The Distortive Effects of Ghana's School Feeding Programme on Primary Education Delivery: The Case of Adentan Municipality

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

AGRA	Alliance for Green Revolution in Africa
CAADP	Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GoG	Government of Ghana
GSFP AOP	Ghana School Feeding Annual Operating Plan
GSFP	Ghana School Feeding Programme
HGSF TAP	Home Grown School Feeding Technical Assistance Plan
HGSF	Home Grown School Feeding
LA-RAE	Latin America School Feeding Network
MLGRD	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
MoFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MoH	Ministry of Health
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations Organisation
PCD	The Partnership for Child Development
SEAMEO	Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization
SEND	Social Enterprise Development Foundation
SFP	School Feeding Programme
SHEP	School Health and Education Programme
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
WVI	World Vision International

Abstract

When seen through the rate of enrolment, School feeding programs (SFPs) have been praised as having made significant contribution to the achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE) - goal 2 of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. However, the process of institutional building to sustain such programmes for effective and efficient delivery of education remains problematic in many cases. This study analyses school feeding in Ghana from the perspective of 'multi-functionality', a cross-sector approach (education, agriculture and health) that brings together different types of institutions and actors to provide the means to keep children in school and ensure their education.

A close examination of the case of Adentan Municipality in the Greater Accra region shows how the multi-functional approach can produce distorted effects on some of the schools that have benefited from the well known Home Grown School Feeding Programme (HGSFP). These programmes involve the cooperation between governmental and non-governmental actors, using market and non market mechanisms. Significantly, the cooperative mechanisms of multi-functionality tend to weigh heavily on the direct service providers, that is, those who deliver meals and education to the beneficiaries. Despite their commitment, caterers face arrears in salary and teachers must deal with an increased number of school children using very limited infrastructure. Future research on the relationship between SFP and UPE in Ghana should focus on the necessary balance in the operative mechanisms that involve the cooperation between national institutions responsible for UPE and locally embedded institutions and actors.

Relevance to Development Studies

School feeding programmes have gained much prominence for its multi-faceted role in the economies of developed and developing countries. The programme promises an improvement in many sectors of the economy, particularly the education sector. This research contributes to shed more light on a need to involve key actors in education especially when formulating and implementing policies, especially as the target year for the MDG on Universal Primary Education draws near. It is anticipated that the findings from the research will add to the knowledge on the influence of global ideas and practices on education for local agents and beneficiaries.

Keywords

School feeding, Millennium development goals, Universal basic education, Ghana, Social safety nets.

Acknowledgement

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

Since the launch of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals[1] in 2000, School Feeding Programmes (SFPs) have become a popular instrument used to achieve the goal on Universal Primary Education (goal 2), education being seen as a major catalyst for human development. School feeding programmes (SFPs) have had a long, international history and have gained prominence as a commendable social safety net with enormous benefits for children, parents and communities as a whole. Today, many developed and developing countries have implemented some form of school feeding programme in the education sector (Uduku, 2011:59). Primarily, School feeding program is an intervention set up to provide meals to school going children in school; these meals serve as a good motivation to send children to school and keep them there and, in addition, enhances the cognition of the children. School feeding can be classified into two groups: in-school feeding, which involves providing children with food in school and take-home ration, where families are given food if their children go to school.

Different countries have one or a combination of the two school feeding modalities in place for various objectives. Currently, there are indications of a significant swing in thinking about school feeding and many elements of this new thinking are being promoted keenly under the rubric of 'home grown school feeding' (HGSF), the concept of HGSF seeks to merge SFPs to the development of local agriculture in the respective SFP countries. The concept aims to concurrently grow the local economy and reduce poverty, which may tend to result in tensions and disagreements of the diverse plans for these objectives (Devereux et al, 2010:5). The HGSF enjoys great support from partners like WFP, WB and the FAO in many African countries. On activities of partnership and coordination, the WFP points to the Bill and Melinda Gates foundation as key agents supporting the connection between smallholder farmer production and the SFP. In a related development, The Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), supports the supply side by financing the provision of inputs, credit and training in the agricultural sector (WFP, 2013: 74-80).

HGSF has been defined in a variety of ways but the common element that links these various definitions is the notion that HGSF attempts to actively and explicitly link agricultural development with school feeding (Sumberg and Wheeler, 2011:341). HGSF is a model of school feeding that depends on local

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[1] The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) stipulated by the United Nations (UN) drew on these expected outcomes to the SFPs with a number of its goals, especially Goal number two (2), which seeks to ensure that by the year 2015 children everywhere, boys and girls alike will be able to complete a full course of primary education. This is related to other goals, including the eradication of poverty and hunger, gender equality and women empowerment (WFP, n.d).

farmers in the community for its foodstuffs. This model seeks to reduce cost, ensure sustainability and enhance the development of agriculture in rural areas. In addition, the model contributes to the health, nutrition and education of school children (HGSF, n.d). A well implemented school feeding programme yields five outcomes: School Feeding Programmes (SFPs) addresses the nutritional and health needs of the children and increases the conditions for an improved learning. It enhances enrolment as children are motivated to go to school and stay in school. Another aspect of school feeding programmes is its contribution to the local development of the economy especially if the food for the programme is sourced from the local farmers. The intervention helps in reducing prevailing social inequalities (by granting access to all children: orphans, refugees, internally displaced, HIV – affected), especially gender inequality across all social groups (WFP, n.d).

Tomlinson (2007:10) points to the emergence of an enormous amount of literature on SFPs, arguing that this may owe itself to the vulnerability of the target population; children coupled with SFPs multi – purpose feature which has both negative and positive sides. Contextualizing his study in two African countries; South Africa and Malawi, Tomlinson reveals some distinct elements in the SFPs. Initiated and funded by government, the SFP in South Africa has recorded an increase in enrolment and attendance, enhanced participation of beneficiaries in the classroom, generated jobs in the communities and so on. The programme on the other hand has come under criticisms for its poor management, poor coverage, inconsistencies and high-cost (Tomlinson, 2007:14). Tomlinson's account of school feeding in South Africa does not explicitly indicate the modality practised in South Africa. To the contrary, SFP in Malawi offers in-school feeding to pupils on each school day and also a take-home ration for pupils who have lost both parents and has school attendance of 80 percent (80%). The programme is funded by the WFP and Food For Education (FFE). He highlights that the SFP in Malawi has improved enrolment rate although it has resulted in a gender gap in favour of boys.

Tomlinson recognized that, an increase in enrolment meant that teacher-pupil ratio would subsequently increase, thereby putting pressure on teachers and learning materials (Tomlinson, 2007:16-18). He positions that School feeding enhances learning when other inputs of teaching quality are provided alongside with the food. The details of these inputs are however not clearly stated. Citing Grantham-McGregor (2005), he equally urges for caution with findings that claim to establish relationships between hunger and school performance as a result of methodological shortcomings (2007:11). In his recommendation, he points to a broadening of SFPs through Child-to-Child approach, HGSF and food sovereignty in education. Although he recognised that an increase in enrolment puts pressure on existing teachers and learning resources, the study made no mention about the role of teachers as emphasized in the World Bank document of 2006, except a recommendation. It appears that the teachers and head teachers have been neglected in the discussion, especially when the programme is part of the education sector where teachers and head teachers are undoubtedly key agents.

Ghana adopted the SFP under the initiative of the Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) Pillar 3 of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) was modelled and intended to offer pupils in public basic schools especially in the poorest areas of the country with a hot nutritious meal a day prepared from locally produced foodstuffs or the Home Grown School Feeding (HGSF). The GSFP was tied to three key objectives: to reduce hunger and malnutrition; increase school enrolment, attendance and retention; and boost domestic food production. These objectives broadly sought to help achieve the first three objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), i.e. eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, achieving universal basic education and promoting gender equality and women empowerment (GSFP AOP, 2011:1).

As the SFP attracted and encouraged parents to enrol their wards in school, an important consideration was to ensure that education access and quality go hand-in-hand in order to achieve the best of both worlds. Citing Osei et al (16), Abotsi (2013:79) notes 'though the GSFP together with the capitation grant in the early periods of implementation have chalked some gains, their contribution to improving the quality of education is not well defined because any increase in enrolment resulting from these education subsidies puts added pressure on existing school facilities with adverse implications for the quality of education provided'. The interactions between teachers and pupils are important to help achieve quality in education; hence, making them undoubtedly central resources in the education sector.

In an interview with the network 'Voice of America', Mr. Kofi Asare, a former national program officer for the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition highlighted that the increasing number of pupils has contributed to a resort to hiring unqualified teachers, thus, bearing a negative impact on the basic school performance in the country. He further explained that, there is a deficit of 20,000 teachers which has resulted in 15,000 classrooms being empty. He expatiated that in certain instances, classes were merged for teachers to handle (VOA, 2012). If the concerns raised above are anything to go by then a focus on the crucial agents in education is of relevance. Closely related to the issues raised by Mr. Asare, in March 2013, teachers in Ghana embarked on a nationwide strike over unpaid salary arrears. The strike was one of the many strikes that teachers embark on to highlight their plight. In recent times, these strikes have become a yearly affair. Commenting on the strike action, the Ghana National Education Coalition Campaign acknowledged that 'it neither serves the interest of a nation whose standard of education especially at the pre-tertiary level has fallen in recent years with no clear signals of recovery in sight'(Joy News, 2013). These strikes in the long run tend to disrupt the academic calendar and also the number of hours in the interactive process between teachers and pupils, which can in the long-run impact on the performance of the pupils.

Thus the problem for government shifts from getting the children into schools (access) to keeping them in schools and making them gain the best from the education that they have gained access to. Head teachers and teachers also share in this challenge, especially so when the GSFP is part of the education system, and also the increase directly weighs on them as they are tasked to impart knowledge, facilitate learning and so forth. Evaluations establishing the

contributions of the GSFP to education and for that matter on beneficiary pupils abound, but little literature exist to highlight the voices of the key actors in the context of the GSFP, thus the study seeks to highlight the experiences, situation and perspectives of the key actors (head teachers and teachers) through the lenses of the GSFP in the Municipality of Adentan.

1.2   Relevance of the Research

Since its introduction, the GSFP reportedly caters for about 1.6 million pupils nationwide (The Daily Graphic, 2013).Though these figures are worthy of note and encouraging, the effect of these figures on education is not clear. Little and inadequate research exist to elucidate the impact of such increases on the key actors in the education system. It is hoped that the gap in the literature of SFPs on the impact of the programme on teaching and learning will be filled and also it is anticipated that this study will lead to increased knowledge and the implementation of interventions intended to recognize and motivate the key actors (head teachers and teachers) in the educational system.

1.3   Research Objectives

The main objective of this research is to examine the modality of implementation of the GSFP, its institutional characteristics and operative mechanisms and how it affects the direct service providers (caterers and teachers) of the programme.

The specific objectives of the research are:

a) To contribute to the debate in the education sector of Ghana from a holistic perspective to make unsatisfactory outcomes in education a thing of the past by highlighting the gaps in literature on the GSFP and identify the difficulties faced in the process of implementation.

b) To bring to light the role of teachers as a resource to improve learning and the constraints they face in the performance of their duties.

1.4   Research Questions

The main research questions explored in this study are:

1) What do the experts say about the main outcomes of the school feeding programme in Ghana and what key problems have been identified with respect to students' learning process and the role of teachers?
2) What can the experience of Adentan Municipality add to this debate?

The following sub-questions have guided the fieldwork:

▪ How does the classroom population influence or affect teaching and learning among teachers and pupils respectively?

- What are the accompanying logistics to school feeding programmes to meet the challenge of increases in enrolment, such as, expansion of school infrastructure, increasing teaching staff and so forth?
- How are teachers being motivated to give out their best in the midst of the increasing pupil population?
- What ways can be employed to motivate teachers to achieve benefits for pupils?

1.5 Study area

The study was conducted in the Adentan Municipality located in theGreater Accra region of Ghana. With an area of about 85 sq km (33 sq miles), the Municipality has a population of about 78, 215[2]. Adentan was selected as the choice of study area first for access reasons. O'leary (2010:177) urges researchers to explore cases that the required people and data are available. Second, the area is generally considered as urban, however, there are some areas in the municipality that are very rural area and encounter difficulties faced by rural areas despite been part of an urban setting. The study showed that many of the pupils in the beneficiary school are wards of squatters and low income earning parents and guardians. Adentan Municipality was carved out of the Tema Municipality in 2008 and has since been growing rapidly with an estimated population of about 92,831. The Municipality is endowed with eleven (11) public basic schools and about forty-eight (48) private basic schools. (Government of Ghana, 2012:10).

1.6 Research Methodology

The research employed 'direct and indirect' (O'Leary, 2010) sources in the collection of data. The direct source of data was collected through semi-structured interviews, whereas indirect sources were mainly from documents and observation.

The field work was conducted from July 19th to August 5th, 2013. The use of semi-structured interviews offered me the opportunity of flexibility in the conduct of the interview. The method was very useful for probing and clarifying issues raised by the respondents during the interview. This distinctly offered interesting reveals in the research. Initially the study proposed to interview teachers without recourse to any criteria in mind, however, this was changed to focus on teachers who are also representatives of the School Health and Education Programme (SHEP). This was informed by a suggestion by the SHEP coordinator in the Municipality and the unwillingness of some teachers to grant me an interview because they were not SHEP representatives. Using a recorder, all interviews conducted were recorded with the knowledge and consent of respondents and later transcribed for analysis.

Analysis of relevant documents, both hard copy and internet- based were used. The documents collected include the WFP, GSFP Manual, and so forth.

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[2] See 2010 housing and population census.
http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/pop_stats.html

By way of observation, I went round some of the school compounds to ascertain the conditions under which teachers in the schools work, classroom sizes and also expansion works going on, if there were any. Also a firsthand view was obtained on the quantity of food served to the beneficiary and the environment within which the caterers work.

Out of the eight (8) beneficiary schools in the Municipality, six (6) were visited during the field work. The choice of six (6) schools was necessitated because the research period was conducted within a time that schools were preparing for vacation or had already vacated. In all a total of eighteen (18) semi-structured interviews were conducted with a representative of the Municipal director of education (School Health and Education Programme coordinator), Desk Officer of the SFP in the Municipality, School heads and teachers (School Health and Education representatives in the schools)

Table 1: List of Respondents Interview

Respondents	Number
Representative of the Municipal Director of education (SHEP Coordinator)	1
Desk Officer of the SFP in the Municipality	1
School heads	5
Teachers (SHEP representatives)	11
Total	18

Source: Author's field notes

1.7 Limitations to the Research

The process of seeking approval from the Municipal office of education in the Adentan Municipality for the conduct of the research was bureaucratic, thus affecting the number of days for the research. The research period coincided with the close of the academic year; thus it was difficult to interview more teachers and also some of the head teachers. Also, the Municipal Director for Education for the study area was unavailable for an interview; an opportunity to interview would have authenticated some of the views gathered from respondents.

Chapter 2 School Feeding Programmes and the Universal Primary Education: Concepts and Issues

Introduction

This chapter discusses the historical background and origin of SFPs and the core concepts that have emerged in the discourse on SFPs. These concepts are further used in the subsequent chapter as building blocks for analysing the findings of the study.

2.1 School Feeding Programmes: History, rationale and benefits

There are conflicting accounts on the origin and history of school feeding programmes. In his account, Tomlinson (2007:4) recounts the emergence of SFP in the 1930's in the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA) with a focus on improving the growth of children. In another account, SFP's emerged in the early 1700's and 1800's, in about four hundred and sixty four (464) areas of Western Europe. Some states in the USA were serving school meals from the mid 1800's. However, The Netherlands in the year 1900 became the first country to move the programme to a new level by incorporating school meals into a national legislation. By the 1930's, the UK and the USA had also instituted the SFP as part of their national programmes (Kearney, 2008:15). A further account indicates that School feeding initiatives has been in existence since the late 1700's and originated as projects of donors in Europe. The United States began the practice of initiating school feeding programmes in Austria as an act of international aid focused on combating the severe malnutrition of children in the 1940's after the Second World War. Since then, school feeding programmes have become a key part of food assistance and relief emergency and development programmes (World Food Programme, 2010:6). Drawing from the work of Bennett (2003), Tomlinson makes a distinction between five (5) types of SFPs based on its objective:

- School feeding to improve the cognitive development of children
- School feeding as an emergency relief intervention
- School feeding as a nutritional intervention
- School feeding as a developmental intervention to aid recovery
- School feeding and short- and long-term food security

He further points out that the categorisation above helps to give a better understanding of how SFPs have evolved historically and its reliance on time and context (Tomlinson, 2007:6).

SFPs have been accepted as a catalyst to enhance education and the nutritional benefits of children. It is estimated that there are about 368 million school children who receive food through the programme at pre-primary, pri-

mary and secondary levels all around the world. It is estimated that between US$47 billion and US$75 billion is invested in SFPs in the world annually, a great chunk of it is from government budgets (WFP, 2013:1). Ample evidence on the benefits of SFPs highlights three main areas of importance: a social safety net used to address social needs especially in times of crisis, promoting child development through enhanced nutrition and improved learning and boosting local agriculture to improve the economy and the income levels of local farmers.

Broadly defined social safety nets are programs targeted at economically disadvantaged citizens in a country. These programs, of which SF is included, are designed to offer support to these people. Decline in child nutrition and schooling in the sub-Saharan region of Africa have largely pointed to drought, while in the 1990's, economic crises in Indonesia led to an increase in the numbers of out-of-school children. In a related example, Bangladesh in the 2008 crises decreased spending on education to deal with rising food prices, with girls particularly at risk. Since 2008, about 38 countries have scaled up school feeding in reaction to a crisis; giving an indication that school feeding has a vital role to play in the event of an emergency, a social shock or conflict (WFP, 2013:42-44). The extent to which SFPs target and reach the poor in program countries raises concern, however, this concern is not generalised. In Mali for instance this assertion is likely, because many children are not in school so they may not benefit from the SFP, whereas in Botswana there is a widespread success in school enrolment which is likely to guarantee that the programme will reach the target group (Bundy et al, 2009:14). In Ghana, although the programme is designed and targeted at school children in poor communities, the practicality of it is still a challenge. The Annual Operating Plan of the GSFP indicates that coverage of the programme in the three poorest regions of the country is low; although efforts are underway to rectify the situation (GSFP AOP, 2011:6).

Many studies in nutrition have showed that under nutrition in children stunts their growth and mental development, hence the relationship between nutrition and academic performance (Adrogué and Orlicki, n.d:4). Not only are children motivated to get into school but also there is a significant impact on their nutritional status and development, cognitive capabilities and academic performance. The development and learning potential of the beneficiaries depends on the quality and nutrients components of the food, hence, effective school feeding programmes could be designed to support nutrition issues as seen in some countries where there is a de-worming of beneficiaries under the SFP. Citing Bundy (2005), Bundy et al (2009:29) argue that worm infestations are usually common in children and high among children of school going age, affecting about 500 million school children, hence, making the de-worming element beneficial. They further point to evidence that there is significant reduction in anaemia with de-worming. In Djibouti the SFP offers a package of de worming, vitamin A supplements, health and hygiene education, water and sanitation facilities and nutritious school meals to beneficiaries. An evaluation of the SFP in Djibouti revealed that children who attended preschool performed better in primary school than those who did not; factoring it to the elements mentioned above.

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The impact of school feeding on the academic performance of pupils has been embraced with mixed results. Levinger in a review of over 20 studies on school feeding opines that although SFPs motivate parents to enrol their children in school, its impact on academic performance is mixed and dependent on various factors within the context in which the programme is set (Levinger, 1986). Drawing from this, the paper opines that SFPs would best improve the performance of children when coupled with adequate learning materials, physical facilities and teacher motivation. Uduku argues that when school feeding programmes are embedded in communities, the benefits can multiply to include other members in the community other than the school children (Uduku, 2011: 60). Espousing on this point, Levinger posits that community involvement in school feeding enables an interaction between decision making in communities and nutritional lessons in the classroom. This involves decision on supply of food items, food preparation and storage of food items, maintenance of cooking utensils, and other logistics (Levinger, 1986:69).

This position is however not mutually exclusive in many SFPs, particularly in developing countries. In Ghana, community involvement is evident in the structure and composition of the programme but in practice it does not exist in its entirety. Political motives have marred and taken the centre stage as opposed to community involvement proposed by Uduku and Levinger. The selection of beneficiary schools, caterers, farmers and food suppliers are barely the preserve of the community. De Hawuere (n.d:354) makes this clear in her work when she uses the phrase 'political targeting rather than poverty targeting'. Throwing more light on the phrase she purports that the programme is used by incumbent governments to boost support their political agenda. This in her opinion resulted in some inflating of the number of beneficiaries to get more funds which gets misappropriated in the long run.

2.2 Education in MDG's

In the context of low and middle income countries, public interest in SFPs have stemmed from the endorsement of the view that education is essential in the promotion of the quality of human life for economic and social development. Education has for many years served as a vehicle for empowering and transforming people for better societies and the world as a whole. Other studies have attempted to link education to economic growth and poverty reduction through the human capital formation channel. According to the 1998/1999 World Development Report (WDR), about 25% of the increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in the United State of America between 1939 and 1982 was explained by education (Chachu 2011:3).

Based on these arguments, to ensure that low and middle income countries make progress in achieving MDG 1, the World Bank and the WFP have

showed commitment to sustain SFPs in these countries. In the last few years, SFP have enjoyed massive support and attention from international organisations and many development partners, this can be attributed to the multi-faceted role of this social intervention (education, health, agriculture) in achieving development objectives in many countries and a 'perceived' demand for the programme. In its multi-faceted role, SFPs can be linked to several of the MDG's, namely; eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, achieving universal basic education, promoting gender equality and women empowerment, developing a global partnership for development, hence making the use of SFPs in developing countries a significant intervention to be considered (WFP, 2007:6).

In Africa and South Asia it is estimated that there are over 100 million children of primary school going age who are not yet in school, particularly girls. In countries such as India, Bangladesh, Morocco, Senegal and Mali, the challenge of children not enrolling in school counts as the major factor for low educational attainment. In addressing this challenge leading to the attainment of universal basic education, Birdsall et al advocate for an increase in enrolment and improvement in the ability to keep children in school. They also point to advancement in learning outcomes and educational attainment to have an economic and social impact, highlighting the need for countries to simultaneously increase access and improve quality in education. They call for the use of interventions such as the abolition of school fees, using school feeding programmes as an incentive to draw children to school, and implementing school health programmes to reduce absenteeism (Birdsall et al, 2005:338). This is not to say it is all gloomy, there was a drop in the number of out-of-school children of primary school age from 108 million in 1999 to 61 million in 2010 (EFA, 2012:60). The challenge then is to maintain or improve this feat.

The 2012 Monitoring report of Education for All (EFA) indicates that key contributors to the education sector in developing countries are making education less of a priority, evident in the fact that they are reducing support for education in developing countries. The report cites Netherlands, a top contributor to education as reducing its support for education by 60% between 2010 and 2015. This trend can have dire repercussions on beneficiary countries (EFA, 2012:10). The cost associated with education has been identified as a major barrier to attaining MDG 2; universal basic education. These costs vary from school fees, buying textbooks, uniforms, feeding and also transportation. In South Africa and Uganda, the share of fees is as high as one-third of total household primary education expenditure per child; the story is no different in countries such as Iraq, Tanzania and Nigeria. Following the Dakar Framework commitment that primary education should be 'free of tuition and other fees', many countries have eliminated official school fees and put in place measures that support the efforts of parents and guardians in educating their wards (EFA, 2012:71-72).

Drawing from this, successive governments in Ghana recognising the importance of education in the lives of its citizens have over the years made efforts to make education free and accessible to all at the basic level. These ef-

forts can be said to be in line with the provisions in Art 25 (1) (a) of the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana, Education for All (EFA) campaign and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) initiated in the year 2000 to achieve universal primary education by 2015. Some of the interventions include the Free Compulsory Basic Education (FCUBE), Primary Education Project (PREP), capitation grant, provision of free school uniforms, free books and school feeding.

2.3 Child Education and Human Capabilities

Designed and aimed at improving human lives, the MDGs connect with many aspects of human lives, but the achievement of the MDGs is dependent on the acceleration of MDG 2, that is, UPE. The notion that education is an important ingredient for swift economic development in many nations is not a novel idea. This perception has manifested itself in many discourses on development locally and globally. Stemming from the notion that education is a basic human right that must be enjoyed by all, substantive progress has been made in the fight to ensure that this right is available and attained. Organisations like UNESCO, UNICEF and others concerned with children and education have been in the fore-front of the cause for children to have access to education. This has resulted in the signing of many treaties and conventions to make countries commit to ensuring children of school going age not only have access to education but also do so at little or no cost; this acquiesces to a rights-based approach to education (Robeyns, 2006:75).

Well documented by many scholars and organisations, education helps to improve the quality of lives of individuals and societies at large. Through education, individual and nations can enhance their productivity and creativity levels. In addition, technological and entrepreneurial advances can be made through the acquisition of education. Also a boost in income levels, economic security and nation building are linked with educational benefits (Psacharopoulos, 1988; Ozturk, 2001). The benefits of education invariably link two very distinct but complementary concepts; human capital and human capabilities. Closely knitted, the mention of one of these concepts inevitably leads to a discussion on the other.

Firmly embedded in neo-classical economics, human capital or productive approach has developed to become a bench-mark in economic theory (Robeyns, 2006:72). Proponents of this approach argue that education is germane in so far as education generates skills and knowledge required for the productivity of the human being as an economic production factor. This model to education stresses that the skills and knowledge gained through education are essential for individuals to improve their income. This perspective of education as an economic production factor is not misplaced, on the other hand, it can be damaging. The Productive approach greatly eliminates the importance of education in other aspects of human life such as culture, political, social and so on. It is certain that people acquire education for various reasons other than economic. Adding on, skills and knowledge gained through education are not lim-

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ited to only economic productive activities. The knowledge acquired tends to be life-long and can help mould the individual in every aspect of life. In addition, it is a fact that not every individual who gets an education can put it to economic use (Robeyns, 2006:72-74).

The benefit of education is not limited only to the domain of human capital but also to the broadening of human capabilities. Credited to Amartya Sen, the capabilities approach or human capabilities is based on three key concepts; capabilities, functionings and agency. Capabilities are the various functionings that a person can achieve; functionings are the basic activities of living that is, doing and being whereas agency encompasses the freedom that individuals have to make choices. The approach primarily is a focus on what individuals are capable of (Robeyns, 2006:78). Following Saito's reasoning in situating child education in capability approach, one may ask do children have the agency to decide the kind of education they get to enhance their capabilities? Certainly in most instances they do not, they rely on teachers, parents, government and so on. On the other hand, Saito argues when dealing with children, freedom is looked at from a future perspective as opposed to the present. Consequently, individual capabilities in terms of their life-span can be applicable to children (Saito, 2003:27; Robeyns, 2006:79).

2.4 Discourse on SFPs

In recent times, the discourse on SFPs has significantly shifted to focus on linking the programme to the development of agriculture in the SFP country concerned. This concept is commonly known as Home grown school feeding (HGSF). Not clearly defined, the concept basically seeks to actively and explicitly link school feeding and local agriculture. For instance countries like Brazil, Kenya, Peru and Namibia have adopted the HGSF concept as a way to explore and improve a stable market and income for local produce and smallholder farmers. This also has the potential to offer a diverse array of food, fresh and unprocessed.

Shedding light on the success of the Brazilian model of the HGSF, a WFP document, indicates that a successful link between school feeding and agriculture depends on investment and management of food especially in the areas of production and post-harvest. Going further, WFP points to some support services that farmers require to improve their storage and quality control processes access to credit, improved seeds, fertilizer and other inputs and technical support. Brazil has matched farmers who are being supported by the agriculture sector with purchases being made by the education sector (WFP, 2013:51).

Reflecting on the progress made by the programme under the HGSF concept, the annual report by the programme does not show a win-win situation. In the agriculture sector, creating the link between the programme and local agricultural production remains a major challenge that is worth reducing to boost that aspect of the programme. Exclusively, foodstuffs for the feeding programme must be procured from local farmers (reiterating the concept of HGSF), however, an inventory of the Programme in Ghana by the Dutch

NGO SNV, indicated that it was only in the Eastern region that more than 20% of food was bought from local farmers, in all the other regions, less than 20% of food was purchased locally (GSFP AOP, 2011:6). In Mali, the HGSF concept aims to ensure reliable food stocks for local schools, raise farmers' incomes, and also improve the food production capacity of poor rural communities. In Nigeria, it seeks to boost local food production and farmers' incomes. It is also the intention that the programme will stimulate the development of small and medium-scale enterprises (SMEs) in participating communities; but information on the attainment of the concept in these two countries is not certain (Devereux et al, 2010:21).

The WFP a leading partner in the programme is advocating for a policy direction to make SFPs nationally owned in beneficiary country. The policy direction seeks to make SFPs more sustainable through the concept of a national ownership. In this way, governments will integrate SFPs into their broader national policies. This policy direction will see the era of SFPs mostly funded and implemented by governments as opposed to the previous trend of SFPs dependent on heavily on external funding and implementation. Countries such as Brazil, India, South Africa and Nigeria are among some of the countries that have made a transition to nationally owned SFPs. Advocating for governments to own SFPs raises some issues; capacity to design and implement the SFP and also their capacity to generate funds for the programme (Tomlinson, 2007:11; Bundy et al, 2009:40-44; WFP, 2013:80). To help governments successfully handle these challenges that may be faced in transitioning, capacity development programmes can be organised to equip them to handle these challenges.

2.5   Partnerships in SFPs: A multi-layered perspective

Partnership is a dynamic relationship among diverse actors, based on mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational division of labour based on the respective comparative advantages of each partner (Brinkerhoff, 2002:216). It is a broad scope, encompassing international support programmes as well as capacity- building programmes at the national and sub- national levels. Broadly explained, partnerships requires sufficient resources, decision-making authority, and the conviction by parties involved that through team-effort they can achieve something greater than if they work alone. In this study, SFPs represent partnership: its history, funding and administration. Many SFPs in developing countries enjoy substantial support from development partners, including UN agencies, academic institutions, private sector and non-governmental organisations, thus making partnership a key characteristic of SFPs. A 2013 WFP document highlights three levels of partnership that are evident in the SFP context: partnership at the global level, partnership at the regional level and partnership at the national level (WFP, 2013:71). This study draws from the above categorization.

2.5.1   Partnership at the global level

Associated in the past with unsustainable models of food aid, SFPs have in recent times been embedded into the institutional and legal frameworks of implementing countries and have further been linked with local food sources. Today, school feeding is seen as a safety net that contributes to countries' social protection and development goals by providing support to children and their families in almost every country in the world. Global partnership in SFPs covers a broad range of sectors (such as education, health, agriculture) and various dimensions of management (including implementation, procurement mechanism, financial, monitoring and evaluation) in the programme. The strongest partnerships in SFP activities thus far have been between agencies under the United Nations (UN).

UNICEF offers assistance in teacher training, health intervention mechanisms, supply of books and curriculum development. UNESCO on the other hand offers technical assistance, program design and evaluation. The WHO supports de-worming and other school health issues connected with the SFP. The WB focuses on the preparation of strategy papers aimed at poverty reduction, post- disaster reconstruction, school health and—potentially—work with HIV/AIDS orphans and prevention activities, and adolescent girls. The FAO offers support to countries implementing the HGSF programme, encourage the creation of school gardens and help design nutrition education programmes (WFP, 2004, Kearney, 2008:31). It is worthy to mention that the above agencies work closely in conjunction with each other in the performance of the roles highlighted above. For instance, a collaborative effort between the WFP, WB and UNICEF saw the development of the Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER)[3] tool for systematic policy analysis of school health and school feeding interventions in South Asia and about twenty (20) countries in Africa (WFP, 2013:72).

Apart from these UN agencies, the partnerships that exist among global NGO's in SFPs are of relevance. Bodies such as Catholic Relief Services, Bill and Melinda Gates to mention but a few have contributed significantly to SFPs. Catholic Relief Services, for example, has a very long and excellent history of work in food for education activities (WFP, 2004). Grants from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to support the link between school feeding and local agricultural production, has been instrumental. This is evident in three impact evaluations, case studies and technical working papers and the provision of technical assistance to countries, especially on the issues of monitoring and evaluation and the link to local agricultural production (WFP, 2013:72).

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[3] The SABER approach is intended to assist countries as they work towards a transition to more sustainable programmes.

2.5.2   Partnership at the regional level

Regional partnerships in SFPs exist in three areas globally: Africa, Latin America and South-east Asia. The partnership in these regions have worked fairly well to provide a channel through which donors, governments and other partners can offer support and set policy (WFP, 2013:76). In Africa, regional cooperation of the SFP is spear-headed by NEPAD, which in turn works with sub-regional communities such as ECOWAS and EAC. NEPAD through CAADP pioneered the concept of HGSF in Africa. Through HGSF, local small-scale farmers have the opportunity, to provide schools with the necessary food products. In addition, the concept aims to ensure adequate nutrition for school going children through diet supplementation with a complete meal that is adequate in energy, protein, vitamins and minerals. NEPAD is of the conviction that school feeding can improve school enrolment and attendance, thus, improve literacy (particularly for girls), an important component of poverty reduction (Tomlinson, 2007:22-23).

The Latin America School Feeding Network (LA-RAE) is a regional network striving to expand and improve school feeding in Latin America and the Caribbean. The body aims to boost SFPs and ensure that many children obtain education and good nutrition in the sub-region. The body provides a platform for members to benefit from technical assistance, training, sharing knowledge and also promote south-south cooperation. Through the organisation of forums, LA-RAE offers a space for countries and development partners to discuss regional issues on school feeding. LA-RAE has been keen in promoting south-south cooperation agreements with countries like Brazil, Chile and Mexico with the capacity to provide technical assistance and support throughout the region. The regional body enjoys support from the School Nutrition Association of the United States, WFP, and FAO (WFP, 2013:76).

Since 1965, the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) has been promoting learning and networks on school health issues, including school feeding. SEAMEO promotes cooperation in the areas such as education, health, poverty alleviation and agriculture. In response to demand from Southeast Asian governments, a short course on school health and nutrition is organised annually in the region. The course, which has a strong focus on school feeding, brings together government and development partners with the objective of strengthening partnerships within the Southeast Asia School Health and Nutrition community (WFP, 2013:77).

2.5.3   Partnership at the national level

In many countries, SFPs are linked to a variety of sectors in the economy (health, agriculture and education), that is, it is multi-sectoral. This feature usually poses a daunting challenge especially as cooperation and coordination among these sectors proves complicated, thus a need for partnership between these sectors and development partners. Local and international NGOs have been instrumental in SFPs at the country level to enhance the smooth man-

agement and success of the programme. In Niger, the partnership among FAO, WFP, UNICEF and farmers has worked towards supporting integrated school-based approaches, local food production, school infrastructure and other education inputs in the programme (WFP, 2013:78). Catholic Relief Services, for example, has a very long and excellent history of work in food for education activities. Their support for school feeding programmes has been evident in countries such as Benin, India and Burkina Faso (Catholic Relief Services, n.d). The WFP asserts that partnership at the country level is strengthened if there are established formal arrangements among partners and government (WFP, 2013:78).

2.5.4   Partnership at the community level

Adding to the categorisation of partnerships in the WFP document, the study reveals a level of partnership further within the country level, where communities benefitting from SFP are involved. In some countries, communities provide resources by way of labour, kitchen, utensils, and food items for the programme. A study of two SFP schools in South Africa showed community partnership in SFP; local people within the community were employed to serve food and also sell their farm produce to be used in preparation of the food (Uduku, 2011:64).   In summary, although it is important to acknowledge the role of partners and partnership in SFPs, the challenge still remains in ensuring an effective coordination mechanism among partners and the partnerships formed.

2.6 Institutional Bricolage

Institutions constitute an important part in the set-up of SFPs: global level, regional level and country level. Katani in his work distinguishes institutions based on rules, regulations and norms generated by governmental, non-governmental, political and social organizations (Katani, 2010:14). Drawing from the works of Douglas and Levi-Strauss, Cleaver describes institutional bricolage as how 'mechanisms for resource management and collective action are borrowed or constructed from existing institutions, styles of thinking and sanctioned social relationships. This results in a mix of 'formal' and 'informal' and 'modern' and 'traditional' institutions. In his work, Cleaver classifies three aspects of institutional bricolage namely: multiple identities of bricoleurs, frequency of cross-cultural borrowing and of multi-purpose institutions; and prevalence of arrangements and norms, which foster co-operation and conflict between different stakeholders (Cleaver, 2001:26-30). Building on Cleaver's elements, De Koning distinguishes three practices adopted by local actors to shape the way institutions are formed and transformed at the community level. The practices are aggregation, alteration, and articulation (De Koning, 2011); this study draws on these practices.

Aggregation involves a recombination of different types of institutions (formal and informal) and social-cultural elements. In this recombination, formal institutions assume a new meaning or a new purpose. The outcome of this process can be described as a more or less balanced situation in which both types of institution correspond, or are even in harmony, often resulting in multipurpose institutions (ibid). Bringing this into the SFP context, aggregation is

evident in that the concept of SFP is expected to be ingrained in the country and community benefitting from the SFP for smooth progress. In doing this, the implementing bodies which are usually formal need to incorporate elements from the country or community context. These elements include culture, traditions, social norms, needs, or experience (De Koning, 2011). In SFPs, the elements can range from the type of food given to the children to where the foodstuffs are purchased.

The element of 'alteration' often entails adaptation of well-worn practices to new circumstances; this is not limited to only the introduced institutions but also embedded institutions and ideas (De Koning, 2011). Versatility, Cleaver (2001:26-30) highlights is key to ensure this blend. Spearheading the HGSF concept in Africa, NEPAD and CAADP (NEPAD, n.d) have to accustom themselves with the local agriculture setting of the implementing country, as well as stakeholders for a successful implementation and running of the programme.

An introduced formal institutions bounce off a shield of local perceptions of traditions and identity, thus 'articulation' involves asserting traditional identities and culture. De Koning (2011) argues that this depends on the strength of the sense of identity and self. He points out that the process of 'articulation' results in a clash between the various types of institutions. As Cleaver argues conflict in any institution is often times undesirable, hence a need to foster cooperation among the various actors and partners (Cleaver, 2001:33). Conflict issues turned to cooperation are well documented in SFPs. A case in point was in Bolivia where the food supplied by donor partners was in conflict with the local eating customs of the Bolivians; however, this disagreement was resolved through creativity. A local NGO printed copies of the WFP Food Cook-Book for school staff and cooking personnel in charge of food preparation to acquaint themselves with the new ingredients (Moussa, 2002:56).

The aspects of institutional bricolage presented above will be used to analyse and understand the findings from the field.

Chapter 3 School Feeding In Ghana: The Institutional Framework

Introduction
This chapter presents an overview of the SFP in Ghana; illustrating the SFP in the broader context of Ghana's Free Compulsory Universal Education (FCUBE) policy. Further the institutional setup of the GSFP focusing on the actors, partners and management are discussed. In addition, the chapter highlights significant challenges and issues that fraught the programme in Ghana.

3.1 SFP as an instrument of Ghana's Educational Policy

Ghana has sought to use education as a vehicle for advancing the implementation of development policies and programmes. Indeed, governments since independence have pioneered diverse strategies and reforms to make education accessible to children at the primary level. Attempts at educational reforms are not new in Ghana; past reforms include the 'Dzobo Education Reforms of 1974', the 1987 Education Reform. A more recent and popular reform and policy framework is the adoption of the FCUBE[4] (capitation grant scheme, school feeding programme, free supply of school uniforms and text books) (Akyeampong, 2009:176; Chachu, 2011:4; Ananga, 2011:20). These reforms and policies can be viewed as an attempt to address some of the challenges facing the education sector in the country. Some of the challenges include; access and participation in basic education, gender gap in access to education, the quality of teaching and learning, and the management of education service delivery.

3.1.1 Selected FCUBE Policies

With support from the World Bank, Ghana piloted the 'capitation grant scheme' in deprived districts in 2004. The initiative aimed to abolish all school fees charged in public schools and in addition provide the schools with a small grant for each pupil enrolled. The pilot programme recorded an impressive increase in enrolment by about 14.5%, hence, its adoption nationwide in 2005. At the kindergarten level, enrolment went up from about 500,000 students in 2004-2005 to more than 800,000 in 2005-2006, an increase of 67 %. During the same period, the primary net enrolment rate increased from 59.1 % to 68.8 %, while net enrolment at the junior secondary level increased from 31.6 % to

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[4] A package of reforms designed to purposely focus on basic education access and quality (http://www2.edc.org/CSA/ed.htm).

41.6 %. Currently, the scheme offers a grant of about GH□4.5 ($2) per pupil in public kindergarten, primary and junior high schools (Adamu-Issah et al, 2007:4; Chachu, 2011:7). The increase in enrolment on the other hand has led to a number of challenges; shortage of teachers (especially in remote areas), shortage of school infrastructure, and implications for financing that could negatively affect the quality of teaching and learning, and thus learning outcomes (Chachu, 2011:5).

Universal access to basic education involves resolute efforts and commitments to gender parity in education as well. Gains have been made in Ghana towards increasing the number of girls in the basic level of education. The Ghana Education Service in 1997 established a girl's education unit as part of its Basic Education Division to boost participation of girls in basic school education and other activities related to female education. With support from WFP, UNICEF enrolment and retention of girls in the basic level were improved. The Upper East and Upper West regions recorded an increase of 31.4%and 26.1% respectively compared to the national average of 12.8%. Provisional data showed an improvement of the Gender Parity Index for Primary Gross Enrolment from 0.93 in 2004/05 to 0.95 in 2005/06. Notwithstanding these positive trends, the country has not been able to meet the MDG target of achieving gender parity by 2015. The gaps are particularly sharp in the Northern Region, the region has only about 65 % of girls enrolled, compared to 77 % of boys (Adamu-Issah et al, 2007:5).

In September 2005, the GSFP began on a pilot basis with 10 schools from each region in the country. With about 64,775 pupils covered in 2006, the pilot phase came to an end, after which the first phase was rolled out in 2007 over a four year period (2007-2010). The number of beneficiary pupils at the start of the first phase was 413,498. This number increased to 441,189 pupils in 2008. By 2009, the programme had covered 580,025 pupils. At the end of 2009/10 academic year, beneficiary pupils had shot up to 697,416, indicating a steady increase over the period. The GSFP employs the in-school model of feeding and provides a meal for school children whenever they go to school. The school children are provided with lunch to minimize the need for them to leave the school to find food, lessen their hunger, boost their attention span and facilitate their learning. These meals are usually prepared in the school by caterers. The programme targets children in public kindergartens and primary (1-6) schools in the poorest regions of the country (GSFP Annual Operating Plan, 2011:4). Current figures indicate that the GSFP feeds 1.6 million pupils country wide (Bonney, 2013).

Table 2 Trends of beneficiary pupis from 2005-2010

Region	No. of pupils	No. of pupils	No. of pupils	No. of pupils	No. of pupils

	2005/2006	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010
Ashanti	8972	119360	120093	154598	186132
Brong Ahafo	5701	61921	63375	87632	105845
Central	7796	26705	33730	40198	42409
Easter	10161	35154	38991	47547	50316
Greater Accra	14817	97407	103002	121301	140501
Northern	3084	14588	16191	33699	41065
Upper West	2457	5598	6281	11687	19781
Upper East	3886	11366	12012	19428	32301
Volta	4531	11769	14671	20483	29213
Western	3370	29630	32843	43452	49853
Total	64775	413498	441189	580025	697416

Source: GSFP AOP, 2011

As an instrument in the country's educational policies, the most obvious success chalked by the GSFP has been in the increment of school enrolment, attendance and retention as shown in the table above and also to some extent bridging the gender gap in basic education (Akyeampong, 2009:182; Chachu, 2011:6; Tagoe,2011:29). Emanating from these positive results, new challenges have emerged that ought to be addressed for the sustainability of the programme. The increases in school enrolment have put pressure on facilities within the beneficiary schools. Now some beneficiary schools have among other things inadequate classrooms, school supply, and high teacher-pupil ratios.

3.2 Institutional arrangements of GSFP

This section examines the key actors and agents behind the implementation and administration of the GSFP. An in-depth look into the HGSF of the GSFP coupled with issues and challenges in the programme are further explore

3.2.1 HGSF, Actors, Partners, and Management

Under the rubric of HGSF concept, the GSFP is presently implemented independently by the Government of Ghana (GoG) except in the three regions (Northern, Upper East and Upper West), where primary school children receive food through joint programming with WFP and CRS. It is estimated that Government spends 40 pesewas or $1.85 per child per day as feeding cost. To

complement the HGSF, other activities such as health and hygiene education, water and sanitation in schools, de-worming[5], HIV/AIDS prevention, creation of school gardens and malaria prevention. These activities are done in partnership with government institutions and development partners (GSFP AOP, 2011:6; Chachu, 2011:8). It is worthy to note that, although the HGSF is aimed to link school feeding with the local agriculture economy, GSFP does not offer support to small-scale famers in terms of production capacity. Farmers receive support through the MoFA and other agencies that are independent and not related to the operations of the GSFP in anyway (HGSF TAP, 2011: 25).

To bring the GSFP concept into realisation, there was a need to involve other actors for its growth and sustainability. These actors are spread at the national, regional, district and community levels. The implementation of the Programme involves key actors from different sectors of the national economy. At the National level, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) is charged with the oversight responsibility of the programme. On the other hand, the MLGRD collaborates with the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MoFEP), Ministry of Education (MoE), Ghana Education Service (GES), Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA), Ministry of Health (MoH), Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MoWAC) in implementation at the national level. There is also a Programme Steering Committee (PSC) and a National Secretariat at the National level (WFP, 2007:40-42, Afoakwa, n.d).

Moving from the National level to the Regions are regional coordinators and monitors who are appointed and supported by the National Secretariat to coordinate, supervise and monitor the programme at the district level. The regional coordinators also establish and serve as a link with authorities in the district (ibid).

The District level is crucial in implementing the feeding programme. At this level, District Assemblies are responsible for setting up District Implementation Committees (DICs) under the chairmanship of the District Chief Executive (DCE) and School Implementation Committees (SICs) with the Head teacher of the beneficiary school as the chairman. The DICs exercise direct oversight of the implementation of the programme in all selected schools nationwide. In addition the DICs oversee the implementation and management of all other components of the programme at the district level. The DICs are tasked with the provision of specified infrastructure and to mobilise community support to provide inputs for schools. In addition, the committee is responsible for distributing the funds to the SICs and holding them accountable for the use of the funds. Members on the DICs include District Directors of the

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[5]The fact that worm infections affect some 500 million schoolchildren argues that de worming can make an additional nutritional contribution if included in the school feeding package (Bundy et al, 2009:30). In collaboration with the Ghana Health Services, pupils in beneficiary schools are de wormed at least twice a year.

following sectors; Education, Agriculture and Health, District budget officer (ibid).

The SICs are the structures at the community or local level that oversee school feeding activities. It is at this level that the principle of community participation is expected to be visible: one may argue that the composition of the committee is evidence enough to show community engagement but a representative on a committee does not guarantee community involvement. Acknowledging this, a government document asserts 'inclusion of the community at school level is well designed and incorporated into the GSFP literature, in practice the inclusion is minimal'. Further, a survey conducted by the development organization SEND revealed that about 10% of schools were without SIC. In such cases programme decision making was subsequently undertaken by the head teacher and caterer. However recognition is given to the need to strengthen community mobilization and involvement in the programme, this is to be done in collaboration with partner agencies (HGSF TAP, 2011:32). SICs are in charge of planning the menu, recruiting the caterers, and oversight of the feeding of the beneficiary pupils. Some members include head teachers, parent-teacher association representative and teachers (WFP, 2007:40-42, Afoakwa, n.d).

The GSFP through private caterers, awards contracts to procure, prepare and serve food to pupils in beneficiary schools (caterer model). As a parameter for the procurement of food under the programme, it is expected that all foods procured must be from locally-grown (Home-Grown) food items produced by local farmers. Further the caterers are urged to buy from farmers at the community level within ones district, or within regional markets or at worst, within Ghana, but, the caterers are not restricted and are able to procure on a competitive basis without commitment to purchasing from small-scale farmers. The preparation and distribution process of food is the duty of the caterers and as such is unique in each case. In general, caterers prepare food on site, even though in some instances the caterers prepare food in distant kitchens and deliver the prepared meals to the school to be distributed by them (HGSF TAP, 2011:25).

Figure 1 Actors and relationship of GSFP
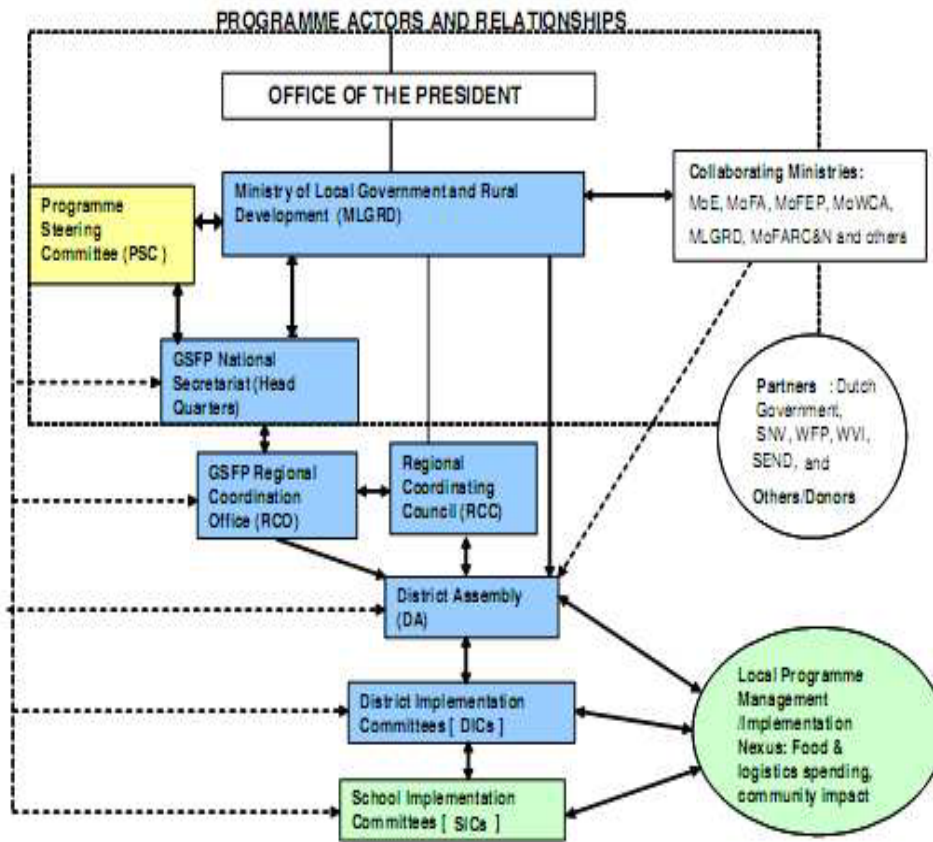
Source: (Afoakwa, n.d)

3.2.2   Institutional Roles of GSFP

Following the withdrawal of support from the government of Netherlands in 2010, the GoG is currently the sole financier of the GSFP; the programme however receives technical support from the PCD, WFP and SNV (Bonney, 2013). This has not had any major impact on the institutional roles in the programme.

Typically, all the ministries[6] have major roles to play in achieving the policy objectives underpinning the design and implementation of the GSFP, nevertheless, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development as the lead implementers of the GSFP is responsible for ensuring effective collaboration among the sector Ministries supporting the programme and also among the donor partners. Furthermore, Government is to provide funding for the GSFP and also ensure that the GSFP provides a hot, adequate and nutritional meal prepared from locally grown foodstuffs are served to beneficiary pupils. Government is tasked with sensitizing, training and building the capacity of imple-

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[6] Collaborating ministries in figure 2.

menters to enable them better manage the programme. Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) of the programme is another responsibility of Government, although the strength of the M&E system is unknown as no formal strategy exist (HGSF TAP, 2011:26).

In support of the programme, donor partners still provide funds and technical assistance to complement the efforts of the Government of Ghana. In the area of agriculture, partners such as FAO and AGRA offer support to smallholder farmers to modernize and improve agricultural practices to achieve food security and sustainable agricultural growth. Some major M&Es within the GSFP have been undertaken by donor partners, this has resulted in a number of successful independent studies undertaken by bodies such as WFP, SNV Ghana, SEND Ghana and the University of California at Berkeley review the effectiveness of the programme. Other roles of donor partners involve enhancing community participation, supporting policy implementation, training teachers, providing teaching and learning materials to help improve the quality of education delivered in the classrooms. Some donor partners exhibit stronger commitments in certain roles than in others. For example, in the area of M&E and research, the contribution of partners such as SNV and WFP has been very tremendous (HGSF TAP, 2011:36-37).

It is without a doubt that the role of the caterer is noteworthy in the overall setup of the GSFP; caterers are the link between the local farmer and the programme. The caterer in GSFP is responsible for the purchasing and preparing of meals for the beneficiaries. In doing this, he or she is to ensure maximum hygiene (personal, food, and kitchen) in the preparation of the food. The caterer is to collaborate with School Implementation Committee and the District Implementation Committee to prepare a locally based menu for the beneficiaries, ensuring that meals prepared are nutritionally balanced and adequate. To perform the above mentioned duties, the caterer must ensure utmost cooperation with school authorities.

School heads and teachers are vital in the SFP. School heads are responsible for the daily supervision of the caterers in their schools. They monitor the caterers to ensure that they perform their roles as stipulated. The school heads prepare reports on the activities of the programme in the school to be presented to the District Assembly. School heads liaise with other agents to develop a local based menu. Teachers on the other hand are charged to ensure that pupils do not perform any duties associated with the SFP during school hours but to only eat the food and attend classes. They also prepare reports on the programme in the school to the District Desk Officer of the SFP. The selection of a pupil representative to the School Implementation Committee rests on the teachers. The pupil representative is to make contributions and suggestions to the SFP in the school. Also the teachers in collaboration with the school head are to enhance cooperation with the caterer.

3.2.3   Issues and Challenges Encountered

The GSFP like many programmes of its kind is faced with some challenges and issues. These challenges tend to have diverse effects on the programme, actors as well as beneficiaries. Some of the problems and issues faced include: targeting, financial constraints, monitoring and evaluation, community involvement, politicisation, corruption, capacity of staff, linkage with agriculture and a policy guideline for the GSFP. For the purpose of this study the following issues are discussed.

The GSFP since its inception has been without a policy guideline, this to some proponents of the programme has been the major cause underlining major of its challenges. The GSFP is consistent with major development policies and strategies of government, yet there is no clear government policy or legislation that guarantees its status. Considering the wide coverage of the programme and its linkage with various sectors especially education, health and agriculture, it is crucial that a policy direction, backed by legislation is established. This can go a long way to enhance the operations of the Programme and guarantee its status. Speaking on some of the challenges faced in the programme, the National Coordinator remarked 'to address the problem, a policy would be put in place'. He further explained that the policy when approved and adopted will guarantee the status of the programme, hence, an improvement in funding (GSFP AOP, 2011:14; Bonney, 2013). Although it is still not clear how far advanced plans are to develop the policy and also if the policy has been developed, how far is it from been adopted and approved.

The burden of funding the GSFP rests heavily on the Ghana government; government funds for the programme have been inconsistent, resulting in delays in the release of feeding grants (GSFP AOP, 2011:12). A delay in the release of feeding grants subsequently affects beneficiary pupils. The situation implies that caterers may not have access to funds to procure, cook and serve the beneficiary pupils. Alternatively if the caterer is able to pre-finance the feeding of the pupils, quantity and the quality of food are nothing to write home about. In a recent newspaper publication, it was reported that about 5000 caterers under the GSFP had not been paid in about a 6 months period. For a programme of national status national and enjoying support from global partners, this raises issues of concern. The publication further revealed that the lack of funds has compelled some caterers to feed the beneficiaries twice or thrice a week as opposed to five times weekly. Also some of the beneficiaries lamented over the nutritional value of meals that they eat (Bonney, 2013). This situation it can be argued undermines the programme.

To help mitigate the problem of funding, the HGSF TAP document raises three main issues to boost funding: firstly, the document discusses the possibility of developing a resource mobilisation plan. The plan is expected to guarantee the sustainability of the programme beyond government funding. Informed by research on the benefits and opportunities from the private sector and Diaspora in other parts of the world, policymakers seek to focus on community contribution as well as the private sectors and the Ghanaian Diaspora community. Secondly is the design of a strategy to secure CSOs, NGOs and

international community involvement in the GSFP. Stakeholders are of the conviction that the involvement of the wider technical and policy level bodies into programme development can increase the resources and technical knowledge at the disposal of the GSFP. This can further contribute to decision making processes HGSF TAP, 2011:53-54). Thirdly is the development of a transparent, well-managed and attractive programme. Taking advantage of the tremendous attention gained by the GSFP, the programme when developed would seek to pursue and strengthen external funding for the GSFP (ibid).

There have been concerns in relation to monitoring and evaluation of the GSFP. Local management to correctly perform monitoring and evaluation practices to support the tracking and execution of the GSFP are underpaid or burdened with other responsibilities (WFP, 2010:16). Enumerating some challenges facing the GSFP, the GSFP AOP highlights that resources and logistics for effective monitoring are inadequate. The document cites that regional co-ordinators and monitors require basic office equipment and means of transport as well as the capacity and resources to enable them report effectively on their activities, yet the inadequacy of logistics makes it difficult (GSFP AOP, 2011:13). Even though a Social Accountability Project (SAP) was launched in 2011 to mobilise popular will and participation in the process of implementation, monitoring and assessment of the programme (GSFP AOP, 2011:25), the National Coordinator of the programme laments that some members within the DICs and SICs have not been up and doing. He explained that in some Districts, only the District Chief Executive and one or two persons were actually working and this he expressed is a source of worry (Bonney, 2013).

As a result of poor targeting methodology and scaling up in the first phase of the programme, some schools in well of areas were selected as beneficiaries of the programme. This underplays the programme which is targeted at pupils in very deprived communities. In the light of the above and with evidence from a study conducted by the WB, UNICEF and the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, a re-targeting plan was collaborated to ensure that the programme is implemented in areas where pupils really need it (particularly in Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions) (GSFP AOP, 2011:14; WFP, 2013:79). On gains made on re-targeting, Mr. Adamu (National Coordinator of GSFP) points out that some successes have been achieved but there is still more to be done.

In her work, De Hauwere (n.d:351) observed that despite the programme objective to use home grown produce, effectively and successfully linking the GSFP to the local agriculture economy of Ghana has been a major hurdle. She asserts that only a limited number of produce for the programme are bought from local communities. The current caterer model of the programme is unable to link small-scale farmers with caterers for food supply, thus, it is important to establish links between those farmers the programme aims to support and the reliable demand for food commodities needed by the programme. Although some strategies such as; the formation of farmer based organisations have been adopted to address the challenge, little progress have been chalked (HGSF TAP, 2011:46).

Worthy of note is the issue of community participation. To peak up the role of the community in the GSFP, calls have been made to redesign the structure of the GSFP to formally include the community in the implementation of the programme. Beneficiary communities can be used to enhance effective management and accountability should their inclusion be strengthened. Following the redesign of the programme with strengthened emphasis on the roles and responsibilities of the community, a sensitization and training strategy would be crucial to ensure the capacity of the community to carry out these roles and responsibilities. This would also create awareness among the programme beneficiary groups nationwide (HGSF TAP, 2011:51-52).

3.3 SFP and HGSF: Reaching enrolment and retention targets at what prices?

The most obvious achievement in reference to the GSFP's objectives has been in the increase of enrolment and retention. This notwithstanding, it is ironic that as this objective seem to be on course, further measures to preserve educational quality for beneficiaries have not been critically taken into consideration. The logic is that as enrolment and retention targets increase, educational resources will have to be expanded and increased to meet the new development. For example, relatively increasing the number of teachers and teaching and learning aids, apparently these measures are not forthcoming. As De Hauwere (n.d:351) notes in her work 'the only positive development in the GSFP was the increase in enrolment unfortunately, this was not accompanied by additional steps to safeguard the quality of education (e.g. a proportional increase in school infrastructure and teachers)'.

In a recent interview with the National Coordinator of the GSFP on a local radio station, he concurs that the nutritious value of the meals served has become a major issue of concern in recent times but he was quick to add that measures are underway to rectify the anomaly (Joyfm, 2013). This can largely be attributed to inadequate or the late release of funds for the caterers. It may be argued that as the programme seeks to expand, its financial flow and management should also go hand in hand but as it is, GoG is more inclined to increasing the targets. Early this year, it was reported that about 400,000 more pupils are to benefit from the programme (Bonney, 2013). The concern then is raised; are these pupils also going to suffer these trade-offs all in the name of reaching enrolment targets to draw closer to achieving UPE?

In the quest to scale up enrolment targets, the programme compromised in the targeting of beneficiaries for the programme at the expense of the poor, this was evident in the first phase of the programme. The GSFP seeks to contribute to poverty reduction, thus, its target beneficiaries are pupils in the very deprived regions of the country yet there have been some lapses which is contradictory to the purpose of the SFP (De Hauwere,n.d: 352).

The institutional framework of the GSFP and the issues presented above highlights the various actors and partners in the GSFP and also matters arising from government's effort in coordinating these partners and actors.

Chapter 4 HGSF in Adentan Municipality

Introduction

Citing the World Bank (2006a), Tomlinson (2007:11) posits 'it has also been argued that school feeding only improves learning when the food is accompanied by other inputs related to teaching quality'. This chapter draws on this to present and discuss the experiences and perceptions of the respondents about the impact of the GSFP. In line with the findings, inputs refer to material resources such as textbooks, classrooms, libraries, teachers and head teachers, coupled with the management of these resources as an important additional dimension' (Ankomah et al, 2005:5). The chapter will proceed to link the findings presented and the concepts discussed in chapter 2 in the milieu of the GSFP.

4.1 Perspectives of Head teachers and Teachers on HGSF

The availability of resources and its management greatly influence effective teaching and learning. It is evident that schools without adequate teachers, teaching and learning materials will not be able to do an effective job. This section highlights some views shared by some head teachers and teachers interviewed on resources for effective teaching and learning.

4.1.1   Effect of classroom size on teaching and learning

The findings revealed that the programme had indeed increased the population size in the beneficiary schools. In majority of the beneficiary schools visited, school authorities asserted that indeed the number of pupils had increased. In many of the schools the numbers had doubled since the introduction of the programme. This finding tie with the table 2: in one school, the headmistress remarked;

> 'yes the numbers have increased but in this school we have decided to keep a maximum of fifty (50) pupils in a class so we usually have to turn away prospective students but I know of other beneficiary schools where classroom population ranges from seventy (70) to eighty (80) pupils'.

Elaborating further the teachers lament;

> 'classroom population makes it difficult for us to give out assignments frequently to the pupils and also to monitor the study progress of pupils who need special tutelage'.

This not withstanding there is a positive affirmation that indicates that they are still doing their best. In some schools visited the teachers made men-

tion of a 'grouping approach' to make their work easier. In this approach, bright students are mixed with the not so- bright students to help them in their studies. In cases where the approach is not working, the teachers then intervene to help the not so- bright students. Citing Psacharopoulos & Woodhall (1985), Ankomah et al (2005:8) writes 'certain teaching strategies can be effective even for very large classes; students are often unruly in these settings. Moreover, teachers in large classes tend to focus more on rote learning, rather than on problem solving skills'.

4.1.2   School Infrastructure expansion

When questioned on the attempts made at expanding school infrastructure to meet up with the increased school population, the respondents were quick to stress that little has been done especially considering the number of years the programme has been running. My findings revealed that about two weeks prior to the interview date, the District had procured and delivered desks to some beneficiary schools to alleviate the burden of pupils sitting in threes, these desks were however not sufficient to address the sitting problem among the pupils. Furthermore, classroom sizes were too small to accommodate more desks so in one of the schools (Adenta Community School) visited the desks had still not found its way in to the classrooms due to a lack of space in the classroom. And in some of the schools where they had succeeded in putting the desks in the classrooms, some of the teachers complained that there was crowding. Using findings from a study in Ghana and South Africa on SFPs Uduku (2011:64) asserts that the statement *'we need more space'* was recurrent in their field notes. To substantiate this, he ascertains that 'a head teacher in a South Africa Primary School points out that classrooms designed to accommodate thirty to thirty-five (30-35) pupils now had an average of fifty (50) pupils.

On expanding building infrastructure, findings from the six (6) beneficiary schools visited showed that some expansion works had been done in two schools, one was incomplete and the remaining three schools had not received any boost in expansion of building infrastructure. The headmistress of Adenta Community School lamented;

'the District started this building about three (3) years ago to help reduce the numbers in the classrooms but up to now, the building has not been completed and we do not know what is happening'.

In another school the expansion work had been done but the building and the school on the whole did not have access to electricity; this was limiting teaching and learning *'especially in the teaching of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and during cloudy days'-* a teacher remarked. In one of the schools that had not yet seen any attempts at expansion, the headmaster highlighted that;

' the school land was not sizeable enough for a downward expansion but rather an upward expansion – storey buildings'.

Reflected in their work, Ankomah et al (2005:4) argue that in countries that have reached high levels of education, educational facilities represent marginal investment. However, in countries that have significantly low enrolment

ratios, this is one of the most important budgetary categories. Lack of facilities has been a major problem related to achieving quality in Ghana; these are about school space and equipment including classroom and other buildings, challenging boards, pupil and teacher furniture (tables and chairs), places of convenience, water and so forth are all important areas to consider.

4.1.3   Increased demand in school supplies

Despite the increase in the school population, the quantity and supply of text books by Government has not seen much improvement. The school heads and teachers indicated that the quantity of text books supplied by Government does not match up to the number of students in the classroom, so in most instances pupils have to share the books and the most challenging part is when the teachers want to give out assignments to their pupils. Because the books are not enough, the teachers have to write the assignments on the board. The situation is compounded when the teacher has more assignments to give out to pupils. It would have been easier if textbooks are available, students can take the text books home and bring it back. This can save the teachers the time used in writing the assignment on the board and also allow them to give more exercises.

In their work on the education resources management in public primary schools in Ghana, Ampratwum et al (2012:4) posit that there are possible leakages in the supply and distribution of textbooks[7] from the national through to the districts to beneficiary pupils in pubic primary schools. Evidence gathered from their study showed the leakage within the Ghana Education Service, District Education Directorates and other school distribution channels. Their work also showed that textbooks were insufficient and as a result pupils are compelled to share during lessons in the classroom and for homework, reiterating my findings mentioned earlier on. Also, the findings revealed that timing in the supply of the books was often at times not the best. A teacher explained that the best time for Government to supply school materials is at the beginning of the academic year (September), however, most often than not the supplies come late in the academic year when the school and parents have struggled to provide these supplies. A teacher laments;

> *'how can this trend enhance effective teaching and learning?*

In one school visited, a teacher claimed;

> *'the school had still not received the student report cards since term one (1), so the headmistress had to make alternative arrangements to secure the report cards.*

4.1.4   Increase in teaching staff and workload distribution

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[7] English, Mathematics and Science textbooks

In some of the schools, school authorities had made calls for more teachers to be brought in to help ease the burden faced. This was evident in some schools where there were two teachers to a class. Ironically, the findings further revealed that this arrangement is not making much difference in the workload that the teachers have to handle. It was revealed that the additional teachers are subject teachers hence when it is time to teach their assigned subjects, they still have to teach the same number of pupils in a class alone. Also, some schools get trainee teachers who come in every academic year depending on the willingness of the school to accommodate them. This phenomenon really puts a very heavy toll on school authorities particularly the school heads and teachers. Many of the teachers interviewed lamented *'this trend is making our work more difficult'*. Work that should be done by two teachers is done by a single teacher, how can the teachers give out their best? Ankomah et al (2005:8) points out that researchers have argued that measured pupil-teacher ratios are sound approximations of actual class sizes, particularly, at the primary level, stressing that education quality is much higher when the pupil-teacher ratio is much lower and this improves students' achievement.

Nonetheless the role of parents which was not a focus in this study turned out to be a concern among teachers and head teachers. The findings showed that notwithstanding the classroom population and other infrastructural challenges impeding effective teaching and learning, parents also had a role to play in enhancing the learning capabilities of their wards. Many of the school heads and teachers interviewed indicated that parents were doing little on their part to collaborate the teaching efforts of teachers, this the teachers mentioned was evident in the homework that they gave to pupils.

> *'Imagine a teacher gives homework to a pupil and the pupil comes to school the next day with the homework not done. Reason was that there was no parent to supervise the work'*- a teacher.

> *'As a parent when your ward returns from school you should inquire if he or she has any homework and encourage them to do it. Even if the parent is an illiterate, that feeling can make the child realize that my mother or father is concerned with my education'*- a head teacher.

The teachers revealed that some of the parents do not show concern in their wards education. This they explained can be done through periodic visits to the school to have a feel as to what and how their wards are faring in the school. The teachers also affirmed that the academic performance of pupils who had parents' supervision in their studies was much better than pupils who had no parental supervision.

4.1.5 Motivation for teachers and ways to motivate them

Motivation plays a vital role in human institutions and the teaching-learning process is no exemption. There is an adage in the local parlance in Ghana that says 'a teacher's reward is in heaven'. This adage reiterates the unfavourable

working conditions that some teachers in the teaching field, especially those in the rural Ghana have to endure with little or no incentives to motivate them. One may argue that if the same recognition given to the importance of education by world leaders is given to the key actors (head teachers and teachers) then a lot of challenges faced in the education sector can be reduced especially in developing countries.

From my findings, there is a sense of little or no form of motivation to encourage the teachers to endure the pressure that SFP has brought upon them. Many of the teachers and head teachers remarked;

'salaries and the payment of salaries are not encouraging at all'. The same delays encountered by the caterers are also faced by us'.

'In fact there is a lot that can be done to motivate us'- a teacher added. Many of the teachers gave a tall list of some measures that can be put in place to motivate them. The most talked about measures were on the provision and expansion of infrastructure to make teaching and learning easier and effective.

'Getting another classroom block would be the best thing, at least with that the number of students in the classrooms will reduce and more teachers can be employed too'- a head teacher.

The needs of teachers and the accountability of the government are described as follows:

I think the welfare of teachers should be a major concern of the government. By this I mean accommodation, transportation and health'. If teachers get accommodation close to the schools, they can come early, and work extra hours for the welfare of these children. Also not all teachers can be given cars so I think some transportation allowance can be provided'- a teacher.

'For teachers who teach certain subjects like science and Information Communication Technology, computers are really needed to aid in research and also to make the children understand better what they are been taught'- a teacher.

A teacher explains;

'not all teachers get national, regional or district awards so if in a little way a parent can say teacher thank you for the good work you are doing, keep it up! I think these kind words can be a source of strength and motivation'.

From the findings there emerged a sense of non-appreciation for the work that they are doing. Some of the head teachers and especially teachers hinted that appreciation and respect for the work that they are doing from both parents and students is a good motivation in the work, but it is not forth coming.

4.2 HGSF seen from the perspective of the Caterers – An illustrative case

The field study revealed that caterers in all the schools visited had not been paid over a period of about six (6) months. This concern became a major headline and issue in the country in the course of the field work. Initially, it was just the words of the head teachers and teachers I had interviewed, then it hit newspaper and radio headlines and it became clear how widespread the prob-

lem was. In general, the teachers and head teachers interviewed appealed for the caterers to be paid. In the words of a head teacher;

'The caterer here is doing her best; she still feeds the children five times a week. The only problem is that the quantity is small'.

A teacher remarked; *'the SFP is good but they should pay the caterers'.*

In a compilation of the situation from the various regions in the country, the newspaper report sheds more light on this finding.

In some of the schools in the regions, pupils were been fed twice or thrice in a week. The report highlights 'the caterer is not very regular in providing meals for the pupils as expected; in spite of admonitions by school authorities she is still adamant a head teacher lamented. He further explained that the caterer had also attributed her inability to feed the pupils to a lack of funds. In some regions, despite the non release of funds, the caterers continue to offer their services. For some of these caterers, they were feeding the pupils with monies that they had borrowed (Daily Graphic, 2013). Reiterating this claim, a head teacher in one of the schools I interviewed claimed that there have been instances where debtors come with police personnel to harass the caterer for debt owed. 'I am yet to receive any payment for my services since the beginning of the year but this has not prevented me from serving the pupils with food daily' the newspaper reported. In some of the regions, the caterers were contemplating a court action against Government in order to receive payment for their services. Confirming the situation; the National Coordinator of the programme attributed the problem to budgetary constraints...'assured the caterers that payments would soon be made to clear the arrears' (ibid).

In summary, if a programme designed to provide pupils with a 'hot nutritious meal' each day of school to enhance their studies is faced with such widespread and core problem, then the objectives and purpose of the programme will be trounced. It is obvious that the delay in the payment of the caterers has a direct impact on the pupils – food servings and quality are taken for granted. If this happens how will their studies be enhanced through this 'supposedly hot nutritious meal'?

4.3 In defence of SFP: voices of the local government (Municipal Director of Education, District Desk Officer of SFP)

From the findings, there were similar concerns shared by the MDE representative and DDO. These concerns were also similar in nature to those shared by the other respondents about the programme; however, in all the representative of the MDE and DDO also seem to point out that they had limited influence in the SFP and that much was dependent on the central government. The representative of the MDE and DDO both expressed knowledge about the increase in classroom population, they further expressed that it is true that the

workload of the school authorities will increase; however, the MDE explained that it is also a good sign that the programme is a good one and helping the pupils too.

She explained;

'Some of these children come from poor homes and they come to school without any pocket money or without eating from home, so they come to school hoping a friend or even their teacher will buy them food, so at least through the programme they can get some food to eat and learn as well'.

On the issue of expanding school resources to meet the increase of pupils she remarked;

'generally not much has been done except for some few schools where the infrastructure has been expanded to accommodate more pupils – I know expansion works has been completed in one school and in others it is on-going. Some of the schools have two teachers in a class, which is not really the best because of congestion'.

On the other hand, as recounted by the teachers, the two teachers are technically not in the classroom at the same time so the situation has virtually not changed. The District desk officer confirms;

'Yes some schools have seen expansion especially in classroom infrastructure, but inadequate resources (funds) makes it difficult to take drastic expansion measures'

Sharing her perspective on ways to encourage the head teachers and teachers, the representative of the MDE expressed that their salaries can be increased but this she added is usually not within the powers of a District, it is more of a central government thing. The District desk officer on the other hand remarked that it was more of an issue for the education unit.

4.4 Concepts in Practice: Some Reflections

SFPs are intended to enhance nutrition, improve cognitive capacities and educational outcomes, and to address social needs (Bundy et al, 2009:13). The intentions outlined in Bundy et al are no different from the objectives of the GSFP. More interesting is the fact that, these objectives of the SFP seem to have a link with some of the MDGs, this has been well documented in many of the literature on SFPs (Adrogue and Orlicki, n.d:5; Uduku 2009:60; GSFP AOP, 2011:1). Generally, the linkage with MDG 2 is very clear and in no doubt ingenuity; when children are fed at school both the children and parents see an incentive to get an education, thus helping to meet UPE, which for many developing countries has been a challenge including Ghana. Already mentioned two key proposals are suggested for countries to achieve UPE; first is acceleration in enrolment coupled with the ability to keep children in school.

The second is an improvement in learning outcomes and educational attainment to yield economic and social impact (Birdsall et al, 2005:339). They further illuminate the need for access and quality, stressing that the 'two reinforce each other, since if schools cannot offer a quality education; parents are far less likely to send their children to school'. It appears the prescription mentioned above have not been followed to the latter. Deemed to have accelerated enrolment, attendance and retention, the GSFP is on course with the first proposal but the second has been relegated to the background.

With these clear objectives and goals, the GSFP an 'ideal programme' (De Hauwere, n.d:353) was implemented with the initiative and support of partners across different levels- global, regional, country and community to enhance the administration ,success and sustainability of the programme. In the GSFP these levels of partnerships clearly exist; however; some levels of partnership are much stronger than others. 'Partnerships will only be realized when each of the actors has a self-interest in co-coordinating its politics with those of the others' (Sersah, 2012), especially in the case of global partners where their partnership can lead to the attainment of some of the MDGs. The GSFP has strong global partnership as opposed to community partnership (teachers, head teachers and caterers are featured). Pointing to some tenets on which partnerships can thrive, Sersah (2012) highlights 'trust and mutual accountability between partners and leadership', coupled with financial and infrastructural constraints as the findings revealed have contributed to crumbling the community partnership within the GSFP.

Increasing enrolment incentives sets a powerful chain reaction: child education and human capabilities. An increased enrolment leads to increased literacy and education rates, which in turn leads to increased economic sustainability and opportunity. This chain can however be broken when challenges such as those presented by the respondents and also discussed in chapter 3 are not tackled. Illustrating further, 'Abena' a primary school pupil from a deprived background is incentivised to enrol in school. At school, she has little or no access to school supplies, teachers and so forth. In addition, the food incentive that is supposed to increase her cognition and eliminate her hunger is of poor quality and in some cases not served as a result of financial constraints. How then can the reaction be if measures are not taken to safeguard the situation? Not only is a reaction broken but the larger effect can impede the attainment of some of the MDGs.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

As a mechanism to aid in the achievement of the MDGs: eradicate extreme poverty, increase universal education, reduce child mortality, and promote gender equality, this study asserts that SFP in Ghana is a critical intervention and a step in the right direction. As the study revealed, with the exception of the education sector the other two sectors connected to the GSFP had yet to yield the desired benefits for the target beneficiaries. Clearly, the views shared by the respondents and the literature reviewed in the study highlighted some challenges and issues that limits the effective and efficient use of this mechanism. The research identified and presented some challenges that can be attributed to the little success in the GSFP and the effect the challenges have on primary education: poor targeting, financial constraints, poor monitoring and evaluation and a lack of policy document backing its existence. Indeed, no programme is without challenges but for a programme that has a long term effect on the country and also concerns vulnerable groups in the society, it would be most prudent to adopt strategies to curb the lapses and loopholes.

The research findings showed that, the salary of caterers contracted for the GSFP had been in arrears over a six month period. Additionally, there exist inadequate school infrastructures as the programme had contributed to an increased enrolment. These situations largely undermine key elements in the programme such as providing nutritious food to the beneficiaries, enhancing cognition and improved education. The views expressed by the respondents' points to recognition, appreciation and motivation as important to dignify these actors in the work that they do.

Many of the research on the GSFP focus mostly on reaching MDG target, thus it tends to be quantitative. This study suggests that a focus be shifted on the practices of institutional bricolage; aggregation, alteration and articulation as discussed in chapter 2 to determine how these practices can be used to enhance the performance of the direct service providers of the GSFP; these practices presented in institutional bricolage can link to partnerships, especially community partnership to enhance the sustainability of the GSFP. Further research might be needed to examine the institutional mechanisms of collaboration and the place of teachers to enhance their participation in the GSFP. Findings from such studies can help implementers of the GSFP enhance the functioning of the programme.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Guidelines used for Primary Data Collection

1A Questions for Municipal Director of Education

    a. How many schools in the Municipality benefit from the SFP?

    b. Has the SFP contributed to an increase in school enrolment, attendance and retention in the Municipality?

    c. What is the student to teacher ratio in the SFP schools? In your opinion is the ratio encouraging or good to enhance the chances of the children's performance in school?

    d. Has educational resources (books, classrooms, teachers) in SFP schools in the Municipality been expanded to meet the increase in school enrolment, attendance and enrolment?

    e. What is the Municipality doing in its capacity to encourage teachers to give out their best despite the increase in workload?

    f. What are your final comments on SFP and the teacher factor in education?

1B Questions for Head teachers

    a. What is the student-teacher ratio in your school?

    b. Has this ratio been relatively stable or there have been changes? Has the changes been upward or downward and for how many years?

    c. Has SF really increased enrolment, retention and attendance in the school?

    d. Has there been expansion in school logistics to meet the increase?

e. In your opinion, has the performance of pupils been encouraging? If yes or no what in your view are some of the contributing factors?

f. In your opinion what can be done to improve or maintain the performance of pupils?

1C Question for Teachers

a. What class do you teach and how many pupils do you teach in a class?

b. Before SFP was this the number you were teaching?

c. Have you seen any effort (attempt) at expansion of school resources to meet the increase?

d. Does the increase affect your teaching in the classroom? Are you motivated to teach notwithstanding the increase and workload that comes with? Are you still able to control or oversee the class/pupils?

e. Does this development hinder the performance of the pupils in the classroom?

f. In your opinion, has the performance of pupils been encouraging? If yes or no what in your view are some of the contributing factors?

g. Is there something that can be done to encourage teachers to offer their best despite workload increase? In your opinion, what do you think can be done to motivate teachers to still want to work despite the increase in workload?

h. What are your final comments on the role that teachers can play to help improve children's performance in schools?

1D Questions for District Desk Officer of the SFP

a. How many schools in the municipality do you have under SFP?

b. Are you aware that the SFP has been successful in increasing enrolment, attendance and retention?

c. In these SFP where there has been an increase, have there been any calls or appeals made by the SFP for an expansion in school resources to match up to the increase?

d. Does the SFP have plans to extend the programme to include more schools in the Municipality?

Appendix 2: A map of Greater Accra showing Adentan Municipal area

Source: Danso and Barry (2012:6) 'Land Tenure Administration in Peri-Urban Accra: A Study of Bortianor'