Availability, production, and consumption of crops biofortified by plant breeding: current evidence and future potential. Ann N Y Acad Sci. 2017;1390(1):104–14.
- Hotz C, McClafferty B. From Harvest to Health: Challenges for Developing Biofortified Staple Foods and Determining Their Impact on Micronutrient Status. Food Nutr Bull. 2007 Jun 1;28(2_suppl2):S271–9.
- 54. High Level Panel of Experts. Nutrition and food systems. A report by the High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition of the Committee on World Food Security. Rome; 2017 p. 152.
- 55. Luthringer CL, Rowe LA, Vossenaar M, Garrett GS. Regulatory Monitoring of Fortified Foods: Identifying Barriers and Good Practices. Glob Health Sci Pract. 2015 Sep 10;3(3):446–61.
- 56. Mkambula P, Mbuya MNN, Rowe LA, Sablah M, Friesen VM, Chadha M, et al. The Unfinished Agenda for Food Fortification in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: Quantifying Progress, Gaps and Potential Opportunities. Nutrients. 2020 Jan 29;12(2).
- 57. Mbuya MN, Thorpe J, Carpio A, Islam A, Saha A, Balagamwala M, et al. Why do companies fortify? Drivers of compliance with edible oil fortification in Bangladesh [Internet]. Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN); 2020 Aug [cited 2020 Nov 3]. Available from: https://www.gainhealth.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/gain-working-paper-series-8-why-do-companies-fortify-drivers-of-compliance-with-edible-oil-fortification-in-bangladesh.pdf
- 58. Global Fortification Data Exchange. Map: Fortification Legislation [Internet]. 2021 [cited 2020 Nov 3]. Available from: https://fortificationdata.org/
- 59. Martorell R, Ascencio M, Tacsan L, Alfaro T, Young MF, Addo OY, et al. Effectiveness evaluation of the food fortification program of Costa Rica: impact on anemia prevalence and hemoglobin concentrations in women and children. Am J Clin Nutr. 2015 Jan 1;101(1):210–7.
- 60. Martorell R, de Romaña DL. Components of Successful Staple Food Fortification Programs: Lessons From Latin America. Food Nutr Bull. 2017 Sep;38(3):384–404.
- 61. Friesen VM, Jungjohann S, Mbuya MNN, Harb J, Visram A, Hug J, et al. Fortification Assessment Coverage Toolkit (FACT) Manual [Internet]. Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (Geneva) and Oxford Policy Management (Oxford); 2019 [cited 2021 Sep 24]. Available from: https://www.gainhealth.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/fact-manual.pdf
- 62. Mkambula P, Mbuya MNN, Rowe LA, Sablah M, Friesen VM, Chadha M, et al. The Unfinished Agenda for Food Fortification in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: Quantifying Progress, Gaps and Potential Opportunities. Nutrients. 2020;12(2):354.
- 63. Council for Agricultural Science and Technology (CAST). Food Biofortification—Reaping the Benefits of Science to Overcome Hidden Hunger—A paper in the series on The Need

for Agricultural Innovation to Sustainably Feed the World by 2050 [Internet]. Ames, Iowa: CAST; 2020 [cited 2021 May 18]. Report No.: Issue Paper 69. Available from: https://www.cast-science.org/publication/food-biofortification-reaping-the-benefits-of-science-to-overcome-hidden-hunger/

- 64. Bouis HE. Biofortification: an agricultural tool to address mineral and vitamin deficiencies. In: Mannar MGV, Hurrell RF, editors. Food Fortification in a Globalized World [Internet]. Academic Press; 2018 [cited 2021 Sep 16]. p. 69–81. Available from: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B9780128028612000079
- 65. Global Child Nutrition Foundation. School meal programs around the world. Seattle, WA: Global Child Nutrition Foundation; 2019.
- 66. Vaiknoras K, Larochelle C, Birol E, Asare-Marfo D, Herrington C. Promoting rapid and sustained adoption of biofortified crops: What we learned from iron-biofortified bean delivery approaches in Rwanda. Food Policy. 2019 Feb 1;83:271–84.
- 67. Mulambu J, Andersson M, Palenberg M, Pfeiffer W, Saltzman A, Birol E, et al. Chapter 10: Iron beans in Rwanda: crop development and delivery experience. Afr J Food Agric Nutr Dev. 2017;17(2):12026–50.
- 68. Lividini K, Diressie MT. Outcomes of Biofortification: High Iron Beans in Rwanda. Washington, DC: HarvestPlus; 2019 Aug. (Unpublished. Available upon request).
- 69. HarvestPlus. Research project report on qualitative analysis of biofortification lessons learned in Rwanda. Washington, DC: HarvestPlus; 2019. (Unpublished. Available upon request).
- 70. Fiedler JL, Lividini K. Managing the Vitamin A Program Portfolio: A Case Study of Zambia, 2013–2042. Food Nutr Bull. 2014 Mar 1;35(1):105–25.
- 71. British Standards Institution (BSI). PAS 233:2021 Zinc enriched wheat, maize and rice grain specification [Internet]. London, United Kingdom: BSI; 2021 [cited 2022 Feb 17]. Available from: https://www.bsigroup.com/en-GB/standards/pas-2332021/
- 72. Williams AM, Tanumihardjo SA, Rhodes EC, Mapango C, Kazembe B, Phiri F, et al. Vitamin A deficiency has declined in Malawi, but with evidence of elevated vitamin A in children. Am J Clin Nutr. 2021 Apr 1;113(4):854–64.
- 73. Tanumihardjo SA, Kaliwile C, Boy E, Dhansay MA, van Stuijvenberg ME. Overlapping vitamin A interventions in the United States, Guatemala, Zambia, and South Africa: case studies. Ann N Y Acad Sci. 2019 Jun 1;1446(1):102–16.
- 74. Institute of Medicine. Dietary Reference Intakes for Vitamin C, Vitamin E, Selenium, and Carotenoids [Internet]. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press; 2000. Available from: https://www.nap.edu/catalog/9810/dietary-reference-intakes-for-vitamin-c-vitamine-selenium-and-carotenoids
- 75. Schultink W. Iron-Supplementation Programmes: Compliance of Target Groups and Frequency of Tablet Intake. Food Nutr Bull. 1996 Mar 1;17(1):1–5.